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The cover images come from 1837 and depict a couple from one Indian caste, as it was common in publications illustrated in the East India Company style. These images were taken from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/odisea2008/albums/72157622472302352>.

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Contents

Jakob De ROOVER – Sarah CLAERHOUT The Caste Connection. On the Sacred Foundations of Social Hierarchy	9
Dunkin JALKI – Sufiya PATHAN On the Difficulty of Refuting or Confirming the Arguments about the Caste System	37
Marianne KEPPENS The Aryans and the Ancient System of Caste	63
Martin FÁREK Caste or qualification? Chaitanya Vaishnava Discussions about Brahmanas in Colonial India	91
Prakash SHAH “An Ancient System of Caste”: How the British Law against Caste Depends on Orientalism	119
Martin BAKEŠ – Jiří KUBEŠ Johann Franz Count von Würben and His Diary Entries from 1662	143
Magdalena OŽARSKA The Fake Diary of a Historical Figure: Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa’s <i>Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska</i> (1825)	213
Marie MACKOVÁ The Nobility in Bohemia and in the Habsburg Monarchy within the Legal and Social Context of the 19th Century	237
Zbyněk VYDRA People of the Past and Present. Magazine <i>Stolitsa i usadba</i> , the Russian Nobility and Its Self-Presentation in the Final Years of the Tsarist Regime	253

Reports and reviews	281
List of reviewers (in alphabetical order)	305
List of contributors (in alphabetical order)	306

Jakob De ROOVER – Sarah CLAERHOUT¹

The Caste Connection. On the Sacred Foundations of Social Hierarchy

Abstract: Today, some commentators argue that the caste system in India is founded in Hinduism; others deny this in the case. This article argues that we do not possess any conceptual apparatus to address this question today, because it was originally raised and answered in a Christian-theological context. The secularization of a Protestant-Christian notion of false religion gave shape to the European conception of ‘the caste system’ as an immoral social hierarchy. Basic theological ideas about the connection between false religion and social practice were transformed into topoi of social theorizing, which constituted the caste system as an experiential entity and conceptual unit in the Western cultural experience of India.

Key words: caste system – Hinduism – India – Reformation – Protestantism – hierarchy

Contemporary debates about the caste system regularly draw attention to the religious foundations of the rigid hierarchy that supposedly characterizes Indian society. A report prepared by Human Rights Watch for the 2001 United Nations World Conference against Racism states that “*India’s caste system is perhaps the world’s longest surviving social hierarchy. A defining feature of Hinduism, caste encompasses a complex ordering of social groups on the basis of ritual purity.*” Differences in status between castes are traditionally justified by the religious doctrine of karma, the report adds. The authors also describe the hierarchy of four *varṇas* or “caste categories” found in Hindu scriptures: “*In order of precedence these are the Brahmins (priests and teachers), the Ksyatriyas (rulers and soldiers), the Vaisyas (merchants and traders), and the Shudras (laborers and artisans)*”, whereas the untouchables are excluded. Finally, the report turns

¹ The authors would like to express their gratitude to Marianne Keppens, Dunkin Jalki, and Prakash Shah for many helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

to listing the evils allegedly caused by the caste system: “hidden apartheid”, physical violence, exclusion from temples, and a rigid allocation of labour.²

In brief, the claim is that the caste hierarchy has its roots in the Hindu religion, which accounts for its hold on Indian society in spite of its obvious immorality. This is not a new story. Writing in the 1930s, B. R. Ambedkar, advocate of the untouchables and chairman of India’s Constituent Assembly Drafting Committee, had already concluded the following: “*It is not possible to break Caste without annihilating the religious notions on which it, the Caste system, is founded.*” In his *Annihilation of Caste* (1936), Ambedkar argues that the central flaw of Hinduism is its representation of caste as a divine order: “*The Hindus hold to the sacredness of the social order. Caste has a divine basis. You must therefore destroy the sacredness and divinity with which Caste has become invested.*” As the priests of Hindu religion, the Brahmins not only promote the doctrine of inequality but also endorse the duty of oppressing the lower classes: “*There is no social evil and no social wrong to which the Brahmin does not give his support.*”³

From the nineteenth century until today, many have affirmed that the caste system has its foundations in Hindu religion; others deny that this is the case. The first group quotes *Manu’s Code of Law* and other ‘Hindu scriptures’ to demonstrate how these sanction the caste hierarchy. They also point to historical ‘facts’ of Indian society: the system was invented by the Brahmins, who put down the rules of purity and pollution sustaining the hierarchy and positioned themselves at its top. In addition, they accuse the upper castes of preventing lower castes from entering temples, declaring them untouchable, preventing social mobility, and appropriating a variety of privileges.⁴

The second group invokes another set of texts and facts to show that no such connection exists. Historically, they argue, classical Hinduism did not know of any caste

2 *Caste Discrimination: A Global Concern, A Report by Human Rights Watch for the United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban, South Africa, September 2001*, Human Rights Watch 13.3, 2001, pp. 5–8. For similar statements, see the debates in a Subcommittee of the United States Congress: *India’s Unfinished Agenda: Equality and Justice for 200 Million Victims of the Caste System*, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations of the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, One Hundred Ninth Congress, First Session (October 6, 2005), pp. 10–11, 14, 16–18, 29–31.

3 Bhimrao Ramji AMBEDKAR, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, vol. 1*, Bombay 1989, pp. 27, 69, 146.

4 Different elements of this account are found in: Louis DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, Chicago 1980; N. JAYARAM, *Caste and Hinduism: Changing Protean Relationship*, in: M. N. Srinivas (ed.), *Caste: Its Twentieth-Century Avatar*, New Delhi 1996, pp. 74–76; Klaus K. KLOSTERMAIER, *A Survey of Hinduism*, Albany 2007, pp. 288–298; Gail OMVEDT, *Understanding Caste: From Buddha to Ambedkar and Beyond*, New Delhi 2011, p. 2; Stanley WOLPERT, *India*, Berkeley 2009, pp. 110–125.

system and the Vedas ignore such a system based on birth. While some *Dharmaśāstra* texts prevent *Shūdras* from performing Vedic rites and receiving the sacred thread, others explicitly allow them to do so. Many traditional Hindu stories challenge the caste hierarchy. Contemporary Indian society, these authors argue, does not provide evidence for the alleged link between caste and religion. The relation between the four *varṇas* and the many *jātis* (communities determined by birth) is anything but clear. In the Hindu traditions, not all ‘priests’ are Brahmins and not all Brahmins are ‘priests’. Moreover, many castes claim to be superior to all others and social hierarchy differs from place to place.⁵

On both sides, these debates are pervaded by moral overtones: the religiosity of caste appears to be a decisive factor in coming to a normative judgement about Hinduism and Indian culture in general. Instead of taking any position in the debate, we will raise a basic question: How can one establish on cognitive grounds that there is a connection between Hinduism and the caste system? Is there any adequate criterion that allows us to assess the presence or absence of this connection? If the issue cannot be settled in a reasonable way, it becomes difficult to understand why it has been the object of dispute for more than two centuries and how it could play such a decisive role in moral judgements about Hinduism and Indian society.

Connecting Caste and Religion

From which premises could we infer that the caste system has its foundation in the Hindu religion? One may suggest that we should ask the Hindus and find out from them whether or not the rules of caste are part of their religion. However, as Max Müller already noted in the nineteenth century, “*some will answer that they are, others that they are not*”.⁶

The next step is to turn to Sanskrit texts that allegedly sanction this social hierarchy. Among the many passages cited, the most illustrative examples are from the *Mānavadharmasāstra* – a text often presented as the Hindu code of law. One of

5 Works from different periods have presented some of these arguments, for instance: Friedrich Max MÜLLER, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. 2, New York 1876, pp. 295–353; M. V. NADKARNI, *Hinduism: A Gandhian Perspective*, New Delhi 2006, pp. 77–130; K. M. SEN, *Hinduism*, London and New Delhi 2005, pp. 20–21. See also a report by the HINDU AMERICAN FOUNDATION, *Hinduism: Not Cast in Caste, Seeking an End to Caste-based Discrimination* (2011). From a very different angle, the anthropologist C. J. FULLER also argues against hastily linking the religion of Hinduism with the caste system; see his *Gods, Priests and Purity: On the Relation Between Hinduism and the Caste System*, Man: New Series 14, 1979, pp. 459–476.

6 F. M. MÜLLER, *Chips*, p. 299.

its chapters regulates the occupations, residence, and dress of castes. Some groups must live outside the villages, own dogs and donkeys, and wear the clothes of the dead. As the highest-born person, a Brahmin should live by six occupations, “teaching and studying, offering sacrifices and officiating at sacrifices, and giving and accepting gifts”. Śūdras should serve those above them in the hierarchy: “Even a capable Śūdra must not accumulate wealth; for when a Śūdra becomes wealthy, he harasses Brahmins.” The penance required for crimes also mirrors the caste hierarchy: “One-fourth the penance for the murder of a Brahmin is prescribed by tradition for the murder of a Kṣatriya; one-eighth for the murder of a virtuous Vaiśya; and one-sixteenth for the murder of a Śūdra.”⁷

Do such passages constitute the religious foundations of the caste system? First, let us assume for the time being that these texts are indeed “scriptures” of some kind. Even then, the fact that they serve to sanction caste discrimination does not establish a connection between Hinduism and caste. Consider the analogy of Christianity and slavery. Historically, some biblical passages appeared to justify slavery and several bishops defended it in the name of Christian religion. This, however, does not show any intrinsic link between the Christian religion and this social institution. Other clerics drew on the Bible to call for abolishing trade and ownership of slaves.⁸ Similarly, Hindu authors call upon Sanskrit texts to show that caste discrimination conflicts with their religion.⁹

Second, how sensible is it to look to such texts to make sense of contemporary Indian society? Imagine an Asian traveller in twentieth-century Europe, struck by the significance of social class in public life. In order to account for this, he selects verses from the Bible and suggests that these constitute the foundation of class society. After all, the exploitation of the poor by the rich is evident in Scripture also. We would not find such an explanation helpful. The idea that sentences from centuries-old texts are constitutive of the society of modern Europe would strike us as bizarre. Perhaps there is truth to the claim that Christianity played a role in shaping class society, but merely citing scriptural passages cannot count as evidence either way.

Third, what is the real status of texts like the *Mānavadharmasāstra*? Are they indeed sacred scriptures or codes of law? It is unclear which role they played in the crystallization of social structures and customs in India. Colonial authors already noted

7 Patrick OLIVELLE, *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānavadharmasāstra*, New Delhi 2006, § 10.46–129, 11.127, 11.32.

8 William HAGUE, *Christianity and Slavery: A Review of the Correspondence between Richard Fuller and Francis Wayland on Domestic Slavery, Considered as a Scriptural Institution*, Boston 1847; Robert ROBINSON, *Slavery inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity*, Cambridge 1788.

9 For example, see M. V. NADKARNI, *Hinduism*, pp. 77–130.

that most Hindus did not know the content of these “sacred books”.¹⁰ As they gained more experience in Indian society, they learned about the diversity of customs and usages and noted the multiplicity of *Dharmaśāstra* traditions and texts. Consequently, they began to doubt that Manu’s text was the law code of the Hindus or even that there was any such fixed Hindu law.¹¹ More recently, scholars have confirmed that the *Dharmaśāstras* should not be read as the legal codes of Hindu religion.¹² In that case, there are no grounds for claiming that some such texts reflect the religious foundations of the caste system.

Fourth, it is undeniable that a huge variety of *jātis* co-exist in Indian society and that some of these appear to be characterized by practices of endogamy and commensality. By convention, one could call such groups ‘castes’. However, empirically, the structure of Indian society does not reflect any fourfold caste hierarchy. In fact, British colonial officials came to this conclusion when they launched a caste census aimed at classifying the many *jātis* along the lines of the *varṇa* hierarchy. Some tried to place each *jāti* into one of the *varṇa* categories; others stipulated a larger number of categories for the classification of castes; yet others devised complex schemes that arranged groups and sub-groups in terms of some principle of classification of castes. But this merely mirrored the classificatory scheme that they decided to use and not the structures of Indian society.¹³

Generally, the caste census exercise ended in failure. For most *jātis*, it turned out to be impossible to attribute a stable location in the hierarchy. Even worse, it was often impossible to find out to what ‘caste’ Indians belonged. When asked the question “*What is your caste?*”, officials complained, some Hindus would mention one of the four *varṇas*,

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- 10 Robert CHATFIELD, *An Historical Review of the Commercial, Political, and Moral State of Hindoostan, from the earliest period to the present time*, London 1808, pp. 212–213; Sir John STRACHEY, *India: Its Administration & Progress*, London 1911, p. 317; *Proceedings of the Court of Directors, March 1824*, in: *British Parliamentary Papers 1826–1827*, vol. 20, p. 16.
 - 11 See A. C. BURNELL, *Dāya-Vibhāga: The Law of Inheritance*, Madras 1868, p. xiii; J. H. NELSON, *A View of the Hindu Law as Administered by the High Court of Judicature at Madras*, Madras 1877, pp. i–ii, 2–4, 17 and *A Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindū Law*, London 1881, pp. 12–13, 26–27.
 - 12 Nandini BHATTACHARYYA–PANDA, *Appropriation and Invention of Tradition: The East India Company and Hindu Law in Early Colonial Bengal*, New Delhi 2008; J. D. M. DERRETT, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, London 1968; Richard W. LARIVIERE, *Justices and Panditas: Some Ironies in Contemporary Readings of the Hindu Legal Past*, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 48, 1989, pp. 757–769; Werner MENSKI, *Hindu Law: Beyond Tradition and Modernity*, New Delhi 2003, pp. 73–74.
 - 13 For a striking example, see John C. NESFIELD, *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, together with an examination of the names and figures shown in the census report, 1882*, Allahabad 1885, which the author presented as “*an attempt to classify on a functional basis all the main castes of the United Provinces, and to explain their gradations of rank and the process of their formation*”.

others would say they belonged to some “*endogamous sub-caste*”, yet others would mention some “*caste-title*” or add “*vague and indefinite*” entries. In short, the Hindus seemed to be ignorant of their own caste system.¹⁴

This then led to the claim that the caste hierarchy is a normative model invented by the Brahmin priests, who tried to impose it onto Indian society in the name of religion.¹⁵ If this were the case, then there must be some empirical consequences. Any attempt to transform a society along the lines of such a model would require a particular type of institution or authority. Without some kind of centralized authority that inculcates the rules of this hierarchy and monitors compliance, it would be impossible to do so. Look at European history: in the eleventh-century Papal Revolution, Gregory VII and his followers gradually transformed the Church into a single hierarchy by centralizing its authority and building a unified canon law.¹⁶ But no evidence is available from Indian history of such massive attempts to create a centralized religious authority or legal system. Hence, the story about a normative hierarchy dreamt up by the Brahmin priesthood is unfounded speculation.

Considering these difficulties, a basic problem crops up: *How did the dispute about the connection between Hindu religion and the caste system appear significant in the first place, if there is no conceptual apparatus available to settle it?* Let us clarify. Most things in the world are interrelated in some way or the other, but this does not allow for reasonable and relevant debates as to the connection between any two phenomena or sets of objects, say, fossils and smartphones or planetary motion and cardiovascular diseases. In contrast, take sunlight and the growth of plants. Theories of photosynthesis show that there *is* a significant link between these phenomena. Similarly, it took Newton’s theory of gravitation to illuminate the connection between the movement of the moon and the oceans’ tides. The significance of a connection between any two phenomena depends on a background framework that gives shape to our descriptions of those phenomena. It takes the concepts and criteria of some theory to establish whether or not such a connection exists. This goes not only for the natural sciences, but also for our theorizing about human beings and societies. For instance, psychoanalytical theory links

14 See Sir Edward A. H. BLUNT, *The Caste System of North India, with special reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Madras 1931, pp. 8–9; Nicholas B. DIRKS, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Delhi 2002, pp. 49, 202–212; J. STRACHEY, *India*, pp. 328–330.

15 David O. ALLEN, *India: Ancient and Modern. Geographical, Historical, Political, Social, and Religious*, Boston 1856, pp. 35–36; Henry Sumner MAINE, *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society and Its Relation to Modern Ideas*, London 1908, p. 15. For comments on this Indological view, see Ronald INDEN, *Orientalist Constructions of India*, *Modern Asian Studies* 20.3, 1986, p. 428.

16 Harold J. BERMAN, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*, Cambridge: Mass. 1985.

nightmares to childhood trauma and economic theories relate inflation to the quantity of money.

Since the claim that the caste system is rooted in Hindu religion has been the subject of debate for more than two centuries, some background framework must have made this connection significant. But no such theory appears to be available today. Under which conditions, then, did this issue arise and how could it become so significant? Answering this question is doubly important, given the fact that the alleged connection between caste and religion sustains the contemporary normative judgements about Hinduism and Indian culture in general. If there is no coherent foundation for this damning moral assessment, what could have made it cogent in the first place?

Crafting the Connection

“Which practices in the pagan Indian society are religious?” From the seventeenth century, this had been a central concern of Christian missionaries active in India. Long before there was any talk of “the caste system”, they wondered to what extent certain customs and practices of the Indian population were rooted in its religion. They had discovered that the population appeared to be divided into several communities based on birth, which often had their own customs. Certain issues bothered the missionaries: the fact that only some groups wore the so-called “sacred thread”; the particular dress and other markers that distinguished groups from each other; the central role of the Brahmins in Indian society. Strikingly, many of these practices and customs would later be described as elements of the caste system.

Caste as a Civil Institution

The concerns about the religiosity of such practices had a long history. When early Christianity had become dominant in the Roman Empire, the church fathers began to worry about the scope of “pagan idolatry”. The worship of false gods did not limit itself to the Greco-Roman cults, they said, but had ramifications across social life. Any practice could be examined in terms of its potential connection to idolatry, from attending games to wearing a white toga during festivities. Whenever a practice turned out to be related to pagan religion in some way or the other, Christians had to renounce this sin, if they wished to remain followers of the true God.¹⁷

17 For illustrations, see TERTULLIAN’s *De Idololatria*, eds. and trans. J. H. Waszink – J. C. M. van Winden, Leiden & New York 1987 and *The Shows or De Spectaculis*, in: Rev. Alexander Roberts – Sir James Donaldson (eds.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*,

More than a millennium later, Jesuit missionary reports sent from India to Rome caused a resurgence of this concern in the Church. The fact that some Jesuits had adopted local customs and allowed Christian neophytes to retain these gave rise to a dispute known as the Malabar Rites controversy. At the centre of this dispute stood one question: Did usages like wearing a cotton thread slung over one's shoulder, carrying a tuft of hair on an otherwise shaven head, or applying sandalwood paste to one's face count as manifestations of superstition or merely as civil observances?

The seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary Roberto De Nobili had initiated this controversy. Calling himself "*a Brahmin*", he famously adopted the dress of a Hindu ascetic and allowed his converts to keep their "*national customs, in as far as these contained nothing wrong and referred to merely political or civil usages*".¹⁸ For instance, each convert could continue wearing the markers proper to his or her caste. When challenged by the Church, De Nobili insisted that these customs had no religious import but had to be regarded as social custom. As evidence, he produced citation after citation from Sanskrit texts and Brahmin testimonies confirming his interpretation of these practices.¹⁹

De Nobili viewed caste as a civil institution that divided Indian society into "*four grades of civil functions to which there corresponds a similar gradation in nobility*" and that enforced profession by law.²⁰ He looked for the rules of caste in the "*Laws of Manu*", a civil law book of the highest authority according to him. However, when some of his opponents argued that the Brahmins were the priests of superstition and idolatry who kept this system in place, De Nobili strongly disagreed. Brahmins, he said, were not priests but wise men that studied and taught the different sciences. They commanded the highest esteem because of their learning and not because of some special religious status. Consequently, the ranking of citizens and the privileges of some groups derived from civil status and not from religion.²¹

The significance of De Nobili's position in these debates does not lie in its impact on the general European understanding of India (which appears to have been very limited in scope) but elsewhere. Even among the Jesuit missionaries, who were

vol. 3, Grand Rapids 1989, pp. 79–91; see also R. A. MARKUS, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 16, 226.

18 Joseph BRUCKER, *Malabar Rites*, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York 1910, pp. 558–562.

19 Roberto DE NOBILI, *Report Concerning Certain Customs of the Indian Nation*, in: Anand Amaladass – Francis X. Clooney (eds.), *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises by Roberto de Nobili, S.J., Missionary and Scholar in 17th Century India*, St. Louis 2000.

20 *Ibidem*, pp. 57–61.

21 *Ibidem*, pp. 63–76.

known for their tendency to accommodate local practices, he was an exceptional figure. Still, his standpoint reveals a significant fact about the moral judgements that European observers made concerning the Brahmins and their status in India. Consider the contrast between De Nobili's account and that of his fellow Jesuit Francis Xavier, who wrote the following in a report about his travels in India:

*“Among the pagans here, there is a particular kind of men, called Brachmanes, who are the guardians of paganism, for they stay in the Temple and take care of the Idols: they are the most perverse and evil of men, and to them the verses of David readily apply: “Deliver me from this profane race and from the evil and deceitful man.” They are the greatest liars and impostors that ever existed: their profession is to deceive the poor and take advantage of the weakness and simplicity of an ignorant mass, making them believe that the Gods command the sacrifice of all kinds of things, while they desire these things for themselves to maintain their families.”*²²

What accounts for the rift between these two Jesuits' judgement of the Brahmins? In Francis Xavier's case, the Brahmins are clearly identified as the deceitful and evil priests of idolatry, whose special status depends on false religion. For De Nobili, they are not priests at all, but wise men carrying a special civil status because of their learning. In one case, they are the central characters of false religion in India; in the other case, they are not. This played a decisive role in coming to a moral judgement about the Brahmins. If they are the guardians of idolatry, then they are evil, and so is the institution that gives them their status. If they are simply wise men with knowledge of the sciences, then they are not and, again, this also goes for the civil institution that assigns gradations in nobility.

The controversy about the Malabar rites and the status of caste erupted once again in a conflict between Capuchins and Jesuits in early eighteenth-century Pondicherry. In 1732, the Curia insisted that *“the missionaries should make every effort to propagate everywhere the idea of the equality of all men before God”* and thus insinuated that the ranking of groups violated true religion. The Holy See denounced certain practices as infractions on the purity of the Christian faith. However, Pope Benedict XIV declared on 2 July 1741 that converts could be allowed to retain them for *“the rites in question had not been used, as among the Gentiles, with religious significance, but merely as civil observances”*.²³

22 Francis XAVIER, *Lettres de S. Francois Xavier, de la Compagnie de Iesus, Apostre du Iapon*, transl. Louis Abelly, Paris 1660, p. 62.

23 J. BRUCKER, *Malabar Rites*; Duncan B. FORRESTER, *Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missionaries in India*, London – Dublin 1979, p. 16.

The Malabar Rites controversy reveals how the question about the religious roots of certain Indian practices emerged within a framework of Christian ideas and attitudes. To answer this question, European observers took recourse to a theological framework that divided the world of human practice into three spheres: the sphere of true religion, that of false religion and idolatry, and that of practices indifferent to religion. True religion embodies the will of God and pure revelation; false religion reflects Satan's interventions and human fabrication. All of humanity ought to obey one and renounce the other, but many practices also fall outside of this bifurcation: they are religiously indifferent. Consequently, when Christian authorities determined that a practice or custom was not religious, this not only implied that it concerned a civil observance or institution, but also that it was indifferent to religion and hence permitted. If it was, the same practice was idolatrous and off limits: it became a violation of God's will.²⁴

Caste as a Religious Institution?

In the course of the nineteenth century, so Duncan Forrester shows in his work *Caste and Christianity*, Protestant missionaries in India concluded that caste practices were founded in religion: caste was a "sacred institution" and an integral part of "the whole system of idolatry". While some missionaries initially insisted that it concerned a civil institution, a consensus gradually consolidated that caste was the main obstacle standing in the way of the Indian heathen's conversion. It was "the most cursed invention of the devil that ever existed, the masterpiece of hell", as one missionary put it.²⁵ Converts to Christianity now had to renounce caste as a sign of their embracing of Christ, for it was not a mere civil distinction but an institution to which the Hindus attributed a divine origin. Thus, the impact of the Protestant Reformation appears to have caused a major shift that would determine the future conception of the caste system.

To show the importance of this shift, we turn to a hypothesis about Hinduism and the caste system developed by S. N. Balagangadhara. He argues that terms like "Hindu religion" and "the caste system" do not refer to any institutions or entities present in Indian society, but only to conceptual entities that ordered the Western cultural experience of India.²⁶ What does this mean? While there exists a variety of *jātis* and traditions in Indian society, Balagangadhara suggests, the conception of "the caste

24 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *On the Dark Side of the 'Secular': Is the Religious-Secular Distinction a Binary?*, *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 61.1, 2014, pp. 33–52.

25 John Fountain cited in D. B. FORRESTER, *Caste and Christianity*, pp. 27, 33.

26 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, Delhi 2012, pp. 34–59.

system” and “Hinduism” is not a factual description of this society, but rather describes how Europeans systematically made sense of their experience of Indian society.

The notion of a caste hierarchy with certain distinct properties came into being in a process of systematic analysis of the observations about Indian society reported by Europeans. By drawing on common-sense ideas that circulated in the intellectual world of modern Europe, scholars created a fairly coherent pattern in their descriptions of Indian culture and society. They translated texts and terms along the lines of this conceptual pattern and fit in the facts reported by their fellow Europeans. In the process, they also ignored or distorted many other textual passages and empirical findings that refuted their account. Thus, the conceptual pattern of “the caste system” could emerge. However, this pattern is not present in the way Indians experience their own society and practices.

In this sense, “the caste system” is an experiential entity internal to the cultural world of the West. British colonials and European travellers acted as though this entity exists and they also taught Indians to talk and sometimes act in this way. Of course, this does not mean that injustice, violence, or discrimination between and among different *jati*s did not exist in Indian society before missionaries and colonial officials began to talk about the caste system. But it does imply that these phenomena did not embody the form and pattern attributed to them by the dominant conception of ‘the caste hierarchy’. The caste system never existed (and still does not exist) as an actual social structure or system in the social world of the Indian subcontinent. Instead, it is a conceptual and experiential entity present in the Western culture’s discourse about India.

Building on Balagangadhar’s account, we want to present the following tentative hypothesis: the conclusion that caste was a religious institution constituted a decisive step in the formation of this experiential entity of “the caste system”. It did so by bringing apparent coherence into the European descriptions of Indian culture and society. In 1840, for instance, the important Scottish missionary Alexander Duff wrote that the sacred texts of the Hindus claimed that through “*a species of emanation or successive eduction from the substance of his own body, Brahma gave origin to the human race, consisting originally of four distinct genera, classes, or castes*”. From this he concluded the following: “*According to this rigid and unmodified account of the origin of man, it must at once appear that caste is not a civil but a sacred institution, – not an ordinance of human but of divine appointment.*”²⁷ Therefore, to destroy false religion and idolatry, one would have to abolish caste and demolish the belief in its divine origin:

27 Alexander DUFF, *India and India Missions: Including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hinduism, Both in Theory and Practice*, Edinburgh 1840, pp. 123–124.

“Simultaneous with the destruction of idolatry and superstition, will be the abolition of CASTE. When the reign of the gods is at an end, the divine origin of caste is no longer held as a sacred verity; and disbelief in its divinity must break the sinew of its strength. ... When we hear the assertion made and reiterated, that we must annihilate caste ere we can expect to sap the foundations of idolatry, we suspect that it is dictated by the same wisdom which would direct us carefully to separate the cement from the walls of a building about to be levelled with the ground. Idolatry and superstition are like the stones and brick of a huge fabric, and caste is the cement which pervades and closely binds the whole. Let us, then, undermine the common foundation, and both tumble at once, and form a common ruin.”²⁸

Duff’s claims indicate the importance of the shift towards understanding caste as religious. Europeans had long been convinced that Indian culture was constituted by religion, since Christianity had predicted that all nations knew some form of religion.²⁹ However, throughout the centuries, they also regularly noted how chaotic and diverse the religion of the Indian people was. In fact, it was often said that it did not appear to be a religion at all but a conglomerate of traditions, customs, sects, and rites without any unifying doctrines or institutions.³⁰ What then held it together as the religion of the Indian nation?

Once European observers concluded that caste was founded in the Hindu religion, this appeared to provide a solution to this problem. In the perception of many, “*the caste system*” now became the structure that held Hinduism together: because of the divine origin the Hindus supposedly attributed to caste, it formed the cement of the fabric of false religion – “*the sinew of the strength of idolatry*” – which pervaded and closely bound the whole. Thus, when European missionaries and scholars attributed this religious status to caste, this allowed them to see “*the Hindu religion*” and “*its caste system*” as a coherent whole. Seemingly, they could now fit any factual finding or textual passage into this well-cemented building. Little did they realize that the cement held together *their* experience of Indian society, rather than any institution found in this society.

28 *Ibidem*, pp. 616–617.

29 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, “*The Heathen in His Blindness ...*”: *Asia, the West, and the Dynamic of Religion*, second edition, New Delhi 2005; Jakob DE ROOVER, *Incurably Religious? Consensus Gentium and the Cultural Universality of Religion*, *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 61.1, 2014, pp. 5–32.

30 Such comments about the chaotic nature of Hinduism would return again and again from the eighteenth to the twentieth century: see H. HARCOURT, *Sidelights on the Crisis in India: Being the Letters of an Indian Civilian and Some Replies of an Indian Friend*, London 1924, p. 28; Sir Alfred LYALL, *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*, London 1884, pp. 1–2; Robert ORME, *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns in Indostan*, London 1805, p. 437; J. STRACHEY, *India*, pp. 315–317; Henry WHITEHEAD, *Indian Problems in Religion, Education, Politics*, London 1924, p. 4; H. H. WILSON, *Works by the Late Horace Hayman Wilson*, vol. 1, London 1862, p. 1.

How could the Protestants' conclusion that caste was *religious* have this impact? From the Christian perspective, the distinction between a religious and a civil institution revolves around the fact that the former has to embody the purpose of God, whereas the latter is merely human. Thus, Roman-Catholic Christendom viewed the Church as a religious institution, simultaneously divine and human. Even though manned by human beings, the Church represented the purpose of God on earth.³¹ However, according to the Protestant Reformers, the Church and its priestly hierarchy did not at all represent God's purpose on earth. It was a purely human institution that had *falsely* presented itself as religious and imposed human inventions onto the believers in the name of divine commandment.

From this perspective, if caste was part of false religion, it had to function in a similar way: the Hindu religion enforced caste practices by falsely claiming that the system was rooted in a divine origin or of divine appointment. As the Madras Missionary Conference put it in 1850 in a declaration that concluded decades of dispute about the religious or civil status of caste:

*“Caste, which is a distinction among the Hindoos, founded upon supposed birth-purity and impurity, is in its nature essentially a religious institution, and not a mere civil distinction. The Institutes of Menu and other Shastras regard the division of the people into four castes, as of Divine appointment. We find, also, that stringent laws were enacted for upholding this important part of the Hindoo religion. Future rewards are decreed to those who retain it, and future punishments to those who violate it. The Hindoos of the present day believe, that the preservation – or loss of caste deeply affects their future destiny.”*³²

An earlier text, the Madras Memorial to the Supreme Government of 2 April 1845, had already declared that caste depended on ceremonial pollution and was thus connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion: *“Such an institution, therefore, can never be called a mere civil distinction; for whatever it may have been in its origin, it is now adopted as an essential part of the Hindoo religion.”*³³ To break the hold of the false religion of the Hindus, one had to break caste, the missionaries argued.

Our hypothesis is that this shift towards the conception of caste as a religious institution gradually made it obvious where the unity of Hindu religion and the caste

31 *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, § 760, § 778; URL: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P27.HTM>; consulted on 11 February 2015.

32 Cited in Benjamin C. MEIGS, *Caste in the Island of Ceylon*, in: *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 11, no. 43, July 1854, p. 471.

33 Cited *ibidem*. For a series of documents conveying similar standpoints in the caste controversy in the Madras Presidency, see Joseph ROBERTS (ed.), *Caste, in Its Religious and Civil Character, Opposed to Christianity: Being a Series of Documents by the Right Reverend Bishops Heber, Wilson, Corrie, and Spencer, and by Eminent Ministers of Other Denominations*, London 1847.

system was to be found. On the one hand, the Brahmin priesthood supposedly held the two together by imposing caste practices as commandments of divine origin. Caste became “*the Hindu system*” created by its clergy. In the words of another Protestant missionary, the Reverend William Ward: “*Every person at all acquainted with the Hindoo system, must have been forcibly struck with the idea that it is wholly the work of brahmöns; who have here placed themselves above kings in honour, and laid the whole nation prostrate at their feet.*”³⁴ On the other hand, it appeared to missionaries and scholars alike that they had to look for the core of the Hindu religion and its caste system in the beliefs about caste, purity, and the future rewards or punishments that came along with its rules.

Initially, some European observers had viewed the practices of “castes” in India merely as a set of customs and communities; others characterized it as a civil institution; and yet others concluded that it was an institution founded in religion. In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, the verdict that it was a sacred institution effected a major revision: “caste” customs and practices came to be seen as a coherent system at the heart of the Hindu religion, imposed by its Brahmin priesthood. By studying Sanskrit scriptures and legal codes, this perspective suggested, one should look for the basic structure and rules of this caste hierarchy. This is what orientalist scholars set out to do from the late eighteenth century.

The conditions that generated the question of the connection between Hinduism and caste must be clear by now. European authors relied on a background framework that offered the conceptual apparatus to raise and settle this question: a framework constituted by concerns and concepts deriving from debates internal to Western Christendom. Eventually, a basic cluster of Protestant-Christian ideas made it appear obvious that caste was a social system built on a foundation of sacred law.

It is not that the dispute about the link between caste and religion had now been settled once and for all, or that the problem of the apparently chaotic nature of Hinduism had dissolved. Disagreement would continue, but the Protestant conception of the caste system had become the reference point. In 1869, for instance, Friedrich Max Müller argued that caste was not part of the most ancient religious teachings of the Veda and that it was “*a human law, a law fixed by those who were most benefited by it themselves*”. But Müller’s argument that caste is no religious institution depended on the Protestant story about Hinduism and the caste system. He suggested that European scholars had produced “*a nearly complete collection of the religious and legal works of the Brahmans*” and could now consult the very authorities to which the Hindus appeal and “*form an*

34 William WARD, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos; including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translations from their principal works*, London 1822, p. 65.

opinion with greater impartiality than the Brahmans themselves". His point was that it has "no authority in the sacred writings of the Brahmans" and that the missionaries should show to the natives of India "that the religion which the Brahmans teach is no longer the religion of the Veda, though the Veda alone is acknowledged by all Brahmans as the only divine source of faith".³⁵ In other words, the caste system was a human invention, which the Brahmins had added to religion and falsely presented as though it was rooted in the divine source of faith. This was precisely the connection that the Protestant theology of false religion had established between Hinduism and the caste system.

Similarly, in the Census Report of 1881, Sir Denzil Ibbetson claimed that caste is far more a social than a religious institution and had no necessary connection with the Hindu religion.³⁶ However, the idea that the caste system was the central social structure of Hinduism became more and more self-evident in the general literature on India. Often, Western authors admitted that caste had played no such role in the philosophical Hinduism of the Brahmanical sacred texts, but it was a different matter altogether for the popular Hinduism of the masses. In 1908, an overview of *India, Its Life and Thought* discussed the question "What, then, is Popular Hinduism?": "That which obtrudes itself upon all sides and which is, perhaps, its most determining factor is its caste system. In other lands, mean social distinctions obtain and divide the people. In India only, Caste is a religious institution, founded by the authority of Heaven, penetrating every department and entering into every detail of life, and enforced by strictly religious penalties. One has well said that Hinduism and caste are convertible terms."³⁷

Thus, the growing dominance of a generic Protestant framework did fix the standard image of a caste hierarchy as the reference point for future debates: the 'priests', 'scriptures', 'religious penalties', and forms of 'worship' of 'Hindu religion' all became central concepts in the analyses of caste. From the nineteenth century onwards, we appear to have inherited this debate about the Hindu foundations of the caste system without the background that made it significant and without the conceptual apparatus necessary to understand this issue.

The Immorality of Caste

The belief that the caste system is rooted in religion not only drives the diatribes against Hinduism and Brahmanism in contemporary public debate in India, but also sustains

35 F. M. MÜLLER, *Chips*, pp. 299, 305–306, 316.

36 John P. JONES, *India, Its Life and Thought*, New York 1908, pp. 97–98.

37 *Ibidem*, pp. 198–199, emphasis added.

pejorative judgements about Indian culture in general. In fact, one of the most striking dimensions of the contemporary discourse on the caste system is its shrill moral tone. The system appears to be the very embodiment of immorality and injustice.³⁸

Often the scholarly literature reproduces the same normative discourse. Writing about “*the Hindu social order*”, Klaus Klostermaier puts it as follows in his *Survey of Hinduism*:

“Theoretical and theological, the *caturvarṇāśrama* scheme may have been. But it also translated into Indian reality, so that socially, and quite often also economically and physically, nobody could survive outside caste. The Brahmins did not articulate “human rights” but “caste rights”, which had the side effect that, in the course of time, about one-fifth of the total population, as “outcastes”, had virtually no rights. They were treated worse than cattle, which even in legal theory ranked above them. People became casteless by violating the rules of their castes, either by marrying contrary to the caste regulations, by following professions not allowed by caste rules, or by committing other acts that were punished by expulsion from the caste.”³⁹

Originally, Klostermaier suggests, the hierarchy of four *varṇas* was a theoretical and theological scheme. Broadly defined, theology amounts to the systematic study of religious beliefs, particularly those about God. It is obvious to him, then, that the caste hierarchy reflects such a systematic body of religious beliefs.

The theoretical and theological scheme also “translated” into social reality. This cannot happen by itself: theological tracts cannot magically transform social structures. Some institution or group must have actively taken up this task. It must have been powerful, for it was able to give the caste hierarchy a stranglehold on Indian society so strong that *nobody could survive outside caste, not only socially but quite often also economically and physically*. If nobody could escape from caste, observance of “theological” caste rules must have been monitored across Indian society. But only a wide-ranging authority could do that. In other words, it would have taken an extremely powerful institution to transform Indian society along the lines of the *caturvarṇāśrama* scheme.

Who was responsible for this transformation? *The Brahmins*, the author suggests: they substituted “*caste rights*” for “*human rights*” and reduced one-fifth of the population to a status worse than cattle. Violating caste rules now made people casteless: expulsion was the punishment for taking up the wrong profession, marrying the wrong person,

38 For recent examples, see Narendra JADHAV, *Untouchables: My Family's Triumphant Escape from India's Caste System*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 2005, pp. 1–2; Anand TELTUMBDE, *Ghar Wapsi: Welcome to the Hellhole of Hinduism*, Economic and Political Weekly 50.1, 2015, pp. 10–11 and the interventions by Kancha Ilaiah and others in the 2005 hearing before a Subcommittee of the United States Congress: *India's Unfinished Agenda: Equality and Justice for 200 Million Victims of the Caste System*, pp. 10–11, 14, 16–18, 29–31.

39 K. KLOSTERMAIER, *Survey of Hinduism*, pp. 296–297.

and other infractions. Presumably, the other members of a caste expelled the violators of its rules. Still, the author connects these practices to the societal translation of the *varṇa* scheme, which was the work of the Brahmins. To realize all of this, these Brahmins should have possessed extraordinary powers. They not only compelled a variety of communities to follow the caste rules, but must also have cast a spell on the Indian mind in general, since *nobody* could survive outside caste.

This story about the emergence of Indian society is both implausible and incoherent. As said, there is no evidence for the existence of any Brahmanical institution with the authority required for making the “theoretical and theological” caste hierarchy into a social reality. Sociologically, it is impossible that the variegated groups of Brahmins present in Indian society could somehow transform social structures by imposing caste rules and thus “translating” their theology into reality. Besides, if nobody could survive outside caste (“*socially, and quite often also economically and physically*”), how is it possible that one fifth of the Indian population survived as outcastes, that is, outside caste? In spite of such empirical and conceptual shortcomings, from Klostermaier’s perspective, this account not only counts as an explanation of the causes and consequences of the “*Hindu social order*”, but also as a justification for a biting moral judgement about the Brahmins.

The above passage is not particular to Klostermaier’s work but representative of the standard textbook story about the caste system. This story is deeply normative: it explains Indian society in terms of a rigid hierarchy rooted in religion and blames the Brahmins for instating this immoral and inhumane system. Thus, it appears to reproduce the Protestant discourse that connected caste to false religion. Given its conceptual and sociological flaws, how could this conception of caste emerge and survive unto this day?

Idolatry and Immorality

The normative discourse that emerged from the verdict that caste was founded in false religion had deep roots in the Protestant Reformation. Much like their Christian predecessors, the Reformers divided the world of human practice into three spheres: the realm of true religion and worship; that of false religion and idolatry; and that of practices indifferent to religion. The first is the realm of practices commanded by God; the second is that of practices that are prohibited to the true believer; the third is that of practices that are permitted. The conclusion that caste was based on false religion relegated it to the second realm and thus made it into a deeply immoral system. To understand this, we need to delve deeper into the Protestant Reformation and its conflict with the Roman-Catholic Church. We will look at three closely interrelated components: the immorality of idolatry, the priesthood, and the hierarchy.

Firstly, the Reformation drew upon a general Christian view of idolatry as human fabrications inspired by the devil. However, they applied this to the Roman-Catholic Church in a particular way: they accused the Church of falsely presenting human works and laws as indispensable to salvation, while only faith in Christ and the grace of God were necessary. False religion demanded that the believer would worship human inventions, obey human laws, and endorse human doctrines, as though all of these come from God.

As a consequence, idolatry always went together with *immorality*. The believer sinned by following human precepts that went against God's will, all the while claiming that these represented His will. This corruption of religion, the Reformers insisted, caused the rise of immorality. The heart of moral corruption may have been the Church, but from this source it flowed far into the arteries of society. Much like early Christianity, the Reformation rejected all kinds of customs and practices as ramifications of idolatry. This could go from celebrating festivals, playing music or cards, or donning costumes to worrying about money or food and being subject to emotions like sadness. Participation in these practices was considered sinful and immoral. This critique of the Roman-Catholic world as a hothouse of idolatry generated the Protestant image of medieval society as a den of corruption and injustice, which still survives in popular opinion.⁴⁰

Secondly, the Reformers also related this immorality to the doctrine of priesthood. During the Papal Revolution of the eleventh century, the Church had consolidated the central role of the priest in the Christian religion. The priesthood constituted a distinct *clerical or spiritual estate* as opposed to the estate of the laity. Because priests went through a process of conversion to God and purification of the soul, so the Church's theologians argued, they were the truly religious. Hence, the clerical hierarchy gained spiritual authority over the lay believers. Much as a shepherd guided his flock, they should help the believers to turn away from sin and guide them to salvation.⁴¹

From the sixteenth century, the Protestant Reformers rejected the claim that the clergy constituted a separate spiritual estate, with the authority to mediate the laity to God. These men, they argued, could not have any such authority over the soul and its salvation, for only the Lord Himself possessed this. The clergy merely aimed to enrich itself and satisfy its base desires, while transforming the laity into slaves of a system of laws falsely presented as divine commandments. But the lay believers were complicit, as long as they accepted this tyranny.

40 Jakob DE ROOVER, *Secular Law and the Realm of False Religion*, in: Winnifred F. Sullivan – Robert Yelle – Mateo Taussig-Rubo (eds.), *After Secular Law*, Palo Alto 2011, pp. 46–49.

41 Gerd TELLENBACH, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett, Toronto 1991.

One could not become a genuine Christian by succumbing to the priestly hierarchy. Instead, the Reformation insisted, all believers ought to go through an individual process of conversion to God and purification of the soul, which made the sinner into “a new man”. In this sense, each believer was a priest, for all had to be subject to the same process that transformed men into priests. This process of conversion and purification did not originate in the clergy or in any other human source but in God’s free mercy and grace. Only by letting the Spirit work unfettered, true faith in Christ could grow in the believer’s soul.⁴²

Wherever the priestly estate prevented the instilling of true faith and the purification of the soul, iniquity ruled supreme. Instead of turning towards God, the believers remained in the devil’s grasp and, like the clerics, became slaves to their own selfish wills. As Luther put it, in the genuine believer or “the new man”, faith in Christ generated love for one’s neighbour. In the absence of true faith, human beings are not guided towards love for one’s fellow human being and good works, but driven by base desires, love of the self, and indifference towards the other’s suffering. Thus, the Reformers saw an intimate relation between the false religion of the priests and societal problems such as the loose mores and general immorality of the masses.⁴³

Thirdly, the Reformation connected idolatry and immorality to the sacred hierarchy and its roots in the notion of vocation. In the Roman Catholic Church, “vocation” referred primarily to being called by God to follow “*the ecclesiastical profession of the evangelical counsels*”.⁴⁴ The Church maintained a distinction between “*the precepts of the Gospel, which are binding on all, and the counsels, which are the subject of the vocation of the comparatively few*”. Its theologians said that Christ had “*taught certain principles which He expressly stated were not to be considered as binding upon all, or as necessary conditions without which heaven could not be attained, but rather as counsels for those who desired to do more than the minimum and to aim at Christian perfection, so far as that can be obtained here upon earth*”.⁴⁵ These counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience covered only those who freely chose to become monks and priests and thus perform special works and gain spiritual merit.

This understanding of vocation buttressed a hierarchical ordering of society. Medieval and early modern European societies consisted of a large variety of groups, called “orders”

42 Martin LUTHER, *The Freedom of a Christian*, in: Timothy F. Lull (ed.), *Martin Luther’s Basic Theological Writings*, Minneapolis 1989, pp. 585-629.

43 Steven OZMENT, *Protestants: The Birth of a Revolution*, New York 1992, pp. 75–76; Gustaf WINGREN, *The Christian’s Calling: Luther on Vocation*, Edinburgh – London 1957, pp. 37–50.

44 Arthur VERMEERSCH, *Ecclesiastical and Religious Vocation*, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15, New York 1912, pp. 498–501.

45 Arthur BARNES, *Evangelical Counsels*, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, New York 1908, pp. 435-436

or “estates”, made up of people with the same occupation, function, ethnic customs, or manners of life.⁴⁶ As Georges Duby has shown, from the eleventh century onwards, Catholic theologians began to argue that each functional order or occupation had its own duties and depended on the other, but that they should form one hierarchically ordered community with the clergy as the supreme estate. The classical scheme was tri-functional: the hierarchy of those who pray (*oratores*), those who fight (*bellatores*), and those who labour (*laboratores*) or the clerics, knights and rulers, and farmers and artisans. This normative theological model now had to be institutionalized in society.⁴⁷

Reformation theology undercut both the conception of an ecclesiastic vocation to be esteemed above all others and the accompanying model of a hierarchy of occupations or orders. The idea that one gained exceptional spiritual merit by following evangelical counsels presupposed that human works could contribute to salvation. But this was a false and evil idea, according to the Reformers, for it ascribed to human beings what belonged to the Sovereign Creator alone. No order of people had special spiritual merit. Therefore, trying to cast the relations among groups in society into the mould of a religiously sanctioned hierarchy was to abuse religion for worldly purposes. It was but an attempt of the clergy to pursue its material interests in the name of God.

Luther argued that truly good works flow only from faith, which could emerge in any occupation: “*The works of monks and priests, be they never so holy and arduous, differ no whit in the sight of God from the works of the rustic toiling in the field or the woman going about her household tasks, but ... all works are measured before Him by faith alone.*” Calvin also maintained that there is “*no employment so mean and sordid (provided we follow our vocation) as not to appear truly respectable, and be deemed highly important in the sight of God*”.⁴⁸ All believers were priests no matter what occupation they were called to. As Luther wrote in his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520):

“Therefore, just as those who are now called “spiritual”, that is, priests, bishops, or popes, are neither different from other Christians nor superior to them, except that they are charged with the administration of the word of God and the sacraments, which is their work and office, so it is with the temporal authorities. They bear the sword and rod in their hand to punish the wicked and

46 Peter BURKE, *The Language of Orders in Early Modern Europe*, in: M. L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders & Social Classes in Europe Since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification*, Abingdon – New York 2013, pp. 1–13; R. R. PALMER, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*, vol. 1: *The Challenge*, Princeton, NJ 1959, pp. 28–29.

47 Georges DUBY, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, Chicago 1980.

48 Cited in Robert S. MICHAELSEN, *Changes in the Puritan Concept of Calling or Vocation*, *The New England Quarterly* 26.3, 1953, p. 318. See G. WINGREN, *The Christian’s Calling* and Karlfried FROEHLICH, *Luther on Vocation*, *Lutheran Quarterly* 13, 1999, pp. 195–207.

*protect the good. A cobbler, a smith, a peasant – each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops. Further, everyone must benefit and serve every other by means of his own work or office so that in this way many kinds of work may be done for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community, just as all the members of the body serve one another [I Cor. 12:14–26].*⁴⁹

According to medieval Catholic theologians, the different orders depended on each other and each had to perform its duties for the welfare of a hierarchically ordered community, where the clergy played the topmost role of mediating the others to God. Now, each individual believer had to serve the community by means of his own work and office, all of which were equally valuable before God. We can serve God and our fellow men in any station, so long as we have experienced our calling. The Christian station is free and cannot be tied to any special orders, but is “*above all orders, in all orders, and through all orders*.”⁵⁰ Luther’s conception of vocation also implied a new understanding of the dignity and meaning of work:

*“The teacher has a vocation, the physician, the plumber, the farmer, the housewife, the maid who sweeps the room or washes the dishes ... This idea has the further advantage of giving a new dignity and meaning to work, of putting it in a new dimension and under new criteria, so that even those in the lowliest positions in the Church or the world can have a true sense of calling and worth.”*⁵¹

As Protestant theologians would later put it, every man had a personal or particular calling, which could be ordained and imposed on him by God in any office or station. Therefore, each should be free to follow this calling rather than bound by a “religious” hierarchy of occupations.⁵²

These three components of Protestant theology, we suggest, played a central role in the crystallization of the normative discourse on “the caste system”. They were reflected in the account about the Brahmin priesthood and its instituting of an immoral social structure, which rigidly links occupational status and other privileges to a caste’s location in the hierarchy. Yet, it is not as though every intellectual endorsing the normative discourse about caste and Hinduism has been a Protestant-Christian believer. How could they then reproduce a discourse built around a set of Protestant religious ideas, even when they did not endorse this religion and its doctrines?

49 Martin LUTHER, *Three Treatises*, Philadelphia 1970, p. 15.

50 G. WINGREN, *The Christian’s Calling*, pp. 11–12.

51 G. W. BROMILEY (1979–1988), *Vocation*, in: G. W. Bromiley (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Revised, vol. 4, Grand Rapids, p. 996.

52 R. S. MICHAELSEN, *Changes*, pp. 319–320.

The Norms of Caste

To account for this state of affairs, we will draw upon a hypothesis concerning the role played by Christianity in the shaping of the western intellectual world. Proposed by Balagangadhara, this hypothesis theorizes secularization as a process whereby recurring patterns in a religion's traditions of reasoning are secularized into the clusters of commonplace ideas that constitute the social theorizing of a culture or society. We use the term 'tropes' to refer to these recurring theological patterns and the term 'topoi' to refer to the clusters of commonplace ideas. Secularization then is the process whereby tropes originally embedded in a particular theological framework are transformed into topoi of a culture or society.

In a series of essays, our research group has shown how core conceptual structures of modern European thinking about human culture and society emerged from this process of secularization. The dominant western descriptions of India crystallized around topoi inherited from the Reformation's theological reflections. But the same also goes for the general theorizing about the nature and origins of social, political, and religious institutions. The topoi could either function as heuristics for developing new speculations about human society in general or they served as conceptual building blocks for the descriptions of particular societies.⁵³

Importantly, such topoi do not consist of isolated ideas but of clusters of interlinked ideas. This has a major consequence: more often than not, one cannot understand one set of ideas without drawing on other related sets of ideas. Because of this, topoi often continue to depend in some way or the other on the theological concepts and patterns of reasoning from which they emerged. Accordingly as these conceptual patterns remain present in the background of a culture's intellectual world, they continue to give coherence to the 'secular' clusters of ideas and provide significance to the underlying concerns and questions.

As a final step in our attempt to throw new light onto the currently dominant discourse about Hinduism and the caste system, we shall briefly trace some of the topoi located at its heart. Reconsider our earlier questions: How could the connection between the Hindu religion and the caste system become a bone of contention in the absence of any conceptual apparatus to establish the existence of this connection? Given this

53 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *On the Dark Side of 'the Secular'*, pp. 33–52; J. DE ROOVER, *Incurably Religious?*, pp. 5–32; Jakob DE ROOVER – S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *John Locke, Christian Liberty, and the Predicament of Liberal Toleration*, *Political Theory* 36.4, 2008, pp. 523–549; Jakob DE ROOVER – Sarah CLAERHOUT – S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Liberal Political Theory and the Cultural Migration of Ideas: The Case of Secularism in India*, *Political Theory* 39.5, 2011, pp. 571–599.

conceptual lacuna, what made this issue so decisive in forming a moral judgement about Hinduism?

In the process of secularization, generations of European thinkers translated the common patterns of the Protestant theology of false religion into basic clusters of ideas about the relationship between religion and society. When educated Europeans travelled to other parts of the world and tried to make sense of these alien societies, they drew upon this body of ideas circulating in the intellectual circles of the home continent. We can now return to what we hypothesize is the decisive moment in the emergence of the modern critique of “the caste system”. It appears that once the conclusion crystallized that caste was founded in false religion, European accounts of Indian society were re-organized around a specific set of normative ideas popular in Europe at the time.

Take the stories about the Brahmin priesthood. Orientalists and missionaries agreed that the Brahmins had falsely represented a social hierarchy as sacred and divine. For those with a Protestant background, this illustrated how crafty priests had usurped the authority to mediate the believers to God and invented doctrines and rites to keep the populace in check, much as had happened in the medieval ecclesiastic hierarchy. For Catholics, it proved how the priests of false religion were unlike the truly spiritual priesthood of the Church. For many Enlightenment thinkers, it confirmed how all forms of “organized religion” revolved around despotic figures that built religiously sanctioned socio-political structures in order to obtain and retain the worldly power they craved so much.⁵⁴

Generally, these authors conceptualized the relationship between Hinduism and caste in terms of Christian ideas about the priesthood and its authority. Their claims about the religious foundation of caste reproduced earlier theological attacks on the Church’s attempt to fix a societal hierarchy in Europe. In India, European commentators assumed, the local religion and its clerical estate must have performed some similar role in constituting the hierarchical structure of society. The priesthood had made the caste system into a normative model of obligations and principles, which allegedly had divine sanction. In his remarks on the effects of caste, William Ward wrote that “*the founders of this system must have been men who designed to deify themselves*”:

“... [I]t could only spring from a number of proud ascetics, who, however, were far from being sincere in their rejection of secular affairs, as they secured to their own order all the wealth and honours of the country, together with the service of the other three orders. Agreeably to this plan, the persons of the first order were to be worshipped as gods; all the duties of the second concentrated in this, they were to protect the bramhūns; the third was to acquire wealth for them, and the fourth

54 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Heathen in His Blindness*, pp. 65–95.

to perform their menial service: the rules for these orders were so fixed, that though the higher orders might sink into the lower, the latter could never rise, except in another birth.”

The distinctions of rank in Europe, Ward continued, are founded upon civic merit or learning and answer very important ends in the social union. In contrast, the institution of caste had been one of the greatest scourges of society:

“It is the formation of artificial orders, independently of merit or demerit, dooming nine tenths of the people, even before birth, to a state of mental and bodily degradation, in which they are for ever shut out from all the learning and honours of the country.”⁵⁵

This normative conception of “the caste system” mirrored the Reformation critique of the medieval hierarchy of orders in Europe. Protestants had charged the Catholic clergy with enslaving the other functional orders by presenting its “divine hierarchy” as a set of obligations imposed by God’s will on the Christian believer. Thus, Ward’s hypothesis about “a number of proud ascetics” drew from this understanding of the Catholic clergy, which ‘falsely’ claimed a special spiritual status and authority based on its asceticism. Both Protestant and Enlightenment thinkers rejected the Church’s hierarchical order as an illegitimate straitjacket that prevented the large majority of the population from rising in society regardless of merit. Now, this was transposed to the criticism of “the Hindu system” and its supposed stranglehold on societal relations.

Generally, the view that caste was founded in false religion went together with a picture of Hinduism as a restrictive religion of rules and rites presented as the revelation of the divine will. To find out to which particular set of rules the Hindus attributed a divine origin and religious sanction, one had to turn to their sacred scriptures and law books. By translating texts like the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, the Orientalists believed they were disclosing the “*Institutes of Hindu Law*”.⁵⁶

The structure that defined Hindu society had now been discovered, or so the orientalist and their readers in Europe believed. When they translated more Sanskrit texts, they integrated the appropriate excerpts into the basic pattern attributed to this caste system. For instance, the *Puruṣa-sūkta* hymn from the Rigveda – which recounts

55 W. WARD, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, pp. 143–144; see also F. M. MÜLLER, *Chips*, pp. 343–344.

56 ANONYMOUS, *The History of British India*, in: *The Asiatic Annual Register... For the Year 1799*, London 1800, pp. 5–6; R. CHATFIELD, *An Historical Review*, p. 211; Sir William JONES, *Institutes of Hindu Law or, the Ordinances of Menu* (1796), in: Michael J. Franklin (ed.), *Representing India: Indian Culture and Imperial Control in Eighteenth-Century British Orientalist Discourse*, vol. 9, London – New York 2000, pp. iii–iv; Luke SCRAFTON, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan and A short Sketch of the History of Bengal*, Edinburgh 1761, p. 4.

how the four *varṇas* emerged from different body parts of the cosmic being during its sacrifice – counted as “the creation myth” behind the caste hierarchy. Scholars also interpreted the empirical observations reported by colonial officials and travellers in these terms. They filtered out certain practices and customs and conceptualized these so as to fit them into the descriptive framework. Thus, over time, a large variety of facts and textual passages began to serve as confirmations of the existence of an evil caste system rooted in religion.

Whenever practices came to the surface that did not fit into the model of the caste system, the dominant framework could easily explain these away. The fact that many Hindus did not act according to the so-called “rules of the caste system” merely proved their immorality. From this perspective, the Hindus were triply immoral: they violate the moral laws of God’s revealed will, such as the equality of all believers before God; they dishonour God by following the immoral rules of the caste hierarchy as though these are of divine origin; they keep violating even these rules because of their moral laxity. Generally, European observers did not perceive the conflicts between their account of the caste system and their empirical findings as problematic. They understood them as inconsistencies between the rules of the Hindu religion and the actual behaviour of the Hindus, attributed to the latter’s iniquity. This shows how normative the conception of caste had become and how it could accommodate any fact by re-describing it in moral terms.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Today, the conviction that Hinduism sustains the caste hierarchy continues to generate strong moral judgements about Indian culture. From the local newspaper to the international journal, from the UN conference to the NGO pamphlet, all agree that Hindu society is suffused with immorality and injustice. They argue that it denies “the dignity of labour” and prevents people from choosing their own profession. These commentators ignore the fact that both their descriptions of “the facts” and their normative judgements rely on a background cluster of ideas deeply rooted in Christian doctrine.

By conceptualizing caste as an institution founded in false religion, the Protestant Reformation established our current notion of “the caste system” as an immoral social institution rooted in Hindu religion. The dynamic of secularization discarded the condemnation of Hinduism as “false religion” but kept intact most of the moral ideas

57 W. Ward’s *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos* (1822) is an illustrative example, see especially pp. 65–92, 145–154, 288–289.

involved in this judgement. The contemporary discourse about Indian society may no longer say explicitly that the caste system is an invention of the devil and his priests, which institutes morally corrupt practices and principles. Yet, it does reproduce this conceptual structure by endlessly implying that the caste system perversely prescribes immoral principles in the name of morality – that it compels the Hindus to discriminate, dehumanize, and deny the dignity of their fellow human beings as though such acts constitute their moral duties.⁵⁸

Drawing on Balagangadhara's ideas, our hypothesis is that the components of the contemporary conception of "the caste system" derive from clusters of ideas inherited from the Reformation and its theological reflections on the relation between religion and social order. Protestant concepts and moral judgements entered the intellectual world of early modern Europe and circulated there as commonplaces soon considered self-evident. These conceptual clusters gave shape to the European observations about caste in India. The resulting conceptions of "Hinduism" and "the caste system" did not disappear when the social sciences developed but instead live on to this day. This indicates that the same topoi continue to constrain our contemporary reasoning about religion and society.

That is why the question as to the connection between religion and caste is still alive today. From the sixteenth century onwards, this framework of topoi drew a series of links between certain practices, texts, Brahmins, temples, stories, and other phenomena. Western scholars found it evident that these connections existed and together constituted a coherent social system sanctioned by religion. In reality, the connections they established existed only in their experiential and intellectual world. There, they resulted in a conceptual pattern and experiential entity built around clusters of secularized theological ideas: the modern conception of the caste system. It is only against this background that the question as to the connection between religion and caste is a significant one. It is only in this context that the correct reply is of supreme import to the moral status of Hinduism. Some authors continued to challenge the idea that caste was religious. However, they could now do so only by throwing doubt on certain dimensions of the normative conception of the caste system; the belief that such a system existed in Indian society had been placed beyond all doubt.

This article leaves many questions unanswered. Why did Indian intellectuals adopt the normative conception of the caste system, if it embodies clusters of topoi inherited from Christian-theological reflection? In the twenty-first century, the Indian secularists or self-styled "progressive" intellectuals count as the most vociferous critics of caste and

58 See S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, pp. 102–111.

Hinduism, with a passion perhaps matched only by American evangelical missionaries. But how could they come to embrace a story that presupposes a series of culture-specific ideas of the modern West, which in turn derive from the secularization of Protestant doctrines?

Another set of questions emerges when we explore the suggestion that the modern conception of “the caste system” mirrors internal developments of Western culture. Is the European understanding of caste in India an oblique reflection upon the process whereby the Christian religion shaped the social structures of modern Europe? Did the orientalist accounts indirectly reveal a genuine understanding of how religion had re-structured social life in western culture? If this is the case, a closer examination of the emergence of the conception of “the caste system” would produce insights into the mechanisms whereby religion structured the class society of the western world.

In one sense, then, the debate about the caste connection should come to an end. From the perspective of India studies, it brings no insights into the societal problems of the Subcontinent. It is only for the theologian and the missionary that this issue remains important; it is only they who possess the conceptual apparatus required to address this issue. In another sense, the debate should continue. In the study of Western culture, it may provide us with an access point to uncover the relation between the Christian religion and the crystallization of a culture-specific social system. In that case, examining the historical accounts of the connection between Hinduism and caste will increase and improve our understanding of European society and its cultural constraints.

Resumé

Propojení kast s náboženstvím: o posvátných základech společenské hierarchie

V dnešní době někteří komentátoři prohlašují, že indický kastovní systém vychází z hinduismu, jiní to však odmítají. V tomto článku autoři rozvíjejí argumentaci ve prospěch tvrzení, že na tuto otázku dnes nemůžeme dost dobře odpovědět. Důvodem je pro ně absence vhodného konceptuálního aparátu. Tento problém byl totiž původně formulován a také vyřešen v křesťanském teologickém kontextu. Evropský koncept "kastovního systému" jako

nemorální sociální hierarchie byl vytvořen vlivem sekularizace protestantského pojetí falešného náboženství. Základní teologické myšlenky o propojení falešné víry a společenských praktik se tehdy transformovaly v topoi teoretizování o společnosti, které v západní kulturní zkušenosti ustavilo kastovní systém jako zkušenostní entitu a konceptuální jednotku vnímání Indie.

Dunkin JALKI – Sufiya PATHAN

On the Difficulty of Refuting or Confirming the Arguments about the Caste System

Abstract: Any attempt to understand Indian society through the scholarship on caste confronts us with a large number of problems. Scholars of the last 150 years have routinely observed and even criticised writings on caste for these problems. Such criticisms, however, have neither led us towards a confirmation nor the abandonment of the so-called caste theories. How do we explain this curious fact? Caste scholars hold the complexity of the issue as responsible for the lack of a robust theory of the caste system. Hence, they set out to collect more facts in order to buttress the theory. More facts, however, create more problems.

It is not only the quest for more data, which is expected to save the 'theories' of the caste system, but also a struggle to match the thus collected field data with the claims about the caste system that unites the colonial and modern writers on the caste system. This paper suggests that the failure of caste scholars to account for field data is not a result of the complexity of the field, but rather an outcome of the kind of entity that the 'caste system' is. The so-called caste system is an experiential entity of the West, which can neither be confirmed nor refuted by using empirical facts from India. Any attempt to do so will only generate unproductive debates.

Key words: caste system – endogamy – orientalism – anti-clerical – Christianity

It is generally agreed today that study of caste – more in the line of what can be called an academic or social-scientific study of caste – was inaugurated by Orientalist translations of important Hindu texts, such as the 1798 translation of the Manudharma Shastra by William Jones, which described a divinely ordained rigid system of hierarchy with Brahmins at the top and Shudras at the bottom. As the narrative goes, till about the mid-19th-century it was this 'textual'¹ approach to the study of caste that held sway.

1 Nicholas DIRKS first proposed this description of caste studies as moving from the Orientalist 'textual' approach to the colonial ethnographic 'empiricist' approach in his article *Castes of Mind, Representations* 37, 1992, pp. 56–78.

Arguments about caste were purportedly stable at this time.² There was a consensus on many aspects of this “monstrous” system. For instance, even the two debating factions of Orientalists and Anglicists had no problem accepting that India’s culture was corrupt and it was because of the Brahmans and their caste system.³ However, an important shift in the study of the caste system occurred in the middle of the 19th-century. This shift, which can be called an ‘empirical turn’⁴ in the study of caste, subsequently became the cornerstone for the sociological study of caste in India. As Dirks, a scholar known for his focus on this empirical turn, among others,⁵ notes:

*“One of the first general compilations of material on caste was assembled by the Rev. M. A. Sherring, who in 1872 published his influential three-volume work, Hindu Tribes and Castes. [...] But unlike earlier colonial works that relied on textual varna categories as a general guide about Indian society and then turned to historical modes of investigation, Sherring used these categories to frame an empirical study of Indian society.... Gone is the ubiquitous reliance on Manu; orientalism has become empiricist rather than textual.... Collection of the kind of empirical information assembled by Sherring, and sharing the increasing formalization of his information, soon became the centre-piece of an official colonial sociology of knowledge.”*⁶

The new approach to studying caste confronted scholars with a whole new problem. Instead of naming or defining this problem, let us try to understand it within the context where it emerged. Several scholars have noted that the beginning of the census in India in 1871 became an important starting point for a problem that caste studies would face when taken to the field. Henry Waterfield, in his Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871–1872, observed that the data collected from the field by colonial administrators and writers was immensely complex and gave a varied picture of the caste groups.

“Great pains have been taken by the writers of the several reports in the classification of the population according to caste. The result, however, is not satisfactory, owing partly to the intrinsic

2 Nathaniel ROBERTS, *Caste, Anthropology of*, in: William S. Darity (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York 2008, pp. 461–463.

3 Raf GELDERS and Willem DERDE, *Mantras of Anti-Brahmanism: Colonial Experience of Indian Intellectuals*, *Economic and Political Weekly* 38.43, 2003, pp. 4611–4617.

4 Dirks called it the ‘new empiricism’. N. DIRKS, *Castes of Mind*, p. 67.

5 Bernard COHN, *The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia*, in: *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*, New Delhi 1987, pp. 224–254; Ronald INDEN, *Orientalist Constructions of India*, *Modern Asian Studies* 20.3, 1986, pp. 401–446; Frank de ZWART, *The Logic of Affirmative Action: Caste, Class and Quotas in India*, *Acta Sociologica* 43.3, 2000, pp. 235–249.

6 N. DIRKS, *Castes of Mind*, pp. 66–67. It is worth noting here that what ends with this ‘empirical turn’ is the “ubiquitous reliance” on texts like Manusmriti. For a useful analysis of the continued uses of this text, well into the 20th-century, see the essays in Kumkum SANGARI – Sudesh VAID (eds.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, New Delhi 1989.

*difficulties of the subject, and partly to the absence of a uniform plan of classification, each writer adopting that which seemed to him best suited for the purpose [...].*⁷

Or, as an anonymous reviewer of Elphinstone's *The History of India* (1841) noted, “*more intimately we study its [the caste system's] genius and the laws to which it was submitted, [it] becomes a still more curious and inexplicable problem*”.⁸ Thus began the frustration that bogs caste studies till today: it is a problem of a disjunction between the large claims about the caste system (based on the varna model of the society) and the empirical data about caste. How does one account for the caste data obtained from the field? The colonial officials collecting data in 1871 used a variety of different classifications based on occupations, nationality and race, besides the classical *varna* model. The allowance for a multiplicity of classificatory systems was seen as necessary since the four-fold varna system that the textual caste studies had fore-grounded simply did not yield empirically verifiable results.

*“As per the new norms, the varna model was put through the empirical test, and rejected. Society was populated not only with brahmins, kshatriyas, vaishyas and shudras. Simultaneously, the questioning of the credibility of the propagator of this model – Manu – started. Let me cite here some of the officers associated with the census of different provinces in 1872. Referring to the ‘Code of Menu and some of the Puranas [that] profess to give an account of the institution of castes’, Cornish, who supervised operations in the Madras Presidency, commented: ‘It is plain that in a critical inquiry regarding the origin of caste we can place no reliance upon the statements made in the Hindu sacred writings. Whether there was ever a period in which the Hindus were composed of four classes is exceedingly doubtful.’ Similarly C F Magrath, the officer entrusted with the compilation of castes from Bihar, stated, ‘it was necessary, if the classification was to be of any use, that the now meaningless division into the four castes alleged to have been made by Manu should be put aside...’”*⁹

Today, we tend to map this entire development as ‘starting troubles’ of some kind. It is assumed that late-19th-century scholars found it difficult to correlate the empirical data with the classical conception of the caste system (CCC, or the four Varna model) since, among other things, the ‘field’ was much more complex than the classical theory had predicted or presumed. This struggle of the colonial scholars, which is well documented

7 Henry WATERFIELD, *Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871–72*, 1875, p. Sec. “Nationality, language and caste”. Available at URL: <www.payer.de/quellenkunde/quellen1601.htm> [cit. 2014–10–14].

8 *Art. IV-The History of India. By the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. 2 vols. London, 1841*, in: *The London Quarterly Review*, New York 1841, p. 381.

9 Padmanabh SAMARENDRA, *Census in Colonial India and the Birth of Caste*, *Economic and Political Weekly* 46.33, 2011, p. 54.

today,¹⁰ generated one of the most persistent axioms about the caste system that scholars have reiterated for over a century now: ‘the caste system is extremely complex’. As B. R. Ambedkar notes at the beginning of the 20th-century, “*I need hardly remind you of the complexity of the Subject [of the caste system] [...]. Subtler minds and abler pens than mine have been brought to the task of unravelling the mysteries of Castes; unfortunately it still remains in the domain of the ‘unexplained,’ not to say of the ‘ununderstood.’*” And then he adds, “*I am not so pessimistic as to relegate it to the region of the unknowable, for I believe it can be known.*”¹¹

One may allow such a characterisation of the problem on one condition, that field investigations since the 19th-century have led to revisions in the CCC that have greatly reduced the number of problems in the argument, and today we are, at least, close to having a more robust account of the caste system. However, the writings on the caste system tell us a different story. While the missionaries had some consensus about the four-varna model of the caste society at the beginning of the 19th-century, colonial administrators and scholars did not continue to share in that consensus once the empirical studies began. Today, there is hardly any consensus on the any of the basic aspects the caste system. For instance, we cannot point out in any precise terms the progress we have made in the last 150 years with regard to our understanding of, say, any property of the caste system.¹² Is endogamy, that is a marriage within one’s own caste as required by

10 See, for e.g. Sekhar BANDYOPADHYAY, *Caste, Culture, and Hegemony: Social Domination in Colonial Bengal*, New Delhi 2004; Susan BAYLY, *Caste and “Race” in the Colonial Ethnography of India*, in: P. Robb (ed.), *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, Delhi 1995, pp. 164–218; N. DIRKS, *Castes of Mind*; P. SAMARENDRA, *Census in Colonial India and the Birth of Caste*; Lata MANI, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India*, New Delhi 1989; Padmanabh SAMARENDRA, *Classifying Caste: Census Surveys in India in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 26.2, 2003, pp. 141–164.

11 B. R. AMBEDKAR, *Castes in India: Their Mechanism Genesis and Development*, Jullundur 1916, p. 2.

12 Interestingly, ‘serious scholarly’ works on the caste system, in the last 50 to 60 years have stopped talking about the properties of the caste system in precise terms. (cf. Satish DESHPANDE, *Contemporary India: A Sociological View*, New Delhi 2003, p. 105.) For such properties, one has to either refer to early 20th-century scholars’ work (like, G. S. GHURYE, *Caste and Race in India*, Bombay 1969) or infer those properties from the works of the later scholars. A search online for “major properties of the caste system”, however, brings out various websites that seek to explain the essential or main characteristics of the caste system. They commonly mention marriage restrictions, hierarchy and atrocities of various kinds as some of the most important characteristics of the caste system. Here are some of those webpages: URL: <www.preservearticles.com/201105076399/6-most-essential-characteristics-of-caste.html>; URL: <<http://agriinfo.in/?page=topic&superid=7&topicid=599>>; URL: <<http://seekingbegumpura.wordpress.com/2013/03/29/characteristics-of-contemporary-caste-system-dr-bharat-patankar/>>; URL: <www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/Sociology/notes/caste-system.html>; URL: <www.sociologydiscussion.com/essay/essay-on-caste-caste-system-found-in-india/2358>. These and all other online documents and webpages cited in the essay were last accessed in October 2014.

custom, for example, a characteristic property of caste groups? Is hierarchy a necessary property of the caste system? That is, can there be a caste system based on heterarchy, instead of hierarchy? Are atrocities and violence a property of the caste system or its consequence? Is violence a necessary outcome of the caste system or a mere historical accident? There is no consensus on such issues among scholars.

What we want to point out here is this: notwithstanding the unmistakable fissure between the field data and the long held caste model of Indian society, one can also see an unmistakable continuity between the two. That is, the conviction that an immoral and inherently unjust caste system exists in India seems to have harmoniously co-existed, right from the beginning, with the growing disagreements and confusions that the ethnographic field data generated. This situation needs a better understanding. What has remained unchanged and what has changed in the discourse on caste? Scholars have routinely pointed out several confusions, unsupported assumptions, lack of consensus and inability to match ethnographic findings with the claims about the caste system in the modern (more specifically, post-19th-century) research on caste, including in their own works.¹³ In this sense, the empirical data related to Indian caste practices, uncovered since the days of the ‘empirical turn’ has, in fact, become a liability to the caste scholarship rather than (empirically) strengthening it. Yet, scholars have dealt with these challenges by generating more and more ad hoc theories to accommodate the exceptions. However, while doing, so they have never actually questioned the validity of the classical theory of the caste system. This essay intends to reflect on why this is the case.

13 For some prominent and recent examples, see: F. de ZWART, *The Logic of Affirmative Action*; S. DESHPANDE, *Contemporary India*, Chap. 5; S. BAYLY, *Caste, Society and Politics in India*; John E. CORT, *Jains, Caste and Hierarchy in North Gujarat*, in: Dipankar Gupta (ed.), *Caste in Question: Identity or Hierarchy*, New Delhi 2004, pp. 73–112; I. P. DESAI, *Should “Caste” Be the Basis for Recognising Backwardness?*, *Economic and Political Weekly* 19.28, 1984, pp. 1106–1116; Morton K. LASS, *Caste: The Emergence of the South Asian Social System*, Philadelphia 1980, pp. 2, 20; Adrian C. MAYER, *Caste: II. The Indian Caste System*, Detroit 1968; Declan QUIGLEY, *The Interpretation of Caste*, Oxford 1993, pp. 1–2; Peter ROBB, *A History of India*, Houndmills 2002, p. 17; Brian K. SMITH, *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste*, New York 1994, p. 315; R. L. STIRRAT, *Caste Conundrums: Views of Caste in a Sinhalese Catholic Fishing Village*, in: Dennis B. McGillivray (ed.), *Caste Ideology and Interaction*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 8–33; Melita WALIGORA, *What is Your “Caste”? The Classification of Indian Society as Part of the British Civilizing Mission*, in: Harald Fischer-Tine – Michael Mann (eds.), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London 2004, pp. 141–164.

The Classical Conception of the Caste System

A lack of consensus among caste scholars on the basics of the caste system, which gets further complicated by the claims that the various principles and properties attributed to the caste system are not completely applicable to the way people live,¹⁴ threatens the very possibility of having any serious and meaningful discussion on any aspect of the caste system. For, it makes the caste system so nebulous an entity that no finding can contradict or confirm it. A way out of this impasse, that this paper adopts, is to look for the majority opinion on the issues or aspects of the caste system. And we suggest that there is a minimum consensus on a textbook version of the story about the caste system which allows scholars to continue their research without questioning its existence. While we are speaking about a textbook story, consider how the current NCERT textbooks for the CBSE classes in India talk about caste. The Social Science textbook for the Class 10 on “*Democratic Politics*” says, “*caste division is special to India. All societies have some kind of social inequality and some form of division of labour. In most societies, occupations are passed on from one generation to another. Caste system is an extreme form of this. What makes it different from other societies is that in this system, hereditary occupational division was sanctioned by rituals. Members of the same caste group were supposed to form a social community that practiced the same or similar occupation, married within the caste group and did not eat with members from other caste groups. Caste system was based on exclusion of and discrimination against the ‘outcaste’ groups. They were subjected to the inhuman practice of untouchability.*”¹⁵

That is, in short, the caste system rests on the following four principles: (a) occupational division, sanctioned by rituals (read Hinduism), (b) hereditary membership, (c) endogamy, and (d) exclusion of and discrimination against the ‘outcaste’ groups (which includes commensality and ‘untouchability’). In spite of the major shift in the caste studies in the 19th-century, which we discussed earlier, the core conception of the varna or the caste model of Indian society has retained many of these elements over the years. It is this basic notion of the caste system that we call in this paper the Classical Conception of the Caste System (CCC). Not many ‘serious scholars’ working on caste today may talk about the caste system so bluntly. Nevertheless, we submit, the CCC is present in all discussions on caste in various different ways. Two of them are important. First, it often takes the form of a tacit assumption in most of the works on caste issues. Second, it is presented as the ‘textual’ or ‘ideal’ version of the caste system. It is this textual or ideal notion of

14 N. ROBERTS, *Caste, Anthropology of*; S. BAYLY, *Caste, Society and Politics in India*, p. 25; P. ROBB, *A History of India*, p. 17.

15 *Democratic Politics*, p. 49. The Textbook is available at URL: <<http://ncertbooks.prashanthellina.com/>>.

the caste system, which was taken to the field in the 19th-century. The field work data did not corroborate the CCC. The disjunction between the CCC and the field data was routinely observed and critiqued. However, we can see another curious development in the works produced in the last five to six decades. Caste scholarship has in this period even moved away from accepting this disjunction as a problem. The disjunction is now presented as a unique feature of the caste system.

Endogamy and the Caste System

In this and the next section, we will analyse the debates on the caste system from two levels to further understand this disjunction between empirical data and the CCC. We will begin with a macro level analysis of debates on one of those aspects or principles held central to the existence of the caste system by a majority of scholars: endogamy. This will be followed by a micro level analysis of the work of an important writer on caste issues in the recent past: Declan Quigley.

As per the popular consensus among scholars, endogamy is an important characteristic of the caste system.¹⁶ Sometimes it is treated as a *characteristic property* of the caste system, or as an essential or fundamental property.¹⁷ Endogamy, thus, distinguishes caste from other types of social groups, like class and tribes.¹⁸ According to B. R. Ambedkar, endogamy is “*the only*” characteristic “*that can be called the essence of Caste*”, and which “*is peculiar to caste*”.¹⁹ If it is not “*the basis of a caste system*”, says Schwartz, it is at least “*one of the necessary factors for the existence and perpetuation of caste*”.²⁰

Whether we take endogamy as a necessary factor for the very existence of the caste system or merely as one of its properties, we face several empirical problems when one puts it to use. A discussion on endogamy needs clarity regarding what an appropriate

16 S. BANDYOPADHYAY, *Caste, Culture, and Hegemony*, p. 113; Louis DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus*, New Delhi 1988, p. 109; Noel P. GIST, *Caste in Transition: South India*, Phylon (1940–1956) 15.2, 1954, pp. 155–164; E. R. LEACH (ed.), *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*, Cambridge 1960; Declan QUIGLEY, *Is a Theory of Caste still Possible?*, *Social Evolution & History* 1.1, 2002, pp. 140–170; James M. SEBRING, *The Formation of New Castes: A Probable Case from North India*, *American Anthropologist* 74.3, 1972, pp. 587–600; Annapurna WAUGHRAJ, *Caste Discrimination: A Twenty-First Century Challenge for UK Discrimination Law?*, *The Modern Law Review* 72.2, 2009, pp. 182–219.

17 Gerald D. BERREMAN, *Race, Caste, and Other Invidious Distinctions in Social Stratification*, *Race & Class* 13.4, 1972, pp. 385–414.

18 L. DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus*, p. 112.

19 B. R. AMBEDKAR, *Castes in India*, p. 7.

20 Barton M. SCHWARTZ, *Caste and Endogamy in Trinidad*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 20.1, 1964, p. 58. This article also gives an over view of similar arguments about caste endogamy.

unit of caste is, such that it can be defined as a custom that enjoins one to marry within one's own caste. However, as Klass notes, "*there has always been disagreement [...] [about] [w]hat exactly are the 'units' or 'groups' which, taken together, comprise the system?*"²¹ Caste scholars who go to the field invariably confront this problem. They begin with the assumption that endogamy is a property of caste, only to discover that castes are not essentially in-marrying groups.²²

Let us explain the problem with the help of Dr. A. Shanmukha's observations from the field from Karnataka, South India. There are *jatis* like Kurubas and Nayakas²³ in Karnataka, which are said to have many 'sub-castes'. Among Kurubas, there are Halu Kuruba, Jenu Kuruba, Sanna Kuruba, Dodda Kuruba, Kadu Kuruba and so on. And among Nayakas, there are Myasa Nayaka, Valmiki Nayaka, Beda Nayaka, Uru Nayaka, and so on. In no case do we find that one 'sub-caste' of Kuruba is allowed to marry with another sub-caste of Kuruba, and the same applies to the Nayaka as well. In other words, Kadu Kurubas and Jenu Kurubas do not inter-marry, and Myasa Nayakas and Uru Nayakas do not inter-marry. Now, if you say that a caste is an in-marrying group, which unit is caste here: Kuruba or Kadu Kuruba, Nayaka or Myasa Nayaka?²⁴

This is quite a significant impediment for caste scholars. As Dr. Shanmukha further points out, if one were to say that caste is an in-marrying group, we have to conclusively point out which one of the following is a caste group: Kuruba or Kadu Kuruba, Nayaka or Myasa Nayaka? That is, what is the primary unit of the caste: a caste or a sub-caste? If endogamy is a salient feature of caste, then those in-marrying groups like Kadu Kuruba and Myasa Nayaka should be considered castes and not sub-castes. And caste scholars have indeed offered this as a solution. According to G. S. Ghurye, "*to get a sociologically correct idea of the institution [of caste], we should recognize subcastes as real castes*"²⁵ This, however, does not solve the problem. If sub-castes are 'real castes', what do we make of

21 M. KLASS, *Caste*, p. 89.

22 L. DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus*, p. 61.

23 Kuruba and Nayaka are two important caste communities in Karnataka (South India). Kurubas are traditionally a shepherding community, and are the third largest caste group in Karnataka. Nayakas are traditionally a hunting caste. The former are recognised as 'Other Backward Classes' and the latter as 'Scheduled Tribe' by the state government of Karnataka. Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) are categories of groups that the Constitution of India recognises as communities that are historically most disadvantaged, both socially and educationally. The government of India strives to ensure their social and educational development through Affirmative action in the form of reservations or quotas in education and employment.

24 Dr. Shanmukha's original post is available here: URL: <<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/TheHeathen-InHisBlindness/message/2994>>. The text cited here has been re-rendered into English from his yet to be published monograph.

25 Cited in Adrian C. MAYER, *Caste and Kinship in Central India: A Village and its Region*, Berkeley 1966, p. 9; see also M. N. SRINIVAS, *Caste in Modern India: And Other Essays*, Bombay 1962, p. 2.

the castes, like Kuruba, Nayaka, Brahmins, Baniyas, Parihas, Yadav and so on, which are said to have innumerable inner-groups called sub-castes? Furthermore, if endogamy is taken to be a property of sub-castes, we need to clarify what binds several sub-castes into a whole called caste. What are the distinctive properties of castes and sub-castes, which will help us to identify them as two separate entities? A fact that Dumont had observed half a century ago, further complicates the situation: “*In practice, one often marries not throughout the whole range of the unit of endogamy but only into a part of it, often a territorial part.*”²⁶

As we can see, there is not even a basic consensus on any aspect of the caste system that missionaries and other writers over the ages have considered fundamental to the caste system. Perhaps, therefore, even though caste thinkers have been offering sub-caste as the ‘real’ unit of caste, they have rarely put this ‘insight’ into practice. That is, they have rarely used this ‘insight’ in actually understanding Indian society.²⁷

Dumont rightly admits that if we hold on to a simple idea “*that caste is characterized by the obligation to marry within the group, by endogamy*” then “*one would have to admit a large number of exceptions*”. He offers to save the argument by introducing “*two general principles*”: first, to see endogamy as “*a corollary of hierarchy, rather than a primary principle*”, and second, we take only the first and the community approved ‘legitimate’ marriage into account when viewing caste as an endogamous unit.²⁸ Whatever be the merit of these claims, in our case, Dumont’s proposal (the first principle) is tantamount to giving up the very question that we began with. In practical terms, Dumont merely replaces one basic property of the caste system (endogamy) with another one: hierarchy. In any case, in the classical conception of caste, the system is seen as hierarchical and, in addition, as endogamous. Dumont’s proposition to treat endogamy as an outcome of hierarchy goes no distance in solving the problem at hand.

Caste practices are so diverse and flexible that the current attempts to define them as one single entity (a system) that has properties like endogamy poses several problems. Consider the following practices that are not uncommon in India and challenge the CCC. There is “*a form of institutionalized intermarriage whereby the men of a higher caste-group may marry women of a lower group, but not vice versa. [...] Highly developed among the Rajputs and Rarhi Brahmans, it is practiced by many other castes as well.*”²⁹ The

26 L. DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus*, p. 113.

27 Cf. L. DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus*, pp. 61–64; M. KLASS, *Caste*, p. 92; A. C. MAYER, *Caste: II*; A. C. MAYER, *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, p. 20.

28 L. DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus*, pp. 109, 113.

29 Kingsley DAVIS, *Intermarriage in Caste Societies*, *American Anthropologist* (New Series) 43.3, 1941, p. 381.

picture gets even more complicated when one considers the role of the ‘gotra’ (roughly translated as lineage) in conjunction with caste. Let us explain with an example. Gotras play an important role in the selection of a bride among the Brahmins. Brahmins are an important caste group. Iyengar is an important Brahmin caste (or Brahmin sub-caste?), which is (further) divided into (sub-)sub-castes. Vadakalai and Thenkalai are two important Iyengar sub-castes. *Traditionally*, when a Vadakalai Brahmin goes in search of a bride, he is looking for a person who is (a) Brahmin, (b) Iyengar, (c) Vadakalai and (d) *who is not* from his own gotra. Hence, if we take the notion of endogamy as a fundamental property of the castes, Vadakalai is the only endogamous group. What do we make of ‘Iyengar’ and ‘Brahmin’ categories then? Furthermore, traditionally, not every Vadakalai will marry another Vadakalai, since in-gotra marriages are a taboo. That is to say, the Vadakalai sub-caste is simultaneously both exogamous and endogamous. An important caste thinker tackles this problem in the following way:

*“regarding the peoples of India the law of exogamy is a positive injunction even to-day. [...] Nothing is therefore more important for you to remember than the fact that endogamy is foreign to the people of India. The various Gotras of India are and have been exogamous, so are the other groups with totemic organization. It is no exaggeration to say that with the people of India exogamy is a creed and none dare infringe it, so much so that, in spite of the endogamy of the Castes within them [,] exogamy is strictly observed and that there are more rigorous penalties for violating exogamy than [there] are for violating endogamy.”*³⁰

The caste system, thus, has both endogamy and exogamy. Yet, the author claims that the prohibition of intermarriage among castes, endogamy that is, “*is the only one that can be called the essence of caste when rightly understood*”. What is this right way of understanding endogamy then? The right way, says Ambedkar, is to see caste as a system where endogamy is superposed on exogamy. That is to say, “*in an originally exogamous population [which India was] an easy working out of endogamy*” is “*equivalent to the creation of Caste. [...] Thus the Superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste*”.³¹ In simple terms, the argument here is that in an originally exogamous Indian culture, artificial divisions were drawn and endogamous units were created. These endogamous units are further divided into smaller exogamous sub-units. Ambedkar does not explain what to make of this claim in practical terms. It remains a fictitious claim about the pre-historical past of India.

However, this vague claim about Indian society offers to solve many a problem in one stroke. The problems created by the anomalous observations on the field are now made

30 B. R. AMBEDKAR, *Castes in India*, pp. 8–9.

31 *Ibidem*, pp. 7, 9.

characteristic of Indian society itself: Indian society has both endogamy and exogamy. And what made this remarkable grafting of endogamy within an exogamous society possible?: “*This isolation among the classes is the work of Brahmanism. The principal steps taken by it were to abrogate the system of intermarriage and interdining that was prevalent among the four Varnas in olden times.*”³² That is, in the absence of proper historical data, such issues are resolved simply by attributing immoral intentions to Brahmins. The supposed antiquity of the process precludes it from any historical investigation. As Samarendra points out, this is how the European writers, in general, used to solve problems in their argument. When difficult questions arose about their characterisation of Indians, the European scholars would give up their historical and factual arguments and recede “*into the background and the distinctiveness of the ‘Oriental’ character.*”³³

There is another way of wriggling out of such problems. That is to deny that we can talk about caste in terms of properties that remain stable or essential to its very existence over the years. Here is a recent article on caste endogamy that begins with the assumption that the “*principle of endogamy is no doubt an important ideal in a caste society*”. However, “*a look at the [data about the] number of inter-caste, inter-religious marriages in urban India forces one [the author] to wonder why some violations of rules of marriage are tolerated and some are not*”. If some rules of marriage are tolerated and some are not, it is more rational that we question whether a ‘rule of marriage’ called endogamy is constitutive of the caste system as it is supposed to be. However, this author does not question her strong belief that there is this caste system and endogamy is central to it. Instead, she produces a much-contrived defence by proposing that we should focus on “*two features of endogamy. The first is that the prescribed or acceptable circle of endogamy shifts over time and context, as does also the rationale for endogamy. The second, linked to this, is that while endogamy is and has been enforced often through violence, or the threat of violence or excommunication, this enforcement has also shifted with time and context.*”³⁴

As noted earlier, the problems raised by the field observations that contradict the CCC are now made characteristic of Indian society itself. It is a ‘feature’ of endogamy that it changes in such a way that it is both a property of the caste system and yet we cannot speak about it thus. According to the author, the ‘circle’ of endogamy, its rationale and the methods of enforcing it has changed over ‘time’ and ‘context’. (a) The ‘circle’

32 B. R. AMBEDKAR, *The Triumph of Brahmanism: Regicide or the birth of Counter-Revolution*, in: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Bombay 1979. Cited from unpaginated document available from: URL: <www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/19B.Revolution%20and%20Counter%20Rev.in%20Ancient%20India%20PART%20II.htm>.

33 P. SAMARENDR, *Classifying Caste*, p. 150.

34 Janaki ABRAHAM, *Contingent Caste Endogamy and Patriarchy*, Economic and Political Weekly 49.2, 2014, p. 57.

of endogamy here refers to two things: the unit of the caste that is endogamous and the criterion, other than caste, that is used in determining marriages in society. Hence, the author approvingly cites Beteille's argument that endogamy has shifted "*from sub-subcaste to sub-caste and to caste*". And then adds that this "*is generally true as marriage strategies include several considerations, class being an important one*".³⁵ If "*marriage strategies include several considerations*", class being one, endogamy is not essentially a caste-based institution. (b) A "*rationale*" of endogamy is a reference to reasons behind or the justification for following endogamous marriages in society. If this has changed temporally and is varied spatially (the "*shifts over time and context*"), all one can say is that sometimes, in some places in India, some caste communities prefer to marry within a caste group for several reasons, since class is also an important reason. (c) Finally, the enforcement of endogamy has also "*shifted with time and context*". That is, endogamy is sometimes forced and sometimes not, and some communities follow endogamy and some communities do not. In short, the so-called caste system is practiced in India sometimes, in some places, in some contexts and for various reasons other than caste itself. This then is how one has to speak about Indian society, if we are to hold on to the notion of CCC, despite noticing glaring mistakes in it.

Are Arguments about Caste a Theory?

Declan Quigley has in the recent past provided one of the sharpest critiques of the decades of research on caste, including the much-acclaimed work of Louis Dumont. Referring to a version of what we call CCC here, he notes that historical and ethnographic investigations have repeatedly demonstrated that our "*theory [of the caste system] is at best inadequate, at worst wholly misleading. And yet it has remained remarkably resistant to attempts to modify it. [...] Unfortunately, the more information one uncovers, the more one finds aspects of Hindu society which either cannot be explained by the three-line theory or directly contradict it.*" And he offers to show why scholars and lay people alike hold on to the faulty 'theory' of the caste system.³⁶

We can formulate the problems that he highlights in the 'caste theory' as problems related to the way empirical data has been handled by caste scholars. One must be cautious about the use of the word 'fact' in relation to caste, he says. Every observation from the ground, including the fact of the domination of the Brahmins, has been disputed.

35 *Ibidem*, p. 58.

36 D. QUIGLEY, *The Interpretation of Caste*, p. 2.

His essay *Is a Theory of Caste still Possible?* (1993) provides a sharper formulation of his thesis. He notes here that most of the so-called “*defining characteristics of caste*” are not, after all, unique to the “*Hindu communities or to the ideology of Brahmanism*” as caste scholars would have us believe. “*Some anthropologists have tried to side-line the theoretical problems by sticking to what they can actually observe on the ground during prolonged periods of fieldwork, as if ethnographic description and theoretical abstraction belong to mutually exclusive zones.*”³⁷ He, therefore, calls for a theory of caste that solves this problem. But, why should there be any difficulty in providing such a theory of caste, especially “*when an enormous amount of ethnographic and historical evidence on the subject has been produced over the*” years? Quigley offers many reasons for this situation. From the perspective of this essay, the following two points that he makes are pertinent. “*Most theories of caste appear to involve an unjustifiably arbitrary selection of evidence. Since it appears to many that it is the facts themselves that are inconsistent, a common approach has been to ignore those elements which are awkward and to present the allegedly overwhelming picture suggested by those facts which are retained. The objection to this is that the awkward facts still remain, even if they are hidden.*” For instance, analysing Louis Dumont’s influential work on caste, he observes that Dumont asks us “*to be empirical when it suits his theory and something less than empirical when the facts appear to contradict*” his research.³⁸

Note that an important difficulty in producing a ‘theory’ of the caste system, according to Quigley, is related to the way one handles empirical data. Let us see how he proposes to solve this problem. He begins by talking about the ‘institutions’ of caste. By which he refers to the usual aspects attributed to caste in CCC accounts: recruitment to one’s social position at birth, kinship organization in terms of lineages; ritual as a mechanism for structuring social relations; endogamy, untouchability, importance of pollution and so on. Quigley thus uncritically accepts the ‘facts’ of the CCC. His ‘theory of caste’, therefore, is all about offering “*a way of ordering the facts in such a way that it does not diminish the significance of some or ignore others.*”³⁹ At the root of his ‘theory’ is an empirical observation: “*virtually all of the institutions which one associates with caste are found in different degrees in other societies at different periods of history.*” So, what constitutes the uniqueness of the Indian caste system then? In the caste system, all these institutions are found together when only some of them are found elsewhere. This suggests that any work on caste that bases its argument on any one property of the caste system is committing a mistake. Dumont’s attempt to project the principle of hierarchy and the

37 D. QUIGLEY, *Is a Theory of Caste still Possible?*, pp. 140, 144.

38 *Ibidem*, p. 152.

39 *Ibidem*, p. 140.

opposition of the pure and the impure, as constitutive of the caste system, therefore, according to Quigley, is wrong. The pure-impure opposition is after all found in all societies. The task for a theory of caste is to “*explain why and when*” all these institutions come together in the Indian context.⁴⁰ Quigley proposes a model of Indian society that seeks to tackle this issue. It is a model where the king is the central figure. This is how Quigley summarises his model:

*“caste results from an uneasy stalemate between the pull of localised lineage organization and the forces of political, ritual and economic centralization encapsulated in monarchical institutions. Caste systems are the product of a certain degree of centralization which involves the organization of ritual and other services around the king and dominant lineages. The central institution is (as Hocart suggested) the kingship.”*⁴¹

What this model offers is a beehive-like structure where the king sits at the centre and “*attaches other castes*” and their services to himself. Thus, all kinds of inter- and intra-caste activities, competitions, fights will continue as we notice them on the field. However, that happens within this arrangement where castes group around the king in their own roles and capacities.

*“The castes which supply the king’s priests will undoubtedly claim higher status than the castes which supply the farmers’ priests. Untouchables are frequently represented as being outside the community altogether and in fact must often live physically apart from other castes. This is because their primary function is to act as scapegoats and to take out pollution (i.e. what-ever threatens social order) to beyond the community’s limits. Finally, it is also possible that there will be others somewhere in the vicinity (renouncers, independent sects, members of other ethnic groups) who cannot be accommodated easily within the local caste system. In spite of these qualifications, the underlying structure of caste organization [remains intact] [...]”*⁴²

In this arrangement, the higher the position of a caste, the closer it will be to the king. The ‘higher position’ here is determined by many different criteria: it can be a higher position within the Hindu religion or a higher position by means of one’s economic, intellectual and other social statuses. Thus, the king procures the best services he can find around him. Note also that finding a scapegoat caste, i.e., exploitation of a caste, is also important to this arrangement. A caste is oppressed into becoming a scapegoat in order to keep the pollution outside of the caste arrangement. This is how the king abides by the rules of the Hindu religion. As a result, the untouchable castes, which the caste system uses as scapegoats, “*are seen as not quite fully human and so must be excluded*

40 *Ibidem*, p. 153.

41 *Ibidem*, p. 141.

42 *Ibidem*, p. 160.

from society proper”. And they “stand both literally and symbolically on the margins of society” in India.⁴³

This thesis, at this juncture, raises many important questions. The following is important for our discussion: Who is the king, who concentrates the “ritual and other services” around him, in the contemporary post-monarchical Indian society? Kings, he says, “always retained a central position in the rituals they patronized and their functions were replicated on a lesser scale by the well-to-do members of dominant castes, a situation which has not changed with the collapse of Hindu kingship in the face of colonialism”.⁴⁴ This answer merely postpones the answer. It has to now answer the following question: What is a ‘dominant caste’ and how does one identify a caste as dominant? Is he referring to the Brahmins as a dominant caste? No. Quigley, in fact, warns us against thinking of the caste system as an unambiguous perpendicular ladder with Brahmins at the top and Untouchables at the bottom. In the beehive like model that he has proposed, the elites or the dominant castes are at the centre and not at the top and are connected to other castes “by using their resources to employ members of other castes (or sometimes other, usually affinally related, lineages within the same caste) to perform various services for them. Obviously, the greater one’s resources, the greater will be one’s capacity to do this. But virtually no household is so poor that it cannot at least occasionally afford to retain others to perform specialised ritual functions – at funerals, weddings, or caste initiation ceremonies for example.”⁴⁵

How does this model explain the entire caste system with multiple ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ castes? Here is Quigley’s answer. “It is not only dominant castes and merchants who act as the patrons of ritual specialists. To a greater or lesser extent, depending on their resources, members of all castes fulfil this role. [...] From the viewpoint of those castes that supply ritual specialists ... [they] provide services for others and get others to provide service to them. The Barber might well employ another Barber as priest” and so on.⁴⁶ A better formulation of this thesis is available in his article:

“[I]t is not only dominant caste households which are able to attach other castes to themselves. To a greater or lesser extent, households in every caste will attempt to replicate this pattern by using their resources to employ members of other castes [...] to perform various services for them. Obviously, the greater one’s resources, the greater will be one’s capacity to do this. But virtually

43 D. QUIGLEY, *The Interpretation of Caste*, p. 156.

44 D. QUIGLEY, *Is a Theory of Caste still Possible?*, p. 151.

45 *Ibidem*, p. 159.

46 D. QUIGLEY, *The Interpretation of Caste*, p. 155.

*no household is so poor that it cannot at least occasionally afford to retain others to perform specialised ritual functions – at funerals, weddings, or caste initiation ceremonies for example.*⁴⁷

This is a breathtaking argument. To better understand what this model has done we need to understand what this model implies. Quigley argues, as we saw, that the Brahmin caste does not occupy the top of the hierarchy, as caste scholars have been arguing. Instead, *all castes fulfil this role*. That is, any caste can function as ‘ritual specialists’, the priests i.e., to another caste. “*Men of Barber caste, for example, often perform ritual activities for lower castes which are strictly analogous to those performed by Brahmans for higher castes.*”⁴⁸ Since, as Quigley asserts, to a greater or lesser extent, households in every caste will attempt to replicate the beehive-like pattern, the caste system is a collection of many small beehive-like patterns. In each beehive-like arrangement, then, there is a king-like dominant caste in the middle of the structure, a priest, other service providers and a scapegoat. Turning a caste into a ‘scapegoat’ too is necessary in this arrangement, because in the kind of religion that Hinduism is, people need someone ‘to take out pollution (i.e. whatever threatens social order) to beyond the community’s limits.’

What Quigley achieves with this turn of argument is that the immorality attached to the Brahmins and the caste system as a whole is now made characteristic of every single Indian. That is, every single Indian now is responsible for bringing the caste system into existence. For, every Indian is a potential priest (and a potential king/dominant caste) and is constantly engaged in scapegoating another caste in order to preserve the caste structure. More importantly, since the caste system is an arrangement of priestly services and all ‘other services’ around a dominant caste, in practical terms, the caste system comes into existence by virtue of anything and everything that Indians do in their day-to-day life. The following claim then is imminent: “*The really outstanding characteristic*” of the caste system is that it is “*culturally blind – it does not respect ethnic or religious divisions but absorbs all in its path. To say that caste is a product of Hinduism is to look at things the wrong way round. Hinduism is a product of caste organization.*”⁴⁹ Thus, according to Quigley’s model of the caste system, every Indian participates in the daily establishment and functioning of the caste system. By implication, then, every Indian is immoral, in every single action of his/her life. If we accept the standard ethical theories, a moral action, by nature, is an action of choice, made freely without coercion. If so, every Indian is not only immoral but also so by choice.

47 D. QUIGLEY, *Is a Theory of Caste still Possible?*, p. 158.

48 *Ibidem*, p. 150.

49 D. QUIGLEY, *The Interpretation of Caste*, p. 162.

An attempt to write a better theory of caste thus ends up characterising Indians as a bunch of immoral crooks. This, in short, is how the missionaries have been talking about the caste system since the mid-16th-century. A 19th-century missionary would express it much more succinctly and forcefully.

“Idolatry and superstition are like the stones and brick of a huge fabric, and caste is the cement which pervades and closely binds the whole. Let us, then, undermine the common foundation, and both tumble at once, and form a common ruin. [...] [T]he cruel, anti-social, tyrannical dominion of caste, is made to be known, abhorred, and trampled under foot – with an indignation which is not lessened by the reflection, that over ages and generations without number it hath already swayed undisturbed the sceptre of a ruthless despotism, which ground men down to the condition of irrationals; and strove to keep them there, with the rigour of a merciless necessity. [...] There the whole are blended in one undistinguished mass. Scarcely an action of life can be named which is not amalgamated with some religious ingredient. There is no exemption for the most frivolous. Everything connected with the forms of buildings, utensils, dress, ornaments, meals, ablutions &c., is associated with some impression, or motive, or observance of a religious nature. Hence, the un-changeableness of Hindu customs. Being founded on the basis, or accompanied with the sanctioned rites of religion, they necessarily partake of its divine and inviolable authority.”⁵⁰

It seems, at first, rather strange that a scholar in the 21st-century would replicate the very understanding prevalent in the 19th-century while attempting to propose a radical break with dominant scholarship on caste. But, this has been the story of the last 150 years: first, an exercise in critiquing the writings on caste only ends up attempting to bolster the CCC, and, second, contemporary scholarship on caste is a rehash of the CCC ornamented with more empirical data and cast in a formalised and methodologically sophisticated language. One can easily test this rather harsh sounding claim: pick up any property of the caste system, like endogamy or commensality, and show that progress has been made in understanding it over the last 150 years. (We can easily do so for any fundamental concept, like ‘gravitation’ or ‘black hole’, used in physics today.) If one succeeds, our claim stands false.

Once a mindset with regard to the caste system is formed, it is as though these scholars lose access to almost everything: the information that the field data provides, one’s insight in that data and the critique of the whole situation that one has proposed until then. That is, caste scholars routinely present the same old arguments about caste, in utter disregard of or even after noticing the problems with these arguments. Thus, these problems do not behave like anomalies of a theory. When a theory, say in the field of science, acquires enough significant anomalies, it is considered a degenerate theory. As we saw, caste

50 Alexander DUFF, *India and India Missions: Including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hinduism, Both in Theory and Practice...*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1840, pp. 615–618.

scholars have regularly noticed problems in the way we speak about the caste system and have even strongly critiqued it. However, instead of seeing them as warrant to question the very basis of the caste system, they have either explained them away by inventing innumerable ad hoc hypotheses or merely by ignoring them. As a consequence, after relentless discussion over a century and a half, caste scholarship looks like a laundry list of unanswered questions.⁵¹ It is this situation that needs to be understood, if we intend to make any progress in understanding Indian society. In order to further our argument let us ask two questions. (a) Despite 150 years of discussion and critique, why have scholars not solved the problems that they find in the so-called caste theories and proposed a theory that at least achieves a basic minimum scholarly consensus on the fundamentals of the caste system? (b) If that is not possible, for whatever reason, why have they not abandoned the CCC and their premises, completely, and gone on to reconceptualise the field? In posing this question we are treating the arguments about caste as a theory in some or other sense. What if the arguments about caste are nowhere close to being called a theory? Hence, let us reformulate the two questions thus: What kind of a conceptual entity must the CCC be so that it is immunized against 150 years of empirical (and also conceptual) refutation? Any answer to this question has to make sure that it does not fall into the trap of attributing bad faith or ignorance to generations of brilliant scholars who have tried to understand the Indian society. This paper suggests that this situation can be better understood by formulating a hypothesis based on the work of S. N. Balagangadhara and his research team.

Caste system as a Western Experience of India

S. N. Balagangadhara proposes that the notion of the caste system is an entity that exists only in the experience of the west. In a very specific sense of the term, the caste system is a 'creation' of the west. When the necessity of going about in India arose, early European travellers and visitors to India began to figure out ways of dealing with everything that India was. We must remember that India for them was a place of monsters and marvels. It was an alien place, in short. None of the things that they were familiar with back home came to their rescue. Over a period of time, they had to turn the unfamiliar world into a familiar habitat. During this process of adaptation, they created a plethora of new signs, heuristics, shortcuts, maps (cultural as well as a geographical map) and so on, which helped them to create a cultural habitat in India. The caste system is a collection

51 For some sample questions, see S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, New Delhi 2012, p. 4.

of such entities that the West imagined, posited and created in the process. Scholars over the last 150 years have tried to find empirical data to either confirm or critique this experiential entity called the-caste-system.⁵²

The story of the caste system developed in the initial stages as a story of wicked Brahmins, their sinful activities and the oppressed masses. As has been shown, this story of the immoral Brahmins was cast within the anti-clerical sentiments of the Protestant Reformation and the way the Catholic Counter-Reformation reacted to it.⁵³ Theologian after theologian, across Europe, was attacking the Catholic Church and the role that the priests played in the Church around this time. In order to have a sense of the anti-clerical sentiment of the time, let us consider Martin Luther's 95 theses, which he nailed on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517. It is clear that Luther's polemics were directed against Catholic saints, priests, nuns and their activities. Luther generally saw them as corrupt, leading the lay people astray and completely lost as they relied on their own works for salvation. It is worth noting in this context that nearly half of his 95 theses directly refer to various activities of the Catholic priests, preachers, bishops and, more importantly, the Pope. The clerical community is presented here as a bunch of greedy people trying to make money by selling indulgences to poor peasants. The peasants are seen as ignorant enough to give up their life savings to save their loved ones from the tortures of purgatory.

Another important aspect of these theses is instructions about what one should teach the Christians about these corrupt priests and their practices. Many of his theses (see especially, thesis 42 to 52) talk about the things that lay Christians should be taught. Nine of these theses even begin with "*Christians should be taught that [...]*". And they have to be taught, among other things, (a) that trusting the priests (and purchasing pardons) is equivalent to purchasing the indignation of God, (b) purchasing pardons is not a legal requirement, and (c) selling pardons, which the Church indulges in, is a way of making money. The thesis 46, for instance, declares: "*Christians are to be taught that, unless they*

52 One also has to understand this argument in the context of S. N. Balagangadhara's arguments about how Hinduism and the other so-called Asian religions are western constructs, in the sense that they are western experiential entities. For a lucid elaboration on what it means to say they are *constructed*, see: Jakob De ROOVER – Sarah CLAERHOUT, *The Colonial Construction of What?*, in: Esther Bloch – Marianne Keppens – Rajaram Hedge (eds.), *Rethinking Religion in India: The Colonial Construction of Hinduism*, London 2010, pp. 164–183.

53 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, "*The Heathen in his Blindness...*" *Asia, the West, and the Dynamic of Religion*, Leiden 1994; S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*; Raf GELDERS – S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Rethinking Orientalism: Colonialism and the Study of Indian Traditions*, *History of Religions* 51.2, 2011, pp. 101–128.

have more than they need, they must reserve enough for their family needs and by no means squander it on indulgences.”

As early as 1543, Francis Xavier, a Catholic priest, seems to be reproducing Luther's criticism of Catholic priesthood in understanding Indian society. In his letter written to Ignatius, in the spring of 1543, Xavier presents the local Parava converts thus: “*Christian inhabitants here have had no priests; they just know that they are Christians and nothing more. [...] I have found very great intelligence among them: and if they had any one to instruct them in religion, I doubt not they would turn out excellent Christians.*”⁵⁴ Throughout Xavier's letters, the Parava and other local communities are portrayed as ignorant, confused, poor, exploited but intelligent people, who are eager to receive the Christ. On the contrary, as we see in a letter written on December 31, 1543, Xavier characterizes Brahmins as greedy priests who, in the name of religion, constantly exploit “*the ignorant people whose blind superstitions have made them their [Brahmins'] slaves*”. And this portrayal of the Brahmins is seen as “*exposing their tricks*” which creates indignation towards him.

*“We have in these parts a class of men among the pagans who are called Brahmins. They keep up the worship of the gods, the superstitious rites of religion, frequenting the temples and taking care of the idols. They are as perverse and wicked a set as can anywhere be found, and I always apply to them the words of holy David, ‘from an unholy race and a wicked and crafty man deliver me O Lord.’ They are liars and cheats to the very backbone. Their whole study is, how to deceive most cunningly the simplicity and ignorance of the people. They give out publicly that the gods command certain offerings to be made to their temples, which offerings are simply the things that the Brahmins themselves wish for, for their own maintenance and that of their wives, children, and servants. Thus they make the poor folk believe that the images of their gods eat and drink, dine and sup like men, and some devout persons are found who really offer to the idol twice a day, before dinner and supper, a certain sum of money. The Brahmins eat sumptuous meals to the sound of drums, and make the ignorant believe that the gods are banqueting. When they are in need of any supplies, and even before, they give out to the people that the gods are angry because the things they have asked for have not been sent, and that if the people do not take care, the gods will punish them by slaughter, disease, and the assaults of the devils. And the poor ignorant creatures, with the fear of the gods before them, obey them implicitly. These Brahmins have barely a tincture of literature, but they make up for their poverty in learning by cunning and malice. Those who belong to these parts are very indignant with me for exposing their tricks. Whenever they talk to me with no one by to hear them they acknowledge that they have no other patrimony but the idols, by their lies about which they procure their support from the people. [...] If it were not for the opposition of the Brahmins, we should have them all embracing the religion of Jesus Christ.”*⁵⁵

54 Henry James COLERIDGE, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 1, London 1881, p. 146.

55 *Ibidem*, pp. 157–159.

Such examples from the European writings about India can be multiplied endlessly. What we have to see here is the way Europe tried to understand Indian culture from the background of their own culture: a Church, a people, a false but a religion nevertheless, a class of exploitative priests and so on. Since the days of Xavier, European writers have seen such cunning priests and superstitious masses everywhere in India. The notion of the caste system developed in this manner. The missionaries soon found ‘evidence’ for the existence, continuance and a support for this system of Indian priests in all and every text they found in India: be it the Vedas or folk stories.

A popular version of this history of India (qua the caste system) that Europeans conceived, notes three phases in the growth of religion in India: the Vedic period, the domination of Brahmanism, and Hinduism. As the names themselves suggest, the Vedic period was projected as the pristine part of the Indian past. In the next phase, under the dominance of Brahman priests, the degeneration of the religion and culture began. Brahman priests imposed the ‘caste structure’ on society. The present form of mainstream ‘Hinduism’ developed with the decline of Buddhism as a further degeneration of ‘Brahmanism’. This Hinduism is what the caste system is. This story is presented today in various forms, shades and flavours. The basic thrust of the story, however, is always the same: the caste system is a creation of the Brahman and is linked to the Hindu religion. Here is how the *Catholic Encyclopedia* presents this story:

“Brahminism is [...] the complex religion and social system which grew out of the polytheistic nature-worship of the ancient Aryan conquerors of northern India, and came, with the spread of their dominion, to be extended over the whole country, maintaining itself, not without profound modifications, down to the present day. In its intricate modern phases it is generally known as Hinduism. [...] Our knowledge of Brahminism in its earlier stages is derived from its primitive sacred books, originally oral compositions, belonging to the period between 1500–400 B.C. [...] Intimately bound up in the religious teaching of Brahminism was the division of society into rigidly defined castes. [...] The steady weakening of Brahmin influence, in consequence of the successive waves of foreign conquest, made it possible for the religious preferences of the huge, heterogeneous population of India to assert themselves more strongly.”⁵⁶

This story is still an accepted and a dominant way of talking about the emergence and the development of the caste system.⁵⁷ In Bandyopadhyaya’s words, “*debates on caste*

56 Charles Francis AIKEN, *Brahminism*, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, available at URL: <www.new-advent.org/cathen/02730a.htm>.

57 The works that try to present a history of India covering a vast period of time, often present a straightforward version of this story: David KEANE, *Caste-based Discrimination in International Human Rights Law*, Hampshire 2007; Gail OMVEDT, *Understanding Caste: From Buddha to Ambedkar and Beyond*, New Delhi 2011; Hermann KULKE – Dietmar ROTHERMUND, *A History of India*, London 1986; Judith E. WALSH, *A Brief History of India*, New York 2006.

have revolved round this stereotypical image of Indian society” that links everything in India to its religion, Hinduism, including the castes.⁵⁸ This image was a belief held by “early missionaries” and later constituted “the colonial empirical inquiries”. This notion of Hinduism or the caste system, which is neither historically nor empirically verifiable, “unified the British experience of India; they implemented certain political and economic policies based on their experience. But this experience was not of the caste system. In fact, this experience was of no particular object but constituted the basis of their goings-about with the Indians. By creating such a ‘system’, the British lent stability and coherence to their cultural experience. Both the caste system and the Indian religions are constructs in this specific sense.”⁵⁹

When one goes to the field with this classical conception of the caste system, and with an absolute conviction that it describes the reality of India, one is logically compelled to save this conception against every contradiction from the field. The anomalous data then is taken as an indication for strengthening the idea of the caste system or simply as an exception. A researcher, therefore, is compelled to render consistent the contradictory facts s/he comes across during the study. A popular form it takes, it seems, is to say that India or Hinduism is so vast and diverse that it is normal that even, say, the properties of the caste system can vary from region to region “given the wide cultural diversities of India, it is difficult to find all these features [of the caste system] in the same form or content in all the regions of the subcontinent”.⁶⁰

The caste system then, and in this sense, is a description of the way the Europeans experienced India. Therefore, the way European writers and travellers wrote about India, Balagangadhara says, tells us more about their culture than the reality in India. They created the caste system as their ‘experiential entity’.

“Under this construal, the orientalist did not describe what exists in the Indian culture. Instead, they created [...] [an imaginary entity], constructed a pattern and a structure that lent coherence to their cultural experience of India. [...] When the Europeans came to India and wrote down their experiences, they were not hallucinating. They did not write about their dreams nor did they compose stories. Whether of a merchant, a missionary or a bureaucrat, the reports had some kind of a structure. Reflections about such reports at second remove, or reflections on experiences at a later stage or in a distant way, led to finding a pattern or a structure in these experiences. [...] These reports lent structure to what the Europeans saw. At the same time, they filtered out phenomena that could not be structured in this fashion. Thus, these reports contributed to structuring a European way of seeing and describing phenomena in India. Such texts, which embodied an explanatory structuring of the European experiences, ended up becoming the

58 S. BANDYOPADHYAY, *Caste, Culture, and Hegemony*, p. 11.

59 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, p. 54.

60 S. BANDYOPADHYAY, *Caste, Culture, and Hegemony*, p. 12.

‘ethnological data’ or the ‘anthropological fieldwork’ that the social theories would later try to explain. [...] The notion of such a system [the caste system] unified the British experience of India; they implemented certain political and economic policies based on their experience. However, this experience was not of the caste system. In fact, this experience was of no particular object but constituted the basis of their going-about with the Indians. By creating such a ‘system’ the British lent stability, coherence and unity to their cultural experience. Both the caste system and the Indian religions are constructs in this specific sense. It is not as though colonialism brought ‘Hinduism’ and ‘the caste system’ into existence. The Europeans spoke about these entities as though they existed. They acted as though these entities were real. However, neither before nor after colonialism have such entities or phenomena existed. [...] These entities merely lend structure and stability to the European experience.’⁶¹

The notion of the caste system, thus, is the actual experience of a people who lived and interacted with each other in the real world and thus grafted their experience onto the real objects in the world. Hence, as Balagangadhara⁶² shows, it brought together such a wide variety of phenomena as the manner in which people bathe, get up, walk, sit, sleep; their occupation; their marriage customs; their food habits; customs related to travelling; poverty handed down from generation to generation; some texts that were translated in the 19th-century; answers to some census questionnaires that were distributed; various traditions, from Buddhism to bhakti traditions; varied rituals; inhuman practices like owning bonded labourers; and vague and failed theoretical claims like the Hindu form of ‘Oriental despotism’, the ‘Hindu rate of growth’, etc. However, no scientific theory exists that explains how these different phenomena are related to each other; which one is the cause and which one the effect of the so-called caste system; etc. Hence, the scholarship on the caste system is doomed to live like a loose collection of various claims, historical and sociological facts, anthropological observations, psychological insights, emotional opinions and so on.

Conclusion

The basic notion of the caste system has stayed with us for so long and has routinely defended itself through various means that it has permeated not only our most fundamental observational descriptions of Indian culture but also the way the Indian state and other

61 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA. *Orientalism, Postcolonialism and the ‘Construction’ of Religion*, in: E. Bloch – M. Keppens – R. Hedge (eds.), *Rethinking Religion in India*, pp. 137, 138.

62 See Dunkin JALKI (ed.), *Bharatadalli Jaativyavasthe Ideye?: Jaativyavasthe Kuritu S. N. Balagangadhara Mattu Avara Samshodhana Tandada Vichaaragalu* [Is there a Caste System in India?: S. N. Balagangadhara and His Research Group’s Views on the Caste System], Malladihalli 2012. This is a work in Kannada, a vernacular from southern India.

institutions function. A critique of the 'caste system' and the subsequent reconceptualization of caste studies, today, is not merely an intellectual exercise but has far more important and deeper implications. The so-called theories of the caste system, despite being deeply flawed, have been far more successful than we are currently aware of. The literature that has been produced over the decades, whether scholarly or popular, is largely political rather than scientific. Much of India's internal laws and policies and Europe's and other international relations with India are significantly affected by these defective notions about India. On the one hand, these caste theories directly impact many of India's internal policies and laws. Much of India's developmental work, from its 'Poverty Alleviation Programme' to its reform of education sector, is formed largely on the lines of perceived caste inequalities. The question is not whether there are serious social issues in India (like economic inequality and growing social unrest) that need compelling and immediate attention. The point is, why assume that the caste system is responsible for these problems? What if the caste system, like Balagangadhara says, is an experiential entity of the west? As he further points out, this is like treating common cold with chemotherapy. On the other hand, the way the west sees and treats India is also significantly influenced by unscientific social theories about India, especially the caste system. As a consequence, the dominant frameworks through which the international community addresses issues related to India is by reproducing the centuries-old, unscientific and seemingly racist remarks, albeit in the guise of humanitarian concerns. The way European media treated even a significant scientific achievement of India, like its mission to Mars, Mangalyaan, is a good example. Consider the headline of the articles about Mangalyaan that the two leading British dailies carried on the day of its launch: "*How can poor countries afford space programmes?*", "*India mars mission to launch amidst overwhelming poverty*".⁶³

In the fast growing globalizing world, S. N. Balagangadhara⁶⁴ warns, if what the west knows about India resembles what it claims to know about the caste system, it is going to end in a huge disaster. India will do no better if it blindly accepts European views about itself as scientific theories about its society and culture. It is high time we accept not only the problems inherent in the notion of the caste system and the scholarship on it but also recognise the nature of the larger Western project of presenting its experience of India as social scientific knowledge about Indian culture and its dire consequences.

63 *The Economist*, 4 November 2013 and *The Guardian*, 4 November 2013, respectively.

64 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, pp. 1–12.

Resumé

Jak je těžké vyvrátit či potvrdit argumenty o kastovním systému

Každý pokus o pochopení indické společnosti na základě bádání o kastách před nás staví velké množství problémů. Na ty upozorňují odborníci, kteří pozorují a dokonce kritizují odbornou produkci o kastách, už sto padesát let. Tato kritika však dosud nevedla ani k potvrzení ani k opuštění tzv. kastovních teorií. Jak je možné tento podivný fakt vysvětlit? Znalci se domnívají, že jde o tak komplexní fenomén, že není možné hovořit o žádné solidní teorii kastovního systému. Proto se snaží získat co nejvíce informací, aby takovou teorii vytvořili a důkladně ji zdůvodnili. Jenže čím více faktů získávají, tím většímu množství problémů čelí. Nejsou tu však jen spory o nová data,

jež mají zachránit “teorie” kastovního systému, problémem je také sladit výsledky pozorování s teoriemi o kastovním systému, na kterých se shodují koloniální i moderní badatelé. Autoři tohoto článku navrhuji vysvětlení, že důvodem toho, že se odborníci na kasty nemohou vyrovnat s nově získanými daty, není složitost celého fenoménu, ale spíše výsledek samotného typu entity, jakou kastovní systém je. Tzv. kastovní systém je zkušenostní entitou vytvořenou Západem, která nemůže být dokázána ani vyvrácena pomocí empirických faktů sebraných v Indii. Každý takový pokus povede jen k dalším neplodným debatám.

Marianne KEPPENS

The Aryans and the Ancient System of Caste

***Abstract:** Over the last century or two, the dominant accounts of the caste system have looked for its roots in the ancient history of India. More precisely scholars have linked the origin of the caste system to the invasion of a Sanskrit speaking people, the Aryans, who are said to have imposed their language, religion and social structure on an indigenous population called the Dravidians. In this account, the latter were subjugated by the Aryans and made to have an inferior place in society as the lowest caste. Given the importance of the Aryan invasion theory in our understanding of the caste system this article looks into the literature on how this invasion and subjugation actually took place and what evidence is available for it. This analysis leads to the conclusion that hardly any or no evidence exists for the claim that the caste system originated as the result of an Aryan invasion. Subsequently, the article looks into the development of this account in the early nineteenth century European literature in order to see on what this account was based and to identify the background assumptions that make it appear plausible till today.*

***Key words:** Aryan invasion – caste system – Aryans – Dravidians – inferiority – nation*

Over the last century or two, the dominant accounts of the caste system have looked for its roots in the ancient history of India. The story told about the rise of this social system begins in the era when an alien people called the Aryans is supposed to have invaded the Subcontinent. The standard version of this history tells us that a people called ‘the Aryans’ invaded India around 1500 BC, conquered the indigenous Dravidians and imposed their culture, language and religion on the latter. They are said to have brought the Vedic religion, which later developed into Hinduism and to have instituted the religiously founded caste system. In this account the idea of the caste system as an intrinsic part of Hinduism was not only reinforced, the idea of an institutionalized form of discrimination along racial lines was also added to it. The account about the Aryan invasion originated in the nineteenth century European descriptions of India and has generally been accepted as a fact about India for the last

200 years. Even though this standard account has met with severe criticisms (as we will see further), most contemporary textbooks on Indian history still begin with a section on the Aryans and their invasion (or immigration) into India. Likewise, standard descriptions of the caste system still include the idea of a segregation between the Aryans and the Dravidians.

Given the centrality of the Aryans in the descriptions of the caste system, one would expect there to be a vast amount of literature on how they invaded India, how they conquered the indigenous population, how they established their authority, how the acculturation process took place, how they managed to keep the caste system in place and how they managed to convert the existing population to their religion. Answers to these questions would not only be of interest to historians. They would give us insight into the core aspects of the Indian culture and, more generally, into aspects of the interaction between different peoples which result in acculturation or in inducing changes in a culture or even change of one culture into another. If it would turn out that no answers are to be found to these questions, however, a different question arises. In that case we need to understand what makes the account about the Aryan invasion appear plausible enough to be reproduced for more than 200 years.

In order to get an idea about whether or not these questions have been answered in the course of the last 200 years, we would do better to take a look at some recent introductions to Indian culture by authorities in the domain of Indology.

The Aryan impact on India

In the most recent edition of his book *India*, Stanley Wolpert tells us that “*between about 1500 and 1000 B.C., Aryan tribes conquered the remaining pre-Aryan dasas throughout the Indus Valley and Punjab*”. The latter, he says, were “*enslaved*” by the Aryans.¹ Wolpert does not tell us much about how this happened, except for mentioning some of the weapons and other military equipment (the horse and chariot) used in this warfare. The relevance of the piece on the Aryan conquest of the pre-Aryan dasas becomes clear later in the book when Wolpert speaks of the caste system. This system, or the ‘four-varna hierarchy’, he tells us, consists of four groups of which the Shudras form the lowest rung. The latter he describes as the “*original serfs of the three-class Aryan tribal conquerors of North India*” who “*may well have been dasas, pre-Aryan slaves*”. “*Subsequent expansion of Aryan civilization*”, he continues, “*brought more ‘primitive’ peoples into the fold, who were so ‘barbaric’ or ‘polluted’ as to be added much beneath the varna hierarchy as ‘fifths’*”

1 Stanley WOLPERT, *India*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 2009⁴, p. 28.

(panchamas), later known as *Untouchables* and now generally called *Dalits*, meaning *oppressed people*.²

While Wolpert maintains that all of this happened, he does not speak about how the Aryan conquest occurred, what allowed for the conquest or even how it was sustained. Let us, therefore, see what follows from the course of events sketched by Wolpert. If what he says is true, we can conclude that: (1) Ancient India knew of at least three groups of people: conquering Aryan tribes, pre-Aryan dasas and even ‘more primitive’ peoples. (2) The dasas were enslaved by the Aryans. (3) The contemporary Shudras are the descendants of the dasa-serfs of the Aryan conquerors. (4) At the time of the conquest the latter were organized in a three-class system, which was the bearer of a civilization. (5) The ancestors of the Shudras did not belong to this Aryan civilization.

The fact that the dasas were conquered and enslaved shows that they were in one way or another not strong enough to resist the Aryans – in number, or with regard to military organization, kind of weapons, or otherwise. As Wolpert mentions, the Aryans brought the horse to India and their horse-drawn chariots and their archery (and axes) helped them to defeat all who confronted them. Thus, we can conclude that the weakness of the dasas to resist conquest is to be located partially in the absence of such military equipment. But he also mentions another kind of weakness, one that allowed the Aryans to sustain their position without military intervention for millennia: the low level of their civilization. The soon-to-be outcasts, he says, thanked their place outside the system to their “*primitive*” and “*barbaric*” status because of which they were placed beneath the four varna hierarchy as the “*fifths*” (panchamas) and thus “*polluted*”. The Shudras, who are just above them on the social ladder, are also primitive, barbaric and polluted but only less so than the outcasts. As such Wolpert postulates a link between the level of civilization of a group and its social position *vis-à-vis* other groups in a given society. The image that emerges from this is the following: (a) the newly arrived Aryans had a civilization and could form the first three orders of the newly composed society because of it; (b) the dasas were civilizationally less developed (the Indus civilization) and could hence be relegated into an inferior social position; (c) there were primitive people with no civilization to speak of who didn’t even get a place in the social system.

Looked at in this way, we can understand what it means for the Shudras and outcasts to be at the lower rung of the social hierarchy, that is, in what respects they are inferior: they are inferior in their level of civilization, they are less developed, more primitive and polluted. The fact that contemporary Shudras are still at the lowest rung of the varna hierarchy (being only slightly better than the outcasts) shows that they have retained

2 *Ibidem*, p. 112.

this inferiority until today. It only becomes more blatant in view of the constitutional abolishment of the caste system and the ever growing number of government policies to improve the position of those groups considered to be at the lowest rung of society: the scheduled Castes (SC), the Scheduled Tribes (ST) and the Other Backward Castes (OBC).

That this is how Wolpert sees things is also apparent in his interpretation of the Ramayana as a historical record of these conquests and of the life of the Aryans. He says: "*The Ramayana may be read as an allegory of what Aryans saw as the conquest of 'uncivilized demons' who inhabited southern forests and disturbed the meditations of sadhus seeking enlightenment through yogic concentration.*" Rama's defeat of Ravana symbolizes the Aryan conquest of non-Aryan demons in Gangetic forests, which "*permitted patient sadhus to continue silent yogic meditation*".³ Here Wolpert uses the Ramayana to depict the pre-Aryan dasas as uncivilized demons who disturbed the spiritual work of the sadhus, of whom it is suggested that they were Aryan. The Ramayana itself, however, says nowhere that Ravana is uncivilized or that he represents an uncivilized people who are out to disturb the patient and silent people in their civilized quest for spirituality. In fact, Ravana is portrayed as a seeker of spiritual truth himself!

Wolpert reveals the source of his knowledge: "*All that we know about the early Aryans*", he says, "*was preserved through oral tradition by their priestly bards, Brahmans, whose heirs painstakingly memorized thousands of Sanskrit poetic hymns considered sacred, eventually recording their scripture in 'Books of Knowledge' called Vedas, most important of which is the Rig*".⁴ But then 'all that we know' turns out to be not very much as he adds that the Vedas "*report nothing about the pre-Indian history of the Aryans, nor do they say anything specific concerning the Aryan conquests or Indus Valley civilization, except for a few references to 'dark' (dasa) peoples who lived in 'fortified cities' (pur) and had to be 'subdued'*".⁵ In other words, the only source on the basis of which Wolpert makes these claims are texts that do not contain any references to the things he reads in them. Regardless of the reasons why the Vedas are not historical accounts, we can conclude that none of the claims of Wolpert has any textual or historical ground. Moreover, if what he says is true then a large part of the Indian society has to thank its low position to a weakness handed down over generations, dating back to their original defeat by the Aryans. The only cause of their inferior position, if we accept Wolpert's account, is their weakness as a people to resist the laws and religion of a 'superior' people. Of course, this 'superiority' can only be 'civilizational' today, given that neither archery nor horses plays much of a role in the twenty-first century India.

3 *Ibidem*, p. 30.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 27.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 28.

In Wendy Doniger's book on the Hindus, we find a similar account. Aware of the recent controversies about the Aryan theories, Doniger is critical of the notion of the 'Aryans' and prefers to speak of the 'Vedic people' instead. The latter is defined as the community that composed the Vedas.⁶ Apart from this cautious signal, her account of Indian history is very similar to Wolpert: the Vedic people is the conqueror that relegated the indigenous inhabitants, the Dasas, to the lowest social position in the caste system.⁷

The Vedic people at first distinguished just two classes (*varnas*), their own (which they called Arya) and that of the people they conquered, whom they called Dasas (or Dasyus, or, sometimes, Panis). The early Veda expresses envy for the Dasas' wealth, which is to say their cattle, but later, "Dasa" came to be used to denote a slave or subordinate, someone who worked outside the family, ...⁸

In other words, according to Doniger, the original inhabitants of India were first conquered and then enslaved by the Vedic people. These people are also regarded by her as the ancestors of the Shudras. The foundation of this system is traced to the Vedic account of the sacrifice of the Primeval Man (in the Purushasukta). According to her interpretation of this hymn, the feet of the primeval man, which she considers to be "*the lowest and dirtiest part of the body*", became "*the servants (Shudras), the outside class within society that defines the other classes*".⁹

Of course, feet are not necessarily dirty and if a body is lying down – as it is during a sacrifice – it is not the lowest part of the body either. In other words, the verse itself does not claim nor imply a low position of the Shudras. Let us now consider Doniger's depiction of the Shudras. Here she tells us that the Shudras are an outside class, which means they are outside of society, while being a part of the society at the same time. It is not possible that they are both outside and inside of society at the same time, unless 'being a part of the society and being outside it' refer to two different aspects of society. The question then is what they are outside of? In the absence of further clarifications, the only way we can understand this is that the Shudras are part of society in the sense that they live in it and are outside of it in the sense that they do not play a role in society other than being servants. Or, they are a part of society but are not allowed to participate in it the way the other classes are. From this position, Doniger adds, they "*define the other classes*". Thus, they show who the inside classes are defined negatively: everyone except themselves. Even though this still does not tell us what exactly the Shudras are outside of, we do learn that their low position involves some kind of an exclusion from

6 Wendy DONIGER, *The Hindus: an Alternative History*, New York 2009, p. 90.

7 *Ibidem*, pp. 116–117.

8 *Ibidem*.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 118.

a significant aspect of society. This exclusion, we also learn, goes back a few thousands of years ago, when they were added to the society of the conquering Vedic people. Here is how she knows this:

*“That the Shudras were an afterthought is evident from the fact that the third class, Vaishyas, is sometimes said to be derived from the word for “all” and therefore to mean “everyone”, leaving no room for anyone below them – until someone added a class below them.”*¹⁰

Apparently this is evidence enough for Doniger. The problem with this argument, however, is that it is not so evident. If what Doniger says is true, that is, if the term ‘Vaishya’ indeed meant ‘everyone’ and if it did refer to one of the groups in the social structure of the Vedic people, then ‘everyone’ would also have left no room for those above them, not only for those below. In that case the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas would also have been an ‘afterthought’ or classes that were added later on. This is unlikely given the central role that is ascribed to the Brahmins as the priests of the Vedic people and originators of the caste system.

Having ‘established’ that the Shudras were a later addition, Doniger then speculates about who they were:

*“The fourth social class may have consisted of the people new to the early Vedic system, perhaps the people already in India when the Vedic people entered, the Dasas, from a system already in place in India, or simply the sorts of people who were always outside the system.”*¹¹

Let us consider these different possibilities and what they tell us about the ancestors of the Shudras. In each case, the Shudras consist of people newly introduced to the Vedic system. Perhaps, as she says, these people were the Dasas, who either entered the Vedic system leaving their own system behind, or entered without being a part of any system before. If the latter is the case, that is, if they were indeed people who were always outside ‘the system’ then it is up to Doniger to explain why they entered the Vedic system. In both cases, an explanation is required as to why the newly encountered people either ‘joined’ a system for the first time or abandoned their own system. In the absence of such an explanation, why should we assume that they were forced to enter it and stay there? Doniger does not refer to the use of any force in this regard. This leads us to assume further that there was no need for using force because the dasas were simply too weak to resist the Vedic people and their system. Another possibility is that the Vedic system had a dynamic of its own that automatically drew in new people and

¹⁰ *Ibidem.*

¹¹ *Ibidem.*

provided them an inferior position. First, nobody so far has indicated such a dynamic and second, one would need to explain why many other newcomers, such as for instance the Mughals, were not automatically drawn in and reduced to an inferior position. If one relies on the strength of the Mughals (either in terms of their weapons, wealth, or their ‘system’) to account for the fact they did not become part of the Vedic system then the appeal is once again to the relative weakness of the dasas in order to explain why they were drawn in whereas others were not. A third possibility is that there was something extremely attractive to the Vedic system, attractive enough to draw people in despite awarding them a low position. Again, however, this only applies to some newcomers and transforms the dasas into idiots because they are attracted to something that makes them inferior.

The only conclusion we can draw on the basis of what Doniger tells us is that the Vedic people were more successful in establishing their social system in India than the people who had lived there. Not only were the Vedic people strong enough to make their social system prevalent but they also imposed it on others and reduced them to an inferior position.

In other words, the Shudras are seen as the descendants of an original people of India that could easily be subdued and subordinated to the authority of the Vedic people to such an extent that the former willingly accepted an inferior position in society. The only ground that Doniger provides for this thesis is a weak consideration, which is based on a possible interpretation of the meaning of the term ‘Vaishya’. In the absence of further explanations for the success of the Vedic people to subordinate the dasas, or references to the strategies that the Vedic people used to maintain their position, we are to assume a relative weakness of the Shudras *vis-à-vis* the Vedic people. If we accept that people in India today still live according to the Vedic system of caste division we are once again forced to conclude that this weakness has been handed down over generations along with their inferior social position.

A last example of the Aryans in the contemporary literature on the Indian culture is *A History of India* written by Kulke and Rothermund. These authors speak about the “immigration and settlement of the Indo-Aryans” and call it a “major historical event” that occurred in the second millennium BC, the early history of the south Asian subcontinent, “after the rise and fall of the Indus civilization”. The Aryans, they say, were a “semi-nomadic people which called itself Arya in its sacred hymns came down to the north-western plains through the mountain passes of Afghanistan”.¹² Aware of the controversy about the Aryan Invasion Theory (which we will discuss next) these authors mention that there

12 Hermann KULKE – Dietmar ROTHERMUND, *A History of India*, New York 2010⁵, p. 12.

are several standpoints about the Aryan arrival into India: either it was an immigration, they say, *or* a conquest *or* it happened through waves of immigration. They even suggest that the Aryans could have been indigenous to India. Their own position includes two waves of Aryan immigrations and a conquest. The first wave of Aryan immigrations, they say, consisted of Indo-Aryan (IA) groups, some of whom might have come in earlier periods and thus account for the IA elements in the Harappan civilization. The Indo-Aryan groups are said to have been absorbed into the Indus civilization and:

*“may have become the upholder of an Indo-Aryan cultural synthesis, combining Indo-Harappan (and therefore perhaps also Dravidian) elements with their central Asian Aryan heritage. It is quite likely that this population was responsible for the continuity of certain traits of Harappan civilisation like the worship of animals and trees which changed and enriched the Vedic culture during the subsequent two millennia.”*¹³

The second wave, the authors tell us, were the (later) Rigvedic people of whom the former might or might not be the ancestors. This Vedic people, they further recount, invaded the indigenous people of India slowly and gradually:

*“The victories of the Vedic people over the indigenous population of northwestern India must have been due to their fast two-wheeled chariots, especially helpful in this dry and flat region, ... In spite of their strategic superiority the Vedic people did not sweep across the Indian plains in a quick campaign of universal conquest. They extended their area of settlement only very slowly. This may have been due to environmental conditions as well as to the resistance of the indigenous people. Moreover, the Vedic Aryans were not the disciplined army of one great conqueror. They consisted of several tribes which frequently fought each other.”*¹⁴

The sources about these Vedic victories are the Vedas themselves. Vedic hymns in which Indra or Agni fight the Dasas, for instance, are taken as a proof of fights between the Vedic people and the indigenous Indians. On the basis of such hymns these authors say that *“the dark-skinned indigenous people who are referred to as Dasas or Dasyus in the Vedic texts were depicted as the ubiquitous foes of the Aryans”*.¹⁵

In the final stage of the composition of the Rigveda the Vedic Aryans moved deeper into India to the region of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab.¹⁶ This brought about a change from semi-nomadic life to settled agriculture which was accompanied by constant fights. This period is referred to as the Late Vedic Age.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 13.

14 *Ibidem*, pp. 15–16.

15 *Ibidem*.

16 *Ibidem*, p. 17.

Settled life produced a great deal of social change, of intensified conflict with the indigenous population and of internal stratification of the Aryan society.¹⁷

Which brings us to the “[s]ocial differentiation and the emergence of the caste system”. According to Kulke and Rothermund, internal stratification had already existed among the early Vedic tribes, between the ordinary free members of the tribe and the warrior nobility. And the Brahmins as priests were also mentioned as a distinct social group in the Early Vedic texts.¹⁸ But, “[w]hen the semi-nomadic groups settled down they established closer relations with the indigenous people who worked for them as labourers or artisans. Colour (varna) served as the badge of distinction between the free Aryans and the subjugated indigenous people. Varna soon assumed the meaning of ‘caste’ and was applied to the Aryans themselves in order to classify the strata of priests, warriors, free peasants and the subjugated people. A late hymn of the Rigveda contains the first evidence of this new system. It deals with the sacrifice of the mythical being Purusha and the creation of the universe and of the four varnas and assumed great normative importance for the ordering of Hindu society and legitimising the position of the Brahmin priests at the apex of the social hierarchy.”¹⁹

Again the original social stratification of the four varnas is described in terms of a free group and a subjugated group, the former being the Aryans and the latter the indigenous people of India. Here too the only ground that is given in support of this historical account is the Rigvedic Purushasukta verse.

A conquest without an invasion?

We already said that the centrality of the Aryans in the descriptions of the Indian culture in general and the caste system in particular leads us to expect more literature on how this all happened. Without an evidence-based and reasonable explanation of how the Aryans succeeded in establishing a system that reduced the indigenous population of India to a lower position in society, there is no ground to retain this account. We did not find such an explanation in the Indological literature, but what about the literature provided by those domains that deal with the ancient past of cultures: linguistics, archaeology and more recently also genetics? The latter, we expect to provide the scientific ground for the overviews of the development of the Indian culture, or at least to show why it is reasonable to accept them. This, it turns out, is not the case. Instead what we find in

17 *Ibidem*, p. 18.

18 *Ibidem*, p. 19.

19 *Ibidem*.

these domains are studies revolving around one single question: *where did the Aryans come from?*

This question, moreover, is not related to an effort to understand the Aryan impact on the Indian culture. Nor did it arise from any observed problems or inconsistencies in the descriptions of the Indian culture or the Aryan role in it. Instead, it finds its origin in criticisms of the claim that the Aryans originally came from outside the Indian subcontinent. Some of these criticisms have sound academic grounds. It has, for instance, been shown by archaeologists and studies into the genetic structure of the Indian population that an invasion could not have taken place in India. Other criticisms apply to the notion of 'the Aryans' and the difficulty in identifying them in the historical record. Apart from these problems there are also criticisms that are less scientific or even political in nature. As a result the debate over the origin of the Aryans has become highly politicized. The party that claims an Indian origin for the Indo-Aryan civilization is tied to the agenda of Hindu nationalism and it rejects the Aryan Invasion Theory (AIT) as a Eurocentric misconception and colonial imposition. Its opponents, on the other hand, claim to fight the Hindu nationalist misrepresentation of history but are often no more scientific, and in some cases even as ideological as their opponents, when it comes to linking their linguistic, archaeological and other scientific evidence to claims about the Aryans as a people.

So, on the one hand, there is an account, the Aryan invasion or immigration theory, which is being reproduced as though it is self-evident and self-illuminating. On the other hand, there is a controversial debate about only one aspect of this account, *viz* the origin of the Aryans. In other words, the criticisms of the AIT are limited to the idea of a foreign origin of the Aryans. They neither apply to nor affect the theses about the role this people is supposed to have played in the development of the Indian culture let alone of the caste system. As it is the latter that interests us here, we will not go deeper into the different arguments and evidences that have been given over the last decades about the supposed birthplace of the Aryans. What is interesting for our purposes, though, are some of the discoveries that have been made in the framework of this debate. One such is the problematic nature of the idea of an *invasion*. As we said, archaeologists and experts in human genetics have shown that the large scale invasion postulated by the AIT could not have taken place on the Indian soil. With this, one of the core aspects of this theory has been discarded. It also gives us a negative answer regarding the question how the Aryans were able to have had the impact they are said to have had: it could not have been through invasion or conquest. Even though this has not completely seeped through to other domains dealing with India, such as Indology, it can no longer be denied in those domains that deal with the study of the ancient past.

Regardless of which philosophy of science one adheres to, we can say that the refutation of one of the core elements of a theory creates a problem for that theory as a whole. No matter how one solves this problem, the solution should not be *ad hoc* in the sense that it is constructed only to account for the recalcitrant phenomenon. With this in mind, let us look at the way scholars have dealt with the problem of the non-occurrence of an invasion.

The first alternative, the Aryan Migration Theory (AMT), solves the problem by claiming that the Aryans came to India and did the same things claimed by the AIT but through peaceful immigration: they imported the Indo-Aryan languages, Vedic religion and the hierarchical social structure and imposed these on the local population. In the process, the caste system that put the Aryans on top of society and the original population at the lowest rung of the system was established. In other words, this alternative comes down to little more than a change of terms: instead of ‘invasion’ one now uses the term ‘immigration.’

The second alternative has been called the ‘Out of India Theory’. This theory claims that an invasion never occurred because the Aryans originated in India itself and moved out from there to other parts of the world. Even though this alternative appears to be a radical opposite to the AIT, it does not differ much from the AMT. Studies in support of the Out of India Theory are mostly concerned with disproving the foreign origin of the Aryans and proving that the Vedic tradition is indigenous to India. The description of the Aryans and their dominant role in the Indian culture are largely accepted. In these accounts, the Aryans are still the people who gave India its religion, language and caste system. The main difference between the ‘Out of India’ (OIT) theories and the AIT/AMT lies in the fact that in the former the existence of another indigenous population or their subjugation, and hence the origin of the caste system is largely absent. For this reason we will leave this alternative out of the picture here and focus only on the first alternative, the AMT.

If we accept that it is possible to replace the term ‘invasion’ by ‘immigration’ without changing anything else to the Aryan theory then we can reformulate the thesis as follows: the Aryans were able to impose their culture, language, religion on an indigenous population, and in the process reduce the latter to an inferior position, without the use of military force. In other words, the Aryans subordinated the dasas, converted them and imposed their language in a peaceful way. *How were they able to do this?* What made the indigenous population of India take over an alien language, religion and social structure that made them inferior?

So far, I have encountered only two scholars who have addressed this question. The first is Koenraad Elst, who answers the question negatively by saying that they could

not have managed to impose their culture, language, religion and social structure on the indigenous population without conquest. Even though the different versions of the Aryan migration theories speak of an immigration, he argues, they nevertheless *imply* an invasion or at least the use of military force. In order to acquire a position in which they could impose their language and culture on an existing population, they would first need to become the ruling class and if they had to do this peacefully they would first have needed to become proficient in the existing languages in India, which did not happen according to the AMT. “So how”, he asks, “could these Aryan immigrants first peacefully integrate into Harappan or post-Harappan society yet preserve their language and later even impose it on their host society? Neither their numbers, relative to the very numerous natives, nor their cultural level, as illiterate cowherds relative to a literate civilization, gave them much of an edge over the natives.” According to him, “the only plausible way for them to wrest power from the natives must have been through their military superiority, tried and tested in the process of an actual conquest”.²⁰ But then, it has been shown that an invasion could not have taken place. For him, this inconsistency is one of the reasons to reject both the AIT and the AMT and to argue that it is more plausible that the Aryans were indigenous to India.

The second approach to this question I have encountered is by the expert in Indian rituals Frits Staal. He suggests that the migrating Aryans, one of the tribes mentioned in the Vedas, must have been much smaller in number than the indigenous population, the people of the Indus Civilization. Not only were they smaller in number, the Aryans “came trickling in over many centuries”.²¹ His hypothesis is this: the indigenous population of India took over an alien religion, language and culture because of two things: (1) the disintegration of the Indus Valley had left behind a “gap into which anything could fall and disappear” and (2) the “power of mantra” of the Vedas. Let us consider this hypothesis in detail: “The Indus Civilization ... was weakened and exhausted by the time the first so-called ‘family books’ of what was later called the Rigveda appeared on the scene... They [the Vedas] would not have attracted anyone’s attention had not the Indus Civilization left a large gap into which anything could fall and disappear. Thus was Vedic added to many Indian languages already spoken – but it did not disappear. On the contrary, its impact deepened and the seeds were sown to produce what with hindsight we have come to regard as ‘Vedic civilization’, a new Oral Tradition.”²²

20 Koenraad ELST, *Linguistic Aspects of the Aryan Non-Invasion Theory*, in: Edwin F. Bryant – Laurie L. Patton (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Controversy: Evidence and Inference in Indian History*, London 2005, p. 235.

21 Frits STAAL, *Discovering the Vedas, Origins, Mantras, Rituals, Insights*, New Delhi 2008, p. 18.

22 *Ibidem*, p. 15.

If there was a ‘large gap into which anything could fall and disappear’, why did the Vedas not suffer from the same fate? If the Vedas were accepted as the new foundation of society by a people that had never heard of these texts before, there must have been something very convincing about these Vedas. This was indeed the case, Staal suggests: the “*power of mantra*”. This power was attributed to the Vedic seers who were also their poets and sages.²³ What made the Vedic mantra so powerful? Staal does not answer this question. In that case, we are left with a circular reasoning: the Vedic mantra was powerful because the Vedas were accepted and the Vedas were accepted because of the power of the Vedic mantra. Unless Staal wants to attribute magical powers to the Vedic mantra there is a problem: unless the people that adopted the Vedic tradition were familiar with traditions similar to the Vedic tradition or some aspects of it, they would not have been able to recognize the ‘power’ of the Vedic mantra. In other words, there must have already been a shared culture that allowed the Vedas to have such a huge impact. In that case, the influence of the Aryans disappears. If none of the aspects of the Vedic tradition were familiar in India at that time, why would people spontaneously take over the tradition of a handful of people? The Vedic mantra, after all, is not agriculture. For several centuries now, western scholars have studied the Vedas but without recognizing the ‘power of mantra’. Neither have they taken over the ‘Vedic culture’ in spite of its supposed power. If people from the western culture have not recognized ‘the power of the mantra’ after three hundred years of studying it, what enabled the people living in India to do so? One possibility is that they shared a common culture, or at least a culture that was similar enough to make a tradition like the Vedic one intelligible and accessible. In other words, the Vedas might have been new and composed by a small number of people but the culture of which they were a part could not have been new. If that is the case, the Vedas cannot represent the culture of a separate people.

Staal is one of the very few authors who take the question of the Aryan influence (without an invasion) seriously. For others, like Witzel, it is sufficient to argue that the Aryans could not have been indigenous to India. The rest happened ‘somehow’:

*“The ‘Aryan question’ is concerned with the immigration of a population speaking an archaic Indo-European (IE) language, Vedic Sanskrit, who celebrate their gods and chieftains in the poems of the oldest Indian literature, the Rgveda, and who subsequently spread their language, religion, ritual, and social organization throughout the subcontinent.”*²⁴ “[I]t is important to note that not

23 *Ibidem*, pp. 15–16.

24 Michael WITZEL, *Indocentrism: Autochthonous Visions of Ancient India*, in: Edwin F. Bryant – Laurie L. Patton (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Controversy: Evidence and Inference in Indian History*, London 2005, p. 341.

*only the Vedic language but the whole complex material and spiritual culture has somehow been taken over and absorbed in the northwest of the subcontinent.*²⁵

If we believe Witzel, the pre-Aryan population of India was simply waiting for the Aryans to arrive and bring them civilization, willing to accept everything that came their way. This is highly unlikely. It becomes even more unlikely when we take into account that the only scientific evidence we have is about the presence of horse bones, spoke-wheeled chariots, certain kinds of pottery linked to the Vedas, or related to the original home of the Indo-European languages.²⁶ None of these facts allows us to postulate that the Shudras of today owe their unchangeable inferior position in society to their ancestors who accepted this place a few thousand years ago from a people that brought them a civilization in return. Not only is the available evidence inadequate to make this claim, it is also inadequate to claim that the Vedas formed the foundation of a culture or civilization. On the basis of what we know about ancient India, it is far more likely that the Vedic tradition came into being as part of, or within, a culture that was taking shape in India among and across many different peoples, coming from different parts of the world, speaking different languages, using different utensils and having different arts and practices. It would be interesting to know more about the nature of this culture and how it came into being. But as long as scholars see Indian culture as founded in texts like the Vedas, or as a result of the interactions between two peoples and cultures, the real questions cannot even be formulated.

The question we want to address next is the following: Given the problems identified in the above, how can we explain the persistence of the notion of the Aryans and their impact on the Indian culture? How can we understand that the AIT is accepted and reproduced as a valid theory when one of its core aspects, the invasion hypothesis, has been refuted? And, in the case of the AMT, how can we understand its acceptance in the absence of additional theses about how the Aryans were able to have the impact they are alleged to have had without a conquest?

25 Michael WITZEL, *Aryan and Non-Aryan Names in Vedic India*, in: Johannes Bronkhorst – Madhav M. Deshpande (eds.), *Aryan and Non-Aryan in South Asia: Evidence, Interpretation and Ideology*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1999, pp. 389–390; emphasis added.

26 For an overview and analysis of the debate and the available evidence see Edwin F. BRYANT, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture: The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate*, New York 2001.

Christians and the Aryans

Several scholars have argued that biblical chronology was the conceptual framework for the postulation of the Aryans as a people. Scholars like Léon Poliakov²⁷ and Thomas Trautmann²⁸ argue that the idea of an Aryan people goes back to the biblical notion that each language is linked to a nation or a people's past.²⁹ This idea played a central role in the Christian project of locating the people of the world within the biblical family tree of the children of Noah. Only when one assumes that every language is linked to a people does a relation between two languages indicate a relation between two peoples. The common source for all languages related to one original people, Bryant³⁰ says, was embedded in “*the biblical version of history, in which Noah's three sons, Japhet, Shem and Ham, were generally accepted as being the progenitors of the whole of humanity*”. Before Babel, there was “*one human race speaking one language*”, which was then divided and dispersed over the earth. “*This theme, even when stripped of its biblical trappings, was to remain thoroughly imprinted in European consciousness until well into the twentieth century.*”³¹

As Trautmann³² convincingly shows, the study of Indian languages was also placed within this project. The main concern of the linguists who compared languages at the end of the eighteenth century was to trace the dispersal of the sons of Noah in time and space. Thus, when William Jones disclosed the link between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek in 1786,³³ he also postulated a connection between these languages and a lineage of nations. Jones was unambiguous about the project of tracing ‘all the nations’ of the world back to the three sons of Noah. He approached the linguistic discoveries as evidence for a common ancestry for Indians and Europeans, whom he considered to be descendants

27 Léon POLIAKOV, *Le Mythe Aryan: Essai sur les Sources du Racisme et des Nationalismes*, Paris 1971.

28 Thomas R. TRAUTMANN, *Aryans and British India*, Berkeley 1997; Thomas R. TRAUTMANN, *Languages and Nations: Conversations in Colonial South India*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2006.

29 See also: Stefan ARVIDSSON, *Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*, trans. by Sonia Wichmann, Chicago 2006; E. BRYANT, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture*; Jim G. SHAFFER – Diane A. LICHTENSTEIN, *South Asian Archaeology and the Myth of Indo-Aryan Invasions*, in: Edwin F. Bryant – Laurie L. Patton (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Controversy: Evidence and Inference in Indian History*, London 2005, pp. 75–104.

30 E. BRYANT, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture*.

31 *Ibidem*, p. 16.

32 T. R. TRAUTMANN, *Aryans and British India*; T. R. TRAUTMANN, *Languages and Nations*.

33 William JONES, *The Third Anniversary Discourse, Delivered 2 February, 1786, by the President, Asiatic Researches 1, 1788*, pp. 415–431.

of Ham (contrary to most of his contemporaries, who saw in the Indo-Europeans the descendants of Japhet).³⁴

But, what is often ignored is that Jones' discovery only gave ground to claim that Indians and Europeans shared a common lineage in the biblical family tree. Jones cannot take the credit for the idea of an Aryan people. Not only because this people was baptized as Aryans only a few decades later, but also because the idea that the Brahmins and the Vedas represented a people was already in place much before the discovery of the Indo-European language family. The same goes for the speculations about the relation between this people and the other known people of the world. In the first half of the eighteenth century, several French clerical scholars had already speculated that the Brahmins, the "*ancient inhabitants of India*" or the representatives of "*the Brahmanical faith*" had originated as an ancient Egyptian colony. Father Catrou had reached this conclusion because of similarities between the "*morals, religion and customs*" of the Brahmins and those of the Egyptians.³⁵ In 1777, Père Coeurdoux had proposed that the Brahmins were the progeny of Japhet. According to him, it was beyond doubt that India had known invasions of groups coming from the north and that one of these had brought the Brahmins and their religion to India.³⁶ From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, scholars began to refer to 'the Hindus', the nation that was described as having the Brahmins as its priests and the Vedas as its sacred texts. Even though the discovery of the Indo-European language family in this period gave rise to a proliferation of speculations about the origin of the Sanskrit-speaking people, this people continued to be called the 'Hindu' or 'Brahmanical' people and Sanskrit as the 'Brahmanical' language or tongue.

Trautmann tells us that at some point, even at a time when the AIT was still acquiring its final form, the direct link between a people and a language was discarded and scholars ceased to place the Indian people within the biblical family tree.³⁷ What didn't cease, however, were the theories about an Aryan people or race. This can mean one of two things about the Christian influence on the idea of an Aryan people: either the Biblical idea of a direct link between peoples and languages only played a heuristic role and led

34 William JONES, *Discourse the Ninth. On the Origin and Families of Nations. Delivered 23 February, 1792*, in: *The Works of Sir William Jones in Thirteen Volumes*, Vol. 3, London 1807, pp. 194–195.

35 François CATROU, *Histoire Générale de l'Empire du Mogol depuis sa Fondation*, La Haye 1708; Pierre-Daniel HUET, *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens*, Paris 1727³; Maturin Veyssièrre La CROZE, *Histoire Du Christianisme Des Indes*, La Haye 1724.

36 Sylvia MURR, *L'Inde Philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire – I. Moeurs et Coutumes des Indiens (1777): Un Inédit du Père G.-L. Coeurdoux s.j. dans la Version de N.-J. Desvaulx*, Paris 1987, p. 18.

37 T. R. TRAUTMANN, *Aryans and British India*, pp. 194–198; Thomas R. TRAUTMANN, *Introduction: What is the Aryan Debate?*, in: Thomas R. Trautmann (ed.), *The Aryan Debate*, New Delhi 2005, p. xxx.

to the discovery of an Aryan people, or the Biblical idea of the nation included more than a direct link between languages and people. From what we have seen above, the latter option seems to be the most likely one. The biblical notion of a link between nations and languages also included a link of both with religion. With the rejection of the direct link between a nation and a language, the link between a religion and a nation was not rejected; neither was the link between a religion and a sacred language. As such, the Vedas could form the glue between Sanskrit and the Hindu nation or Aryan people when the direct link between the latter was discarded. None of this, however, explains the idea of an original people of India and even less why these are said to have been invaded and subjugated by the Aryans. For a long time the ‘Hindu people’ or nation were thought to include all Indians, so the question is about what changed.

Whereas the idea of a Hindu, Vedic or Brahminical people goes back at least to the early eighteenth century, the Dravidians and the Aryan invasion theory are products of the first half of the nineteenth century (early suggestions of an aboriginal people excluded). Generally, this is explained as follows: scholars discovered the existence of a language family different from the Indo-European one and concluded that these were the languages of a different people, again based on the idea that all languages are directly linked to a people. But there are two problems with this explanation: (1) As we will see, the first formulations of the hypothesis of an invasion of the Brahminical people did not refer to the discovery of the Dravidian or another language family. (2) Even though the discovery of the Dravidian languages certainly played an important role in the establishment of the idea of a Dravidian people, it is still inadequate to explain the development of the invasion hypothesis.

Between Paris and Madras

The hypothesis of a ‘Hindu conquest of India’ crystallized in two different locations in the early nineteenth century. The first was the select club of Orientalists at the *Société Asiatique de Paris*; the second was the circle of scholars around F. W. Ellis and Colin Mackenzie at the College of Fort St. George in Madras. These are the two places where the hypothesis crystallized but soon it was taken over by scholars all over Europe, including Germany.

The invasion hypothesis

An early instance of the idea of the invasion is found in *Historical Sketches of the South of India* by Colonel Mark Wilks.³⁸ Formerly a political resident at the Court of Mysore, Wilks

38 Mark WILKS, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, vol. 1, London 1810.

was appointed as town major of Fort St. George, the capital of the Madras Presidency. Based on his readings of the ‘Laws of Manu’ – the dharmashastra text identified by the British as the sacred law book of the Hindus – Wilks introduced the notion of a “*Hindoo conquest*”, which he saw as the cause behind the formation of the caste system. (Early nineteenth century scholars understood the following when they spoke of the caste system: a hierarchical social system established in religious laws that divides people into superior and inferior groups. This hierarchy is reflected in their social position and their privileges.) He referred to the traditional tale of a king who in “*about 1450 years before Christ*” had “*reduced Hoobasica, a Hullia or Pariar king, and all his subjects, to a state of slavery, in which their descendants continue to this day*”. According to him, this story gave “*grounds*” for a “*conjecture which many circumstances will support, that these unhappy outcasts were the aborigines of India; and that the establishment of castes was not the effort of a single mind, but the result of successive expedients for retaining in subjection the conquests of the northern Hindoos; for they, also, are confessedly from the north*”.³⁹ Wilks mentioned two nations or peoples, the Hindus as opposed to the aboriginal people they were supposed to have conquered; he identified the Hindus as the superior castes of the caste system and imagined that the establishment of the caste system was the result of the Hindu conquest. Except for the traditional story, Wilks did not refer to any facts and failed to mention the ‘many circumstances’ supporting his conjecture.

Some of the French Orientalists had come to similar conclusions in the first half of the nineteenth century in Paris, ‘the hub of oriental scholarship’ during this period. In his *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l’Hindoustan*, Mathieu Louis Langlès⁴⁰ expanded on the thesis of an invasion. Langlès was a student of Silvestre de Sacy, the influential scholar and founding father of the *Société Asiatique de Paris*. The second volume of his work contained an elaborate essay on the religion, laws and customs of the Hindus, where he pitied them for being supplanted first by Muslim conquerors and then by English merchants, similar to the ancestors of the Hindus themselves, who “*no doubt in a distant past, since the memory of it has been lost, had supplanted the indigenous inhabitants of India, of which the caste of Pariahs probably offers us the sad remains*”.⁴¹ Without giving evidence, Langlès described the Pariahs as the descendants of an indigenous population conquered by Hindu invaders; he never defended this claim about the Hindu conquest of an aboriginal people in terms of linguistic differences.

39 *Ibidem*, pp. 150–151.

40 Louis Mathieu LANGLÈS, *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l’Hindoustan, Décrits Sous le Double Rapport Archéologique et Pittoresque, et Précédés d’une Notice Géographique, d’une Notice Historique*, 2 vols, Paris 1821.

41 *Ibidem*, p. 170. All citations from French works have been translated into English.

To Langlès these ideas appeared to reflect established facts. However, in a review article of the same work, published by Abel Rémusat in the *Journal des Savans* of 1822, it became clear how new this idea of a Hindu conquest of India actually was. Rémusat was a founding member of the *Société Asiatique* and would later become its president. In his review article, he mentioned the hypothesis of a foreign invasion as an idea “of little importance”, but noted that the hypothesis at least deserved some elaboration, “if only for the sake of its novelty”. Fascinatingly, Rémusat gave the following reason for retaining the hypothesis in spite of the lack of evidence: “This is without a doubt only a hypothesis, one that is strengthened by no historical monument whatsoever; but we have to agree that it offers a high enough degree of probability, and that it is difficult to study the system of castes, and to investigate the origin of the laws that the two first [castes] attributed to themselves with regard to the last two [castes], without the idea of a conquest presenting itself to the mind, as a way to explain the excessive superiority of the ones and the extreme degradation of the others.”⁴²

In the absence of any linguistic or archaeological facts that supported the hypothesis, Rémusat still considered the hypothesis unavoidable if one desired to understand the caste system.

Even where the hypothesis was questioned, its potential utility as an explanation of the origin of the caste system was admitted. In a review article of a translation of the *Lois de Manou*, Alexandre Langlois,⁴³ another member of the *Société Asiatique*, wondered whether the laws of Manu and the caste system had been “imported by the colony that is to have come from the north-west to establish itself in India in a time beyond memory”. Have they, he asked, “been imposed on the indigenous people by a more powerful and enlightened conqueror? Or, are they the product of an Indian soil, the result of a slow and progressive civilization?” Given the fact that “the elements to decide on these questions may be missing for a long time to come”, Langlois favored the hypothesis that the caste system emerged as a variant of the natural process of growth of all societies, albeit constrained by philosophy in the case of India.⁴⁴

Similar remarks are found in the work of the renowned Orientalist and professor of Sanskrit at the Collège de France, Eugène Burnouf. In a lecture on the Sanskrit language and literature, Burnouf⁴⁵ presented the hypothesis that the Indians had once been

42 Abel REMUSAT, *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l’Hindoustan; par L. Langlès*, *Journal des Savans*, Avril 1822, pp. 224.

43 Alexandre LANGLOIS, *Manava Dharma Sastra*, in: *Journal Asiatique* 68.2, 1833, pp. 142–155.

44 *Ibidem*, pp. 143–144.

45 Eugène BURNOUF, *Discours sur la Langue et la Littérature Sanscrite, Prononcé au Collège de France*, in: *Journal Asiatique* 63.2, 1833, pp. 251–272.

“foreigners” to their own country. If this is the case, he added, it is probable that there had been original inhabitants of India, conquered by the currently dominant people. The most important and self-evident factual evidence for this claim, Burnouf said, was the caste system. According to Burnouf, the first thing every observer of India would notice was that underneath the “*apparent unity*” rests a variety of diverse cultural elements. The unity, he said, is provided by the religious and civil institutions that were spread by an enlightened race. The variety of cultural elements, on the other hand, reflected the remains of the native tribes and nations of India, which “*had been forced to submit themselves to*” the unity. For, he argued, “*those rejected castes at the lower ranks of the social hierarchy, are they anything else than the remnants of a conquered people?*”⁴⁶ Only then did Burnouf provide further ‘evidence’ about differences in language, skin colour and customs between the higher and lower castes to support this connection between the caste system and the invasion of an alien people. It is important to note that Burnouf does not compare the skin colour, languages or customs of north and south Indians, nor of the speakers of Sanskrit derived vernaculars as opposed to speakers of other languages, but rather the differences between the lower and higher castes of India. The hypothesis he intended to defend is not the existence of two distinct races in India as such, but the claim that the lower and higher castes had originally belonged to two different races.

Similar tentative statements are found in a review article written on Neumann’s *Coup d’œil Historique, Sur les peuples de l’Orient*, published in *Journal Asiatique*.⁴⁷ After stating that in the Indian legends of the Puranas and the Itihasas we look in vain for something that in the right acceptance of the word could be called history, the author goes on to say that we can nevertheless, “*following the many traditions and the inductions of the culture and language, conclude with a very great probability that the conquering Brahmans left from the north and continuously spread out towards the south*”. After he has stated the great probability of this conclusion he draws the following course of events: “*When the barbaric indigenous princes, who had, sword in hand, opposed themselves to the new doctrine, had been annihilated or subjugated, large numbers of Brahmin colonies coming from the north arrived in the south; new families of rulers came up, and the whole population seems to have been consigned to the last two castes of the Indian society, or to the class of laborers and servants.*”⁴⁸

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the hypothesis of the Aryan invasion had been accepted by most European scholars of Indian religion. Only occasionally

46 *Ibidem*, p. 268.

47 ANONYMOUS, *Coup d’œil Historique, Sur Les Peuples de l’Orient, Par M. le Professeur Neumann, de Munich*, *Journal Asiatique* 80.2, 1834, pp. 81–114.

48 *Ibidem*, p. 83.

did the lack of evidence bring scholars to doubt its truth. But even where they did so, they nevertheless failed to reject the hypothesis. One of these scholars was Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay. In his influential work *The History of India*, Elphinstone⁴⁹ considered the lack of evidence for the attribution of a foreign origin to the Indians. Nevertheless he felt compelled to acknowledge that the idea of an invasion was a very plausible explanation for the existence of the caste system. Based on his readings of the Vedas and the Laws of Manu, Elphinstone observed that “*the three twice-born classes forming the whole community*” were “*embraced by the law*”, while the Shudras were “*in a servile and degraded condition*”. Yet, he pointed out, “*it appears that there are cities governed by Súdra Kings, in which Bramins are advised not to reside*” and that, as the code of Manu stated, “*there are whole territories inhabited by Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists and deprived of Bramins*”.⁵⁰ He considered it “*impossible not to conclude from all this, that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Súdra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence*”. Given his doubts about the foreign origin, however, Elphinstone suggested that the conquerors could also have been a “*local tribe like the Dorians in Greece*” or “*merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect for instance) which had outstripped their fellow-citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves*”.⁵¹

What do these formulations tell us about the theoretical framework to which they belong? What concepts and theories had to be present in order to find the invasion hypothesis ‘the most plausible explanation’ or an ‘inevitable’ hypothesis to arrive at? Let us take a closer look at the points these citations have in common.

1) All these citations speak of the caste system as a social hierarchy, a system that determines a person’s position in society in terms of the higher and the lower: the Brahmins are higher than the Kshatriyas, after whom come the Vaishyas, followed by the Shudras who in turn are followed by the outcastes or the Pariahs. The latter are so low as to be excluded from the system altogether. Even though all these castes are referred to when these authors speak of ‘the caste system’, it is not the respective difference in hierarchy between all of these caste groups that draws their attention. Instead they make another division at a higher level of description: the first group consists of the first two or three castes (usually it is the first three but one of these authors speaks of only the first two), which they also call the ‘twice-born castes’. The second group consists of the Shudras and the outcastes. The first group is considered to be superior to the second

49 Mountstuart ELPHINSTONE, *The History of India*, Vol. 1, London 1841.

50 *Ibidem*, p. 95.

51 *Ibidem*, p. 96.

group. In other words, the degree of superiority or inferiority is neither constant nor proportional. These authors see a big gap with regard to social inequality between the first and the second group. It is this distinction that they attempt at explaining. That is, not all the inequalities established by the caste system are considered to be in need of explanation. It is only the extreme social inequality between the first and the second group that comes out as a problem to be explained.

2) Before we look into the explanations, let us consider what the respective superior and inferior position of both groups consists of, or what is meant when it is said that the Shudras had an inferior position in society. Even though these citations rely on a characterization of the caste system not made explicit there, we do read several references to the respective states of being of the two groups. The second group's 'extreme degradation' apart, they are alleged to be in a 'state of slavery', having a 'servile and degraded position' and are 'rejected'. The first group is described by Elphinstone as forming the 'community as a whole' and 'embraced by the law'. They are also depicted as the three twice-born castes. This refers to the group that has undergone the *upanayana* ritual, which was understood by the Europeans as a ritual through which one becomes part of the Vedic community. Based on the readings of the Laws of Manu, Europeans thought that the Shudras and the outcastes had no right to undergo this ritual and were, as such, excluded from participation in the Vedic community. That is why Burnouf says that the religious and civil institutions of the 'enlightened race' provided a unity to Indian society that was only apparent but not real. If the religious and civil institutions of a society are what makes this society into a unit or a coherent whole, we can assume that these institutions organize the life of all members of society. If the unity is only apparent, this means that these institutions do not organize the lives of all members of society. The 'variety' of Burnouf refers not to the mere existence of many cultural elements but also to the elements that would not exist in a society when the unity provided by the religious and civil institutions were to be real and not apparent. In other words, the first group forms the community organized according to the religious and civil institutions of that society. The second group consists of slaves who are rejected from this community. This is also in line with the concept of slavery. The most salient property of slaves is that they are not free to organize their life themselves; nor are they allowed to participate in the way of living of their masters. The difference then between the first and the second or the superior and inferior group is that the former, even if not internally equal, are all free to organize their lives according to the religious and civil institutions of their society. The second group, on the other hand, does not have the freedom to live according to these institutions but is there only to serve the first group. They are 'rejected' from participating in the religious and civil institutions or from being embraced by the law.

3) We now have a better idea of what the superiority of the former and the inferiority of the latter refers to: the former are civilized because they have religious and civil institutions that organize their lives, the second are inferior because they have no access to these institutions. Neither do they have religious and civil institutions of their own. It is this situation, and not the existence of social inequalities in a society as such, that draws the attention of these nineteenth century Europeans as something in need of an explanation. If we call the phenomenon these authors seek to explain as the ‘social inequality’ of the Indian society, this refers to a situation, where a part of society is excluded from social institutions. This social inequality is considered to be of a different kind than the inequalities between the first three castes.

4) This brings us to their explanation: the two groups represent two different races (race, nation and people are used interchangeably during this period) and the first group has conquered the second one. If the existence of social inequality in a society can lead to the conclusion that the superior and inferior group consist of two different peoples, races or nations then this presupposes that social inequality cannot exist within the ‘same people’. Or, that within the same people no group is excluded from the community, that is, from the religious and civil institutions.

5) The existence of social inequality, then, can point to the existence of two races or peoples. The fact that one race becomes superior and the other inferior is due to the respective strength of the civilizations of these two peoples. Burnouf, for instance, speaks of an ‘enlighted race’, as opposed to ‘tribes’ and ‘almost nations’. That is, he speaks of tribes that had not even reached the state of nationhood before the arrival of the Brahminical race. Other scholars of that period speak of the aborigines as savage and uncivilized. Some examples: Dr. Reverend Stevenson, a Protestant missionary working in the South of India, refers to the aborigines as “*unlettered and uncivilized*” and hence finds it plausible that the rakshasas and demons mentioned in the “*ancient traditions of the Brahmins*” refer to these original inhabitants of India.⁵² Another example is found in an article on *The Kulin Brahmins of Bengal* published in *Calcutta Review* in 1844.⁵³ Here the author asks “*who the original inhabitants*” of India were even though he adds that this can “*only be a question of conjecture*” As the author specifies, these “*original inhabitants*” or “*aborigines*” are the population living in India prior to the invasion of the “*more civilized emigrants*” or the “*foreign colonists*”. The latter are characterized by their religion ‘Hinduism’ and their ‘Sanskrit literature’, viz the ‘Vedas’ and ‘Puranas’. The answer to this question seems to be a matter of preference or intuition rather than

52 John STEVENSON, *On the Ante-Brahmanical Worship of the Hindús in the Dekhan*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 5, 1839, pp. 190–191.

53 ANONYMOUS, *The Kulin Brahmins of Bengal*, The Calcutta Review 2.3, 1844, pp. 1–31.

argumentation. The author is not willing to “believe” that the “existing occupiers of the soil are all descendants from the Aborigines”. Nor does he want to “admit” that they are all “colonists and emigrants”. Nor, he says, can it be “proved to anybody’s satisfaction” that the “wild hill tribes on the frontiers are the only relics of the first inhabitants”. Nevertheless, he considers the truth to “lie between these varying propositions”. Regardless of the fact that nothing seems to be based on any evidence, he finds the most likely candidates for the aborigines he is looking for in the people living in the “thickets of hills and mountain-fastnesses”. How is he able to identify them? This is how: they are “proper representatives of the people in their pristine condition” as opposed to the “more civilized emigrants”. In other words the descendants of the aboriginal population are identified on the basis of their absence of civilization, for which the only mentioned criterion is the religion, viz Hinduism, as found in the Sanskrit literature, of the ‘foreign colonists.’⁵⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century the conjecture or hypothesis about the invasion of an aboriginal people had gradually acquired the status of fact. Thus, Max Müller, one of the most important Indologists of this period and regarded by some as the father of the Aryan Invasion theory,⁵⁵ suggests that, the Rigveda, and “*Ramayana, Manu and Mahabharata*” reveal the whole account of how the “Brahminical tribes” conquered India step by step and established and spread their rule. The “Aryan tribes”, he says, “remained united by their common origin, by the ties of religion and of their sacred language”. The aboriginal inhabitants on the other hand, either fled to the refuge of the “thick forests of the mountainous districts, and in the south of the Vindhya range”, or “remained in a state of slavery, constituting the class of Sudras”.⁵⁶ Müller adds another remark which shows that the theory about the Aryan race and their invasion was part of a bigger conceptual framework: “We generally find that it is the fate of the negro race, when brought into hostile contact with the Japhetic race, to be either destroyed and annihilated, or to fall into a state of slavery and degradation, from which, if at all, it recovers by the slow progress of assimilation. This has been the case in the north of India. The greater part of its former inhabitants have entirely vanished at the approach of the Aryan civilization; some however submitted to the yoke of the conquerors, and many of these have, after a long time of slavery, during which they adopted the manners, religion and language of their superiors, risen to a new social and intellectual independence. The lower classes of the Hindus consist

54 *Ibidem*, p. 3.

55 Müller was the first to introduce the word ‘Aryan’ to designate the conquerors who brought the Vedic religion to India.

56 Max MÜLLER, *On the Relation of the Bengali to the Aryan and Aboriginal Languages of India*, in: Three Linguistic Dissertations Read at the Meeting of the British Association in Oxford, London 1848, pp. 329–330; emphasis added.

of those aboriginal inhabitants, and some of them continue still up to the present day in a state of the utmost degradation, living as outcasts in forests or as servants in villages."⁵⁷

With the focus on the caste system and the idea that the first three castes belonged to a different race than the Shudras and the outcasts, a range of other differences could now be plotted along to the same racial lines: difference in language use; difference in religion (when Stevenson saw signs of a different religions, for instance, he referred to them as non-brahminical religions, which indicate another people according to him); and difference in appearance and skin colour. All of these were now taken to signal the existence of two peoples that formed the upper and lower castes of the caste system. Whether the focus was on the social inequality of the caste system, on the difference in language, on the difference in looks or in the difference of religion, all these elements were related to each other as differences between two peoples where one had invaded the other and imposed its religion, law, language and customs on the other. In other words, the conceptual framework of European scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth century included the idea that a difference in language not only implied two peoples, but also two religions (in different stages of degeneration), two systems of law (or customs when the laws had not yet been fully developed) and a difference in general 'value' or state of civilization reflected in the social position of the respective peoples. If two peoples lived together it meant that the superior one had conquered the inferior people and subdued the latter to their own system of laws and religion.

Today, we want to suggest, these same ideas are what make the description of the caste system as an Aryan system of racial discrimination appear plausible enough to be reproduced in the absence of any evidence or explanations. The hypothesis presented in this article is that these notions are dependent on a set of Christian theological ideas from which they derive their intelligibility. For some of these ideas it has already been shown to be the case: S. N. Balagangadhara has shown, for instance, that the Vedas cannot be the sacred texts of Hinduism and that the claim that this is what they are is dependent on the Christian idea that God has given a sense of himself to the whole of mankind.⁵⁸ In the same way the idea that Sanskrit was the sacred language of a specific people is dependent on the Christian idea that each nation has its own language with which it transmits its religion. Today we know that Sanskrit was not the language of one people but a language developed for specific purposes and used by different linguistic communities. One of the aspects that remains to be explored is the idea of social inequality and its relation to national and religious differences. What does it mean, for instance, to say that the

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 348–349.

⁵⁸ S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, "The Heathen in His Blindness...": *Asia, the West and the Dynamic of*

Shudras are not 'embraced by the law' or are the 'outside class within society'? It is our hypothesis that these ideas are also dependent on a Christian notion of the nation, but this is something that needs to be taken up in future research.

Resumé

Árjové a starověký kastovní systém

V posledních dvou stoletích hledali tvůrci převládajících interpretací kořeny kastovního systému ve starověké Indii. Konkrétně spojovali původ kastovního systému s invazí Árjů, tj. lidí mluvících sanskrtem, o kterých tvrdili, že vnutili svůj jazyk, náboženství a sociální struktury původním obyvatelům zvaným Drávidové. Árjové si je prý podmanili, odsunuli je na okraj společnosti a učinili z nich nejnižší kasty. Jelikož má teorie o invazi Árjů zásadní význam pro naše chápání kastovního systému, autorka analyzovala odbornou literaturu

k tématu a zabývá se také otázkou, jaké máme pro danou teorii doklady. Došla k závěru, že v podstatě neexistuje žádný jasný důkaz pro tvrzení, že kastovní systém vznikl jako výsledek invaze Árjů do Indie. Autorka tedy sledovala vznik této teorie v evropské literatuře na počátku 19. století, aby zjistila, jak tato teorie vznikla a na čem byla založena. To jí umožnilo identifikovat předpoklady v pozadí vzniku teze, které umožňují, aby byla vnímána jako věrohodná ještě dnes.

Martin FÁREK

Caste or qualification? Chaitanya Vaishnava Discussions about Brahmanas in Colonial India¹

Abstract: Despite the general conviction about functioning of caste system in India we are far from understanding even its basic units, called *varna* and *jati*. If many scholars are not able to provide convincing solutions to problems with definition of caste and subcaste in India, it is necessary to analyse the whole framework of thinking within which our modern discussions about caste developed. The general hypothesis of this article can be summarized in the following way: Discussions about caste system in India are constrained by Christian theological legacy within earlier Orientalist research. Nature of several problems we encounter in caste studies is discussed in the first part, before author develops critique of the dominant interpretation for rise of *bhakti* movements in Indian history. Although they are often described as protest against “caste system” in general and “brahmanical orthodoxy” in particular, relevant historical evidence shows very different picture. Chaitanya Vaishnava movement, very influential *bhakti* tradition during the British Raj, is a chosen example for analyses. Its resources provide us with domestic ideas and practices that are challenging dominant interpretations of both caste system and the rise and nature of *bhakti* movements themselves.

Key words: caste system – religion in South Asia – *varna* – *sramanas* – *bhakti* – Chaitanya Vaishnavas – comparative science of cultures

If anything became a part of common sense knowledge about India in Europe, it is notion of the hierarchical order of society called caste system. It is described as one of the main factors that have formed history of South Asian people since the Vedic period till today. Let us remind ourselves of the role caste system has played in the explanations of major characteristics of Indian people and crucial events in their history:

¹ My special thanks to Prakash Shah who organized the conference *Caste: Critiquing Colonial and Contemporary Constructions* (University of London, April 5th 2014). Thanks to his invitation I had an opportunity to present some of the arguments that are developed in this article. I am also grateful to Jakob De Roover, Sarah Claerhout, Marianne Keppens, Dunkin Jalki and Sufiya Pathan for discussions we had over several connected topics.

Karl Marx and Max Weber considered it to be the main cause of stagnancy of Indian societies and their economy over centuries. Christian missionaries, liberal thinkers and reformers of India accused the caste system of the oppression, injustice and moral degeneration of Indian people. It is supposed to cause intellectual ills, too. For example, Louis Dumont argued that the early fixation of caste system prevented the development of historical consciousness in India. Among philosophers it is not uncommon to hear an idea that because of the caste system, there could have been hardly a tradition of open disputations in Ancient and Medieval India. Hence rational reasoning simply did not develop in domestic Indian traditions, comparable to our European philosophical development. These and similar ideas became so widely accepted that only few scholars raised questions about their plausibility. This itself is rather strange situation for researchers in history, society and religion of South Asia. Why?

The answer is simple: We are far from the clear understanding of caste as a form of social organization. Even a random reading of historical, anthropological, sociological and other works on South Asian society reveals unsatisfactory situation. There is not a clear understanding what is caste, what is sub-caste, and how these are related to Indian categories *varna*² and *jati*; nor what the relationship between *varna* and *jati* is. These problems were puzzling for the British colonial administrators and for their Indian respondents during the censuses and surveys,³ and they remain unresolved today. When we look at the discussions from the first half of the nineteenth century till the first half of the twentieth century, we see several attempts to find answers. Interestingly enough, their authors admitted that they were far from satisfactory explanations to the disturbing questions.⁴ Several other problems have been waiting for good solutions, for example question concerning changes in the nature of caste system: Is today's caste system in India a direct continuation from the ancient times? Or do we better understand it as a result of British colonial rule, as Nicholas Dirks and others argued?⁵

In this article, I will aim at three closely connected goals: First, let us find out what problems we face when scholars cannot agree on meaning of such basic categories as *varna*, caste, etc. All these problems are not only theoretical. They have played a crucial role in heated discussions about a proper way how to prevent "caste discrimination" today. Last year I had a chance to see, how all these long unresolved problems of Oriental studies effected life of Hindu community in the Great Britain today. In the first part

2 I will use a simplified system of transcription for Sanskrit and other Indian terms in this article.

3 Nicholas B. DIRKS, *Castes of Mind*, Representations 37, 1992, p. 68.

4 Alexander E. H. BLUNT, *The Caste System of Northern India. With special reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, London 1931, pp. 6–7.

5 Nicholas B. DIRKS, *Castes of Mind. Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Princeton 2011.

of this article, I will briefly point to the problems that both the proponents of anti-caste legislation in Britain today and many European scholars of yesterday share. If our definitions of caste and sub-caste are not satisfactory, how to proceed? I propose that we should start to analyze experts' groping for explanations of categories such as *varna* and *jati* by looking into the development of conceptual framework which Europeans have used for descriptions of society in India. In this case, as well as in other main arguments, I am following the insights of research program conceived by S. N. Balagangadhara.

Therefore, as a second step, it will be necessary to summarize and critique some of the arguments prevailing in the area of caste studies. Dominant understanding of caste today has emerged during a specific interaction between two very different cultures: European and Indian. It is necessary to understand which kind of thinking produced the problems we face. Following the insights of S. N. Balagangadhara and other researchers inspired by his work, we should ask: How did European scholars come to understanding of Indian society as hierarchical arrangement of castes? It is possible to show that these interpretations are direct continuation of old European theological debates. The story of Indian religion, its decay in the hands of priests, and hence repeated raise of reformation movements against the priesthood has been the skeleton of the theological interpretations.⁶ Within this framework European scholars started to interpret different groups in India as castes and sub-castes. These groups were supposed to form a hierarchical order in society that was sanctioned and perpetuated by religious Hindu law. There were also other strings in this composite story, such as linguistic and racial speculations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Orientalists that created a theory of Aryan invasion to India.

Only after these two steps I can proceed to a particular problem of the dominant explanation, namely idea that ascetic and *bhakti* traditions have been a kind of anti-caste, egalitarian movements in Indian history. Many centuries in India have been portrayed as on-going struggle of lower casts against brahmanical rule, or “despotism”, which was soon translated into “tyranny of caste”. What evidence do we have to support this view? I will argue that hardly any convincing evidence is available to us, and that quite some scholars who held the idea of anti-caste movements have been aware of this fact. What we have in the records from several centuries leads to a very different interpretation. Of course, I am not able to examine all the research about even majority of different *bhakti* movements in India. But we can choose one of the very influential traditions as a testing case. For this purpose, I chose Chaitanya Vaishnava movement, one of the

6 For succinct overview of the role Christian thinking played in the European dealing with society and traditions of India, see “Setting the Context” in: S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, New Delhi 2012, pp. 235–237.

most influential *bhakti* traditions in India during the nineteenth century, according to British resources.⁷

I will show that this allegedly anti-caste Vaishnava movement had in fact participated in pan-Indian discussion about *brahmanas*, *ksatriyas* and others in the system called *varnasrama-dharma*. Teachers of the Chaitanya Vaishnava tradition considered this so-called caste system to be the best form of society. There is hardly a possibility that they were leaders of an “anti-caste movement”. It was not anti-caste movement at any point in Indian history and we can proceed to other *bhakti* traditions to test, if the same understanding would be true for them. Although it seems to be rather negative conclusion, it is in fact a good starting point for another kind of research.

If this is the case, I have to attempt for more plausible explanation. If Chaitanya Vaishnavas considered *brahmanas* and other castes to be the best division of people in society, what will their discussions reveal about Indian understanding of *varna*? What were the ideas and questions that these *bhaktas* pursued? For example, a part of our dominant description is the conviction about birth as the main criterion for membership in a particular caste: Once somebody was born to his caste, he will remain its member till the end of his life. Yet Chaitanya Vaishnavas have argued otherwise. As we will see, they considered qualifications of a given person in order to find out if he is a *brahmana*, *ksatriya*, etc. In fact, they allowed for somebody born to one *varna* to become a member of another, even more respected *varna*. And they were also convinced that *brahmanas* (and others) can fall from their status and therefore lose their original *varna*.

Therefore, my main argument is that despite the dominant claims of modern scholarship, Indian criteria of division between people were not based only on birth to particular family and group. Apparently, the criteria of natural qualities and inclinations, independent of people’s birth, were considered very seriously. This idea emerged within disputes between several traditions of Ancient India, and we can trace it in Indian thinking from the early Upanishads till today. I will also briefly point to the Chaitanya Vaishnava resources in order to find a framework of thought, which could enable Indian thinkers to reach such conclusions. It is meant as a step in clarifying conceptual quandary in the current scholarly discussion and more importantly, I hope, it is a fruitful direction in accessing the traditional understanding of *varna* in India.

7 According to some scholars, Chaitanya Vaishnavas formed the largest single religious tradition of British India in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Edward BALFOUR, *The Cyclopædia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia*, Vol. I, Graz 1967, p. 638.

Caste: what are we talking of?

There is a number of problems in older and recent attempts to define and to analyze caste. They can be shown well in the case of anti-caste discrimination legislation in Great Britain today. Let us start from the critique raised by Prakash Shah. He analyzed the attempts to formulate legislation against caste discrimination within the scope of British Equality Act. His analyses disclosed several problems: 1. Despite the fact that there is hardly any convincing evidence of the “caste discrimination cases” in the United Kingdom, some legislators confidently speak about the urgent need to implement legislation against it. 2. But the proponents of the legislation are not able to define the caste as such and therefore they are also not able to distinguish between supposed caste discrimination and other kinds of discrimination. 3. Because traditional Indian society has been criticized and its supposed evils has been denounced by Europeans for more than three hundred years, the discussion is soaked with preconceived moral judgments and emotions. I agree with Prakash Shah that it is the result of a serious intercultural misunderstanding: The proponents of new legislation took the Western descriptions of Indian society as the truth about it. The discussion is going on within the framework of this Western interpretation, which many Indians accepted as their own.⁸ The last point cannot be stressed enough: not only that Western and Indian intellectuals take the Western framework of interpretation as the best space for discussion, this very framework prevents them even to ask: What has been the original Indian understanding of their own society? But before we will look more closely into this important issue in the following pages, let us consider what problems exactly are we facing in this case. Then we can proceed to the link with older attempts to understand caste system.

If somebody wishes to implement any legislation against caste discrimination, this person must have rather clear understanding what caste is and what it is not. How could you decide between different cases of discrimination otherwise? But materials provided by group of experts for the Equality and Human Rights Commission are far from desired clarity in understanding caste. Authors of the report *Caste in Britain: Socio-legal Review* admit that the main category in discussion, caste itself, remains a mystery for the researchers and lawyers alike. According to them, there are currently three domestic South Asian concepts to which caste refers: a) *varna*, b) *jati*, c) *biradari*. After several areas of implication have been discussed, we learn that caste was defined as “a subset of race”, but also that this definition is not satisfactory. The report concludes:

8 Prakash SHAH, *The moral basis of anti-caste legislation*, in: Public Spirit (www.publicspirit.org), posted on September 25th, 2013.

“Currently there is no consensus on how a definition of caste should be formulated. [...] Consequently there is a need to elaborate a new formulation or definition that more accurately reflects the experience of caste in Britain.”⁹

Did the special seminar and workshop discussions of experts create satisfactory solution? Although the “minimum idea of caste” was suggested in terms of social stratification, inherited status and endogamy, wide range of diverse properties of caste was suggested. Birth, descend and origin; class, inherited social status, social ranking and hierarchy; guild; prejudice; stereotype; and religious. Another session of experts suggested also apartheid; cohesion; craft; exclusion; not hierarchy; pollution; and power relations, Given the fact that the material was supposed to help lawyers to formulate clear and unambiguous criteria, a reader is surprised to find this preliminary conclusion: “Overall, there appeared to be a consensus that an elastic definition that addresses caste, without offending any religious group, was the best.”¹⁰

How could a definition be elastic? Should it not be the most precise formulation of definiens that will make clear division lines between different categories? Another problem is that among the wide range of suggested criteria many fit also descriptions of Communist, Nazi and other totalitarian discriminative practices (for example, descend, class, power relations, prejudice, social ranking). On top of that, authors of the text did not attempt to explain the exact meaning of these general categories. Hence, the whole discussion remained at very general level and it is vague.

Experts did not agree if exceptions should follow the exceptions pertaining to race or to religion. Conclusion is giving us empty statements, such as “caste was acknowledged to be a complex and changing phenomenon with varying significance among South Asian and other diaspora communities in Britain”.¹¹ Moreover, it is not clear from either of the two reports, if the discussants tried to define caste as a word referring to *varna*, or to *jati*, or to *biradari*, or perhaps to all of them? Another problem is this: I did not find any ideas that would direct attention of the experts to the differences between Western and Indian understanding of this issue.

Groping of experts in the case of British Equality Act mirrors the situation in social sciences and humanities during many decades. Sociologists, anthropologists, researchers in Indology, and other scholars who tried to define caste and to analyze the ways caste system works, admitted serious problems and inadequacy of older descriptions. In order

9 Meena DHANDA et al., *Caste in Britain: Socio-legal Review*, in: Equality and Human Rights Commission Research report 91, Spring 2014, p. 36.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 28.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 41.

to see how the whole discussion has developed, let us start with older material. In the period prior to the time of World War II scholars had tried to provide a satisfactory definition of caste. They had followed the ideas of nineteenth century Orientalists, some had analyzed data collected during censuses in India. For this stage of the caste debates, I found work of A. Blunt to be an important overview.

Blunt was superintendent of the census operations of 1911 in the United Provinces in India and one of his duties was to make investigations “*into certain specific aspects of the caste system*”.¹² During the twenties of the last century, Blunt collected a lot of material on caste system that had existed so far. His book is very serious and informed attempt to give “*a full and connected account of caste as a system, which describes the factors which brought caste system into existence, the evolution of the present system, the nature of the customs common to all castes, the principles which underlie those customs, and the reasons for similarity or difference between caste and caste*”.¹³

A. Blunt also strived for a clear definition of caste and this is the result:

*“A caste is an endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, arising from birth alone; imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse; either (i) following a common traditional occupation, or (ii) claiming a common origin, or (iii) both following such occupation and claiming such origin; and generally regarded as forming a single homogenous community.”*¹⁴

Right from the beginning we see ambiguity of this attempt. The definition connects several characteristics suggested by previous authors. The most important of all is endogamy, but precisely in this point Blunt did not succeed to provide a clear criterion. Caste is either one endogamous group, or a collection of such groups which is not the same. One excludes the other, logically. If you will have endogamous groups A, B and C, from the principle of endogamy we can easily infer that members of group A will not marry members of groups B and C, etc. Collection of any number of endogamous groups does not create one larger endogamous unit, and therefore it is not clear what constitutes its unity, allegedly comparable to one endogamous group. From Blunts’ definition only common traditional occupation remains, but he admitted himself that many castes do not fit this criterion.¹⁵

Let us consider endogamy as such, because it is the most commonly given definiens of caste. What does evidence from the experiences of the British in India say? Although

12 A. E. H. BLUNT, *The Caste System of Northern India*, p. v.

13 *Ibidem*.

14 *Ibidem*, p. 5.

15 *Ibidem*, p. 3, and Chapter 12.

endogamy is given as one of the main characteristics of the castes and even more of the sub-castes, the British officers and scholars observed puzzling flexibility in the Indian reality:

“The endogamy of a subcaste is not as rigid as that of a caste. A marriage between (say) a Brahman bridegroom and a Rajput bride is unthinkable, but intermarriages have occurred between subcastes of the same caste with no worse consequences than a purificatory sacrifice; and if circumstances make it desirable, such as lack of women, subcaste endogamy is abandoned. Even in the Brahman caste this has occurred. Subcaste endogamy is mutable; sometimes a subcaste which is endogamous in one place is not so in another. A trifling quarrel will drive two groups that formerly intermarried to endogamy: the removal of the cause of offense removes the restriction. But the most potent of all objections is the fact that endogamous subcastes are not regarded by their own members or by the rest of Hindu society as castes. To call such groups castes is to treat them as being what no Hindu would admit them to be. An investigator is not at liberty to manipulate his material so as to make it fit his theories.”¹⁶

A. Blunt implicitly suggested, that if we are talking about caste, we should use it only for domestic category *varna*. By the quoted arguments Blunt tried to refute a proposal of M. Sénart, one of the recognized scholars of the period. What did Sénart suggest? It is rather sub-caste that should be called properly caste, because it is endogamous. Sénart had reasons to delegate endogamy to sub-castes (*jati*). For example, there are description of marriages between members of brahmanical and other *varnas* in the famous *Manavadharmasastra*. And Blunt had to admit few pages later in his own book that the same kind of mixed marriages described by Manu had been occurring still in modern times. Apparently, endogamy has not been the practice by which we can clearly define a particular caste as a group different from another caste.

In this dispute so far, we have two ideas: either it is *jati*, that is endogamous group, or it is *varna*, that is endogamous. Let us note three points: 1. There was more than enough empirical and historical evidence against both of these explanations. 2. Instead of admitting that evidence proved endogamy not to be a decisive criterion, A. Blunt tried to reconcile the problem by ascribing endogamy as the first characteristic to both *varna* and *jati*. 3. Despite these crucial problems of interpretation, quite some Indian authors did not have problems with repeating ideas of their colonial masters. The Western descriptions and criticism of caste system became accepted among educated circles of India in this way.¹⁷

This issue is further complicated by the repeated frustration of the officers and scholars, who tried to settle disturbing questions about caste with Indians themselves:

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 6–7.

¹⁷ See for example Nripendra Kumar DUTT, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, London 1931.

“Here we may notice how complicated is the segmentation of Hindu society. It is largely this fact which is responsible for the ignorance of the average Hindu about his caste system, and the difficulty, experienced at successive census enumerations, of obtaining a correct answer to the simple question: ‘What is your caste?’. One man will state his social class, naming one of the ancient varnas – especially if the claim of his caste to belong to that varna is disputable, and he thinks it desirable to assert it. Another will give his endogamous subcaste – especially if it sounds better than his caste. A third will give his exogamous section; a fourth will mention some caste-title. The Hindu, generally speaking, is ignorant of all social distinctions which do not affect him personally, and very careless in his statement of those that do – a fact which makes the task of the enquirer into the caste none the easier.”¹⁸

As decades have passed, scholars have been struggling with the same problems: How to define *varna* and *jati*? What is the relationship between these two categories? How does the whole system function? Whereas some repeated the ideas about endogamy, fixed social hierarchy controlled by *brahmanas*, occupational criteria, and Marxist or Weberian theories of classes as explanations for caste divisions,¹⁹ others reported more and more evidence against these ideas. After World War II, different scholars pointed to examples of caste mobility,²⁰ to emergence of new castes (*jatis*),²¹ or to marginalized fact that occupations of large number of members of all castes have been changing over generations. Many *brahmanas* who should be ruling priestly elite according to the dominant explanation were in fact poor and worked in all kinds of occupations.²² Meanwhile, the dispute about the origins, development and functioning of the caste system has seen famous hypothesis of L. Dumont of the ritual purity – pollution scale, that should define the caste hierarchy, and its refutations.²³ Till today, scholars disagree both about the historical development of *varna* and *jati*, as well as about the realities they are supposed to describe. A summary of the situation from Brian K. Smith:

18 A. E. H. BLUNT, *The Caste System of Northern India*, pp. 8–9.

19 Irfan HABIB, *Caste in Indian History*, in: Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History. Towards a Marxist Perception*, New Delhi 2013, pp. 161–179.

20 Changes in rank and prestige of different castes were described by well known concept of Sanskritization (M. N. Srinivas). There are many more studies about the topic, see for example David POCKOCK, *The Movement of Castes*, *Man* 55, 1955, pp. 71–72; Hitesranjan SANYAL, *Continuities of Social Mobility in Traditional and Modern Society in India: Two Case Studies of Caste Mobility in Bengal*, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30.2, 1971, pp. 315–339.

21 James S. SEBRING, *The Formation of New Castes: A Probable Case from North India*, *American Anthropologist*, New Series 74.3, 1972, pp. 587–600.

22 Noel P. GIST, *Caste in Transition: South India*, *Phylon* 15.2, 1954, pp. 155–164.

23 Louis DUMONT, *Homo Hierarchicus. The Caste System and its Implications*, revised English ed., Chicago 1980; Mary SEARLE-CHATTERJEE, *Contextualising Caste: Post-Dumontian Approaches*, Wiley-Blackwell 1995; Anthony GOOD, *Polemic against Dumontian Orthodoxy*, *Current Anthropology* 34.5, 1993, pp. 797–798; Declan QUIGLEY, *The Hierarchy Trap*, *Current Anthropology* 39.2, 1998, pp. 289–291.

“Different answers to the query regarding the relationship between class (*varna*) and caste (*jati*) have been put forth. In the scholarly literature, the terms ‘*varna*’ and ‘*jati*’ have sometimes been regarded as virtually interchangeable. Dumont more cautiously argues that the *varna* and caste systems are ‘homologous’, and that the *varna* system is indeed the caste system in embryo, ‘both of which are structural, and both of which culminate in the Brahmins.’ At the other end of the spectrum we find those who regard the *varnas* as purely theoretical constructs which refer ‘at best only to the broad categories of the society and not to its real and effective units.’”²⁴

If experts are puzzled, what should the future generation of researchers think? Consider a student of South Asian history and culture who is reading assertions such as that given by Gavin Flood in his *Introduction to Hinduism*. Flood translated *varna* as “class” and *jati* as “caste”. At the same time he admitted (emphasis mine): “[...] *the human jatis are a highly complex social reality which incorporate within them many sub-divisions. Indeed the Brahman and Ksatriya varnas are also taken to be jati. [...] The exact historical relationship between varna and jati is unclear. It is not certain that the castes or jatis developed from the varna system. Indeed philosophical texts do not consistently distinguish between the two terms and, according to Halbfass, jati is used in the sense of varna in the Dharma Sastra literature.*”²⁵

How to proceed in such a situation? Shall we discard the old concept of *varna* and study only existing *jatis*, as Srinivas suggested?²⁶ This proposal creates at least three serious problems: 1. We will have to explain why it make sense to many people in India today to identify themselves as members of different *varnas*. Therefore, the crucial questions remain: What is *varna*, what is *jati*, and what are the relationships between them? 2. It is not clear what constitutes decisive criteria for ranking of different *jatis* and their further inner divisions, and the same holds true for the rules that allow or ban inter-group marriages.²⁷ But it is quite clear that there is no pan-Indian ranking of *jatis*. 3. Even without *varna* system, *jati* remains a puzzling category:

“[...] all these various groups – those listed by Mr. Mandal’s Commission and those being catalogued by the Anthropological Survey of India – may be called *jatis*, at least in the Bengali language. But can they all be legitimately designed in the English language as castes? There appears to be a problem of translation here. The term *caste* answers only partly, but not fully, to what

24 Brian K. SMITH, *Classifying the Universe. The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste*, New York – Oxford 1994, p. 317.

25 Gavin FLOOD, *An Introduction to Hinduism*, New Delhi 1998, pp. 59–60.

26 “The *varna*-model has produced wrong and distorted image of caste. It is necessary for the sociologist to free himself from the hold of the *varna*-model if he wishes to understand the caste system.” M. N. SRINIVAS, *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, Calcutta 1962, p. 66.

27 See for instance the discussion of *gotra*, clans and sub-castes in: Pauline KOLENDA, *Caste in Contemporary India. Beyond Organic Solidarity*, Prospect Heights 1985, pp. 14–22.

*Bengalis mean by jat or jati, which may refer also, according to context and situation, to tribe, sect, and religious or linguistic minority.*²⁸

It is certainly true that by *jati* people in India and in Britain mean groups defined by quite a wide range of criteria. But our confusion is not primarily caused by a problem of translation, whether we talk about *varna*, *jati* or *biradari*. Why is there such a problem with definition of caste? What kind of problem is it? I will argue that it is not a problem of definition but first of all a problem of ideas that formed our understanding of society in India.

Given the fact that concepts of caste and sub-caste emerged within European thinking about society, whereas concepts of *varna* and *jati* originated in Indian thinking, we should consider the possibility that the respective terms refer to different realities in two different cultures. In other words, if we want to define a concept, we have to consider theory or theories of the relevant domains, in our case European and Indian thinking about their cultures. Definitions are created as a result of thinking within a particular theory, or at least some structure of thoughts. Even in case of ad-hoc definition there is some background framework of ideas that makes the definition meaningful. What were the original European ideas about caste and sub-caste? How did Europeans develop their theories about society in India? In order to find out reasonable answers, we have to start with broader theoretical analyses.

Caste in the analyses of comparative research of cultures

Given all the problems sketched above, we will appreciate several contributions of S. N. Balagangadhara's research program of comparative science of cultures. His contribution is a unique research because his theories have been developed in the best tradition of modern philosophy of science. Thanks to insights of this discipline we can look at the development of scientific knowledge as a process, where not only theories, but also the whole paradigms or research programs compete. Western thinking about society in India has developed within a particular framework that can be called paradigm in terms of philosophy of science. If this paradigm remains in fact constrained by Christian theological thinking as S. N. Balagangadhara argued, than it does not fulfill several crucial requirements of scientific analyses. One of the most important requirements is never ending search for contradictions in our interpretations. When such a contradiction is found, we should work on its tentative resolution. But as we already observed in the case

28 André BÉTEILLE, *Equality and Universality. Essays in Social and Political Theory*, in: The André Bêteille Omnibus, New Delhi 2001, p. 68.

of caste system, even numerous problems both with the basic claims of the dominant story and with several particular ideas (such as endogamy being definiens of caste) did not lead many scholars to fundamental reconsideration of the whole framework of ideas about caste system.

Another important point was made in a discussion about the relationship between theories and observations. Whereas many scholars in humanities and social sciences still implicitly believe that from the correct observations in the field we can derive the right interpretation, several philosophers of science warned us of such a simplistic approach. There is a paradoxical problem: all facts that are results of scientific observations are “theory laden”. It has been also disputed to what extant theories determine what can be observed at all:

“[...] *there is no such thing as unprejudiced observation. All observation is an activity with an aim (to find, or to check, some regularity which is at least vaguely conjectured); an activity guided by problems, and by the context of expectations [...]. There is no such thing as passive experience; no passively impressed association of impressed ideas.*”²⁹

How will these ideas help us in our discussion about caste system? I suggest that we start with analyses of a paradigm that have been crucial in the European attempts to understand society in India. Balagangadharā's research program brought to our full attention the continuing importance of Christian theological paradigm in European thinking about other cultures. He asked how did the culture of the observer reflect in the description of the observed culture. His answers provided an interesting understanding of both European experiences of other cultures and of the ways we, Europeans, experience and think about our own culture. Concept of religion has played a fundamental role in the European encounters with other cultures, and our interpretations of India were not an exemption. I will use only one part of Balagangadharā's argumentation, which shows how originally theological story of “degenerated religion of the Indian Heathens” was transformed into widely accepted religious history of Hinduism. Given the scope of this article, the following summary will be rather sketchy, leaving out many important points and connections.³⁰

Since the early Christian apologetics, the European intellectuals have understood different cults of Ancient world as false religions, in contrast to their true religion. This simple division gradually built up a framework of thinking that does not allow for other

29 Karl POPPER, *Unended Quest. An Intellectual Autobiography*, London 2002, p. 55.

30 In order to appreciate several connected and important arguments it is necessary to read at least the Introduction and chapters one to eight of S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, “*The Heathen in his Blindness...*” *Asia, the West, and the Dynamic of Religion*, Leiden 1994, pp. 1–288.

interpretations. Whatever other cultures unknown to them Europeans met in the course of Middle Ages and later, the range of their possible interpretations was constrained by this understanding: Either they would meet heathens, or heretics (which could be extended to Jews and Muslims alike), or there would be Christians “out there”. Finding about other cultures was closely connected with another important fruit of Christian apologetics – the concept of universal history of humankind. With the firm belief in historical truth of Biblical stories Europeans included more facts about newly discovered cultures into the speculations about descendants of Noah. There were other important concepts and their discussions that were meaningful in this framework, such as ideas about God, soul, salvation, sin, good and evil, or justice and law.

When Europeans started to discover more about India since the end of fifteen century onwards, they encountered several problems in understanding the domestic societies. It was not clear why people respected *brahmanas* and ascetics so much. It seemed to be clear that non-Muslim majority followed rules of behaviour that must have been rather complex, but what were their foundations? The search for Indian laws started, rooted in the unquestioned truth of the Biblical story about God the original lawgiver. In this perspective, all nations had some access to revealed laws, or at least innate capacity to formulate some of them. Also, Europeans could hardly step out of their domestic experience of order in society and its laws. It was difficult for them to see that what they considered as universal principles were in fact particular results of Christian reworking of Ancient Roman law. They sought the Indian law that was inevitably supposed to be a part of the heathen religion. Although both Catholic and Protestant missionaries gathered a lot of interesting material in this regard, the task to discover “Hindu Law” was completed by early British Orientalists.

Within the framework of European theological understanding, *dharmasastras* ascribed to Manu, Apastambha, Gautama and others became the fundamental laws of the heathens. When William Jones translated *Manavadharmasastra*, he considered it to be the oldest document of the heathen law. We should remember, that in the eyes of early British Orientalists the heathen law meant corrupt version of the originally pure laws revealed by God to humankind since the times of Adam and later Noah. Such religious explanations played crucial role in determination of European questions and range of possible answers to them. Thus, Manu was considered to be Moses of India and William Jones looked at himself as fulfilling the same noble task as Roman emperor Justinian once had done.

One clarifying remark: There is no question that *Manavadharmasastra* and other such works did play some role in the conflicts and courts’ proceedings. But let us keep in mind repeated complaints from the judges of the East India company that they did

not understand decisions made by domestic court *pandits*. In fact, this was one of the main reasons why W. Jones decided to learn Sanskrit and to translate Manu. Local scholars employed by the British Court in Calcutta often passed a judgment which was not understandable to Joneses' mind of a Western lawyer. We should also consider the fact that a large number of conflicts has been settled by families, friends, or *pancayats* till today. These incidental facts indicate that people of India have developed very different system of problem solving, including the punishment for crimes, from our own legal framework. What if *dharmasastras* played very different role from that of European codes of law?

Although it seems that Early Orientalists developed new theories free from the Christian theological roots, Balagangadhara convincingly argued for the opposite conclusion. These theological roots, or better to say the whole framework, faded into the background of the discussions during the second half on nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries. But its questions, problems and whole clusters of ideas still form and constrain the kind of discussions we have today. Many Christian ideas became "of course" axioms of the secularized Orientalist paradigm. Since the first publishing of Balagangadhara's analyses, several other authors showed how the celebrated Orientalists, such as William Jones or Thomas H. Colebrooke took over the old theological questions in their research.³¹

The story of religion in India played central role in many speculations since than. Cumulative efforts of several Orientalists' generations created very convincing account. It is a story of religion, which started with the coming of Aryans to India more than three thousands years ago. Aryan ritual specialists, *brahmanas*, soon rejoiced the power gained by their special knowledge and usurped the rule over early Indian society. Their supremacy was sanctified by the scriptures, *dharmasastras*. Here, we are supposed to have sacred basis for the model of hierarchical society with *brahmanas* on the top and untouchables on the bottom. This is how original Vedism degenerated into Brahmanism, said Orientalists. Four castes, *varnas*, tried to keep clear divisions between themselves by observing strict rules of marriages only within the respective *varna*. However, caste endogamy was difficult to maintain and therefore Indian people created more and more sub-castes, called *jati*. Meanwhile, there was a growing unrest in the Ancient Indian society:

31 Among several studies of the topic, I found the following two to be the most interesting: Thomas TRAUTMANN, *Aryans and British India*, Berkeley 1997 and Urs APP, *The Birth of Orientalism*, Philadelphia – Oxford 2010.

“There came a time, therefore, when priestly doctrines and popular beliefs became irreconcilable. Brahmanical pantheism, whose only deity was a hypostatized abstraction, wholly cold and wholly colourless, could not possibly attract worshipers who looked on their gods as personal conscious beings, both vigorous and active. It is probable, too, that the sacerdotal class had already begun to arrogate to itself authority in other spheres than that of religion, and had thus aroused the resentment of the Kshatriya nobility. Both the Brahman and the Brahmanical religion became thoroughly unpopular; and the result was that other religions arose, of which two were definite revolts against Brahmanism, [...] Buddhism [...] and Jainism.”³²

For some centuries, Buddhism gained the major influence over the subcontinent. But *brahmanas* were skilled in the adaptations of some attractive features of Buddhism, and in the course of the first millenium AD they won back their supremacy. It was not without other necessary changes, such as absorption of “primitive” and “low” religious ideas and practices, especially Tantric. At this stage we are talking about fully developed Hinduism. Yet the victorious *brahmanas* were not destined to enjoy their rule without opposition. The rule of priestly class has been challenged by new *bhakti* movements repeatedly. This last idea will be challenged in the following part of my argument.

For the moment let us realize that the textbook story outlined above was constructed on the basis of answers to originally theological questions. This view presupposes existence of one original Indian religion and its degeneration from Vedism to Brahmanism and later to Hinduism. Who was responsible for the alleged degeneration? Europeans found their answer: *brahmanas* were portrayed as crafty priesthood, deceiving the large masses of people in India. Brahmanas created caste system and thus maintained their rule over the society.³³ This religious explanation remained the basic framework for later sociological speculations about caste as specialization in occupation (Marx, Weber) and racial theories (Max Müller, Riesly, McDonnel, G. Childe). And in the cumulative work of Orientalists, sociologists and others it remains the dominant explanation till today. For more developed analyses of the connection between religion and caste see article of Jakob De Roover and Sarah Claerhout in this journal issue.

The British colonial rulers considered the caste system to be rooted in and sanctioned by religious (Hindu) law and this is a part of dominant explanation today. Given the whole framework of originally Christian thought Europeans were more or less compelled

32 A. E. H. BLUNT, *The Caste System of Northen India*, p. 278.

33 Raf GELDERS, *Genealogy of Colonial Discourse: Hindu Traditions and the Limits of European Representations*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51.3, 2009, pp. 563–589. It is noteworthy that the interpretation of *brahmanas* as a priestly ruling class was repeatedly challenged by European experiences of *brahmanas* who did all kinds of occupations, and who were sometimes among the poorest groups in some regions. This strange fact was noted by different Orientalists, but they explained it away by different strategies.

to see the Indian society in this way. But how do we get access to traditional Indian understanding of *varna* and *jati*? Why not to go and find out in discussions with Indians themselves? Here I wish to stress the point Balagangadhara made. It is difficult to have a reasonable discussion about these problems with many Indians even today. Many generations educated under the British rule have passed the colonial legacy to present people of India:

“Indian intellectuals and reformers enthusiastically embrace the criticism of the Brahmin priesthood, which was a reformulation of the Protestant criticism of Catholic Christianity, as scientific criticism of the caste system. How is it possible to have a firm moral opinion on the caste system, when no one understands what that system is? [...] As indicated already, the Western cultural experience of India has assumed the status of a scientific framework for describing Indian culture and society. [...] In this process, one accepts that the European cultural experience of India is a scientific framework for Indians to understand their own culture. However, this very acceptance prevents them from accessing their culture and experience.”³⁴

In such a situation it is not possible to proceed just with answers to questionnaires collected from Indian towns and villages. After all, British anthropologists and census officials did a lot of such research with no satisfactory results, as was already mentioned. In Popper’s words, search of these Europeans was guided by their specific horizon of expectations. We should carefully analyze the ideas that led to formulation of problems within this horizon. They have to be analyzed within the whole framework of thought, with its basic axioms and ideas. By looking closely at one problem after another we can start to see how certain puzzles and contradictions emerged, what were the initial questions of researchers who started to form the field of caste studies, and how did the whole discussion transform in course of time. Only after this we can develop better theories. In the composite story of caste and religion in India, I will focus on one such string of interpretation: the alleged protesting movements against brahmanical orthodoxy.

Were ascetic and *bhakti* traditions anti-caste movements?

One important idea originally formed within the theological paradigm is interpretation of ancient ascetic traditions as protestant movements against brahmanical orthodoxy and its “empty ritualism”. In the similar way as the raise of Buddhists and Jains, later *bhakti* traditions have been typically portrayed as anti-caste, egalitarian movements during many decades of modern scholarship. Yet many scholars who held this opinion have been repeating that *bhakti* movements hardly changed the caste divisions in larger

34 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, pp. 116–117.

Indian society. In fact, *bhakti* traditions often created their own caste divisions. Let us consider these problems now. This is typical Western description of *bhakti* movements:

*“These holy men rejected the necessity of the Brahman intermediary, as well as the caste ladder of ascent to rebirth. The hymns and poems of the bhakti cults were written by saints of a variety of caste origins. [...] Thus, much of the inspirational leadership was held by non-Brahmans, who were often of humble caste rank. In this sense, the bhakti sects were anti-Brahman – rejecting the priest as intermediary, and holding out hope for direct salvation.”*³⁵

Two noteworthy points about this account: 1. It pre-supposes the Christian theme of priesthood as intermediary (apparently between the believer and his god) to be the model for the relationship between *brahmanas* and the rest of Indian society. 2. It pre-supposes that *brahmanas* misused their position and therefore there was a need for liberation from their monopoly over spiritual matters. This is Protestant Christian theme projected on Indian reality (let us note also the idea of “direct salvation” in the quotation). *Bhakti* movements were seen as analogous to European Protestantism. Why should we suppose that European religious history repeated itself in other cultures?

Moreover, this explanation has another serious problem. Despite the fact that in this perspective *bhakti* gurus and their followers were seen as critics of the caste system, proponents of this idea admitted very strange historical evidence:

*“[...] the bhakti spirit of intercaste communal devotion does not seem to have affected the local functioning ritual-occupational caste systems. [...] There is little direct criticism of the social order. In fact, people converting to bhakti sects in past centuries have formed new castes (Dumont 1970: 188), so that sectarian castes constitute a minor number of castes in the local caste systems.”*³⁶

If there are such serious problems with the dominant explanation, let us try to find more plausible theory. S. N. Balagangadhara formulated interesting arguments concerning the alleged anti-caste agenda of ancient ascetic movements, called *sramanas*. I think that we can apply the same for later *bhakti* movements, but let me summarize the ideas of the Indo-Belgian researcher first.

If Buddhist and Jains rejected caste system and revolted against *brahmanas*, we should find some evidence of it, suggested Balagangadhara. What we find in the respected texts of these traditions instead, are discussions of the theme: Who is a true *brahmana*? That is, what qualities a true *brahmana* should have, which of them are more important than others, which acts disqualify one from being a true *brahmana*, etc. Another point to consider is in the famous story where Buddha explains the emergence of four *varnas*:

35 P. KOLENDA, *Caste in Contemporary India*, p. 115.

36 *Ibidem*, pp. 115–116.

They were constituted according to *dharma*. How could something that Buddha was supposed to reject, emerge and function according to *dharma* in his view? This is hardly evidence for Buddhist rejection of “caste system”. Similarly we found a list of qualities that makes somebody into a true *brahmana* in *Uttaradhyayan sutra* of Jains.³⁷

Would we like to keep the interpretation of ascetic revolt against the caste system, the goal of Buddhists and Jains should be the rejection of it and establishment of a new form of society. The evidence shows very different picture: *sramanas* participated in very serious debates about qualities of true *brahmanas* (and *mutatis mutandis*, about true *ksatriyas* and members of other *varnas*). While the *sramanas* stood outside of the society, they had householder followers and thus they had to respond to the questions about the best ways society should function. Their response was affirmative to ideals of *varna* system.³⁸ After these findings, to hold the dominant idea about ascetic revolt against caste system is equally untenable as the following claim: Marx rejected the bourgeois society and revolted against capitalism by saying that it is not truly capitalist society.³⁹

These arguments have serious implications for the whole fabric of dominant explanation. What if the ideals and practices connected with *varnasrama-dharma* are part of such a different cultural framework, that all our attempts to draw it into our framework of understanding are hopelessly damaging the original Indian thinking? What if the *bhakti* traditions have not been concerned with the rejection of the caste system at all? What will their discussions tell us about Indian understanding of their society? I took my research interest, Chaitanya Vaishnavas, as an example of such a *bhakti* movement for testing the attempt to start solving these problems.

Majority of modern scholars, both Western and Indian, described Chaitanya and his followers as the propagators of social reformation in the sixteenth century India. This is an example from the first scholarly book about Chaitanya Vaishnavas that was written in English by D. Ch. Sen after World War I:

“Those that would say that he was lacking in poise should be reminded of his many-sided intellectual activities and his heroic attitude in the reorganisation of the Hindu society. He selected men from amongst his followers to work in different spheres of life for the propagation of faith and social reformation. [...] Chaitanya had found the caste-system eating into the vitals of our social fabric, and he and his followers were determined to root out this evil from the land. For,

37 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, “*The Heathen in his Blindness...*”, pp. 207–217.

38 Reality proves the theoretical point: There have been Buddhist and Jain *brahmanas* since the time of founding gurus till today (India, Bali).

39 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, “*The Heathen in his Blindness...*”, pp. 208–209.

the moment you say that you love God, all human beings will be your brethern; there will be no Brahmin, no Sudra."⁴⁰

Although later scholars admitted for Christian bias of D. Ch. Sen's writings,⁴¹ the alleged anti-caste agenda of Chaitanya movement has been stressed again and again. How well does this idea explain the evidence we have about this tradition? We find the same strange inconsistency in this particular case as we did in the general description of *bhakti* movements quoted earlier. According to quite some scholars, this *bhakti* movement retained hierarchical social order and yet it was able to weaken the authority of *brahmanas* and to spread egalitarian ideas around:

*"The Chaitanyites were no social reformers militating against the caste structure, but within the sphere of devotional practice they completely rejected all distinctions of caste and thus promoted a sense of equality that penetrated deep into Bengali life."*⁴²

How was this possible? Wilhelm Halbfass gave an answer which is representative for many books on the topic:

*"A number of soteriological and theological attempts to re-define the concept of dharma and to loosen its close ties to the caste system may be found in the theistic movements, especially in the definition of the love of God (bhakti) as the "highest dharma" (paramo dharmah) that was advanced by the Chaitanya school and other movements affiliated with the Bhagavata-purana."*⁴³

But curiously enough, the result of such attempts was the establishment of caste ranking even within this Vaishnava tradition:

*"Despite their idea of egalitarian fraternity among castes, the disciples of the saint Chaitanya in Bengal have established a caste ranking within their sect."*⁴⁴

The dominant theory does not explain these problems. Instead of digging deeper both into the theoretical foundations of problematic explanation and into available historical evidence, scholars just repeated the story about reform movement that did not succeed. At the same time they suggested that in some vague sense the *bhakti*

40 Dinesh Chandra SEN, *Chaitanya and His Age*, Calcutta 1922, pp. 278–279.

41 Edward DIMOCK, *The Place of Hidden Moon. Erotic Mysticism in the Vaishnava-sahajiyā Cult of Bengal*, Chicago 1989, p. 59.

42 J. T. F. JORDENS, *Medieval Hindu Devotionalism*, in: Arthur Llewellyn Basham (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*, New Delhi 1975, p. 273.

43 Wilhelm HALBFASS, *India and Europe. An Essay in Understanding*, New York 1988, pp. 330–331.

44 Masahiko TOGAWA, *An Abode of the Goddess. Kingship, Caste and Sacrificial Organisation in a Bengali Village*, New Delhi 2006, p. 18.

movement succeeded. In the previous section I outlined the kind of questioning needed to develop better explanations. But even when we consider historical evidence, I did not find one author who would ask questions like this one: Why did not the disciples of Chaitanya attempt to establish egalitarian community, if their main base – Bengal – had been ruled by Muslim dynasties in the sixteenth century? During the successful spread of the movement in the second half of the same century, we have evidence of the Great Mughal Akbar's support to different old and new communities, including famous followers of Chaitanya, the six Goswamis of Vrndavan. It would be an ideal opportunity for such a social experiment. We also know that Chaitanya had to face the questioning of local *kazi* because of the criticism raised by some *smarta-brahmanas*, and that he succeeded to defend his new movement. Even more reasons to give up brahmanical ideas and practices, one would think. So how to account for the fact that Chaitanyas never tried to create a new society without divisions to *varnas* and *jatis*?

What we see instead of such serious questioning is a rising popularity of very suspicious idea: *bhakti* traditions are expressions of continuous struggle of oppressed people, especially out-castes, in the Indian history. One example for all (emphasis mine):

*“The Dalit movement in India has roots in the reformative Bhakti Movement. The Bhakti Movement thrived in pockets across the country over several centuries. The Bhakti Movement was not an organized movement but a conglomeration of the individual efforts of various saints and social reformers who pursued their ideas through their writings, folk culture and belief in one divine power. The Bhakti Movement was anti-caste, anti-elite, pro-women, pro-poor, anti-Sanskrit, and affirmed that genuine love of God was sufficient to find solutions to social problems. The movement attracted large numbers of the lower castes and poor, including women (Srinivas, 1996). Though, the Bhakti Movement has not spoken exclusively for the Dalits or proposed any agenda for radical changes in the social structure of Hindu society, it has established a pattern of questioning the Hindu social order which later provided a platform for an organised Dalit Movement with a strong voice for social reforms.”*⁴⁵

This amounts to ideological invocation of a single anti-caste stream in Indian history, picked up uncritically by scholars and others today. Let us note several problems of the text: What should one understand exactly under the claims that “*Bhakti Movement was anti-elite, pro-women, pro-poor*”? They are vague, too general and to use them without context and explanation can be described only as repeating slogans. Another point: Author of the paper shows complete ignorance when he says that *bhakti* movements were “*anti-Sanskrit*”. In order to prove this claim, he should provide us with very convincing arguments that will exclude *sampradayas* of Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Vallabha and many

45 Shyam SINGH, *Dalit Movement and Emergence of the Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh: Politics and Priorities*, in: Working Paper 242, Institute for Social and Economical Change, Bangalore 2010, p. 1.

other Vaishnava groups, as well as many Shaivas and others from the category of *bhakti* movements.⁴⁶ There are no such arguments even attempted for in the quoted paper. Instead of critical scholarship, the article accepts originally Western ideas about Indian society and connects them to recent political agenda of certain groups in India.

S. N. Balagangadhara disclosed very well what is the problem of this kind of approach (emphasis mine):

“One of the striking things about British rule in India is its success in developing certain ways of talking about Indian culture and society. The British criticized Indian religion; the Indian caste system... They retold Indian intellectual history by describing it as indigenous responses to some of the ills that they, the British, saw in Indian society and culture; for example, Buddhism, as it emerged out of their reconstruction, was a revolt against Brahmanism and caste system (Almond 1988) even if, as a revolt against the caste system, it did not prove very successful.”⁴⁷

I propose that the same holds true for *bhakti* traditions, as can be shown in the case of Chaitanya Vaishnavas.

Chaitanya Vaishnavas about *varnasrama-dharma*

How did teachers of the Chaitanya tradition talk about *varnas*? Did they discuss *brahmanas*? If yes, what was at stake in theory and in practice? For the analyses, I choose work of two important teachers in this *bhakti* tradition: Kedarnath Datta Bhaktivinode (1838–1914) and his son, who is known under his ascetic name Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati (1874–1937). They are seen as reformers of the Chaitanya Vaishnava movement itself. At the end of this part of argument I will mention also evidence from earlier history of the movement.

Bhaktivinode was influenced by discussions with Alexander Duff and other important Christian missionaries. He also studied and discussed with Brahmos and Unitarians, etc. This Vaishnava teacher studied some works of the British scientific literature, too. He knew about the European criticism of Hinduism and caste system very well. Nevertheless, Bhaktivinode embraced the practices and teachings of Chaitanya. At the same time he tried to respond to the British challenges from within the tradition as he understood it. What do we learn from his books about the way Chaitanyas discussed *varna* in Indian society?

46 Chaitanya Vaishnava scholars wrote hundreds of works in Sanskrit, and the tradition of study, discussion and writing in this old language is still going on. See for example Sushil Kumar DE, *Studies in Bengal Vaishnavism*, Indian Studies. Past and present 1.2, 1960, pp. 65–135.

47 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualising India Studies*, p. 98.

Bhaktivinode's work is interesting because he seems to accept the British idea of degenerated religion and society in India. But the story is not that simple, as we shall see. Let us start with summary of Bhaktivinode's opinions by Shukavak Dasa:

“[...] originally the system of *varnasrama* was pure and based on scientific principles, but gradually from the time of Jamadagni and Parasurama, the system became corrupt and deviated from its original purpose. As a result, a quarrel broke out between the brahmanas and ksatriyas. [...] Due to the selfish desires of the brahmanas, birth as the criteria of *varna* was inscribed into the *Manu-samhita* and other dharma-sastras. In frustration, the rebellious ksatriyas created Buddhism and the vaisyas created Jainism and both tried to bring the downfall of brahmanism. [...] The present caste system is the corrupted remnant of that originally pure scientific *varnasrama-dharma*.”⁴⁸

It seems that Bhaktivinode said the same thing as the Europeans did, including the idea of protestant ascetic movements. But in fact the Vaishnava teacher was not against the *varna* system. He suggested a restoration of “originally pure” brahmanical ideals, the restoration of what he described as *vaijnanika-varnasrama*, the system based on knowledge of ancient *rsis*.⁴⁹ His idea of degeneration is very traditional Puranic account about the degraded age of Kali (*kali-yuga*) Christian story of degeneration of pristine monotheism. Bhaktivinode also thought that the four divisions of society are natural and in this sense they manifest universal human tendency towards particular occupations: “When we consider the modern societies in Europe, whatever beauty exists in these societies depends upon the natural *varnasrama* that exists within them.”⁵⁰

Bhaktivinode's book *Jaiva-dharma* contains interesting discussions for our topic. Within the book's story a respected Vaishnava teacher answered the following question: Why do Vaishnavas reject certain brahmanical practices? His answers started from a general remark about three paths for different kinds of people. According to their eligibility (*adhikara*) people follow one of the paths: *karma*, *jnana*, or *bhakti*. But all of them have to act in the sense of auspicious activities. These auspicious activities are called *nitya-karma* (daily rites or duties) and *naimittika-karma* (occasional, due to circumstances, such as funeral rites). And for these activities certain kind of social division is the best:

“The authors of the sastras first examined the natures of human beings and their natural eligibility traits, and then established *varnasrama-dharma*. Their intention was to prescribe a system in

48 Shukavak N. DASA, *Hindu encounter with modernity: Kedarnath Datta Bhaktivinoda, Vaishnava theologian*, Los Angeles 1999, p. 212.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 211.

50 *Ibidem*, p. 212.

which nitya-karma and naimittika-karma could be carried out in an excellent way in this world. The gist of this arrangement is that there are four natural types of human beings, classified according to the work they are eligible to perform: brahmanas. [...] The different varnas are determined by nature, birth, activities, and characteristics. When varna is determined only on the bases of birth, the original purpose of varnasrama is lost.”⁵¹

Our disputed topic – relationship between Vaishnavas and *brahmanas* – was the theme of special meeting that took place in the village of Balighai, West Bengal, in September 1911. Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati addressed a huge gathering of Chaitanya Vaishnavas, including some of their most respected scholars, as well as some *smarta-brahmanas* and others. Bhaktisiddhanta had argued for three days about the following claims: a) *brahmanas* are glorious and respected throughout the history of India; b) but even those born in highly respected families can fall from the elevated position because of their bad activities; c) thus they should be considered only relatives of *brahmanas* (*brahma-bandhu*); d) all *varnas* are in a certain sense *brahmanas*, because they all came from Brahma; e) many respected texts like *Upanisads* or *Mahabharata* tell stories about people born to a particular *varna*, who became recognized as members of another *varna*, some of the heroes became *brahmanas*; f) therefore, true *brahmana* is recognized only if he shows qualities like simplicity, truthfulness, compassion, etc.; g) Vaishnavas and *brahmanas* should maintain mutual respect, they are like brothers to each other; h) the divisions of *varna* were created according to the symptoms of qualities and occupations.⁵²

The examples I chose could be criticized for representing only a specific tendency within the tradition, and also for the specific period of time. But many biographies of Chaitanya and his disciples confirm that Bhaktivinoda and Bhaktisiddhanta were representing continuity of the prevailing Vaishnava attitudes towards *brahmanas* and brahminhood. Allow me to quote at length from the recent article of J. T. O’Connell, one of the most recognized authorities among the scholars who studied Chaitanya Vaishnava tradition:

“Chaitanya Vaishnavas (at least as reflected in their sixteenth-seventeenth century texts) were circumspect and accommodating when relating to Brahmins and Brahmanic socio-ritual norms (O’Connell, 1993). Their copious literature records relatively little evidence of hostility of Vaishnavas toward Brahmins generally. What we do find, however, is considerable criticism by Vaishnavas of the practice of animal slaughter by a class of ritual priests of Shakta cults. And the latter stand accused of retaliating by ritually defiling the house of a Vaishnava. Scattered throughout the sacred

51 Thakura Srila BHAKTIVINODA, *Jaiva-Dharma*, New Delhi 2001, p. 47.

52 Thakura Srila BHAKTISIDDHANTA SARASVATI, *Brahmana and Vaishnava*, New Delhi 1999.

biographies of Chaitanya we also find some harsh words about 'pasandis' (hypocrites), who often are Brahmans. But these are usually isolated remarks about particular individuals, not criticisms of Brahmans or Brahmanical norms generally.

Outside Navadvip town, [...] there seem to have prevailed reasonably good relations between the Chaitanya Vaishnavas and Brahmans at large. One reason for this would likely have been that, with certain exceptions, Brahmans stood to gain, or at least not lose, professional patronage as the Vaishnavas' influence spread. The latter, most of whose eminent leaders were themselves Brahmans, regularly invited Brahmans to grace festivals and expected them to continue to perform the various rites of passage and other domestic rituals for Vaishnava client families, provided these were done in forms compatible with Vaishnava norms. Vaishnava gurus generally confined themselves to the roles of initiating gurus, preachers, spiritual advisors and officiants at specifically devotional functions."⁵³

It is important to note that Chaitanyas followed much older tradition of Vaishnava interpretations. Their teachers repeatedly stressed the fact that birth (*jati*) is not the main criterion for decision about *varna* of a person. For example, *Bhagavatapurana* describes qualities of a *brahmana* in this way: peacefulness, self-control, austerity, purity, satisfaction, forgiveness, simplicity, knowledge, truthfulness, etc.⁵⁴ Few verses later it is explicitly said that although somebody was born into some *varna*, this person's true *varna* should be accepted according to the symptoms described above. Respected medieval Vaishnava scholar Sridhara Svami commented this verse as follows: The main characteristics of *brahmanas* are qualities such as peacefulness, not birth from a particular mother. If these characteristics are seen in somebody born in another *varna*, than such a person should be considered according to them, not because of his particular birth.⁵⁵

From the evidence we can already argue that Chaitanya Vaishnavas considered division of people into different *varnas* to be the best model for society in general and for their practices in particular. If they criticized *brahmanas*, the main goal of this criticism was to defend true brahminical qualities according to their best knowledge. We do not see any doubts about the importance of *brahmanas* and other *varnas* in society, on the contrary. We see basically the same model as with the former ascetic movements. Teachers of the chosen *bhakti* tradition (that was supposed to be anti-caste and egalitarian) were

53 Joseph T. O'CONNELL, *Chaitanya Vaishnava Devotion (bhakti) and Ethics as Socially Integrative in Sultanate Bengal*, Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology 8.1, 2011, pp. 60–61.

54 *Bhagavatapurana* 7.11.21.

55 *Bhagavatapurana* 7.11.35 and commentary of Sridhara Svami, Sanskrit original and translation quoted in: T. S. BHAKTISIDDHANTA SARASVATI, *Brahmana and Vaishnava*, p. 229. Tradition of stories which describe how a person from one *varna* became a member of another goes back to upanisadic stories. One of the most quoted is the story how Satyakama Jabala, a son of maiden and unknown man was accepted to be a *brahmana* because of his complete truthfulness.

concerned with the proper functioning of different *varnas*. They have argued in order to find answers to a crucial question: Who is a true *brahamana*? And similarly they sought answers to questions about criteria to discern who is a true *ksatriya*, *vaisya* and *sudra*.

Although more research is needed, it is also becoming clear that across the centuries Chaitanya Vaishnavas were repeatedly stressing the idea that birth alone is not the main criterion for being in any *varna*. And very often they pointed to the possibility of loosing or gaining another *varna* in one's life. In these debates, one of the main issues was qualification of a particular person (*adhikara*). Although Chaitanya Vaishnavas criticized certain practices of some *brahmanas* in their time (such as animal sacrifice or the effectiveness of purificatory rituals), in general they accepted brahmanical standards and values having been led by many *brahmanas* themselves. These discussions were crucial for practical problems solved by Vaishnava teachers, such as: Who is qualified to teach? Who is eligible to give initiation to disciples? Who can perform rites for *salagramasila*, recitations, *puja*, etc.? What behavior is proper for a teacher? Another reason to take seriously Chaitanya Vaishnava discussions of criteria that determine everybody's *varna*.

What exactly did Chaitanya Vaishnavas mean, when they talked about qualities and qualifications that make one into a *brahmana*? I want to point to often overlooked concept of *adhikara*, which can be roughly translated as qualification, or eligibility. It is mainly a set of qualities and natural inclinations to certain activities which makes a person into a *brahmana*, *ksatriya*, etc. Yet, in order to provide reasonably meaningful explanation of the concept of *adhikara*, we have to develop a good theory about several lines of traditional Indian thinking. For example, Chaitanya Vaishnavas often referred to the verses of *Bhagavadgita* that are describing what qualities *brahmanas*, *ksatriyas* and members of other *varnas* should exhibit. The works of *brahmanas*, *ksatriyas*, *vaisyas* and *sudras* are divided according to the qualities that constitute their nature.⁵⁶ There is no verse of *Bhagavadgita* which would describe birth (*jati*) as the criterion for a person being classified into particular *varna*. Rather, sloka 4.13 clearly states: “*The system of four Varnas was created by Me according to distinction of Gunas and Karma.*”⁵⁷ In another words, natural qualities and inclinations to certain type of activities are considered. But to start understanding these discussions will need a thorough reasoning about concepts such as *guna* within a promising theory about the whole cluster of ideas from the traditional Indian thinking.

56 *Sri Ramanuja Gita Bhasya*. With Text and English Translation, Madras n.d., pp. 575–577.

57 *Ibidem*, p. 166.

Preliminary conclusions

What better understanding of problems with caste and *varna* can we get from our discussion so far? I suggest that the whole scholarly (and also legal) discussion is based on serious misunderstanding. First of all, the discussion remains to be constrained by the Christian theological thinking which created the story of religion in India and its decay in the hands of crafty priesthood. Only within this framework it makes sense to talk about religious hierarchy in South Asian society and about the protestant *bhakti* movements. Secondly, should we keep the dominant ideas about caste system as they are, we will not be moving towards understanding Indian culture at all.

From the study case of Chaitanya movement I argued for two conclusions. We should not accept the idea of *bhakti* traditions as protestant anti-caste movements, a kind of forerunners for so called Dalit activism today. It is untenable in the light of textual and historical evidence. What we can do instead is to dig into the traditional Indian understanding of categories *varna* and *jati*. In this paper, I limited myself to the Vaishnava understanding of *varna* only. And this is the second finding: Chaitanya Vaishnava teachers were proponents of *varnasrama* ideals for society in India. They continued the old pan-Indian discussion of the question: What makes somebody into a *brahmana*? Their answers were widely shared Indian ideals of compassionate, self-restrained, and wise people who strive for knowledge and who serve others. Bhaktivinode Thakura and Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati argued that *varnasrama-dharma* is the best condition for the development of *bhakti*. If Buddha said that the goal of *brahmanas* and *sramanas* is the same, these Vaishnava teachers said that brahmanical qualities are necessary for a *bhakta* to advance on the path of *rasa*.⁵⁸ And they were apparently concerned also with the ways *ksatriyas* and member of other *varnas* should act. In both cases, teachers of these Indian traditions wanted to retain the system of four *varnas*. If they criticized *brahmanas*, it was because in their eyes those particular *brahmanas* were not truly following the path of their *dharma* and, consequently, they were not true *brahmanas* any longer (concept of *brahma-bandhu*).

If we really want to take traditional Indian understanding seriously, a new approach to its research is necessary. It will focus on theorizing domestic framework within which ideas such as *guna* (mode of nature), *adhikara* (eligibility or qualification) and *svabhava* (natural inclination) make sense. This kind of research will create new hypothesis

58 Sanskrit term *rasa* is used in some *bhakti* traditions as generic category for a number of emotional and aesthetical experiences. It is like a concert of main and subordinated emotions, with all kinds of their subtle shades that makes the relationship between a *bhakta* and his beloved god very intense and dynamic.

which should enable us to answer important questions such as: What is the domestic understanding of *varna*, *jati*, and *biradari*? How do Indians decide about the status of different people?

Resumé

Kasta nebo kvalifikace?

Diskuse čaitanjevských višnuistů o bráhmanech v dobách koloniální nadvlády Britů nad Indií

Oproti převládajícímu přesvědčení o tom, jak funguje kastovní systém v Indii, autor ukazuje, že ve skutečnosti máme daleko ke skutečnému porozumění byť jen jeho základním jednotkám zvaným varna a džátí. Jelikož mnoho badatelů není schopno předložit žádná uspokojivá řešení problémů s vymezením kast a podkast v Indii, je nezbytné analyzovat celý myšlenkový rámec, ve kterém se moderní debata o kastách rozvinula. Hlavní tezí tohoto článku je tvrzení, že debaty o kastovním systému jsou formovány a zároveň omezeny dědictvím křesťanského teologického myšlení ve výzkumu prvních generací orientalistů. V první části textu jsou analyzovány rozpory několika zásadních tvrzení v oblasti studia kast. Teprve pak autor rozvíjí kritiku převládající interpretace vzniku a rozvoje bhaktických tradic v indických dějinách. Přestože jsou

tyto tradice často popisovány jako protest proti kastovnímu systému všeobecně a obzvláště pak proti bráhmské ortodoxii, relevantní historické doklady ukazují velice odlišný obraz. Vybraným příkladem pro tuto kritickou analýzu je hnutí čaitanjevských višnuistů, jedna z nejrozšířenějších bhaktických tradic v dobách nadvlády Britů nad Indií. Zdroje této tradice ukazují, že ve skutečnosti šlo v daném bhaktickém hnutí o udržení ideálu čtyř varen a jeho aplikaci ve společnosti. Příležitostná kritika bráhmanů byla vedena proto, aby byly hájeny ideály pravého bráhmanství, a nikde nenacházíme doklady byť jen pokusu o ustavení alternativní (ne-kastovní) společnosti. Argumentace autora hledá řešení tohoto problému v rámci výzkumu komparativního studia náboženství a kultur, který byl iniciován S. N. Bálagangádhrou.

Prakash SHAH

“An Ancient System of Caste”: How the British Law against Caste Depends on Orientalism

Abstract: In 2010 the UK became the first jurisdiction in the West to enact a provision in anti-discrimination law based on caste. Parliamentarians justified the insertion of a provision against caste discrimination in the Equality Act 2010 on the assumption that a caste system exists in the UK's Indian diaspora. While that merely gave a power to the Minister to implement the provision, an amendment to the Act made in 2013 made implementation obligatory. Indian community organisations had no real way of arguing against the provision. They were handicapped by the fact that if they resisted it they would be branded as complicit in caste discrimination – as has been alleged by parliamentarians backing the law – or practitioners of a form of apartheid. This article argues that the legislation is underpinned by dubious and insubstantial research. The absence of a credible research base meant that for the first time in the history of anti-discrimination law in the UK, parliament proceeded to legislate on the assumption that a problem exists. Equally troubling was the acceptance among proponents that an adequate conceptualization of a supposed problem, including defining caste, could be dealt with retrospectively, once legislation was in place. Further no case was made that a mechanism like the Equality Act is appropriate for caste discrimination. Legislators seemed largely ignorant of, or simply misrepresented, laws prevailing in South Asian countries. In parallel to the legislation and despite the lack of implementation as yet, the article also discusses how case law has proceeded to incorporate caste discrimination by reading it into the provision of the existing legislation. The effort of including caste in law, whether through legislation or case law presupposes and imports ideas of the caste system that rest on shaky foundations. The stereotype of the caste system goes back to Christian theological accounts of India, developed further in Orientalist accounts during the colonial period, and is incorporated in the social sciences today. These ideas led to the notions that the Indian social structure is morally corrupt and racist, notions that continue to strongly condition contemporary thinking on caste as reflected in the development in UK law.

Key words: Caste system – Hinduism – United Kingdom – India – anti-discrimination law – Christianity – Dalits

The recent legislation in the United Kingdom making discrimination on grounds of caste unlawful demonstrates the power of the framework of Orientalism, which lasts well into the post-colonial period and is projected to Indian diasporic sphere. That framework has infested discussion, debate and law-making in the UK to the

extent that it appears impossible to articulate any alternative position on caste. It even appears impossible to have it registered that the existing framework is indeed Orientalist and therefore presents only one culture's experience of another, but cannot grasp the experience of Indians. The story of the caste legislation also tells us something about how Western law functions in relation to the Indian culture of the diaspora. Although it is one of a number of social structures within Western culture, in its educative role, it reinforces the dominant framework by adding its power to it.¹ This article proceeds along the following two steps. Its first task is to outline the different aspects of the caste legislation and relevant case law. In the second step, it attempts to link those aspects to Orientalism and its framework of the caste system in India, which is itself dependent on a Christian account of Indian culture and society. Together the two steps show that in order to discover the framework governing the way contemporary Britons speak and legislate about caste we have to refer back to the basis of such constructions in Christianity and Orientalism. They also show how a segment of contemporary Western law depends on the same constructions, reinforcing the claim made by Balagangadhara that "*Western institutions of law depend non-trivially upon the presence and existence of religious (and even theological) ideas to make much sense to a people*".² The legislation and recent case law is underwritten by the embedding of Christian theological ideas in their secular form to the effect that Indians are immoral because they follow a caste system, and a commitment to morality would see Indians subscribe to the idea of equality as part of their acceptance of what Balagangadhara terms "*the monasticisation of daily life*".³ Members of the Indian diaspora are unable to break from the deadlock of confinement of the dominant framework of caste. They have to accept its truth even as they contest the legislative onslaught. To understand this dimension we may usefully refer to Edward Said's frequent references to the fact that Orientalism displays a peculiar kind of 'strength' which makes it difficult to dislodge despite its lack of cognitive appeal.⁴ We may also usefully deploy Balagangadhara's idea of 'colonial consciousness' to the Indian diaspora

1 As one of the promoters of the legislation, Lord HARRIES, said: "*Including the term "caste" in the Bill in one way or another would have a huge educational effect.*" House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col 334.

2 See the S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Platform Paper, Rethinking Religion in India IV: Religion, Secularism and Law*, URL: <http://www.rethinkingreligion.org/files/downloads/RRI_IV_platform_paper.pdf> [cit. 2015-02-12], p. 2.

3 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Notes towards the study of the caste system in India*, URL: <https://www.academia.edu/5299040/NOTES_TOWARDS_THE_STUDY_OF_THE_CASTE_SYSTEM> [cit. 2015-02-15]. See further Jakob DE ROOVER, *Europe, India, and the Limits of Secularism*, New Delhi 2015, esp. pp. 96-98 and p. 236.

4 See among his references to the idea of 'strength' and its derivatives, Edward W. SAID, *Orientalism: Western Representations of the Orient*, London 1978, pp. 6-7, 20-22, 44-45.

to enable us to make sense of the fact that Orientalist ideas continue to be repeated and have purchase as if they are true.⁵

Hindu leaders and organisations had been told by civil servants in 2008 that caste would not be part of the government’s plan to enact a Single Equality Bill (which eventually became the Equality Act 2010) but were betrayed when the legislation did include caste.⁶ The legislative move in the UK to make caste discrimination unlawful took place in two stages. The first was the last-minute insertion of caste as part of the term ‘race’, a ‘protected characteristic’ under the Equality Act 2010. The term ‘racial group’ had been already defined as encompassing ‘colour’, ‘nationality’, ‘ethnic or national origins’ under the Race Relations Act 1976, which together with other ‘equalities’ legislation the Equality Act was an attempt to consolidate and expand upon. The Act granted the relevant Minister of the Crown the power to effect the clause prohibiting caste discrimination. During the parliamentary discussions leading to the 2010 Act it was decided that the power would be exercised if, after research, the Minister was convinced that caste discrimination was indeed an issue requiring legal intervention.⁷ A report to that end was commissioned from the National Institute for Economic and Social Research (NIESR) and published in late 2010.⁸ The Equality Act 2010 was passed under a Labour government, but the change of government in the summer of the same year has meant that the one originally promoting the legislation was not the one having to carry out its implementation.

The ‘power’ to bring the caste provision into effect, which was essentially a discretion vested in the minister, was amended in April 2013 so that the minister is now *required* to bring the clause into effect. This was the second stage.⁹ The 2013 amendment to the Equality Act was provoked by the same House of Lords lobby of peers who had forced the government’s hand in 2010. Among them were Lord Harries, a former Anglican bishop, (the now late) Lord Avebury, who has played a prominent role in espousing human rights causes in parliament and a Buddhist himself, and the human rights lawyer, Lord Lester, who is Jewish. The 2013 amendment also had wide support among parliamentarians. The Lords voted in its favour twice and, in the end, the government did not resist, given ambivalence within its own coalition, while the Labour Party adopted a blanket

5 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, New Delhi 2012, esp. pp. 95–120.

6 Personal communication from Dr. Gautam Sen and Bharti Tailor.

7 See e.g. Baroness THORNTON, House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, cols. 344 and 347.

8 Hilary METCALF – Heather ROLFE, *Caste Discrimination and Harassment in Great Britain*, December 2010, URL: <https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/85522/caste-discrimination.pdf> [cit. 2014–04–01].

9 Amendment to Equality Act 2010, section 9(5), introduced by the Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act 2013, section 97.

pro-equality stance. The government, not convinced of the need to extend a piece of legislation it did not wholly favour, bought some more time, pending an investigation commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC).¹⁰ Some reports indicated that implementation would not be done for another two years, thus kicking its actual prospect once more into the long grass.¹¹ Meanwhile as part of its investigative steps, two reports – *Caste in Britain: Experts' Seminar and Stakeholders' Workshop* and *Caste in Britain: Socio-legal Review* – were issued by the EHRC in March 2014.¹²

Caste as self-evidently immoral

One of the themes that comes up again and again in the statements and writings of the proponents of the legislation is the claim that, whatever caste is, it is a self-evidently immoral institution. We can test this by examining the way in which caste comes up as a way of protecting a sectional interest in the guise of promoting the general interest of society; the way in which exceptions or exemptions to the scope of legally actionable caste discrimination claims are contemplated; and the way in which the question of the extent caste discrimination is handled.

In the case of discrimination on religious grounds, legislation in Britain was largely introduced as a result of a persistent campaign by Muslims, who felt aggrieved that the Race Relations Act 1976 had left them out of protection against discrimination.¹³ There was the European legislation, in the form of Council Directive 2000/78/EC, which obliged Member States to adopt laws against religious discrimination in employment situations. That Directive was implemented, but Britain went further making legal action possible for religious discrimination also in provision of goods and services, professions, housing, and education through the Equality Act 2006. This regime continues in the current Equality Act 2010. Well before the caste discrimination legislation came onto the scene there was a pre-existing, tried and tested model of anti-discrimination law to

10 The EHRC is the successor body to the previous statutory bodies, the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality and has under its scope other 'equalities' functions.

11 'Caste discrimination law faces appalling delays, say campaigners', BBC News, 30 July 2013, URL: <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-23501389>> [cit. 2013-08-29].

12 These reports are available at URL: < <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/publication/research-report-91-caste-britain-socio-legal-review>> and URL: <<http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/publication/research-report-92-caste-britain-experts-seminar-and-stakeholders-workshop>> [cit. 2015-02-05].

13 Naser MEER, *Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness*, Basingstoke 2010, pp. 144–178. In Northern Ireland, where different concerns prevail, legislation against religious discrimination was introduced earlier.

which different grounds have been added successively over the years. Different kinds of exceptions have also been made, for sex, disability, religion or sexuality, to limit the scope of actionable discrimination. So, in the past, legislators carefully considered the extent to which the public interest required the scope of legal provisions against discrimination on a particular ground to be reduced or enlarged, consistently with Balagangadhara’s observation as follows:

“we need to keep in mind that one of the basic ideas in both politics and law (in western culture) is that the laws of a country are formulated to protect and further the general interests of society. To the extent possible, law tries to reconcile the particular interests of individuals and groups with the general interests of the society. Neither law nor politics is meant to further the particular interests of any single community, group or individual. That is to say, laws are not meant to protect or further corporatist interests. There is always a trade-off in both politics and law between the special or particular interests of specific groups and individuals and the general interests of the society. Such a trade-off, however, must obey one condition: the general interest cannot be sacrificed to promote a particular interest.”¹⁴

Important here is not whether we agree with the exceptions or special applications to anti-discrimination law, but rather to notice the fact that they exist, tailored to the type of discrimination one is talking of. Religion, for example, enjoys very large exceptions that allow certain services to continue to be provided according to criteria that distinguish according to religion. This is understandable in a culture such as the West, which is not only constituted by a religion, but also that people in the West believe that religion is a constitutive element of all cultures.¹⁵ Not to provide broad exceptions for religious conscience would be to create havoc in society because, suddenly, all types of highly disruptive claims may be coming forth. At the same time however, the intelligibility that religion lends to conscientious objection among Jews, Christians, and Muslims, is not accessible to members of other cultures, so one might suggest that the law effectively caters to preferences of some groups but not of others.¹⁶ But Balagangadhara also

14 See the S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Platform Paper*, p. 10. Western political theory contains commensurately intense discussions of ideas such as the ‘general interest’, ‘general will’, ‘common good’ and ‘public interest’ and how to reconcile them with particular or selfish interests. See e.g. Philip J. KAIN, *Marx and Modern Political Theory: From Hobbes to Contemporary Feminism*, Lanham 1993.

15 For this idea, see S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *The Heathen in his Blindness: Asia, the West and the Dynamic of Religion*, Leiden 1994, esp. at p. 446 and p. 452.

16 Prakash SHAH, *Asking about Reasonable Accommodation in England*, *International Journal of Discrimination and the Law* 13.2–3, 2013, pp. 83–112. Recently, I was contacted by a BBC correspondent about the refusal to provide funeral services by some mosques because the deceased were members of a different sect of Islam, a Shia or an Ahmadi. The issue has never been followed up as far as

introduces what seems in the present context like an important rider to what he says about the reconciliation of general and particular interests:

*“When laws partially protect the specific interests of a group or sets of individuals, they are admissible only in so far as such laws either protect or further the general interests of society as a whole.”*¹⁷

Unlike for the legal provisions on religion just discussed, the push to include caste in the 2010 Act came from lobby groups linked to Christian Churches (and some Buddhist and Ambedkarite organisations) that have a campaigning agenda that appears to relate more to the Indian situation than to Britain. Briefly put, the agenda appears to be to push for gaining access to caste-based reservations for Christians in government jobs and education places from which they are currently excluded. This campaign in India would bear greater fruit if it could be shown that Dalits, a political term employed for ‘low caste’ people, enjoyed the support of the British legislature.¹⁸ The efforts of Churches to proselytise in India appear directed more intensely among Dalits with a reportedly large proportion of Christians said to be Dalits.¹⁹

The campaign for legislation in Britain therefore does not come from any significant section of the Indian communities, but from select lobby organisations which have put up a case that caste discrimination exists in Britain.²⁰ The number of Dalits or ‘untouchables’ affected by caste discrimination in Britain was given during the British parliamentary debates, with figures ranging from anywhere between 50,000 and 200,000 (Lord Avebury, while citing a lack of detailed research), to 500,000 (Lord Harries).²¹ In

I know. We are at not at the stage yet where we might oblige anybody offering funeral services to provide them to members of different religions or sects.

17 See S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Platform Paper*, p. 11.

18 The exclusion of Dalit Christians from the list of Scheduled Castes under Indian legislation is mentioned by Rowena ROBINSON – Joseph Marianus KUJUR (eds.), *Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India*, Los Angeles 2010, p. 3. The term ‘untouchables’, also a political term, is used in place of Dalits by proponents of the legislation. See e.g. Lord HARRIES, House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col. 334 and 22 Dec 2010, col. 1099.

19 R. ROBINSON – J. M. KUJUR, *Margins of Faith*, p. 5, drawing on various authors in their book, point out that “around 65–70 per cent of Indian Christians have Dalit roots and around 15 to 20 per cent are tribals”.

20 Baroness THORNTON, House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, cols. 343 listed as being among the organisations consulted: the Voice of Dalit International, Indian Christian Concern, the Catholic Association for Racial Justice, CasteWatchUK, the Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organisations, the British Asian Christian Council, the Dalit Solidarity Network, the Anti-Caste Discrimination Alliance and Shri Guru Valmik Sabha. The Hindu Forum of Britain and the Hindu Council UK are also mentioned, but these organisations opposed the legislation.

21 Lord AVEBURY, House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col. 332; Lord HARRIES, House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col. 335.

the 2013 parliamentary debates, Lord Deben brought his skills to bear on the issue of size of the Dalit population:

*“There are, after all, fewer Jews in this country than there are Dalits. They are wholly protected under the laws. There are fewer Sikhs in this country than there are Dalits, but they are wholly protected under the laws.”*²²

In the 2011 Census over 263,000 respondents were counted in England and Wales as answering ‘Jewish’ to the voluntary question on religion, while over 423,000 people identified as ‘Sikh’ and 817,000 as ‘Hindu.’ Lord Deben must therefore have been suggesting that the number of Dalits was something over 423,000. In a House of Commons debate that took place in July 2004 to question why the government had not yet implemented the caste provision, Jeremy Corbyn MP, who is trustee of the Dalit Solidarity Network and member of the all-party parliamentary group for Dalits, was not to be outdone by members of the Upper House. He declared *“There are roughly 1 million Dalit people in Britain.”*²³ Whether a result of natural increase or immigration, or merely imaginary, the inflation in Dalit numbers was surely extraordinary. The suspicion that the figures were raised to boost the appeal of the legislation was not lost on the various Indian organizations challenging the legislation.²⁴ The move for legislation in Britain would also boost an internationally orchestrated campaign within UN organs and the EU to have caste discrimination recognized in some form, with India as the ultimate addressee. The European Parliament and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights have recently issued statements concerning caste discrimination.²⁵ Proponents of the legislation, however, appear to portray the Indian situation incorrectly. For instance, Lord Harries argued that in Britain there was a need for there to be *“very firm legislation in place, as there is in India, prohibiting discrimination in the areas of employment, public education*

22 Lord DEBEN, House of Lords Debates, 4 March 2013, col. 1298.

23 House of Commons Debates, 9 July 2014, col. 138WH.

24 How the number of Dalits and other information was presented is encapsulated in the video, ‘The Lying Lords of London’ issued by the National Council for Hindu Temples (NCHTUK), URL: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5-XQdingHo#t=75>> [cit. 2015–02–05].

25 European Parliament resolution of 10 October 2013 on caste-based discrimination (2013/2676(RSP)), URL: <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2013-0420+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>> [cit. 2015–02–05]; Statement by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi PILLAY at the Meeting on caste-based discrimination in the United Kingdom organised by the Anti Caste Discrimination Alliance, House of Lords, London, 6 November 2013, URL: <<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=13973&Lang-ID=E#sthash.jFPcIsH9.dpuf>> [cit. 2015–02–05].

and public goods and services”.²⁶ Indian legislation which varies from state to state applies reservations for public sector jobs and in universities, and otherwise criminalizes prohibitions on access to facilities such as water wells or acts of violence against Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. However, there is no general anti-discrimination law applying to the fields to which the British Equality Act does.²⁷ This British legislation is globally unique in the sense that it is the first jurisdiction to legislate for a ground of action for caste discrimination within its civil law.

Not only has no debate taken place about the propriety of introducing caste as a ground for discrimination, still less has it been considered what the proper scope of any such legislation should be. The issue of legislative coverage, in so far as it is aimed at curbing any mischief, is ambiguous. The NIESR report,²⁸ commissioned by the Labour government in 2010 at the time of the passing of the Equality Act, showed no clear case for applying caste discrimination legislation, even if one assumes that something like caste discrimination could be measured and that legislation would solve any problems met in the context being discussed here. The NIESR report provides examples relating to temples and marriage, although no serious case can be made for extending anti-discrimination law to these areas.²⁹ The Equality Act’s section 9(5)(b) provides that the Minister “*may by order amend this Act so as to provide for an exception to a provision of this Act to apply, or not to apply, to caste or to apply, or not to apply, to caste in specified circumstances*”. This appears to at least provide for the possibility that the caste provision’s reach may be subject to exceptions. However, it is argued by the authors of one the EHRC’s reports that a restrictive approach should be taken to framing any exceptions to the parts of the legislation that apply to caste:

26 Lord HARRIES, House of Lords Debates, 22 Dec 2010, col. 1099, emphasis added. Baroness FLATHER earlier gave an incorrect impression of the Indian legislation as providing a general non-discrimination law: “*In India, you are not allowed to discriminate on the basis of caste, but discrimination is still there.*” House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col 339. The idea that discrimination persists in India despite legislation is frequently invoked. See e.g. House of Lords Debates, 26 Nov 2014, cols. GC300–GC316 (debate on caste and poverty in India); David KEANE, *Caste-Based Discrimination in International Human Rights Law*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 3–4.

27 For an older account on the legal situation, see Marc GALANTER, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, Berkeley 1984. On the contrasts between India and Britain, see Werner F. MENSKI, *The Indian Experience and its Lessons for Britain*, in: Bob Hepple – Erika M. Szyszczak (eds.), *Discrimination: The Limits of Law*, London 1992, pp. 300–343.

28 H. METCALF – H. ROLFE, *Caste Discrimination and Harassment*.

29 Although legislation exists allowing court orders to be made in case of forced marriages – see the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 – no case has yet been made to punish a person for preventing another from marrying out of caste, and much less still for the law to compel a person to marry out of caste.

*“That caste is to be made an aspect of race, rather than another protected characteristic such as religion, means that the zone of operation of the exceptions generally is as narrow as it can be.”*³⁰

At times, one gets the impression that the aim is to eradicate caste in general, not surprising, given what appears to be the default intuition that caste is an inherently discriminatory and immoral institution.³¹ The approach to consultations and research also leads to the conclusion that those campaigning for and framing the legislation are not interested in knowing about the phenomenon they are discussing, but rather to pursue a pre-determined goal. Many Hindu, Jain and Sikh organisations have said they were by-passed in consultations on the legislation. This was justified on grounds that they do not represent the groups who are the victims of caste discrimination. For instance, Lord Avebury mentioned *“the Hindu Forum of Britain and the Hindu Council as the two largest and most representative organisations in that field, but those organisations do not speak for the lower castes and the Dalits”*.³² The possibility that they may legitimately want to raise matters on behalf of those likely to be defending claims of caste discrimination is not contemplated. Another one of the proponents of the legislation, Lord Deben stated, *“The idea that passing this law would in some way be insulting to Hindus seems to me to be absolutely outwith sense, and we have to make that absolutely clear.”*³³

Despite the frequency with which the terms ‘upper caste’ and ‘lower caste’ are invoked, it is nowhere set out how one distinguishes between them. While the legislation is neutral in the sense that a member of any caste could bring an action against the actions of a member of another caste, it seems pretty clear that the proponents of the legislation contemplate only Dalits or untouchables as being the targets of discrimination. Legislators arguing for caste to be included in the Act showed great confidence in their ability to see the mischief and act upon it. Some said that a single case of caste discrimination is enough to act.³⁴ Lord Lester, who had earlier tabled an amendment to introduce descent into the Equality Bill noted: *“I simply do not understand why research is needed. The Minister has agreed that, even if there were one case of the kind that I described, that should be unlawful because it is wrong in principle.”*³⁵ It appears to have been irrelevant that the

30 Meena DHANDA – Annapurna WAUGHRAV – David KEANE – David MOSSE – Roger GREEN – Stephen WHITTLE, *Caste in Britain: Socio-legal Review*, p. vii.

31 For instance, Labour MP Kate Green, shadow spokesperson for Equalities, noted: *“Everyone agrees that caste has absolutely no place in our society.”* House of Commons Debates, 23 April 2013, col. 791.

32 House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col 332.

33 House of Lords Debates, 22 April 2013, col. 1309.

34 Labour MP, Kate GREEN: *“if there is even one case of such discrimination, proper action must be taken and there must be proper access to redress”*. House of Commons Debates, 23 April 2013, col. 791. To similar effect, see Lord DEBEN, House of Lords Debates, 22 April 2013, col. 1310.

35 House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col. 344.

NIESR study refused to give wholehearted support to the claim that caste discrimination was a problem. Lord Avebury implied that the NIESR study did advocate prohibiting caste discrimination when he asked: “*My Lords, does the Minister agree that the research shows that discrimination based on caste does occur within the areas covered by the Act, and that it would be reduced if Section 9(5) of the Act was activated?*”³⁶

It is possible that the seeds of ambiguity are contained in the NIESR report itself. While the NIESR study’s authors did state that there is evidence of caste discrimination, they also stated that they could not establish its extent and whether it was dying out. They noted that only a major research programme could establish that.³⁷ Lord Dholakia, the only Asian peer in the House of Lords to have maintained an explicit stance against the legislation noted that:

*“in essence, there is a lack of evidence on caste matters. The report produced by the national institute [NIESR] clearly acknowledges that there is no evidence to suggest the existence of large-scale discrimination in this country based on caste... having acknowledged that the available evidence did not indicate that caste discrimination was a significant problem in Britain in the areas covered by discrimination legislation, Parliament proceeded to accept an amendment to the Equality Bill to include caste as an aspect of race by a ministerial decision.”*³⁸

A member of parliament for a Leicester constituency since revealed that “*I have never seen any evidence of caste discrimination in Leicester.*”³⁹ This observation becomes more significant considering that the density of the South Asian population (Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi) in Leicester is some six times that in England and Wales as a whole.

From the account given here one might consider that Balagangadhara’s proposition concerning the reconciliation of general and particular interests has not been complied with. To make the findings and Balagangadhara’s position consistent, one would have to introduce some additional factor which enables the case to be made that the current settlement does nevertheless represent such reconciliation. One might then say that the norm of equality is so powerful that any interests supporting it would presumptively meet the criterion of national or general interests. It would then be up to those resisting the caste clause to justify why such a norm as part of the general law should not affect their

36 House of Lords Debates, 22 Dec 2010, col. 1098.

37 H. METCALF – Heather ROLFE, *Caste Discrimination and Harassment*, p. 63.

38 House of Lords Debates, 22 April 2013, col. 1312. For further doubt about the NIESR study see remarks by Alok SHARMA MP, House of Commons Debates, 16 Apr 2013, col. 233–234.

39 E-mail communication from Jon Ashworth, 5 June 2013. Similarly, see Alok SHARMA MP, House of Commons Debates, 16 Apr 2013, col. 234.

particular interests. But that too is not enough to account for the scenario surrounding caste because for other types of discrimination elaborate exemptions, exceptions and the like have been worked out in advance. For instance, the demands of conscientious objection on the part of religious people are built into the Equality Act and it seems reasonable that the legislation does so. As argued further below, the situation might make more sense if one considers the Christian moral background to the idea of equality and how its counterpoint becomes the Indian caste system. It could be that because the caste system represents a part the explanation of why the Indian religions are false that its legal de-legitimization seems not worth compromising over. From that perspective, the organizations and parliamentarians campaigning against caste discrimination do not represent particular interests but represent the general interest against which any claims of Indians have to be balanced. However, Indians face a huge problem in attempting to argue against the legislation on caste discrimination. Since it is already said, as Ambedkar did, that such a system exists by virtue of their religion, Hinduism, they could either deny that caste is any longer a factor or they could say that Hinduism does not sanction the caste system. Either way they are compelled to accept that the system wherever and whenever it exists is immoral. Even if they were to support such a system as caste, maximally they might claim, as Gandhi did, that it was once good but then became corrupted. However, in so doing, they still have to agree that it is immoral today. Embarrassed, they might decide to take steps to reform the ‘caste system’ or they might turn away from ‘Hinduism’ altogether. The skewed nature of the dialogical situation effectively frustrates attempts to contest the legislation or argue against the advocates for legislation against caste.⁴⁰

Caste and race

It has already been noted that the Equality Act 2010 makes caste “an aspect of race”. In other words it provides that caste should be regarded ‘as a part of’ or ‘a face of’ race; and caste discrimination should be regarded as one part of or one face of racial discrimination. In so doing, the legislation also imports the kind of moral opprobrium against caste discrimination with which racial discrimination is considered. The connection between caste and race in recent history goes back at least to the UN conference on Racism in 2001. Those lobbying for its inclusion had been advised by some writers

40 For an analysis of the skewed nature of dialogues in the context of writings on Hinduism, see S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, esp. pp. 147–168.

not to argue for equivalence between caste and race,⁴¹ and the Indian state delegation fended off an attempt to include caste in the Declaration and Programme of Action of the conference. Various attempts have been made before and since to extend racial discrimination as defined in the UN Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) of 1965 to encompass caste discrimination on the ground that the Convention's definition includes a reference to 'descent'.⁴² A legal argument based on a wider reading of international law is provided by David Keane, which is in turn used by Annapurna Waughray to make a case for an extension in UK domestic law via the race-includes-descent route.⁴³ Both academics are also co-authors of the EHRC's report *Caste in Britain: Socio-legal Review*. Lord Lester had earlier advocated the inclusion of descent to cover caste in the Equality Act but later came out in favour of the provision referring specifically to caste.⁴⁴

Descent-based discrimination was recently held to be encompassed by racial discrimination under the Race Relations Act 1976 (now replaced by the Equality Act 2010) by the UK Supreme Court.⁴⁵ The case concerned a refusal of admission to a child to the JFS School, a voluntary aided comprehensive secondary school, on the ground that he was not Jewish according to the admissions criteria the school adopted. The child's mother was Jewish by conversion and not descent. Given that the formula for 'racial group' in the 1976 Act (now 'race' in the 2010 Act) included 'ethnic origins', a majority of five of the Supreme Court held that the school had discriminated directly on grounds of ethnic origin because of the descent-based test of Jewishness while, of the minority of four Law Lords, two said that the policy did indirectly discriminate on the basis of ethnic origin. The majority of their Lordships drew support from the CERD and the statements by the UN Committee that monitors its implementation by states parties in their domestic jurisdictions, to the effect that descent-based discrimination amounts to

41 See the chapters by André BETEILE and Dipankar GUPTA in Sukhdeo THORAT and UMAKANT (eds.), *Caste, Race and Discrimination: Discourses in International Context*, Jaipur and New Delhi 2004.

42 Article 1 of CERD states: "In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."

43 D. KEANE, *Caste-Based Discrimination*; Anapurna WAUGHRAY, *Caste Discrimination: A Twenty First Century Challenge for UK Discrimination Law?*, *Modern Law Review* 72.2, 2009, pp. 182–219, the latter arguing for amending the law to align UK law with international law and to make descent-based discrimination, and therefore caste, unlawful. Waughray's article was mentioned by the Government Minister, Baroness Thornton, as having been passed on to her by Lord Avebury: *House of Lords Debates*, 11 Jan 2010, col 342.

44 *House of Lords Debates*, 11 Jan 2010, cols. 336–337.

45 *E, R (on the application of) v Governing Body of JFS & Anor* [2009] UKSC 15 (16 December 2009).

racial discrimination. Jewish groups have split around the decision, with those dissenting arguing that the Supreme Court bases its decision on a test of membership imposed by Christianity not Judaism.⁴⁶ A similar criticism is made by academics, Joseph Weiler and Didi Herman.⁴⁷ Lord Brown’s dissenting judgement too expresses the point succinctly, that to find the school’s admissions test discriminatory involved “*the imposition of a test for admission to an Orthodox Jewish school which is not Judaism’s own test and which requires a focus (as Christianity does) on outward acts of religious practice and declarations of faith, ignoring whether the child is or is not Jewish as defined by Orthodox Jewish law*”. Lord Rodger, also in the dissenting minority, noted that the majority decision “*produces such manifest discrimination against Jewish schools in comparison with other faith schools, that one can’t help feeling that something has gone wrong*”.⁴⁸ One can assume that their Lordships were aware of the controversial nature of their judgement in as much as they recognized that parliament must amend the legislation.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, a point about descent extending to caste was raised by Lord Mance in relation to CERD but not dealt with conclusively:

“The reference to descent (although not explicitly repeated after the general prohibition on ‘racial discrimination’ in article 5) is, on its face, very pertinent in the present case. However, it is suggested that, having been introduced on a proposal by India, the word ‘descent’ is limited to caste, but India itself disputes this, and it has been forcefully suggested that the background to its introduction indicates that it was not concerned with caste at all: Caste-based Discrimination in International Human Rights Law, David Keane (Brunel University, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007, chap. 5). Nevertheless, the Committee established to monitor implementation of CERD under article 8 has itself treated descent as including caste in its General Recommendation XXIX A/57/18 (2002) 111, where it recommended, in para 1, that states take “steps to identify those descent-based communities under their jurisdiction who suffer from discrimination, especially on the basis of caste and analogous systems of inherited status”. Whether or not ‘descent’ embraces caste, the concepts of inherited status and a descent-based community both appear wide enough to cover the present situation. That in turn tends to argue for a wide understanding of the concept of discrimination on grounds of ‘ethnic origins’, although the point is a marginal one.”⁵⁰

46 For an indication of the controversy, see e.g. BBC News, ‘Jewish school loses places fight’, URL: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8415678.stm>> [cit. 2015–03–17].

47 J. H. H. WEILER, *Discrimination and Identity in London: The Jewish Free School Case*, in: *The Jewish Review of Books* (Spring 2010) at URL: <<http://jewishreviewofbooks.com/articles/97/discrimination-and-identity-in-london-the-jewish-free-school-case/>> [cit. 2015–03–17]; Didi HERMAN, *An Unfortunate Coincidence: Jews, Jewishness, and English Law*, Oxford 2011.

48 So-called ‘schools with a religious character’ are allowed to prefer students on grounds of faith. See Equality Act 2010, schedule 11.

49 Lady HALE, *JFS case*, who was part of the majority, at para. 70.

50 *JFS case*, at para. 81. Emphasis added.

Therefore, although the *JFS* case also rehearsed the point about caste discrimination in international law, the Supreme Court arrived at no particular conclusion about it. It is also arguable that Lord Mance misconstrues the argument by David Keane because although he does write that the Indian government rejects the notion that descent includes caste, Keane also writes that the Indian government must recognize that caste discrimination does constitute part of racial discrimination in light of developments in international law. In any case, it is important to note that in the *JFS* judgement the idea of discrimination based on descent found a home under the rubric of discrimination against a 'racial group'.

Campaigners for extending existing legislation by reading caste into it have not given up. In a more recent case that began at the Employment Tribunal (ET) in Huntingdon, *Tirkey v Mr and Mrs Chandok*⁵¹, the question was raised again as a preliminary issue, prior to the full hearing, and this time squarely as to whether caste amounts to discrimination on grounds of race under the Equality Act 2010. The case concerned an Indian domestic employee of an Indian expatriate couple living in the UK. Mrs Chandok, the employer, is described as Hindu by birth but having converted to Buddhism. The employee is described as an Adivasi and a German Catholic Christian from a poor village in Bihar. Among the claims made were that she had to use separate cups and plates because high caste people would not touch ones she used; she was not allowed to sit on the same furniture; she was asked what caste she was from by her employer; she was not allowed into the employer's house when she first met her in India where she started her employment; she was not provided a separate set of keys to the house; and she could not speak to people other than the employers besides saying hello and asking how they are. She also claimed that she was not allowed time off on Sundays to go to Church. There were a multiplicity of legal claims including unfair dismissal, race discrimination, religion and belief discrimination, unpaid wages and holiday pay.⁵² None of the factual or legal claims were decided at this point, because the question of caste as an aspect of race came up at a late stage in the proceedings and had to be dealt with as a preliminary question.

The ET judge held that that because caste comes within descent discrimination as covered by the CERD, it should be read as entering UK legislation through the EU Race Directive because, he argued, the EU Race Directive was also intended to give effect to the CERD. The CERD is mentioned in the preamble to that Directive tangentially and

51 Case no 3400174/2013, preliminary judgement 24 January 2014.

52 It may be interesting to note that the case was taken up by the Anti Trafficking and Labour Exploitation Unit at the Islington Law Centre. This lends the flavour of the Devyani Khobragade case in New York recently.

as one among other international human rights instruments. Among the features that make it difficult for the judge’s interpretation to be convincing on legal grounds are that a court would (a) have to be sure what other aspects of CERD would enter the Directive and hence UK domestic law; (b) have to go into the discussions of the EU Council and decide whether indeed they had thought of including descent into the Directive and yet chose deliberately to omit it while explicitly referring to ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’; and (c) decide whether the UK would have considered this element of the CERD when deciding on the Directive within the EU Council because to give assent to descent being included would affect a multiplicity of areas of law. It would also mean that some explanation would have to be provided for whether all other previous race Relations Acts in the UK (1965, 1968 and 1976), which were enacted while the UK was a party to the CERD, were also intended to include descent even though they never explicitly mentioned descent. Despite these potential interpretive difficulties, which the ET judge did not address, he felt confident in holding that caste could already be seen as part of ‘race’ for the purposes of the Equality Act 2010, even though the Act’s provision on caste had not yet given effect and public consultations were pending on how it was to be given effect.

The existence of the caste provision in section 9(5) of the Equality Act became the main bone of contention in the case at the appeal stage of this case before the Employment Appeal Tribunal (EAT).⁵³ How could an Act of Parliament, which referred to caste and was yet to be implemented, be consistent with the argument that the existing legislation should be read as if it already covers caste? This was in effect the argument of the Chandhoks (who became the appellants in this appeal). In a relatively brief judgement, most of which discusses whether the ET judge was right to procedurally admit the caste argument at a late stage in the proceedings, the President of the EAT, Mr Justice Langstaff, did not see any inconsistency. He held that the fact that the Equality Act had already provided for caste, albeit as yet unimplemented, was not a bar to recognizing that the “ethnic origins” part of race in the same Act had some bearing on caste. The court referred to Annapurna Waughray’s article where she presents the following idea of caste:

“There is no agreed sociological or legal definition of caste, but a number of salient features can be identified. Castes are enclosed groups, historically related to social function, membership of which is involuntary, hereditary (that is determined by birth) and permanent... Unlike class, it is not generally possible for individuals or their descendants to move into a different caste. Caste is governed by rules relating to commensality (food and drink must only be shared by others of the same caste) and is maintained by endogamy (marriage must be within the same caste). It entails the idea of innate characteristics and hierarchically graded distinctions based on notions of

53 *Chandhok & Anor v Tirkey (Race Discrimination)* [2014] UKEAT 0190_14_1912, judgement of 19 December 2014.

purity and pollution, with some groups considered to be ritually pure and others ritually impure. A crucial feature of caste in South Asia is the concept of “Untouchability”, whereby certain people are considered to be permanently and irredeemably polluted and polluting, hence “untouchable”, with whom physical and social contact is to be avoided. Despite the notional nature of caste, Untouchability is conceptualised as an innate physical property separating the Untouchables from the rest of society.”⁵⁴

While Waughray honestly notes that there is actually “*no agreed sociological or legal definition of caste*”, her account yet goes on to distil the various “*salient*” dimensions of caste. Mr Justice Langstaff did not linger further over what caste is, but was content to say that at least some things that caste stands for must be covered by “*ethnic origins*”. In so far as that is the case, caste could be part of a claim of race discrimination.

Putting it negatively as Justice Langstaff did (at para. 45): “*The fact that there is no single definition of caste, as the parties before me were agreed, does not mean that a situation to which that label can, in one of its manifestations, be attached cannot and does not fall within the scope of ‘ethnic origins’.*” Justice Langstaff fails to specify which “*manifestations*” of caste he has in mind. Positively, he said that if the claimant “*proves facts which – whether colloquially or accurately – could be described as ‘caste considerations’ which come within the heading ‘ethnic or national origins’ [...] she will succeed in her claim if the Tribunal concludes that she was less favourably treated because of those facts: if she fails, then no matter how much it might be asserted that she is of a particular caste, and that that was a reason for her treatment, she will fail unless at least part of her treatment falls within*” [the colour, nationality, or ethnic or national origins grounds of the Equality Act].⁵⁵ The fact that “*could be described*” is a very tentative legal test for imposing liability upon another party should be fairly worrying for Indians especially, who will be targets of litigation hereinafter. Caste is therefore legally relevant now in so far as a nexus can be established between caste and ethnic origins, say through the idea of descent. As noted, the Supreme Court has already ruled in the *JFS* case that a school admission policy stipulating descent from a mother who is Jewish by conversion was unlawful because it discriminated on grounds of descent, which also amounts to ethnic origins discrimination. Some sort of caste ≤ descent ≤ ethnic origins ≤ race chain of thinking seems to be envisaged here.

54 Annapurna WAUGHRAI, *Capturing Caste in Law: Caste Discrimination and the Equality Act 2010*, Human Rights Law Review 14, 2014, pp. 359–379. The citation occurs in para. 44 of the judgement.

55 *Chandhok & Anor v Tirkey (Race Discrimination)* [2014] UKEAT 0190_14_1912, para. 53.

The caste system

Through the various sources, including the parliamentary discussions, the case reports, the academic writing and the official reports in which an overlapping group of academics also collaborated, the idea of the ‘caste system’ recurs. As we saw, sometimes, the problem is said to be with the phenomenon of ‘caste’ itself, but at other times the notion of the ‘caste system’ is used. For instance, Labour MP Kate Green, shadow spokesperson for Equalities, noted: “*Everyone agrees that caste has absolutely no place in our society.*”⁵⁶ There is also a tendency to avoid providing a clear idea of what phenomenon one is referring to when using the word ‘caste’. The explanatory notes to the Equality Act 2010 already provide an indication of what its framers thought caste refers to:

“The term “caste” denotes a hereditary, endogamous (marrying within the group) community associated with a traditional occupation and ranked accordingly on a perceived scale of ritual purity. It is generally (but not exclusively) associated with South Asia, particularly India, and its diaspora. It can encompass the four classes (varnas) of Hindu tradition (the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra communities); the thousands of regional Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Muslim or other religious groups known as jatis; and groups amongst South Asian Muslims called biradaris. Some jatis regarded as below the varna hierarchy (once termed “untouchable”) are known as Dalit.”

In his book, *Caste-based discrimination in international human rights law*, David Keane argues, “*It is impossible to have a clear definition of what constitutes caste.*”⁵⁷ Annapurna Waughray speaks variously of ‘caste’, ‘caste discrimination’ and the ‘caste system.’⁵⁸ The authors of the report, *Caste in Britain: Socio-legal Review*, who include Keane and Waughray, say that “*there are dangers in adopting too precise, or too broad a legal definition of caste*”, and then go on to say but there was “*a value in using a minimum definition of caste in terms of: (1) endogamy (2) inherited status, and (3) social stratification.*”⁵⁹ However, any value in such a definition is significantly diminished once one considers that individually and collectively such criteria can be applied to a myriad of other social phenomena. As an example one might suggest that a group of say ‘white people’ in Britain are very likely to marry or have relationships with one another (there is evidence to show this), that they are likely to transmit the desirability of doing so across generations, and this leads to kinds of social stratification in that such structures can act as interest groups, as

56 House of Commons Debates, 23 April 2013, col. 791.

57 D. KEANE, *Caste-Based Discrimination*, p. 7.

58 A. WAUGHRAY, *Caste Discrimination*.

59 M. DHANDA et al, *Caste in Britain*, p. viii. This formulation concedes the case that Dunkin JALKI and Sufiya PATHAN make in this issue about how basic themes in the research on caste studies are repeated without adequate explanation for anomalies, resulting in the retention of Orientalist ‘certainties’.

economically distinct groups, display exclusionary patterns and so on. It is also unclear why such criteria, individually or collectively, if they really do represent existing social structures, should be morally objectionable and should require legislation to correct them. While the writers of the *Socio-Legal Review* see value in their imprecise but not-too-broad definition, in a note prepared for the purpose of bringing the clause on caste into effect, Lord Lester, Annapurna Waughray and David Keane write that, “*it would be inappropriate to seek to define the meaning of ‘caste’ any more than it was necessary to define the meaning of ‘Sikh’ or ‘Jew’ to bring members of those ‘ethnic’ groups within the scope of the Act*”.⁶⁰

Despite the ambiguity shown in the thinking of those promoting or supporting the legislation, an impression of clarity is simultaneously given in all of the debates and writings regarding the consequences of a phenomenon, the nature of which it appears difficult to pin down. During the 2010 parliamentary debates the Earl of Sandwich noted:

*“The Minister knows that dalits form a very high proportion of Indians, both Hindu and Sikh, in this country, and they are still regarded as outcasts many years after they have left India. In other words, there are some who are outside the caste system altogether. There can be no doubt that members of such a group are, or may be, victims of discrimination. [...] Whatever the Ambedkar reforms have achieved in India and south Asia, we know that an ancient system of caste is not going to be abolished – thousands of campaigners are still working on that in India – but to find it transposed into British society is something else. Quite simply, it is morally wrong, and it cannot be allowed to happen if it is shown to lead to discrimination in our society.”*⁶¹

The noble Lord unites the various themes of the large size of the Dalit or outcast population, the transposition of the phenomenon to the diaspora, and the moral problem of discrimination against them. Baroness Turner of Camden also brings in the theme of inequality in education and job opportunities:

*“My Lords, it is important that a voice from these Benches should be heard in support of this amendment. There was a lot of talk in the previous debate about equality of opportunity. We are talking here about groups of people who, because of their birth, have absolutely no possibility of any equality of opportunity at all, and no hope of getting any sort of education or job if they ever complete their education.”*⁶²

60 Amending the Equality Act 2010 to include Caste Discrimination. At URL: <http://www.odysseus-trust.org/caste/Amending_the_Equality_Act_2010.pdf> [cit. 2014-04-10].

61 House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col 336.

62 House of Lords Debates, 11 Jan 2010, col 339.

It is not explained why the lack of opportunities might be absent and how any disadvantages link to caste. Rather, that caste is the cause of all these disadvantages is a presupposition of the British parliamentary discussions on caste.

An additional dimension of caste is its link with the idea of the Aryan intrusion into India sometime in the past. Prior to the Second World War, the existence of an Aryan race was advocated widely in European intellectual circles and, although it suddenly disappeared from mainstream Western thought after the genocide during the Second World War, it is routinely invoked when India's population and caste system are discussed. It antedates the caste system and plays the role of explaining its rise, its racial features, and its hierarchical structure. This is Lord Singh of Wimbledon:

“Caste has a very precise meaning attached to practices associated with the Hindu faith. It has its origin in the desire of the Aryan conquerors of the subcontinent in pre-Vedic times to establish a hierarchy of importance, with priests at the top followed by warriors, those engaged in commerce and then those engaged in more menial tasks. The conquered indigenous people were considered lower than the lowest caste. Accident of birth alone determined a person's caste. Sadly, thousands of years latter [sic], and despite legislation by the Indian Government, which has been referred to, this hierarchy of importance still lingers on.”⁶³

Interrupting Lord Singh's erudition, Baroness Flather offers her insights:

“The caste system was established very early in Hinduism. The Sanskrit for caste is “varna”, which is also the word for colour. The noble Lord mentioned the Aryan conquerors, who were supposed to be lighter skinned. They wanted a division not only on the basis of who would do what but on the basis of colour.”⁶⁴

These members of the House of Lords made a strong link between an Aryan intrusion, the caste system, and different Indian races, links which are accepted even among those who, being of Indian origin, are supposed to, in some special way, ‘represent’ and ‘speak for’ the British-Indians. Yet as argued below, a combination of Orientalism and ‘colonial consciousness’ stands in the way of our discovering how Indians actually make sense of caste, and yet also lies at the base of the confidence with which it is legislated against.

Orientalism and the caste system

The very idea of the caste system, its inherent immorality, and its links to the notion of race that we see in the British context of law making can be traced back to the Orientalist

63 House of Lords Debates, 4 Mar 2013, col. 1304.

64 House of Lords Debates, 4 Mar 2013, col. 1305.

accounts of Indian culture and society. The 'caste system' is an Orientalist construct endorsed by the colonial state in India. Although it is almost universally claimed to be so, it cannot be a term that refers to an actual aspect of Indian society or traditions, even though it is taken as such. In that sense it is not indigenous to India or to Indian culture. The idea of a 'caste system' has been imposed on Indian society through the missionary accounts, Orientalist scholarship, and the colonial state's bureaucracy with the assumptions of Western culture in the background. The idea was inculcated into the Indian mentality through the education system that the colonial state instituted. That system was hostile to Indian traditions from the outset and the 'colonial consciousness' it set in train is still perpetuated by India's English educated elite and Indian intellectuals abroad, who now provide a mirror of the Western experience of Indian society to Westerners. The West no longer needs to conduct original research on Indian culture but can point to Indian intellectuals who maintain the Orientalist construction of Indian society. Balagangadhara uses the term 'colonial consciousness' to refer to the persistence among Indian intellectuals of the knowledge framework produced by Orientalism. Despite its unsustainability on rational grounds, it was inculcated through the violence of the colonial state, and persists and reproduces itself beyond formal decolonization.⁶⁵ The idea of caste thereby propounded has no relationship to ideas or phenomena within the Indian culture. Indian intellectuals fail to see that because colonial consciousness also entails that they cannot access their own experience. The 'caste system' they assert is a fiction. It has never been scientifically explained how the so-called 'caste system' is a 'system' and what holds it in place. In fact, the evidence is the other way: research indicates that the idea of the caste system is a construct built as a consequence of how the West experiences and makes sense of Indian culture.

It is interesting that medieval Muslim accounts of India, or accounts provided by Greek and Chinese travelers much earlier, do not mention a caste system. Although they may mention the various components constituting Indian society, as they saw them, they could not come up with the kind of hierarchical order through which Europeans made sense of their experience of India.⁶⁶ It is now commonly heard that Gautama, the Buddha, railed against the caste system. But ancient accounts of the Buddha's discourses reveal no such thing, and Gautama maintained that a real Brahmin is one who has

65 For the phenomenon of 'colonial consciousness', see S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Reconceptualizing India Studies*, pp. 95–120.

66 Samaresh BANDHYOPADHYAY, *Early Foreigners on Indian Caste System*, Calcutta 1974; Louise MARLOW, *Some Classical Muslim Views of the Indian Caste System*, *The Muslim World* 85.2–1, 1995, pp. 1–22. Both accounts accept that there is an Indian caste system, but their evidence actually shows that other 'foreigners' did not conceive of Indian society the way that Westerners subsequently gave accounts of it based on Christianity and its specific image of Indian religions as false.

virtuous qualities.⁶⁷ Subsequent readings of Gautama Buddha to the effect that he sought reform of the ‘caste system’ are deeply imbued with the Western account of the Buddha as the Martin Luther of India who sought to reform the false religion propagated by Brahmins, just as Protestants in Europe sought the ending of priestly power within the Catholic Church. This account depends on a reading of Indian data with Europe’s Christian Reformation in the background, but says nothing of the context in which Gautama Buddha lived and taught.⁶⁸ With this template of the conflict within Christianity, however, other movements in India have also sprung up claiming to be religions truer than the decadent Hinduism, often having a slant on caste as hierarchical which the religious movement in question disavows.⁶⁹

The idea of a caste system started to be built when Christian missionaries decided that Brahmins were responsible for the failure of their efforts to convert Indians to Christianity. The idea is thus directly linked to Christian conversion efforts in India, and it remarkably plays out again in the contemporary British context drawing on the same store of constructs for reasons of proselytization. The Brahmins were said to be responsible for holding the Indian people in ignorance of the true religion that Christianity is claimed to be while Indian religion was conversely held as false.⁷⁰ As De Roover and Claerhout show, the earlier Christian accounts that had regarded caste as a ‘secular’ matter changed when the Protestants linked the caste system to Hinduism as that religion came to be described.⁷¹ The caste system thus underwrote the falsity of the religion of Hinduism, and the division of society according to an ordained hierarchy which constituted the Protestant critique of Catholicism was put to use to critique Hinduism too. It is upon this portrayal that subsequent Orientalist and social science accounts of the caste system depend. Keppens meanwhile describes how Orientalist writings depicted the Brahmins and those who followed them because of the religion they espoused, the language they spoke, and institutions and laws they established, as one people, race or nation, the Aryans.⁷² Others, upon whom the ‘Brahmanical’ religion and laws were imposed, being a different people, were excluded from the laws and institutions of the Hindu Aryans.

67 See in this regard the article in this issue by Martin Färeke who discusses more recent Indian discussions on who a Brahmin is.

68 S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *The Heathen*, pp. 134–138, 207–217.

69 On the playing out of this template in the case of Sikhs, see T. BALLANTYNE, *Resisting the ‘Boa Constrictor’ of Hinduism: The Khalsa and the Raj*, *International Journal of Punjab Studies* 6.2, 1999, pp. 195–251.

70 Raf GELDERS – S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *Rethinking Orientalism: Colonialism and the Study of Indian Traditions*, *History of Religions* 51.2, 2011, pp. 101–128; S. N. BALAGANGADHARA, *The Heathen*, pp. 86–89.

71 See the article by Jakob DE ROOVER and Sarah CLAERHOUT in this issue.

72 See the article by Marianne KEPPENS in this issue.

This was backed up by the Aryan intrusion theory and the idea that India's population is composed of dominant and subordinate races. It thus fell upon the European Aryans with their superior religion, Christianity, to bring new civilizing light to the parlous moral state of the Indians. Although it was established by Christian polemic against Indian idolatry and the inability to convert Indians in large numbers, these images lie behind secular theorizing of the caste system and the corruption of Indian culture and society. Although the idea of an Aryan race has been dismantled in Europe after the Second World War, it continues to inform discussions of Indian society. It is not hard to see how caste discrimination has come to be thought of as being a mere species of racial discrimination. The caste system is often also likened to a system of 'apartheid'.⁷³ Assertions about the caste system are therefore felt as deeply stigmatizing and insulting to Indians in India and places such as the United Kingdom where Indians have settled, and they are experienced as expressing the intolerance and religious hatred which lies at their root, and which it has become respectable to direct against the Indian culture.

It is of course true that terms such as *varna* and *jati* (or *gnati*) have been used at various times in the history of India and in its literatures. Europeans mapped these terms onto their own fictive construct of a caste system. As noted their target was distinct: they had to show that the practice by Indians of their false religion was underpinned by a caste hierarchy led by Brahmins, who were the priests of their religion and who misled them into worshipping the devil instead of the one true Christian God. In so doing, the Western observers of Indian culture postulated a relationship between *jati* and *varna* in that the latter must be the organizational stem according to which a hierarchy could be maintained and the many innumerable *jatis* would have to find a place within this meta-structure which was the 'caste system'. No satisfactory scientific account has ever been produced of how *jati* or *varna* functions, and what holds all *jatis* within the structure of *varna*. There are no satisfactory accounts even of what *jatis* are. The accounts we have all presuppose what is to be proved i.e. the existence of the 'caste system'. All such accounts have to refer data back to the hierarchical structure imagined by Europeans since it has become the dominant account in scholarship. This point has to be considered in light

73 See e.g. *India's Unfinished Agenda: Equality and Justice for 200 Million Victims of the Caste System*, Subcommittee On Africa, Global Human Rights And International Operations of the Committee on International Relations, House Of Representatives, One Hundred Ninth Congress, First Session, October 6, 2005, Serial No. 109–102; *Anti-Caste Discrimination Alliance, Hidden Apartheid – Voice of the Community: Caste and Caste Discrimination in the UK: A Scoping Study*, November 2009, URL: <<http://acdauk.org.uk/pdf/Hidden%20Apartheid%20-%20Voice%20of%20the%20Community%20-%20ACDA%20Report.pdf>> [cit. 2015–03–17]; Anapurna WAUGHNEY, *The New Apartheid?*, in: *New Law Journal*, 6 January 2012, URL: <<http://www.newlawjournal.co.uk/nlj/content/new-apartheid>> [cit. 2015–03–17].

of the fact, widely accepted by Western Indologists, that prior to colonialism no state machinery for the passing of legislative codes could be imagined. Even ‘local’ rulers did not enjoy legislative powers the way European states later developed.⁷⁴ This begs the question, if a hierarchical structure contended for existed, how it could possibly have been put into place. The ‘constructed’ nature of the idea of a caste system can be demonstrated with reference to use of caste in the colonial census from the late 19th century in India, which led to disastrous results the effects of which continue to this day. British anthropologists at the time tried to apply onto the Indian population their construct of caste, carrying as a fact in their account the Christian theological polemic against Indian culture and society. It was impossible for British anthropologists to make their concept of caste ‘fit’ to the Indian culture.⁷⁵ It was abandoned by the British colonial state eventually but not before the virus of caste system thinking had begun to rope in influential Indians who began to set the tone for post-colonial debates and law making, the effects of which are felt to this day in India and the diaspora.

74 See e.g. Timothy LUBIN, *Indic Conceptions of Authority*, in: Timothy Lubin – Donald R. Davis Jr – Jayanth K. Krishnan (eds.), *Hinduism and Law: An Introduction*, Cambridge 2010, p. 151.

75 Chris FULLER, *Occupation, Race and Hierarchy: Colonial Theories of Caste and Society in India, 1871–1947*, lecture given at the Kings India Institute, 1 May 2013, podcast at URL: <<https://www.kcl.ac.uk/aboutkings/worldwide/initiatives/global/indiainstitute/newsandevents/Events-Archive/Chris-Fuller-on-Occupation-Race-Hierarchy.aspx>> [cit. 2015–03–17].

Resumé

„Starobylý kastovní systém“:

Jak závisí britské protikastovní zákony na orientalismu

V roce 2010 se Velká Británie stala první západní zemí, jež uzákonila právní úpravu v anti-diskriminačním zákoně, která se týká kast. Zákonomodáři odůvodnili vložení tohoto ustanovení proti kastovní diskriminaci do *Zákona o rovnosti* (2010) tím, že v indické diaspoře ve Velké Británii přežívá kastovní systém. Zatímco tato úprava dala příslušnému ministrovi pouze možnost implementovat daná ustanovení, dodatek k zákonu z roku 2013 už uzákonil povinnost je zavést do praxe. Organizace indické komunity v Británii fakticky neměly možnost se k těmto úpravám zákona vyjádřit. Byli omezeni zřejmou hrozbou, že kdyby této úpravě bránili, byli by označeni za spoluviníky kastovní diskriminace (což tvrdili zákonodáři podporující úpravu) či za lidi, kteří praktikují formu apartheidu. Autor článku tvrdí, že tato legislativa je postavena na pochybných a chatrných výzkumech. Právě nedostatek důvěryhodného výzkumu znamená, že poprvé v dějinách britského anti-diskriminačního zákonodárství parlament přikročil ke schválení úpravy pouze na základě domněnky, že problém existuje. Stejně tak problematické bylo přesvědčení navrhovatelů, že adekvátní koncep-

tualizace předpokládaného problému (včetně definování kasty) může být řešena retrospektivně, když už byla legislativa zavedena. Také nebylo na žádném případě dokázáno, že mechanismus jako *Zákon o rovnosti* je vhodný pro řešení kastovní diskriminace. Vypadá to, že zákonodáři většinou neměli znalosti zákonů uplatňovaných v jihoasijských zemích, anebo byli seznámeni s jejich zkrslenou podobou. Autor dále pojednává o tom, jak zvykové právo přikročilo k inkorporaci kastovní diskriminace, přestože tato nebyla dosud implementována. Snaha o začlenění precedentu do práva, ať už skrz legislativu nebo zvykové právo, předpokládá zavedení pojetí kastovního systému, které spočívá na vratkých základech. Stereotyp kastovního systému se totiž objevil v prvních křesťanských teologických zprávách o Indii, rozvíjel se pak v orientalistických popisech z koloniální éry a dnes je součástí úvah ve společenských vědách. Tyto myšlenky vedou k přesvědčení, že indická společenská struktura je morálně zkažená a rasistická; přesvědčení, jež stále výrazně ovlivňuje současné přemýšlení o kastách, jak se ukazuje ve vývoji britského práva.

Martin BAKEŠ – Jiří KUBEŠ

Johann Franz Count von Würben and His Diary Entries from 1662

***Abstract:** This study consists of two parts. The second, more extensive part, comprises an edition of a newly discovered fragment of a diary from the year 1662, written in German by Johann Franz Count von Würben (1634–1705) which includes 77 daily entries from the period during which the Count was staying in Prague. This is not the edition of the original diary, however, since that did not survive. The authors therefore edited those parts of the diary that the Czech historian František Palacký collated during the 1820's when he was working on the genealogical dossier that he subsequently dedicated to the House of Sternberg. This edition is preceded by an introductory study in which the authors establish this source within the appropriate contexts. First they dedicate attention to the diarist Count von Würben, reconstructing both his life story and his important secular career the initiation of which was facilitated by his relocation from Moravia to Prague and his marriage to the daughter of the Oberstburggraf Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz. Subsequently, the authors discuss the motivation for keeping a diary and its informational value. They analyse Würben's daily routine from his arising to his lying down to sleep, his daily programme and also the Count's relationship with the family, while also reconstructing the network of his Prague friends and acquaintances linked via the Martinitz kinship clan ("Martinitzische freundschaft"), in whose company he spent most of his time. We also describe his leisure activities, which were dominated by card games, entertainment in the garden and the jeu de paume (a predecessor of modern tennis). The authors compare this diary with others and conclude that it is a quite unique source because the diaries from that period of young noblemen with growing families at the beginning of their public career have not survived in the Czech area.*

Key words: diary – nobility – Bohemia – Prague – Johann Franz von Würben – 17th Century

During the last twenty years, in an unprecedented manner, the Central European historians of the Early Modern age have begun to take advantage of the opportunities that are offered to them by sources of a personal nature (i.e. ego-documents).¹ In regard to this turn-about it is particularly the noble diaries that have

¹ The interest in these sources increased especially after the publication of the work of Harald TERSCH, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 1400–1650. Eine Darstellung in Einzelbeiträgen*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 1998.

been preserved in Czech archives and libraries since the 16th Century that have played a key role. An attempt of their inventory and their classification was made (in regard to the Czech environment only comprising the 1500–1650 period, however)² and also of outlining their informational value,³ while analyses of certain specific individual sources also appeared and gradually some of these also started to be published.⁴ Thanks to this research, we now know much more about the life and the ideas of the early-modern elite. We know where they stayed, with whom they came into contact, how they grew up, how they spent their time, where they travelled to and, most importantly, we understand the manner in which they reflected on their own lives. Although much work has already been carried-out in this field and the “hunt for diaries” has undeniably borne fruit, there are still many unanswered questions and also periods that have not been covered-by nor documented in any noble diary.

One such desideratum is the second half of the 17th Century in Bohemia. From this period there are a number of travel diaries of the grand tours,⁵ there are not many diaries, however, that would carry a record of the lives of the adult aristocratic elite between Prague and the country areas. Basically, we only have records of Prague Archbishop and Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach which, however, terminate in the mid-1660's.⁶ We were therefore very pleased when the first of the authors of this study, through his personal research, found a document, on the header of which were written the following words: “*Aus einem Tagebuch des Grafen Johann Franz von Wrtna von 1662*”⁷ This represents a part of a copy of the diary that a Czech historian kept during the 1820's when, for his own purposes, he chose and copied 77 fairly extensive daily entries from Count von Würben's diary for 1662. Because probably the original of the diary did

2 Petr MAŤA, *Nejstarší české a moravské deníky (Kultura každodenního života v raném novověku a některé nové perspektivní prameny)* [The earliest Bohemian and Moravian diaries (Culture of everyday life in early modern times and some new promising sources)], *Folia Historica Bohemica* 18, 1997, pp. 99–120.

3 Petr MAŤA, *Tagebücher*, in: Josef Pauser – Martin Scheutz – Thomas Winkelbauer (Hgg.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16. – 18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, Wien – München 2004, pp. 767–780.

4 Most recent work that occurred is that of Rostislav SMÍŠEK (Hg.), *Das Tagebuch Ferdinands zu Schwarzenberg aus den Jahren 1686–1688 und 1696–1697. Eine vollständige kritische Edition*, České Budějovice 2015. There are other references to a wealth of literature.

5 Most recently published was Zdeněk HOJDA at al., *Heřman Jakub Černín na cestě za Alpy a Pyreneje* [Hermann Jacob Tschernin on the Road across the Alps and the Pyrenees], 2 volumes, Prague 2014. There are additional references to other travel journals and literature.

6 Cf. the extensive edition Katrin KELLER – Alessandro CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)*, 6 volumes, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2010.

7 Archiv Národního muzea [the National Museum Archive in Prague (hereinafter referred to as the NMA)], Rodinný archiv Šternberk–Manderscheid [hereinafter referred to as the Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive], box 192.

not survive till today, this represents a very important document, although it does not include the wording of all the annual entries.

We decided during this study to take advantage of this discovery, first by analysing the/a copy of the diary and thereby also making it editorially accessible because we believe that based on its scope and content it deserves it. We will therefore try to explain both the motivation for the creation of the original and the copy and to analyse the relevance of this source in regard to the respective contemporary contexts. This means that we will consider this source especially within the context of the history of the noble social elite, then subsequently examine it in the frame of the early modern period, and eventually also in conjunction with various other sources of a personal nature (especially diaries). During this process we will not be able to make-do without having access to the previous research, which will provide a much-needed comparative dimension for our text that will enable us to fathom the rationality and the world of the social elite of that period.

Author

It is not possible to start anywhere other than with the writer of the original text. While the copy bears a simple inscription defining Johann Franz Count von Würben as a diarist, the text is consistently written in the third person singular, as is evident in the very first sentence: “*Heut ist der graf von Würben mitt seinem schwager hinüber in die Neustadt inn Emaus gefahren...*”⁸ At first glance this makes the determination of the authorship of the text more difficult. However, due to the fact that the author knew a considerable number of details related the life of the already mentioned Count Würben and that similar daily entries in the form of third-person narration also demonstrably made Prague’s Archbishop Ernst Adalbert von Harrach,⁹ whom the Count knew very well, it appears most likely that in reality the writer was von Würben himself.

Essential therefore for the understanding of the text is Johann Franz von Würben und Freudenthal (in Czech: Jan František Bruntálský z Vrbna, 1634–1705). Existing research has provided some basic information (available are genealogical data of varying quality,¹⁰

8 Edition, an entry from the 6th January 1662.

9 About the emergence and development of *Tagzettel* in more details in K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, pp. 30–57, in which especially p. 35.

10 The best genealogy of this family, even though it did not succeed in avoiding making mistakes (especially in regard to the children of Johann Franz), was provided by Ludwig IGÁLFFY von IGÁLI, *Neue Stammtafeln des Geschlechtes Würben*, *Neues Jahrbuch der heraldisch-genealogischen Gesellschaft Adler*, 3. Folge, 4, 1960, pp. 37–88, of which especially pp. 61–62 and 65–66 (the most credible data concerning the children’s births are contained in the edition K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.),

a list of his functions¹¹ and an analysis of his diary from the years 1655–1656, after his return from a grand tour¹²), but nobody remained systematically concerned with it, since the existing source base did not facilitate research of this nature. Which is to say that this Count's family was not permanently settled in one country because its members were operating in different places. We can document this in regard to the person of Johann Franz, who although originally he had his estates primarily at the border of Moravia and Silesia, where he spent some time after returning from a grand tour and also participated briefly in public life in the Margraviate of Moravia,¹³ but he spent most of his adult life in Bohemia and, after finally arriving at the Imperial Court, he died in Vienna. Therefore if today someone is seeking to write a more thorough treatise about this extraordinary man, he or she must acquaint himself/herself with the

Die Diarien und Tagzettel, Volumes 6–7). Unfortunately the other authors of the basic genealogical entries are very brief (cf. Johann Heinrich ZEDLER, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, Bd. 59, Leipzig – Halle 1749, col. 819–820; Constant von WURZBACH, *Biographisches Lexicon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, Bd. 58, Wien 1889, p. 181, even August SEDLÁČEK, *Hrady, zámky a tvrze Království českého XV* [Castles, Châteaux and Fortresses of the Kingdom of Bohemia XV], Prague 1927, pp. 50–51, contain crucial genealogical errors in the entry regarding Mrač Estate). A large quantity of partial information is additionally contained in the Collection of Letters, Charters and Diplomatic Documents of Counts von Würben in the genealogical collection of the National Museum Archive. See the NMA Prague, Genealogická sbírka H [Genealogical Collection H], box 76, the entry “z Vrbna a Bruntálu” [von Würben und Freudenthal].

- 11 The best information is provided by J[osef] C[arl] von AUERSPERG, *Geschichte des königlichen böhmischen Appellationsgerichtes*, Volume 2, Prague 1805, p. 139 and by Gustav von SELDERN, *Forschungen über die Abstammung und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grafen von Vrbna und Freudenthal*, in: *Jahrbuch des heraldisch-genealogischen Vereines “Adler”* 1, 1874, pp. 1–25 and 2, 1875, pp. 57–106, in which pp. 79–81, the other entries contain mistakes – see C. von WURZBACH, *Biographisches Lexicon*, p. 181 and *Biografický slovník Slezska a severní Moravy* [Biographical Dictionary of Silesia and Northern Moravia], Textbook 10, Opava 1998, p. 45 (e.g. unbelievable information concerning the earning of the *Oberstkazler* title in 1683). Stefan SIENELL also gathered together some new information in *Die Geheime Konferenz unter Kaiser Leopold I. Personelle Strukturen und Methoden zur politischen Entscheidungsfindung am Wiener Hof*, Frankfurt am Main u. a. 2001, pp. 205–206.
- 12 Rudolf BRÁZDIL – Rostislav KRUŠINSKÝ – Ladislava ŘEZNÍČKOVÁ, *Zprávy o počasí z let 1655–1656 v deníku Jana Františka Bruntálského z Vrbna* [The Weather Observations from 1655–1656 in the Diary of Johann Franz von Würben], *Časopis Matice moravské* 127, 2008, pp. 455–467; in more detail in Rostislav KRUŠINSKÝ, *Deník Jana Františka Bruntálského z Vrbna* [The Diary of Johann Franz von Würben], a thesis for the Faculty of Philosophy and Science of the Silesian University, Opava 2004. Familiar with the Diary was already L. IGÁLFFY von IGÁLI, *Neue Stammtafeln*, p. 62, but he provided the erroneous information that it encompasses the period between the 1st January 1656 and the 1st April 1657. The Diary is currently held in the Zemský archiv in Opava [The Opava Provincial Archive], Velkostatek Fulnek [Fulnek Estate], inv. No. 1.
- 13 See R. BRÁZDIL – R. KRUŠINSKÝ – L. ŘEZNÍČKOVÁ, *Zprávy o počasí*, pp. 460–461. It has been proved that after returning from a grand tour (in October 1654) the Count stayed on his estates from January to April 1655, but after that he then set off on a trip to Vienna and Prague and, supposedly, from that time onwards he did not return to his estates.

sources that can be found at the Opava Provincial Archive (especially those concerning the Fulnek Estate), or those held at the Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno (the Vrbna Family Archive) and also from the Prague National Archive (Old and New record file manipulations, the Czech Court Office, etc.), the State Regional Archive in Prague (The Hanau Family Archive and the Hořovice Estate), the National Museum Archive and many other additional archives and libraries, to which the source-materials testifying about the life of this individual strayed.

So what do we actually know today about Count von Würben? Johann Franz was less than thirty years old in 1662, and the sole heir to estates that had belonged to Wenzel von Würben († 1649) who had been well known at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand III. He owned the Moravian fideicommissum Fulnek Estate (that his father acquired after its confiscation in 1622), Paskov (1625), Studénka (1634), Velká Střelná (which, on other hand, he inherited from his mother) and also the fiefdoms in Petřvald and Zábřeh and a small Bohemian estate Mrač (1648).¹⁴ As a boy of ten he lived with his father in Linz (1645),¹⁵ but, after the premature death of his father, looking after his upbringing was his mother Elisabeth Polyxena, née Dembinsky von Dembin. We do not know everywhere that his grand tour brought him, however, since, as his stay is documented just once in the summer of 1654 in Rome¹⁶ and in Siena, as some of the authors have suggested, he had not yet matriculated.¹⁷ We can only assume that, like many others, he spent Easter in the Papal Residence and that therefore his stay in Rome was at least six months

14 See *Biografický slovník*, p. 45; A. SEDLÁČEK, *Hrady*, pp. 50–51.

15 Young Johann Franz attended the wedding of Christoph Bernhard Skrbenský von Hříšně, which Würben's father organised and sponsored on the 26th January 1645 in Linz. Jiří BRŇOVJÁK at al. (ed.), *Kryštof Bernard Skrbenský z Hříšně: Paměti hornoslezského barokního šlechtice* [Christoph Bernhard Skrbenský: Memoirs of the Upper Silesian Baroque Nobleman], Český Těšín – Opava – Ostrava 2010, pp. 135–136.

16 Moravský zemský archiv in Brno [The Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno (hereinafter referred to as “MPA”)], RA Vrbnů [The Vrbna Family Archive], inv. No. 218, box 29, a letter sent to mother from Rome on the 25th July 1654 (in Czech). In the letter, amongst other things, he plans to return to his homeland and asks his mother: “*arci že žádný cerimony přitom býti nemusí a já bych je dokonce mítí nechťěp*” [“of course no ceremony is necessary, and I would not even want one”]. Apart from the above written details his name is not mentioned in either the Siena or in the Leuven Register, in which Nobles of the Czech lands were routinely recorded. Fritz WEIGLE (Hg.), *Die Matrikel der deutschen Nation in Siena (1573–1738)*, Band I, Tübingen 1962; Joseph WILS (ed.), *Les étudiants des régions comprises dans la nation germanique à l'Université de Louvain. I. (1642–1776)*, Louvain 1909.

17 The immatriculation in Siena on the 31st July 1657 was introduced into the literature by S. SIENELL, *Die Geheime Konferenz*, p. 205 and subsequently was also adopted by K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, p. 224. Sienell refers to Weigle's edition of the Siena Register and determines the immatriculation date as having been the 31st July 1657. Recorded in the Register on this day, however, is Jaroslav Franz von Wrtby (F. WEIGLE (Hg.), *Die Matrikel*, p. 304) and no Johann Franz von Würben, who, at that time, was already in the Habsburg monarchy.

long. It has additionally been discovered that he returned from a journey to Olomouc in October 1654 and that subsequently he moved to the Imperial Court in Vienna and the surrounding area to complete his service as a chamberlain (May – December 1655). Twice during that year he stopped briefly in Brno once to be declared adult and to take over the family property (in June 1655) and then also to attend the Provincial Diet (*Landtag*; December 1655–January 1656).¹⁸

He did not demonstrably appear in Prague until the end of January 1656, to visit his mother, and he spent a little over a month there before leaving again for Vienna. In the autumn, however, he was back in the Bohemian capital again.¹⁹ Probably at around this time, under unexplained circumstances, he had become closely acquainted with the *Oberstburggraf* Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz, whose eldest daughter, Maria Elisabeth, he quite unexpectedly married in the autumn of 1657.²⁰ Behind this marriage it is necessary to see the rational calculus of the *Oberstburggraf*, who had obtained a high degree status in the Bohemian Kingdom, so that obviously his choice would fall on a man who was in the Court's good books. Although the father of Johann Franz had held the trust of the Court now he was dead and Martinitz therefore probably valued more the fact that a distant relative of his upcoming in-law was Maria Judith von Würben, the wife of the influential Johann Maximilian von Lamberg, a fresh holder of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1655) and also an Imperial Ambassador to Spain (1653–1660) and later (in 1675) would become the *Obersthofmeister* of Leopold I. Family ties of this nature certainly do carry their weight.²¹

18 See R. KRUŠINSKÝ, *Deník* and *Zemský archiv v Opavě* [Opava Provincial Archive], Velkostatek Fulnek [Fulnek Estate], inv. No. 1, entries from Brno for the 1st – 6th June 1655 and the 16th December 1655–19th January 1656.

19 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, pp. 227 and 249, Entries from the 3rd October and the 26th November 1656. At least since the early 1650's Würben's mother had stayed regularly in Prague while also overseeing the management of the estate in Mrač. This is evidenced by the sources that documented her disputes in Bohemia (with the Waldsteins, the servant Georg Schleinitz, Johann Rabeli and later the Prague Jew Enoch Maisel and several others). See Národní archiv Praha [The Prague National Archive (hereinafter referred to as the "PNA")], Stará manipulace [Old record file manipulation], sign. W 19/1–2 and 13, all in box 2496 and the PNA, Nová manipulace [New record file manipulation], sign. W 114/1, box 949.

20 Martinitz was a very important figure, but unfortunately his life could not become an object of the monographic attention of historians because the Martinitz family archive had not survived. Cf. Zdeněk HOJDA, *Bernard Ignác z Martinic – pokus o portrét fundátora* [Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz – an attempt to portray the fundator], in: *Slánské rozhovory* 2008, pp. 12–18; about the marriage of his daughter with Count von Würben K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, p. 388, an entry from the 11th November 1657.

21 Genealogical data about this woman were provided by L. IGÁLFFY von IGÁLI, *Neue Stammtafeln*, p. 60. While also referring to Lamberg for example, was Rostislav SMÍŠEK, *Císařský dvůr a dvorská kariéra Ditrichštejnů a Schwarzenbergů za vlády Leopolda I.* [Imperial court and court career of the

Hlas v tomto
 papíru psáno pospíšovan, vedle vpravošního poružení se zařovavti dýžy.
 a slyti zůstavam
 Datum ve Rzymie 25 Julij 1654.
 Graf Frantisek z Vrby
 nejmilostivější paní mamynko
 poslušný a pokorný syn až do smrti
 Jan František hrabě z Vrby

Fig. 1: The farewell and the signature of Count von Würben in a letter written to his mother in Czech from Rome, dated the 25th July 1654: “Vašnostin má nejmilejší paní mamičko poslušný a pokorný syn až do smrti Jan František hrabě z Vrba” [To my dearest lady, mom, till the death obedient and humble son, Jan František Count of Vrba] (Moravský zemský archiv v Brně [The Moravian Provincial Archive in Brno], RA Vrbnú [The Vrba Family Archive], inv. No. 218, box 29)

Gutlich eigenhändig unterschrieben, Gedruckt und Geben
 zu Jany den 12. Novbr 1658.
 Johann Frantz graf von Würben

Fig. 2: A handwritten German signature “Johann Frantz graf von Würben” attached to the statement that he issued on the 12th November 1658 for his father-in-law Martinitz (Archiv Národního muzea v Praze [The National Museum Archive in Prague], Genealogická sbírka H [Genealogical Collection H], box 76)

A year after the marriage Johann Franz von Würben, apparently based on his understanding that in Bohemia he does not have a residence that is sufficiently representative, made a written statement, in which he summarised what he with his father-in-law had agreed upon. The contemporary literature had not known yet a similar source concerning the history of the nobility, whereas it is always assumed that after their marriages nobles established their own households. In this document, however, Count von Würben confirmed in writing that Martinitz had agreed that young newlyweds could live in his house and that, in addition, he allowed them in their total of five rooms to also have ten of their servants staying there with them. Also that they were free to eat at Martinitz’s

table and the total cost for food and for accommodation should not exceed 1,275 guildens per annum. Würben, on the other hand, undertook that he would reciprocate to his father-in-law in accordance with the latter's wishes.²²

This union therefore fundamentally influenced the entire future direction of young Würben and his resettlement to Bohemia since he was to become the newest member of the Martinitz clan and therefore, by-and-large was obliged to respect his father-in-law's wishes. In 1662, therefore, we find him – where else? – in Prague and in accordance with the listings edited here he had never left the Bohemian capital city. It seems that he belonged amongst those urbanised noblemen who preferred to remain in provincial capitals.²³ He lived full-time in Martinitz Palace on Hradčanské Square and during these years his wife gave birth to several children. By 1662, i.e. during the fifth year of their marriage, the Count von Würben and his wife already had their fourth child. Following their first daughter Katharina Polyxena (born on the 25th November 1658), their sons were born – Ernst Bernhard (11th March 1660) and Leopold Ferdinand (10th June 1661) and, in the period from which the edited Diary comes, Josepha Susanna also came into the world (10th August 1662). Already a quick look at the first names that were given to the two sons reveals what ambitions the young family had – the first son received his name after the Cardinal and Prague Archbishop Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (who also christened him) and also after his grandfather, the *Oberstburggraf* of the Kingdom

22 Cf. the NMA in Prague, Genealogical Collection H, box 76, the original of Würben's statement of the 12th November 1657: "*Ich, Johann Frantz [...] graff von Würben undt Freydenhall [...], bekenne hiemit, daß mein hochgeehrtster herr schwehervatter [...] Bernardus Ignatius [...] graff von Martinitz [...] mir nit allein die hohe gnadt thuet benebenst meiner herzliebsten gemahl mich in deroselben aignen hauß lossiret, unß beyde ohne ainigen entgelt mit untterhalt versichet, sondern auch [...] noch darzue erlaubet, daß unßere etliche bedienthen alß hoffmeysterin, ammel, beynebenst vier cammer- undt waschmenschen, dem stallmeyster, zwey pagen undt einen lokeyen [...] mit eßen undt trünkhen untterhalten werden, benebenst daß nothwendige brenholtz auf fünff zimmer den ganzen wintter über [...] reichen laßen [...], welche kost undt untterhalt [...] jährlich auf daß leichtigste gerechnet in summa ain tausendtz zwey hundert fünff undt siebenzieg gulden reinisch undt fünff undt zwantzieg kreytzer außstragt undt ich Ihrer hochgräff. Excell. nach deroselben gnädigen belieben guttzumachen mich hiemit aufs kräftigste verbinde [...]*"

23 In some years, however, he visited his Moravian estates noticeably briefly (for example in May 1663; K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, pp. 339–340) while also he occasionally appeared, for a longer time, in Vienna (*ibidem*, Vol. 6, pp. 108 and 130: Würben left for Vienna with a mail coach on the 31st August and returned again on the 29th October 1661). In Vienna he could live in a house on Wallnerstraße, that his mother had acquired in 1651 and Johann Franz kept it until 1679, at which point in time he sold it to one of his female relatives from the House of Martinitz. It was a borough house that included a court apartment and the Count requested its allocation from the Court Accommodation Office in 1671 and again in 1675. Cf. Jiří KUBEŠ, *Reprezentativní funkce sídel vyšší šlechty z českých zemí (1500–1740)* [The Representational Functions of the Residences of the Higher Nobility from the Czech Lands (1500–1740)]; a doctoral thesis for the Institute of History of the University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice 2005, pp. 92 and 104.

of Bohemia. Then the second son received his name after the members of the ruling dynasty – names like these were supposed to take them really far during their lives.²⁴ After 1662 Würben had seven more children,²⁵ four with his first wife, with whom he lived for ten more years († 17th November 1671)²⁶ and then also three with his second wife. It was his first wife's sister, Theresia Franziska von Martinitz, who became his second wife in the autumn of 1672; the Count however had to first ask Pope Clement X for the requisite dispensation.²⁷

It was not only their first names that were bound to ensure a great future for the young Würbens; they would also be able to rely mainly on their nearest and dearest. Since hardly any of their father Johann Franz's blood relatives were alive (with the exception of his mother who, at that time, was residing in Prague as a widow), helping them should be specifically applicable to the family from which their mother came. And this family did care of them in a very responsible way: the real master of the house where little children lived was their grandfather, Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz in whose palace on Hradčanské Square the Würbens lived.²⁸ Which is to say that their contemporaries also considered them as belonging to the “*Martinitzische freundschaft*”. Not by accident:

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- 24 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, pp. 555 and 759; *ibidem*, Vol. 7, pp. 79, 235–236 and 243.
- 25 An unreliable list of all the children involved is presented by L. IGÁLFFY von IGÁLI, *Neue Stammtafeln*, pp. 65–66. Compare entries from parish registers preserved in Archiv hlavního města Prahy [Prague City Archives], Sbirka matrik [Collection of Parish Registers], Hradčany, Farní úřad u sv. Víta, sign. N3 Z2 O1 and sign. N4 O2.
- 26 Apparently she died after a long illness. The MPA Brno, RA Ditrichštejnů [The Dietrichstein Family Archive], box 488, fol. 17, Würben's letter to Ferdinand von Dietrichstein, Prague, 17th November 1671. Maria Elisabeth's testament is lodged in the PNA, Nová manipulace [New record file manipulation], sign. W 114/5, box 949. The funding deed for the requiem mass for the first wife that were to be served by the Prague Theatines (for 180 gulden per annum), dated the 16th January 1672 is deposited in the NMA in Prague, Genealogická sbírka H [Genealogical Collection H], box 76.
- 27 The details of the wedding contract concluded on the 30th September 1672 are contained in G. von SELDERN, *Forschungen*, p. 80; a copy of the contract from 1779, including a copy of the dispensation by Pope Clement X, certified in 1784 by the Viennese Court Archivist Kaspar von Hoffer is preserved in the MPA in Brno, RA Vrbnů [The Vrba Family Archive], inv. Nos. 220–221, box 29. The wedding took place with an “*einwilligung der hochansehnlicher freundschaft*” on the 8th October 1672 in Prague. See the MPA Brno, RA Ditrichštejnů [The Dietrichstein Family Archive], box 488, fol. 15, Würben's letter to Ferdinand von Dietrichstein, Prague, 12th October 1672.
- 28 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, p. 386. Shortly after the marriage Count von Würben acquired his own house (No. 19) on today's Loretánská Street at Hradčany, which apparently he was then reconstructing and expanding in 1661. In 1662, however, he apparently no longer live there any more. Subsequently this property belonged to his family until 1814. Václav LEDVINKA – Bohumír MRÁZ – Vít VLNAS, *Pražské paláce, Encyklopedický ilustrovaný přehled* [Prague Palaces, An Illustrated Encyclopaedic Overview], Prague 1995, pp. 367–372; Pavel VLČEK et al., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Pražský hrad a Hradčany* [Artistic Sights of Prague. Prague Castle and Hradčany], Prague 2000, pp. 325–327.

Basically Johann Franz von Würben saw his father-in-law, the most powerful nobleman of the Bohemian Kingdom, every day. They went to social events and ate together so Count von Würben encountered all the friends and the guests of the *Oberstburggraf* and in evenings they talked about the news and read foreign newspapers together.²⁹

It was not by chance that the in-law of Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz, who had no son, made his mark with the Bohemian provincial authorities, though the vast majority of his estates were actually located on the border between Moravia and Silesia. Shortly after the marriage Count von Würben was appointed an *Appellationsrat* (in Spring 1658). However he did not take the oath nor actually accept the office until March 1659.³⁰ It is possible to see both the nepotism of his relatives from the House of Martinitz and also their strategic goal behind this procedure because they too, many years before, had started-out in the Court of Appeal (*Appellationsgericht*).³¹ The Count subsequently began to collect official experience, e.g. whereby at the cusps of the years 1660/1661 and 1664/1665 he became the second of the three Royal Commissioners at the Bohemian Provincial Diet. During that time this was unusual because the second commissioner on behalf of the Lords was usually one of the highest provincial officials from the *Statthaltereien* or *Landrechtbeisitzer* and up to this point in time Würben did not belong to either of these categories! We can surmise behind this was either the special favour that he enjoyed at the Viennese Court or the influence of his powerful father-in-law.³² Until our monitored year of 1662 he did not jump onto the functions list; this was all going

29 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6 and 7 (according to the Index), but also the entries in the present edition.

30 The reliable J. C. von AUERSPERG, *Geschichte*, p. 139 refers to the date of his appointment as an Appellate Councillor as having been the 13th March 1659 (see also Klára WOITSCHOVÁ, “*což slušného a spravedlivého jest fedrovati...*” *Personální obsazení pražského apelačního soudu v letech 1548–1783* [The Staffing of the Prague *Appellationsgericht* during the Years 1548–1783], Pelhřimov 2010, p. 74). However, according to Cardinal Harrach (K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, p. 447) Count von Würben was supposed to already become a councillor in mid-April 1658, but he refused to take-on this office, because “*er gern nach dem privilegio seines geschlechts darinnen sitzen wolte, und andere eltere aus selbigen mittell es nicht also verstehen wollen*” (*ibidem*, p. 455, an entry from the 3rd May 1658).

31 Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz took the oath in 1638 and his brother Maximilian Valentin took it in 1645. K. WOITSCHOVÁ, “*což slušného a spravedlivého jest fedrovati...*”, pp. 69 and 70.

32 Petr MAŤA wrote about this in *Komisaři k českému zemskému sněmu (1627–1740)* [Commissioners of the Bohemian Provincial Diet (1627–1740)], in: Jiří Mikulec – Miloslav Polívka (eds.), *Per saecula ad tempora nostra. Sborník prací k šedesátým narozeninám prof. Jaroslava Pánka*, Prague 2007, pp. 309–318, here pp. 315–316 (in the first instance his principal commissioner was Wilhelm Albrecht Krakowsky von Kolowrat, while in the second it was Humprecht Johann Tschernin von Chudenitz); to the appointment in the year 1660 see K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, p. 866, an entry from the 8th November 1660. Later in time, in the 1680’s and 1690’s, Count von Würben was to become the Diet Commissioner another four times (1683/1684, 1684/1685, 1687/1688 and 1697/1698).



Fig. 3: Johann Franz von Würben und Freudenthal, Imperial Privy Councillor, *Kämmerer*, *Landrechtbeisitzer* in Bohemia and the *Appellationsvizepräsident* in Prague. A lithograph probably from cca. 1670 (The MPA Brno, RA Vrbnů [The Vrba Family Archive], inv. No. 225, box 29)

to happen in the future. Already by the second half of the 1660's he became the second most powerful entity at the Court of Appeal (*Appellationsvizepräsident*, 1667), while in the 1670's he was appointed to be a Member of the Bohemian *Statthaltere*i, while finally, in the 1680's he rapidly advanced through the functions of the provincial government to achieve the position of the Bohemian *Oberstlandhofmeister* (1689). Shortly after that his wife transferred the ownership of the Martinitz Estate in Hořovice to him, which – together with the establishing of a family tomb in Loreta in Prague – symbolised the identification of this line of Würbens with Bohemian Kingdom.³³ Johann Franz's lifelong pursuit of Offices and Functions was finally crowned both by obtaining the prestigious

³³ See, for example, G. von SELDERN, *Forschungen*, p. 80 and L. IGÁLFFY von IGÁLI, *Neue Stammtafeln*, pp. 61–62.

Order of the Golden Fleece (1697)³⁴ and subsequently by his promotion in 1700 to the function of the *Oberstkazler* of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which also allowed him to remain permanently in Vienna. In the summer of 1705 he also died there, shortly after the new emperor, Joseph I, failed to confirm him in office.³⁵

Diary entries: the absent original and its copy dating back to the 19th Century

Let's now return back to the year 1662, however, when Count von Würben still had his entire career ahead of him. Evidently even then he was not lacking in ambition, as we can demonstrate not only by the choice of the aforementioned first names of his sons, but probably also by the actual existence of daily entries dating from the year 1662. It cannot be stated that Johann Franz would not have already had experience in the past of keeping a diary – most probably he kept on during his own grand tour and, as we already know, he initiated a new one shortly after his return. The content of the newly discovered source differs from the previous diary in several material respects, however.

One of these is that his first diary was kept in Latin and was a first person narrative, while the daily entries that we discovered were written in German as a third person narrative, which is somewhat exceptional in regard to other known diaries.³⁶ The only records kept in a similar manner are the ones that have already been cited *Tagzettel* by Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach encompassing the period between the 1630's and the 1660's.³⁷ During their time, they became a very inspirational means of sharing news between friends in the House of Harrach and with their related families.³⁸ We know that some of the Cardinal's relatives and friends followed this pattern and they themselves also started to keep a similar "list of notes" to stay in touch with those who lived elsewhere. In November 1664 amongst them, for example, was young Ernst Franz von Kaunitz, whose guardian was the Cardinal himself and who was just heading to the countries of Western Europe for his own grand tour.³⁹ In our case it is striking that Würben recently

34 G. von SELDERN, *Forschungen*, p. 80, who also refers to Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach's diary.

35 S. SIENELL, *Die Geheime Konferenz*, p. 206.

36 Cf. P. MAŤA, *Nejstarší české a moravské deníky*. Only some of the passages of the diary of Hieronymus Schlick the Elder have been retained in the form of a third person narrative (Miroslava DURAJOVÁ – Rostislav SMÍŠEK (Hg.), *Hieronymus der Ältere Schlick: Das Tagebuch. Eine Selbstdarstellung aus den Jahren 1580–1582*, České Budějovice 2008, p. 166) and several shorter diaries.

37 See K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*.

38 *Ibidem*, Vol. 1, pp. 49–54.

39 Jiří KUBEŠ, *Náročné dospívání urozených. Kavalírské cesty české a rakouské šlechty (1620–1750)* [Grand tours of Bohemian, Moravian and Austrian nobility (1620–1750)], Pelhřimov 2013, pp. 136–140

changed from using first person narrative to using third person narrative – we believe that he did it intentionally because he was intimately acquainted with the Cardinal and also an additionally recipient of Harrach's "list of notes" in around 1660 was Würben's mother-in-law Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein.⁴⁰ Therefore the young Count was familiar with the Cardinal's daily entries based on the autopsy, and it is possible that he started to make his own daily entries modelled on this pattern. The question remains, however, as to the extent to which both of the sources are similar in regard to their content, i.e. was Würben actually inspired or to what extent was he actually just following his own path? We will try to answer this question later. It is also possible that he had already been keeping daily records of this nature prior to 1662, but there is not any way in which this can be proved, because subsequently hardly any was preserved because the core of the family archive was destroyed in Hořovice in 1852. The last owner of the House of Würben's Castle, Count Dominik (1811–1876), allowed the archive to be burned shortly prior to the sale of the estate and only a small portion of the original documents that had been stored at the Holešov Estate in Moravia escaped this cruel fate and became a feature of the current collection of the Vrbna Family Archive that subsequently acquired a home in the Moravian Provincial Archive. It seems, therefore, that the copy of a section of the daily records dating from 1662 that we published is actually only a symbolic representation of the wealth of material that at one time constituted the family's extensive archive.

So we should probably be grateful that during the first half of the 19th Century the historian who had the original source in his hands, spent and found plenty of time to make notes from it that were of interest to him. It is time to reveal that this historian was actually the young František Palacký, who seemed to frequently have this mentioned source in his hands during the period following his move to Prague when he was searching for information about the House of Sternberg whose genealogy and history he was seeking to collate.⁴¹ Palacký arrived in Prague in April 1823 as a budding historian, but with only a small amount of savings and with few social contacts. From the outset, however, he succeeded in contacting Josef Jungmann, with whom he subsequently collaborated on a book with both a literary and a scientific focus. In a similar he also soon contacted Josef Dobrovský, who not only initiated him in historians' working

and Note 533 on p. 314; K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, pp. 553–555.

40 *Ibidem*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

41 Cf. Jiří KOŘÁLKA, *František Palacký (1798–1876). Životopis* [Biography], Prague 1998, p. 75; comprising Palacký's early explorations in the 1820's mainly regarding making deals Zdeněk ŠAMBERGER, *Palackého první archivní výzkumy po příchodu do Prahy (1823–1828)* [Palacký's first archival research subsequent to his arrival in Prague (1823–1828)], *Sborník archivních prací* 30, 1980, pp. 110–168.

methods, but also introduced him to society and helped to open the doors to private archives for him. Palacký met regularly with Václav Hanka, for example, a librarian at Prague's Patriotic Museum and with Karl Egon Ebert, Prague's German poet and librarian and an archivist working for the Fürstenberg princely family, together with many other professional and amateur historians, from whom he borrowed and then copied various archival materials, particularly those dating from the pre-White-Mountain period.⁴² It was also Dobrovský, who initially introduced Palacký to Count Franz von Sternberg-Manderscheid.⁴³ In the second half of 1823 the young scholar became his archivist and it was during his service there that he began to seek for sources regarding the history of this family and then started to write his first historical work.⁴⁴ For us it is important that it was proved that during his research Palacký visited both Smečno (already for the first time in the autumn of 1823), where he found the Martinitz Family Archive⁴⁵ and also Würben's Hořovice. He did so on the 16th – 18th June 1829 at the request of Eugen Dominik (1786–1848) the owner of the castle at that time and we can assume that subsequently they met together frequently.⁴⁶ Probably right in Hořovice (or possibly already in Smečno) Palacký was acquainted with the Diary of Johann Franz von Würben dating from 1662.

The work that can be found in the Sternberg-Manderscheid Archive represents a somewhat underestimated or unexplored area of the historian František Palacký's scientific career. This is mainly because only two rather short outcomes are known and these appeared very quickly based on his work as a family archivist. It is known that in the spring of 1824 Palacký had already completed the basic genealogy of the Sternbergs dating back to the 12th Century for Baron Joseph von Hormayr's magazine entitled *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte*, that was published a year later.⁴⁷ Compared to the relatively

42 Jiří ŠTAIF, *František Palacký. Život, dílo, mýtus* [Life, Work, Myth], Prague 2009, pp. 57–60.

43 Cf. Palacký's correspondence was published in a work by Vojtěch Jaromír NOVÁČEK, *Františka Palackého korespondence a zápisky II. Korespondence z let 1812–1826* [Correspondence between the years 1812–1826], Prague 1902. Some fragments of correspondence between Josef Dobrovský, František Palacký and Franz von Sternberg-Manderscheid are located and stored in the National Museum's Archives. Palacký's beginnings as Sternberg archivist are captured in twelve individual letters. We can also find there both the intercession and the recommendation by Josef Dobrovský. The NMA in Prague, RA Šternberk-Manderscheid [The Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive], temporarily stored in box 190.

44 J. KOŘALKA, *František Palacký*, pp. 75–79.

45 Z. ŠAMBERGER, *Palackého první archivní výzkumy*, p. 120.

46 Vojtěch Jaromír NOVÁČEK, *Františka Palackého korespondence a zápisky: Autobiografie a zápisky do roku 1863* [The Autobiography and the Memoirs up to 1863], Prague 1898, p. 188.

47 F. PALACKÝ, *Die Sternberge*, in: *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* 6, 1825, pp. 282–320. Also cf. the modern edition with the Czech translation František PALACKÝ – Zdeněk STERNBERG, *Dějiny rodu Šternberků = Geschichte der Familie Sternberg*, Moravský Beroun 2001. After completing

brief history of the Sternberg family, which largely consists of a compilation of his older works, Palacký took the next genealogical work extremely seriously. He amassed an impressive number of copies and notes, drew-up extensive records about all the known members of the Sternberg family, in which he gave priority to such basic data as date-of-birth/death, partners and offspring.⁴⁸ It was in one of these boxes that we found a copy of the Diary of Johann Franz Count von Würben. In comparison with the entirety it represents a rather unusual document that is not thematically akin to any of the other excerpts. The handwriting of the copied diary suggests, however, that it actually was copied by Palacký and that it is most likely that this copy was acquired during the 1820's.⁴⁹

In the course of his service František Palacký additionally partially restructured the Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive, making the work of future historians significantly easier when working with an otherwise fairly chaotic and currently disorganised collection. Particularly notable is the sorting of the medieval deeds that pertain to the House of Sternberg that are currently deposited in three temporary boxes.⁵⁰ These documents represent a valuable source especially in regard to the pre-White-Mountain epoch and because for František Palacký they certainly became, to a large extent, the basis for his subsequent work.⁵¹ Eventually the Sternberg's family archive suffered greatly when, at the end of the 18th Century, it was merged with the totally disordered family archive of the Imperial Counts of Manderscheid-Blankenheim. Should the original Sternberg archive

the work in August 1824 Palacký set off from Prague for a study tour of the South Bohemian family archives to obtain information about the other noble families. More in Karel KÁLAL, *Palackého mladá léta, 1798–1827* [Young Palacký, 1798–1827], Prague 1925, p. 191.

- 48 The genealogical notes are scattered throughout several individual boxes. Some of these are related to the Manderscheid-Blankenheim family and they are likely to be from an earlier date. Palacký's notes related to the Sternberg genealogy are temporarily deposited in the NMA in Prague, RA Šternberk–Manderscheid [The Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive], in boxes 130, 170 and 191–192. Also additionally in box 191 is the original manuscript of the book *Dějiny rodu Šternberků* [The History of the House of Sternberg] that Palacký originally published in 1824. The manuscript also contains small drawings that accompany the entire text. Fractions of notes and correspondence in regard to the prepared monograph and the genealogy are also deposited in the Archiv města Plzeň [The Archive of the City of Pilsen], Sběrka literárních rukopisů [The literary manuscript collection].
- 49 The NMA in Prague, RA Šternberk-Manderscheid [The Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive], temporarily located in box 192.
- 50 This part of the collection is now stored in three voluminous boxes and it is also sorted chronologically. In box 193 there are copies and originals of deeds that are related to all the branches of the Sternberg family, dating from the 14th Century to the year 1629. This segment is followed-up by box 195, which consists of the deeds dating from the years 1639–1683. The remaining part is stored in box 194, in which the original deeds from the years 1484–1624 relating solely to the Holic branch of the Sternberg family can be found. Cf. The NMA in Prague, RA Šternberk-Manderscheid [The Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive], temporarily the boxes 193–195.
- 51 Josef BOROVIČKA, *Palacký a naše archivy* [Palacký and our archives], Časopis archivní školy 2, 1924, p. 4.

be inventoried in the future and its excellent archival documents, relating not only to the Bohemian area but also to European history as a whole, be made available to the public, for now this should be preceded by the removal of Manderscheid archive that is stored in about half of the nearly 210 boxes that contain this collection.

Let's now proceed to examine the characteristics of the source. As has been indicated in many places already, we discovered a copy of the Diary of Johann Franz von Würben in the temporary box 192. This part of the Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive contains František Palacký's notes for the prepared history of the House of Sternberg. We can also find there both briefer and more comprehensive information about the great majority of the members of this noble family. Rich excerpts accompany the entry *Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*, for example, based on which we can fairly substantially reconstruct Palacký's work process. For most of the records, this archivist of the Sternbergs noted the source(s) from which specific information was received. Obviously, the greatest opportunities were offered to him by the actual Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive, from which he drew the vast majority of the data provided. Also very helpful for him was earlier research that was carried-out by Countess Augusta von Sternberg, née von Manderscheid (1744–1811), who was actively interested in the genealogy of her Rhenish family, and also of her husband's family.⁵² František Palacký also considerably complemented his research activities in the *Landtafel* archive and in the library of the National Museum in Prague. Always, however, the sources and literature were located in the territory of Prague.

Right by the entrance *Adolf Wratislaw* there is also a copy of a part of Würben's Diary. Unfortunately for us, in this instance, Palacký did not record the source from which he made his copy. The handwriting is no different from that of the rest of the previous records, and therefore there is no doubt that it was implemented by Palacký himself. The copy of the original seems to be authentic and there is no interpretation provided of Würben's individual records. It is most likely that František Palacký only copied from the Diary those days of the year in which there was a mention of Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg or of his wife or children. The names of the members of the Sternberg family are always underlined and we kept this unchanged during the course of our editorial work. From this finding is therefore obvious that at the time of the acquisition of the copy the original Diary of Johann Franz von Würben had an extraordinary scale and in its form it could definitely be reminiscent of the well-known Harrach's *Tagzettel*, although there is still the question of how many years Würben actually kept his Diary.

52 The NMA in Prague, RA Šternberk-Manderscheid [The Sternberg-Manderscheid Family Archive], provisionally in boxes 130 and 177.

The copy of the Diary for the year 1662 comprises nine double pages (Palacký labelled them with the letters A–K) and it consists of 37 unfoiled written pages that are arranged chronologically and that include a total of 77 daily entries. The majority of these are related to the colder periods of the year when the most important provincial nobility preferred to stay in Prague (see Table 1). Then in the summer and in autumn they stayed at their country estates,⁵³ and thereby, since he himself stayed in Prague, Count Würben could not logically meet so often with Adolf Wratislav von Sternberg. He also groaned about this several times in the Diary. Apparently, after his father-in-law's departure he dined alone and even his friends left the Bohemian capital: “*ist also Prag gantz lehr*”.⁵⁴

From 1662 there is also a complete series of Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach's *Tagzettel*, and at first glance it may look as if that edition of Würben's records is irrelevant. The opposite is true however. First, during that year, the Cardinal travelled outside of Prague several times, so, based on 43 entries both sources from Prague can indeed be compared well, but, in 34 cases Harrach stayed in country and therefore Würben's records from the Bohemian Capital City are unique.⁵⁵ Additionally, a mere superficial comparison of the Prague entries of both men shows that Count von Würben reflected a very different kind of reality. Sometimes their entries are completely different,⁵⁶ while sometimes, for at least part of the day, they are similar – though never the same – and thereby they complement each other perfectly.⁵⁷ This can be seen clearly in regard to information about the Bohemian *Landtag*, for example (Würben merely stated that he went to the Diet, while Harrach always briefly summarised what it was all about) or in regard to entries from the 9th February. That day, the two men had lunch together at the *Oberstburggraf* Martinitz (Würben states the names of five guests, but he did not

53 See Petr MAĚA, *Soumrak venkovských rezidencí. „Urbanizace“ české aristokracie mezi stavovstvím a absolutismem* [The dusk of country residences. “Urbanisation” of Bohemian Aristocracy in the 17th Century], in: Václav Bůžek – Pavel Král (ed.), *Aristokratické rezidence a dvory v raném novověku, České Budějovice 1999* (= Opera historica 7), pp. 139–162; Vítězslav PRCHAL, *Sídlo a jeho pán. Rezidenční strategie hraběte Františka Karla Swéerts-Sporcka ve druhé čtvrtině 18. století* [The residential strategies of Count Franz Karl Sweerts-Sporck during the second quarter of the 18th Century], in: *Theatrum historiae* 9, 2011, pp. 45–78.

54 See the edition, entries for the 30th June and the 27th July 1662.

55 The Cardinal stayed in Prague from the 1st January – the 28th April, the 26th May – the 26th June, the 29th July – the 3rd August, the 19th August – the 28th August, the 30th August – the 11th September and then between the 23rd December and the 31st December 1662. See his itinerary assembled in the work of K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, pp. 105–106.

56 See, for example, the entries for the 9th January, the 14th January, the 27th January, the 31st January, the 7th February, the 17th February, the 1st – the 3rd March, the 16th March, the 18th March, the 22nd March, the 26th April 1662 and many others.

57 For example entries from the 12th January, the 9th February, the 10th February, the 20th February, the 15th March, the 19th March, the 20th April, the 25th April 1662 and from other days.

recall a Roman aristocrat whom Harrach had brought). Then they went to worship in the cathedral and finally they attended the carnival (wearing masks) at Johann Friedrich von Trauttmansdorff. The Cardinal briefly wrote that the celebration was beautiful and that the costumes were very fine, that there was a lot of dancing in which he could not participate, so that he just played cards in a quiet corner until at 11 p.m. he quietly went home. Count von Würben also recorded other details including describing the masks of six of the participants. He was actually dancing until 1 o'clock a.m.⁵⁸ Johann Franz was not an ageing archbishop, but a young nobleman at the beginning of his public career with a growing family, who lived under the same roof as the *Oberstburggraf* of the Bohemian Kingdom. Although he socialised with the Cardinal, references to him are found in only 27 entries (35 %). Würben's daily lists of notes therefore significantly broaden our understanding of the lifestyle of the nobility after the Thirty Years' War.

Table 1: Würben's daily entries from Prague in 1662 copied by František Palacký

Month	Days with entries	Number of days
January	6th , 9th , 12th , 14th , 21st , 26th , 27th , 31st	8
February	7th , 9th , 10th , 17th , 19th , 20th , 27th	7
March	1st , 2nd , 3rd , 15th , 16th , 18th , 19th , 22nd , 24th	9
April	1st , 4th , 10th , 20th , 24th , 25th , 26th , 30 th	8
May	2 nd , 3 rd , 8th , 11 th , 18 th , 19 th , 20 th , 21 st , 25 th , 26th	10
June	16th , 17th , 18th , 19th , 22nd , 30 th	6
July	2 nd , 7 th , 20 th , 27 th	4
August	24th , 25th	2
September	3rd , 4th , 9th , 18 th , 25 th , 27 th , 29 th	7
October	1 st	1
November	4 th , 6 th , 7 th , 9 th , 11 th , 14 th , 16 th , 26 th	8
December	2 nd , 3 rd , 6 th , 8 th , 12 th , 19 th , 24th	7
Total per year		77

Explanatory Note: Marked bold are the 43 days that Cardinal Harrach spent in Prague and about which he also made a daily entry.

Würben's Diary and its informational options

In Czech historiography during the last two decades, several works were devoted to the personal diaries (including travel diaries) of the nobles of the early modern period and

58 Cf. edition, an entry from the 9th February 1662 and K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 166.

we even have a few editions available.⁵⁹ Most of the authors, however, were interested in the travel diaries but, with one exception, so far no one has dealt systematically with this source. This exception is the study by Petr Maťa, who implemented a comparative analysis of nearly twenty personal diaries of both noble and common authors from between the 16th and the first half of the 17th Century.⁶⁰ This indicates that the following period is encompassed only in the partial studies of several authors and the inventory of diaries from the baroque period is not yet available.⁶¹

Petr Maťa reached the conclusion that it is possible to find seven basic areas of data in the diaries. First there is regularly occurring weather information and also the itineraries, but they also contain records concerning the public activities of the writer, his social relations, his family life, his financial affairs and a reflection of contemporary events.⁶² Given that Würben's writings do not constitute a classic diary, they do still contain some features of daily list of notes, as we know them from Cardinal Harrach, it is also understandable that they do not contain some of the listed areas of information. This concerns mainly the weather, to which there are only sporadic and indirect references. In December, for example, Count von Würben wrote twice that he had ridden on sleds;

59 For all – in addition to the already cited diaries of Cardinal Harrach (Note 6) – see Marie KOLDINSKÁ – Petr MAŤA (edd.), *Deník rudolfinského dvořana. Adam mladší z Valdštejna, 1602–1633* [Diary of Adam the Younger von Waldstein, 1602–1633], Prague 1997; Petr VOREL, *Videňský deník rytíře Dvoreckého z roku 1559* [The Viennese Diary of Knight Dvorecký from 1559], *Folia historica Bohemica* 19, 1998, pp. 7–36; M. DURAJOVÁ – R. SMÍŠEK (Hg.), *Hieronymus der Ältere Schlick*.

60 P. MAŤA, *Nejstarší české a moravské deníky*.

61 Leaving aside the travel diaries (see Note 5), only known from then are the daily records of the following noblemen: Johann Adolf von Schwarzenberg (1657, 1667–1668, 1674, 1681; Jean BÉRENGER, *Deník Jana Adolfa ze Schwarzenbergu* [The Diary of Johann Adolf von Schwarzenberg], in: Václav Bůžek (ed.), *Šlechta raného novověku pohledem českých, francouzských a španělských historiků*, České Budějovice 2009 (= *Opera historica* 13), pp. 41–57), Franz Ulrich Kinsky (1663–1672; most recently Jiří HAVLÍK, *Diarium Kinsky 1663–1672. Klíče k Františku Oldřichovi Kinskému (1634–1699)* [Diary of Franz Ulrich Kinsky (1634–1699)], *Folia historica Bohemica* 29, 2014, Nr. 1, pp. 133–165), Ferdinand von Schwarzenberg (1686–1688, 1696–1697; see R. SMÍŠEK (Hg.), *Das Tagebuch Ferdinands zu Schwarzenberg*), Johann Joachim von Zierotin (1704–1716; most recently Petra VOKÁČOVÁ, *Příběhy o hrdé pokoře. Aristokracie českých zemí v době baroka* [The Aristocracy of the Czech Lands during the Baroque Period], Prague 2014, pp. 97–157); Franz Anton Spork 1726–1747; the records were kept to the lord's command by his *Hofmeister* Seeman – see most recently Jiří KUBEŠ – Vítězslav PRCHAL, *Tobiáš Antonín Seeman a jeho kalendářové zápisy z let 1726–1747* [Tobias Anton Seeman and his calendar entries from the years 1726–1747], in: *Theatrum historiae* 9, 2011, pp. 9–23) and Johann Joseph von Wrtby (1752; Václav MENTBERGER (ed.), *Z deníku Jana Josefa hraběte z Wrtby* [From the Diary of Johann Joseph, Count von Wrtby], Plzeň 1940). Other diaries are still hidden in the archives, or they are the diaries of Austrian nobles (Lamberg, Pötting and others). See K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, pp. 31–32 or H. TERSCH, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse*.

62 P. MAŤA, *Nejstarší české a moravské deníky*, pp. 109–115.

we therefore assume that there was a sufficient snow fall.⁶³ In the summer he repeatedly praised the wonderful evenings that encourage walking, and once he recorded the unanticipated arrival of torrential downpours that ousted the aristocratic socialites from the garden located behind Prague Castle.⁶⁴ Only occasionally did Würben also mention any financial matters in his records. He only did so in the event of an unexpectedly high payout of 95 ducats while playing cards.⁶⁵ Unlike the Cardinal's *Tagzettel* basically he also does not reflect international events, although it is evident that he used to be interested in them, because once he recalled reading Italian newspapers and twice he referred to the topics of their conversations with his father-in-law (i.e. Venetian attacks on Turkish ships and the alliance between the Cossacks and the Tatars).⁶⁶ The most up-to-date area of information, that we will not find about from Würben, are records concerning journeys, which follows on from the fact that apparently he did not leave Prague during that year, as long as we do not consider his afternoon trips with the Company to the suburb of Bubeneč, or to Hvězda or pheasantry as actually representing journeys,⁶⁷ or when he rode outside Prague to greet Cardinal Harrach or his father-in-law to mark their return from the countryside.⁶⁸ Therefore, in terms of its time-period, Würben's itinerary is uncharacteristically simple and this demonstrates that he is a totally urbanised aristocrat.⁶⁹

The edited entries, although there are quite a few of them, are also not dominated by the Prague society news. Almost all of it, however, is related to his relatives and to his friends, and to the major events in their lives. By default the Count would write about the birthdays, the weddings, the christenings and the deaths in his neighbourhood. For example he committed to paper, that the son of his friend – Franz Karl von Sternberg – first saw the light of day in December,⁷⁰ that a wedding took place at Count von Wrtba's⁷¹ or that young Leopold Ernst Gallas or Johann Wenzel von Martinitz died.⁷² He also recorded the sad information that arrived by mail from Vienna at the end of November,

63 See this edition – the entries from the 6th and the 19th December 1662. This source therefore, unlike the older Würben's Diary from the 1650's (see R. BRÁZDIL – R. KRUŠINSKÝ – L. ŘEZNIČKOVÁ, *Zprávy o počasí*) will not greatly please the historical climatologists.

64 This edition, an entry from the 18th June 1662.

65 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 7th July 1662.

66 *Ibidem*, entries from the 25th April and the 3rd December 1662.

67 *Ibidem*, entries from the 8th, the 11th and 25th May 1662.

68 *Ibidem*, entries from the 26th May and the 18th September 1662.

69 Most of the nobles of that period regularly switched between their City homes and their rural estates. See Note 53.

70 The edition, an entry from the 19th December 1662.

71 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 2nd May 1662.

72 *Ibidem*, entries from the 20th February and the 22nd March 1662.

that Archduke Leopold Wilhelm had died, which had apparently made him feel “*sehr betriibt*”.⁷³ In July he considered it important to write down news concerning the poor health of Franz Ernst von Schlik, who was evidently doing so badly that he seemed to be preparing to depart for eternity.⁷⁴ In addition to this kind of news he recorded only the arrivals and the departures of his friends and of other prominents, while only rarely did other information appear (e.g. about the fire that occurred in the Lesser Town /Malá Strana/).⁷⁵

What, actually, do the daily entries of Johann Franz Count von Würben mainly comprise? Their backbone is always (far more consistently than in the case of Cardinal Harrach) the writer’s daily programme from rising and carrying-out the morning activities, eating lunch, having afternoon meetings with friends and acquaintances coming to dinner and – finally – going to bed. Primarily they therefore represent a source of information about the everyday life of the Count and of his family and they enable the reconstructing the network of Würben’s Prague friends and acquaintances in whose company he spent much of his time. We can also learn which leisure activities they were in the habit of undertaking together. In part they also comprise information about the Count’s official activities and thanks to them we can also answer some questions about the spiritual dimension of his life (the churches and the monasteries that he preferred can be identified for example).

Unlike most of today’s population, in those days spouses did not usually share a bedroom. Johann Franz generally arose between seven-thirty and eight o’clock in the morning,⁷⁶ even if he had stayed out later somewhere and had not returned home until after midnight.⁷⁷ Only rarely did he sleep till nine o’clock nor, conversely, did he get up at six; this only occurred when he was hurrying to visit his wife, who had recently given birth to a child.⁷⁸ In addition to visiting his wife the Count regularly read letters in the morning and it was only rarely that he received any guest. In his records he does not refer to any

73 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 26th November 1662.

74 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 20th July 1662.

75 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 26th April 1662. This information, on the contrary, is absent from Cardinal Harrach’s diary. See K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 193.

76 In his diary Würben used the German manner of determining the time. This meant that the day was divided into two periods of 12 hours, as English people do nowadays. The first period started at midnight and finished at noon, and was followed by the second one that started at noon and finished at midnight. This method had started penetrating from Western Europe to the Czech lands during the 16th Century, while in the 17th Century it gradually pushed out the older (i.e. Italian or Czech) time system. See Marie BLÁHOVÁ, *Historická chronologie* [Historical Chronology], Prague 2001, pp. 294–295.

77 The edition, an entry from the 9th February 1662.

78 *Ibidem*, entries from the 10th April, the 18th June and the 2nd July 1662 (got up at around nine in the morning) and from the 24th August and the 4th September 1662 (got up at six in the morning).

other morning rituals and therefore we do not know whether or not he ate breakfast, nor what he wore. Only occasionally he wrote that he did not feel like getting out of bed because he had experienced health problems during the night and that therefore he was sleepy and required more rest.⁷⁹

Unless it was a Sunday or a public holiday he mostly dedicated the time before lunch – both in winter and in summer – to his service at the *Appellationsgericht*. In 36 of the 77 edited entries (i.e. 47 %) there is a laconic mention that he went “*in die appellation*”, and in four other records he additionally states that he was unable to be there. The reason was obvious – the Court was just discussing cases that concerned his father-in-law, and therefore he had no entitlement to attend these meetings.⁸⁰ As a member of the *Appellationsgericht*, which comprised 16 councillors headed by the President, he was obliged to go to the office on every day that the college sat. Based on the Ferdinand III’s extensive instructions dating from 1644 that regulated the operation of the *Appellationsgericht* during the post-White-Mountain epoch in detail, the members of the college were not permitted to leave Prague during the meeting days, because otherwise the judiciary could not function. However, there were not as many official days as we might imagine. The college did not meet on Wednesdays nor during weekends nor on public holidays that were designated by the Prague diocese. There were also days off at Christmas, Easter and during the Summer Holidays. In accordance with Article VI of Ferdinand’s instructions the Summer Holidays were set for the entire month from the 24th July until the 24th August, excluding Thursdays, when the court needed to be able to sit. Additionally the appellation did not work for 22 days of the year during the period that is referred to as *festas collegii*. The President of the *Appellationsgericht* additionally had the right to declare a two-week vacation during the period of the wine harvest.⁸¹

The Appellate President, who in 1662 was Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat, based on the nature of his function determined the manner of the acceptance and the resolving of the incoming agenda. Individual appellations, in accordance with their severity and their nature, were allocated to specific councillors who had secretaries and additional junior officials who spoke Czech and/or German. The noble councillors, who also included Johann Franz Count von Würben, then submitted their report on the case at a meeting of the college. Voting took place from the oldest to the youngest member,

79 *Ibidem*, the entries from the beginning of December 1662.

80 *Ibidem*, entries from the 11th May, the 19th May, the 7th July and the 9th November 1662.

81 Lubomír NOVOTNÝ, *Apelační soud ve 2. polovině 17. století. (Vliv instrukcí Ferdinanda III. z roku 1644 na činnost apelačního soudu)* [The effect of Ferdinand III’s instructions from the year 1644 on the operation of the *Appellationsgericht*], in: Idem (ed.), *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska: Sborník z 20. odborné konference Olomouc, 20. – 21. září 2011*, Olomouc 2012, pp. 47–55.

which indirectly influenced the judgment of the younger colleagues. Exclusive positions during the voting that, of course, always took place in German rest with the President of the *Appellationsgericht*, which, ideally, was to preside the college.⁸²

Our source indicates that Count von Würben usually spent about one or two hours in his office in order to catch the late Morning Mass at 11 a.m. In addition, he sometimes divided his morning hours between the *Appellationsgericht* and the *Landtag*, about which he writes in 11 entries between January and April and then also in December 1662. Unfortunately, he does not mention anything specific concerning the content of the official meetings, though on the 9th January he did appended a short note stating that, based on an order of the *Landtag*, he had visited the *Steueramt*. Even if he did not actually “go to work”, he did appear fairly regularly in the morning at his mother’s (18 mentions), or played briefly in one of the three ballrooms. He called them the upper, the small upper and the lower, which meant that two of them were located in the Royal Garden cross the Powder Bridge at Hradčany,⁸³ while the third was in the Lesser Town, on today’s Karmelitská Street.⁸⁴

Count von Würben attended Mass every morning. In 1662 his favourite church was the Parish Church of St. Benedict, located at the Barnabite Monastery on Hradčany Square,⁸⁵ where he came to worship a total of 38 times. This was a fairly logical choice since on one hand this sanctuary was located close to his residence while it was also near the Castle, where he was tied by his office. The daily records additionally suggest that the Martinitz family, and also Würben himself, were friends of the popular Barnabite preacher, Father

82 Re the activities of the *Appellationsgericht* (including references to the other relevant literature) – find more in Zdeňka HLEDÍKOVÁ – Jan JANÁK – Jan DOBEŠ, *Dějiny správy v Českých zemích od počátků státu po současnost* [The History of Administration in the Czech Lands since the beginning of the State to the present day], Prague 2007, p. 124.

83 P. VLČEK et al., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Pražský hrad a Hradčany*, pp. 459–460.

84 This was originally house No. 376, in the garden of which a ballroom was later constructed bearing the No. 379. The construction of the ballroom commenced just before the onset of the Thirty Years’ War; the architect Carlo Lurago had bought the property in 1651, but then he soon sold it again. At the time of Count von Würben the ballroom belonged to Jacob Bintel (1652–1682). Today, it is a building that is identified as the Thun-Hohenstein Palace. See Pavel VLČEK et al., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Malá Strana* [Artistic Sights of Prague. The Lesser Town], Prague 1999, pp. 477, 481; V. LEDVINKA – B. MRÁZ – V. VLNAS, *Pražské paláce*, p. 329.

85 The Barnabites were founded in Milan in 1530 and the aim of this order was to restore the faith in Christian countries, including teaching the young. They first came to Prague in 1628 and subsequently they considerably rebuilt their monastery in the 1650’s, so in 1662 Count von Würben was able to enjoy its new look. Cf. Pavel VLČEK – Petr SOMMER – Dušan FOLTÝN, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů* [The Encyclopaedia of Bohemian Monasteries], Prague 1998, pp. 453–454; P. VLČEK et al., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Pražský hrad a Hradčany*, p. 417; Milan M. BUBEN, *Encyklopedie řádů a kongregací v českých zemích. Part III, Volume 3: Řeholní klerikové* [Monastic Clerics], Prague 2008, pp. 35–38.

Costanso Arzoni.⁸⁶ In his otherwise not particularly evaluative records Johann Franz also highly touted him once, when he attended his sermon in November. Though, in accordance with Würben the preaching “*zimlich lang gewehrt, aber wegen ihren gelecheit undt schöne vielen gar kurtz vorkommen*”.⁸⁷ Young Würben’s close ties to the Barnabite Church are also evidenced by the fact that he installed a sacred foundation there.⁸⁸ His second favourite church in the morning, which was festive in some way, was St. Nicholas’ Church located at the Jesuit vocational house in the Lesser Town (13 mentions). On Sundays and on Public Holidays the Count stopped there regularly, while at least three times during the year he also confessed.⁸⁹ His close relationship to this church may also have been related to the fact that exactly in 1662, a close relative of Johann Franz, father Johann von Würben (1610–1664), was working at the vocational house as a Superior.⁹⁰ Count von Würben attended other places of worship to a considerably lesser extent – only in St. Vitus’ Cathedral or in Loreta at Hradčany did he appear more frequently. Everywhere else, according to the source, it was only once and even the chapel of his domestic, Martinitz Palace, he demonstrably attended for the morning worship service just once, and that time only because he was ill.⁹¹

86 Cf. the edition, entries of the 7th February (the lunch at the Martinitz), the 2nd March (morning visit to Count von Würben) or on the 1st April (lunch at the Martinitz again) 1662. So far not much is known about Arzoni, but his preaching activity in Prague in the years 1650–1665 is evidenced by Cardinal Harrach. According to his diaries he spoke perfect Italian (although he was not of Italian origin), and he preached regularly to the Jesuits, the Carmelites and the Dominicans and, of course, also at his own monastery. People evidently liked his sermons a lot and he belonged amongst the favourite preachers of the *Oberstburggraf* Martinitz’s first wife, Veronika Polyxena. After her death in 1659, he also delivered the funeral sermon at St. Thomas. Cf. K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, an index entry on p. 260. Arzoni also provisionally baptized Josepha Susanna von Würben in August 1662. We can find these words in the parish register: “*Et hic infans ob periculum vitae baptizatus es pridem ante a patre Constantino N. Barnabita...*” Cf. Archiv hlavního města Prahy [Prague City Archives], Sběrka matrik [Collection of Parish Registers], Hradčany, Farní úřad u sv. Víta, sign. N3 Z2 O1, fol. 72r.

87 Cf. the edition, an entry from the 4th November 1662.

88 The existence of the foundation in 1662 is also documented by Cardinal Harrach, who attended the Mass. See K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 194, an entry from the 27th April 1662.

89 Re St. Nicholas and the vocational house see P. VLČEK et al., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Malá Strana*, pp. 91–100, 126–127. Confessions are documented in the edition, entries from the 19th March, the 24th August and the 11th November 1662.

90 He worked as a Superior at the vocational house from the 25th October 1661 until his death. See the catalogue entry in the Bio-bibliographical database of friars in the Czech Lands during the Early Modern Period, available at URL: <<http://reholnici.hiu.cas.cz/katalog/l.dll?hal~1000101336>> [cit. 2015–09–21].

91 The edition, an entry from the 7th February 1662.

The participation of Count von Würben in special events, such as, for example, an exequy for the deceased Auxiliary Bishop Giuseppe Corti cannot be considered as representing his everyday morning programme,⁹² e.g. the vestment of the new Abbot of the Emmaus Monastery,⁹³ the disputation of Jaroslav Bernhard von Martinitz in his father's house, a visit to the unnamed artist in the Lesser Town or simply staying at home when Johann Franz was sick.⁹⁴ In that instance, however, his friends came to visit him and to provide him with their company.

The fundamental part of each daily entry – as in many other diaries – was the part about lunch at around 1 p.m., where the information about where the Count ate was first found, which was also always accompanied by the names of the key people who would be participating in the dining.⁹⁵ This is not surprising, because the key role played by communal eating on regard to establishing and maintaining social relations has been widely thematised.⁹⁶ Johann Franz's records regularly include three to nine guests' names. An analysis of 77 relevant entries proves that although Würben usually lunched at home in Martinitz Palace (57 mentions, 74 %), but definitely not alone – almost always it was in the company of his father-in-law and his guests (53 mentions). Without him he only ate at home when Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz went to his country estates and he never had such a large companion as his powerful father-in-law had.⁹⁷ If he had not eaten his lunch at home, the young Count spent most of his afternoon in another Prague palace as a guest of his friends and acquaintances (17 mentions, 22 %). His hosts included the five-times Vice-President of the *Appellationsgericht*, Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg, the three-times Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach and Margrave Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden and once the *Oberstkanzler* of the Kingdom of Bohemia Johann Hartwig von Nostitz, the *Oberstlandmarschall* Adam Matthias von Trauttmansdorff, the *Oberstlandhofmeister* Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz and additionally also Johann Franz von Wrtby, the

92 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 4th April 1662; K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 185.

93 The edition, an entry from the 6th January 1662; see also K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, pp. 153–154.

94 The edition, entries from the 3rd May (disputation), the 15th March (painter) and from the 7th February 1662 (illness).

95 Unlike Cardinal Harrach, Count von Würben never wrote anything about what they did actually eat that day. Cf. K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, pp. 118–120.

96 Cf. P. MAŤA, *Nejstarší české a moravské deníky*, pp. 112–113. Monographically then in Josef HRDLIČKA, *Hodovní stůl a dvorská společnost. Strava na raně novověkých aristokratických dvorech v českých zemích (1550–1650)* [The food offered at the Early Modern aristocratic courts in the Czech Lands (1550–1650)], České Budějovice 2000, esp. pp. 130–175.

97 The edition, entries from the 7th July (four guests), the 20th July (one guest), the 27th July (two guests) and the 18th September 1662 (three guests).

little known (but according to Würben's records – it seems – very popular in Prague society) Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf and finally Würben's mother. Based on the source, the remaining three lunches he ate in ecclesiastical institutions, once at the Emmaus Monastery, and once at the Jesuit vocational house located in the Lesser Town and once at the cloister of Discalced Carmelites.⁹⁸ All the lunches were planned in advance and the participation of some of the guests was counted-on. Only rarely does it happen that people arrive for lunch with someone without any prior notice being given. If such a thing did happen Count von Würben recorded it with an apologetic explanation: "*haben also mitt den, was sie gefunden, zufriden seyn müßen*".⁹⁹

If it was rather mornings that were "working", than the after lunch period it becomes evident that only rarely did Count von Würben dedicate any of his time to official matters.¹⁰⁰ Afternoon time we can call "leisure" time, which – like lunchtime – is principally spent in the company of other nobles. In the colder part of the year, he spent his leisure time mainly in palaces or in ballrooms, while during the warmer months (April – September) mostly he was outside, i.e. especially in gardens. An analysis of the afternoon records from the only known preserved fragment of Würben's Diary from 1662 significantly expands the information about social contacts that was derived from the passages about lunches, although it does not bring dramatically different information because we discovered that the Count had still spent a lot of time in the company of the same people. He had visited Cardinal Harrach in the afternoon nine times, Adolf Wratistlaw von Sternberg eight times, Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch also eight times, Margrave Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden five times, the *Obersthoflehnrichter* Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata four times and the President of the *Appellationsgericht*, Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat, also four times. Three times he mentions visiting Johann Franz von Wrtby and twice Maximilian von Thun or Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz. With other nobles he only stopped-by once.

Although the data obtained cannot be regarded as totally relevant, because we only have 77 of the 365 daily records available and we certainly cannot overestimate, for example, the ties between young Würben and Count Sternberg, because the latter is demonstrably absent in the rest of the diary entries (his data for the entire year are completed), this information certainly must indicate something. We have before us

98 *Ibidem*, entries from the 6th January, the 19th March and the 2nd December 1662. Which is to say, however, that at the Jesuits and the Discalced Carmelites, he was again hosted by his father-in-law, Martinitz.

99 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 7th July 1662.

100 *Ibidem*, entries from the 27th September (the preparation of young Thun's testament) and the 16th November 1662 (The Diet Committee).

mostly persons who were brought together by their shared affiliation to the House of Martinitz. These people met regularly, especially during the colder part of the year, at Hradčany and in the Lesser Town because during the summer and autumn they set off to their country estates for a longer or shorter time and there they seldom gathered in greater numbers than they did when they were in the Bohemian capital. The core of the Martinitz relatives was a married couple constituting the *Oberstburggraf*, Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz, and his wife. The closest male blood relative of the most powerful Bohemian man of that time was his five years younger brother Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz, who at that time was the *Oberstlandhofmeister* and represented the second basic building block of the entire party. (Würben refers to him in 16 entries). From amongst the Provincial Government (*Statthaltereie*) probably also belonging to this group were the *Obersthoflehnrichter* Count Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata (20 mentions in the diary) and the President of the *Appellationsgericht* Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat (16 mentions). The Martinitz found a powerful sympathiser, although not directly a member of the clan, in Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (29 mentions).¹⁰¹ If we consider the collected data as constituting a sufficiently representative sample, they also appear to suggest that no other members of the Provincial Government belonged amongst the regular companions of Count von Würben and that therefore they probably did not constitute a part of the Martinitz clan. Primarily these were the brothers Adam Matthias and Johann Friedrich von Trauttmansdorff, at that time the *Oberstlandmarschall* and the *Oberstlandkammerer* of the Kingdom of Bohemia (the diary dedicates to them six and four mentions to them respectively), followed by the *Oberstlandrichter* Wilhelm Albrecht Krakowsky von Kolowrat (four mentions) and the President of the Bohemian Chamber, Alex Ferdinand Wratislaw von Mitrowitz (one mention). Nevertheless the Martinitz did meet them at festive events (the younger Trauttmansdorff and Krakowsky, for example, attended the wedding of the youngest daughter of the *Oberstburggraf* to Count Gallas at Smečno during the summer of 1660)¹⁰² so evidently there was no open hostility between them.

The diary clearly confirms the assumption that the good relations between the members of the faction were established primarily on the basis of family ties. Therefore, belonging amongst the Martinitz, was not only a son-in-law of the *Oberstburggraf*, Johann Franz von Würben, who lived with him under the same roof, but also a second son-in-law,

101 Alessandro CATALANO, *Zápas o svědomí. Kardinál Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu (1598–1667) a protireformace v Čechách* [Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667) and the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia], Prague 2008.

102 See K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 6, pp. 805–806 (entries from the 3rd and 4th July 1660). Both men, however, left right after supper and did not stay-on until the end.

Franz Ferdinand von Gallas, who had married Martinitz' daughter Katharina Barbara.¹⁰³ Johann Franz von Wrtby, whose mother was Barbara Eusebia von Martinitz and the then already deceased sister of the *Oberstburggraf*, also became a member of this familial cluster (31 mentions, 40.3 % of the daily records). Also additionally included can be Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg, whose cousin, Veronika Polyxena von Sternberg, was the first wife of the *Oberstburggraf*. Through the mentioned Sternberg the Martinitz obtained family ties to the family of Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg. Which is to say that the wife of Mr. "Wratl" was Anna Lucia Slavata, whose brother Ferdinand Wilhelm, the *Obersthoflehnrichter* at that time, is mentioned in Würben's diary seventeen times. In regard to Count von Würben, however, we must not forget another person who is closest to him by blood and that is his mother (18 mentions). Due to her poor health Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin, as a widow, lived in Prague, close to her only son. Johann Franz visited his mother frequently and, as we have already documented, he spent long hours with her, which probably indicates that a mutually beneficial relationship existed between child and parent.

In addition to his close relatives, Count von Würben's environment was also populated by some of his friends. In addition to the already mentioned Sternberg and Wrtby, Johann Franz's regular companions, with whom he spent time either joyriding around Prague or playing ball or card games, were specifically Maximilian von Thun (24 mentions), Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (22 mentions) and Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat (15 mentions). It was these men, often in the company of their wives, who carried-out collective spending and also enjoyed a lot of leisure time together. Johann Franz von Würben had a special relationship with his superior in the office, who (together with his father-in-law and the latter's brother) can be seen as being amongst his most important patrons. It is the President of the *Appellationsgericht*, Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat, who appears in the preserved fragment of the diary quite regularly (16 mentions).

Count von Würben's world – that impression should certainly come-across when reading the diary – was dominated by nobles and their living-premises, i.e. the palaces of the Lesser Town, together with Hradčany and Prague Castle. In many parts of the diary, however, there are also people mentioned who did not have blue blood but who were accepted in aristocratic society as interesting partners in discussions and as guests

103 The standard genealogical lexicons do not identify the third daughter (cca. 1635–1697) of Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz by her name, while some older works even consider her as being the daughter of Jaroslav Borzita von Martinitz. Nevertheless she was a descendant of Bernhard Ignaz, as is evidenced by the fact that Würben, in his diary, refers to her husband Count Gallas as being his brother-in-law. On several occasions Cardinal Harrach also mentioned Katharina Barbara and, in July 1660, it was also he who conducted her wedding ceremony in Smečno Castle. Cf. K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, esp. Vol. 6, pp. 805–807.

at the table. The Count regularly met with clergymen, for example. We have already documented the contacts with Arzoni the Barnabite, but most frequently Johann Franz met with learned Jesuits, who were guests of his father-in-law. Specifically captured in his diary are 18 fathers, while primarily documented as a regular visitor to the Martinitz Palace is Wenzel Schwertfer (18 mentions). There is nothing strange about this because, by then, he had already served as the Confessor of the *Oberstburggraf*.¹⁰⁴ Also visiting Martinitz were the Klementinum Professor Johann Tanner (eight mentions),¹⁰⁵ the Dean of the Faculty of Theology Rodrigo de Arriaga (six)¹⁰⁶ and Karl Grobendoncq (three).¹⁰⁷ Here and there, also flashing in the records, are members of the Dominican, the Hibernian, the Capuchin and the Servite Orders. In addition to the clergy, obviously Würben also met with commoners, especially at the *Appellationsgericht*, where there was always a place for educated lawyers. But he only rarely mentions them; in essence he does so only when they have been specifically invited to Martinitz Palace. These included, for example, Johann Heinrich Papius (a former Rector of the Charles-Ferdinand University), Johann Sigmund Neschwitz and Christoph Balthasar Türchner.¹⁰⁸ Only exceptionally will a certain artist appear in Würben's records – perhaps, for example, Carlo Lurago the architect.¹⁰⁹ The Count von Würben did not spend his afternoons only in larger groups at card games nor just in palaces,¹¹⁰ but, with a smaller group of his peers, he also went regularly to ballrooms.¹¹¹ We have already briefly mentioned their existence and now we

104 Wenzel Schwertfer SJ (1617–1680), a native of Silesia, was well known as a very prolific author of educational religious literature. He worked in Prague during the years 1662–1664, then he went on to Klatovy and to Opole. Basic biographical data were collected in a Bio-bibliographical database of the Friars in the Czech Lands during the Early Modern Period. See URL: <<http://reholnici.hiu.cas.cz/katalog/clpr54.htm>> [cit. 2015–03–09].

105 Cf. the edition, entries from the 31st January, the 10th February, the 17th February, the 27th February, the 2nd March, the 4th April, the 3rd May and the 19th May 1662.

106 *Ibidem*, entries from the 26th April, the 3rd May, the 8th May, the 18th May, the 22nd June and the 4th November 1662.

107 *Ibidem*, the entries from the 3rd May, the 4th November and the 6th of November 1662.

108 *Ibidem*, the entries from the 26th April, the 27th July and the 4th November 1662. Cf. J. C. von AUERSPERG, *Geschichte*, 2nd Volume, pp. 12 (Neschwitz † 1689), 138 (Türchner † 1683), 208 (Papius † 1674).

109 The edition, an entry from the 9th January 1662.

110 From card games the Count von Würben most frequently recorded La Bete (27 mentions), Crimp (16), Quindici (13), Picket (nine), Tick Tock (four), Primera (three), Landsknecht (three) and he refers just once to the games that are entitled Al Truco and Trenta Quaranta. Re these games in more detail: look for Manfred ZOLLINGER's *Geschichte des Glücksspiels: vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 1997. In addition to card games he also refers to the game of chess (eight mentions).

111 Learn about ballrooms and their form in more detail from Johann Heinrich ZEDLER's *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste...*, Supplement 2, Leipzig 1751, col. 1330–1332, the password is “Ballhaus”.

can also add that visiting them and playing in them is reported by 20 mentions in the afternoon sections of Würben's records. The Count makes use of the verb *pallotieren*, which is based on the Italian word *balla* indicating that it is a game that is played with a ball and that actually constitutes the forerunner of today's tennis. The roots of this game are grounded in France, however (*jeu de paume*), while in the 16th Century it also began to spread across Central Europe – the Habsburgs built *Ballhäuser* both in Vienna (Ferdinand I) and later in the Prague Castle garden (Maximilian II).¹¹² The Count of Würben knew about it, but probably he went a little more frequently to the ballroom located in the Lesser Town (15 mentions). Typical in this respect it is that also going to the *Ballhaus* with him were younger noblemen aged between cca. 20–40 years, he never mention any older ones.¹¹³ His regular teammates were – and again we will be reading already familiar names – Johann Franz von Wrtby (born in 1631, six mentions), Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat (born in cca. 1638, five mentions) and Maximilian von Thun (born in 1638, four mentions). There are others who are represented in our sample only once, but they were also born during the 1620's to the 1630's.¹¹⁴ If not one of his friends was with him, Würben played only with the local *marqueur*, who was a representative of the ballroom's owner and knew the game well and had mastered it.¹¹⁵ According to the diary entries it appears that the young Count mostly came there just for fun to play with the already used balls, because he only mentions four times that he played "*parthy*", which is a word denoting a prize match that is played using new balls.¹¹⁶

We have already mentioned that during the warmer part of the year the nobles prefer to stay outside in the open air.¹¹⁷ The Count von Würben also documents this in his entries from between April and early October. Of the 38 preserved daily records of that period a visit to the gardens is mentioned in 18 instances. Most often he visited so

112 Wolfgang BEHRINGER, *Kulturgeschichte des Sports. Vom antiken Olympia bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, München 2012, pp. 200–204, 224–227; Heiner GILLMEISTER, *Der Topspin taugte nichts im alten Jeu de la Paume: das Tennisspiel in drei Jahrhunderten (1500–1800)*, in: Rebekka von Mallinckrodt (Hg.), *Bewegtes Leben. Körpertechniken in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 205–229.

113 This is the conclusion that was also reached by the editors of Harrach's daily lists of notes and diaries. According to them, Cardinal also went to the ballroom when he was younger, but later-on he started to prefer skittles. K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, p. 112.

114 These were Leopold Ulrich Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat (born in 1635), Franz Joseph von Lamberg (born in 1637), Franz Ferdinand von Gallas (born in 1635), Adolf Wratisslaw von Sternberg (born in cca. 1627) and the oldest of them was Ferdinand Ludwig Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat (born in 1621).

115 He mentions the game with the *marqueur* three times. See the edition, entries from the 9th January, the 2nd March and the 24th March 1662. About the *marqueurs* J. H. ZEDLER, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, col. 1336, the entry "Ballspiel-Kunst".

116 See the edition, entries from the 9th January, the 3rd March, the 18th March and the 24th March 1662. Additionally cf. H. GILLMEISTER, *Der Topspin*, p. 221.

117 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 1, pp. 112, 118.

called *Hofgarten*, that means the Royal Garden cross the Powder Bridge at Hradčany. He appeared there sixteen times. Documented only once is a visit to the garden of his friend Johann Franz von Wrtby in the Lesser Town and also once to the garden of his father-in-law Martinitz.¹¹⁸ The nobility regularly entertained themselves in the open air not just by walking around the garden, eating meals or playing the card games that have already been mentioned but also by playing skittles, which – unlike the *jeu de paume* – the nobles played happily, regardless of their age and their status, so that even ageing Cardinal Harrach occasionally attended a game. Not only in the Royal Garden was a skittle alley located, however, the already mentioned Count von Wrtby also had one at his palace and, apparently, it was a very nice one.¹¹⁹

The afternoon programme of Johann Franz von Würben, was not as uneventful as the morning one was, however. He regularly reported that he attended either the afternoon or the evening sermon,¹²⁰ and that he went to cheer his mother up during her illness (eight mentions). Here and there, flashes in the daily entries a laconic note that the Count was reading at home and handled correspondence (five times), and when he came home from a visit earlier, he stopped also at his wife and children.

The evening rituals in Martinitz Palace usually began before dinner, which was served between 7–9 p.m. Typical of it was that it was dominated by communication between the individual family members. The Count von Würben talked not only with his wife and children, but also regularly with his father-in-law, with whom he discussed the news of the day and from the newspapers and occasionally he also visited him in his room. Sometimes there was enough free time for Johann Franz to study copperplate engravings¹²¹ or to deal with his mail. According to the records the day ended with participating in the litanies that were implemented by the father-in-law's band and with prayers. Most frequently they went to bed between 10 and 11 p.m. Of course these traditional rituals were occasionally disrupted by seasonal festivities or by unexpected events. Sometimes the Count was so delighted with the evening weather that he did not hesitate before taking a nice stroll in Hradčany Square. Another time alarming news reached him that the Lesser Town was burning and so Johann Franz got on his horse immediately and went to find out what was really happening. Fortunately it was not anything serious.¹²² Sometimes, especially during the Carnival, the Count von Würben did not come home

118 The edition, entries from the 4th April and the 24th April 1662.

119 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 193.

120 Seven times he visited his favourite St. Vitus' Cathedral, six times the Jesuit church of St. Nicholas, five times his favourite St. Benedict, and twice Loreta or the church in the Carmelite nuns' Convent. The other places of worship he only once honoured with his visit.

121 The edition, an entry from the 9th November 1662.

122 *Ibidem*, entries from the 26th April (fire) and the 27th July 1662 (a walk).

until after midnight, especially if he had gone to a ball or participated in some other entertainment with his friends and acquaintances.¹²³ Only once was there any evidence of any merry-making after midnight actually inside the Martinitz Palace: that during a time that his father-in-law was out-of-town at his country estate.¹²⁴ Another time, however, Johann Franz had such a headache that he even didn't want to dine with Martinitz. He went to see his wife briefly, where he ate a little and then went to his room to get to bed early.¹²⁵

This brings us to the last topic, one that the Count reflected-on in his diary, i.e. his own health and illness. Johann Franz was then 28 years old, so, theoretically, he was at the peak of his life forces. Although he did not obviously suffer from any serious illness, he did some-times report health problems. Basically he mentions only three ailments: first the unbearable toothache that he had experienced in early summer, followed by an unexpected headache in September and then a severe cold for several days at the beginning of December.¹²⁶ Only thanks to this the records of the spent night reached the pages of his diary, because otherwise we cannot learn basically anything about this period of day. The most interesting is Johann Franz's long-term struggle with toothache. From the fragments of the diary it is clear that he was attempting to endure the pain (19th May); in vain, however, and so finally, after more than a month, he called in the dentist (*zahnborher*), who pulled out his tooth, which, he said, was almost painless (22nd June). This did not relieve his pain, however, so after a couple of days, the dentist had to intervene once more (2nd July). Thereby, within a short period, the Count actually lost two teeth, which only confirms the well-known fact that during the Early Modern Age even the nobility usually did not have absolutely beautiful and well-kept teeth, while at an older age they had their dentures made abroad.¹²⁷

Conclusion

For many reasons the recently discovered fragment of Johann Franz Count von Würben's diary from the year 1662 represents a valuable document in regard to the history of the mid-17th Century. First of all, because of it, we are able to obtain important information related to the life of the Count subsequent to his relocation in Bohemia and to map-out the inception of his new lifestyle that inevitably is bound to Prague and to its *Oberstburggraf*, Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz, both of whose daughters he married in

123 *Ibidem*, entries from the 9th and the 19th February 1662.

124 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 20th July 1662.

125 *Ibidem*, an entry from the 3rd September 1662.

126 *Ibidem*, entries from the 2nd, 3rd and 6th December 1662.

127 J. KUBEŠ, *Náročné dospívání urozených*, p. 219.

succession. Thanks to the daily entries we can far more easily consider how important this link to the most powerful Provincial Official of that time was. An unexpected image appears in front of us – a young Count von Würben lives with his wife under the roof of his influential father-in-law and allows him to subsidise him to a certain extent, while by-and-large he does not visit his Moravian estates while basically, in Bohemia, he does not have a suitable background. Thanks to his father-in-law, however, Johann Franz could become integrated into the upper echelons of Bohemian aristocratic society, gain his function in the *Appellationsgericht* and his career soared in a similar way as previously of both his father-in-law and the latter's brother. Since the *Oberstburggraf* did not have a son through this alliance the Count von Würben will eventually become Martinitz's "heir". Johann Franz was "sort of" his adopted son, who benefited from his social contacts and from Martinitz' kindred, so one cannot be surprised that, when Bernhard Ignaz died at the beginning of 1685, Prince Ferdinand von Dietrichstein, the *Obersthofmeister* of Emperor Leopold I, expressed his condolences to Würben that he had lost "*einen so grossen freind, patron und gleichsahm vatern*".¹²⁸ It is no coincidence that after Martinitz' death Johann Franz' career accelerated and finally as the *Oberstkanzler* of the Kingdom of Bohemia he got through to Emperor Leopold I in Vienna.

Found diary entries, however, have wider possibilities for providing information, because they are not only testifying about their writer, but also a great deal about his family too. Thanks to this they represent an exceptional source for the reconstruction of the House of Martinitz and for their daily meetings and functioning. Thereby they perfectly complement the information obtained from Cardinal Harrach's *Tagzettel*, because they not only contain the names of the relatives with whom the *Oberstburggraf* and his son-in-law met, but also add the names of the other people with whom both Martinitz and Würben had close contacts. This enables us to appreciate the bonds that exist between the two men and the Barnabites who were headed by father Arzoni and the Jesuits, from amongst whom both the confessor of the *Oberstburggraf*, father Schwertfer, and the university teachers Tanner and Arriaga appeared.

The diary includes other relevant and valuable information specifically because the Count basically resigned on watching the weather, financial matters or on the reflection of contemporary politics. Although Johann Franz von Würben obviously learned from Cardinal Harrach when writing his daily entries and changed their first-person narration to a third-person narration, his records were substantively shaped by his young nature. Thanks to this they are clearly dominated by the Count's daily programme, which we can

128 The MPA in Brno, RA Ditrichštejnů [The Dietrichstein Family Archive], box 488, fol. 22, Würben's letter to Dietrichstein, Prague, the 7th January 1685; *ibidem*, fol. 23, a concept of the Dietrichstein's answer, Vienna, 21st January 1685.

follow almost hour by hour and which is bordered by the hours of getting up and lying down. The Cardinal never recorded such details of his life. In this sense, we have in front of us a very special ego-document, which, at first glance, resembles Harrach's *Tagzettel*, while in terms of its content it is more like a diary – apparently these records should not be spread further i.e. amongst relatives and friends. Therefore this represents very valuable testimony that is dominated by the daily schedule of the young Count who is based in Prague. Johann Franz is introduced here not only as an *Appellationsrat*, the son-in-law of the *Oberstburggraf*, a member of the Martinitz clan, a caring son and a parent of young children, but also as an able-bodied *player* one of the forerunner of today's tennis and an avid card player who is regularly surrounded by several friends from amongst his peers. There are not many such ego-documents, because diaries mostly record either the teenagers who are on grand tours (Leo Wilhelm von Kaunitz, Sternberg brothers, Hermann Jacob Tschernin von Chudenitz, etc.), diplomatic or other journeys (Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach, Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat, Franz Ulrich Kinsky, Christoph Wenzel von Nostitz, etc.), or they are being kept by ageing nobleman (e.g. Christoph Popel the Younger von Lobkowitz, Johann Joseph von Wrtby), or nobles who are living outside the Czech lands (Johann Joseph von Khevenhüller-Metsch, Karl von Zinzendorf). Basically, the only comparable sources are the diaries of Johann Joachim von Zierotin (though these come from the early 18th Century and in addition to Moravian reality also depict his life in Vienna) and the first years of the diary of Adam the Younger von Waldstein (although this was written regularly in Prague, it is but half a century older).

One can only regret that, apparently, the diary of Johann Franz von Würben was not preserved in its original state and completeness – both from 1662, and possibly from the other years during which it was probably kept. It cannot be assumed that it would stop suddenly after 1662 because the motivation for additional keeping of daily entries is usually a form of compulsive need to not remain without any material support in the case of an ever-leaky memory and in the case of the nobility also a nagging feeling of obligation to leave footprints for descendants that are worth following. The fate of the Würben family archive and the library during the 19th Century is sad and regrettable, however, and therefore obviously we will probably never find the rest of the diary of Johann Franz. We can only be thankful that František Palacký learned about it in the 1820's and that he copied at least part of it for his genealogical research regarding the House of Sternberg. Based on his diligent work he left us a remarkable testimony in regard to the mid-17th Century Bohemian history.

Text appendix:

The edition comprising the daily entries of Johann Franz von Würben from the year 1662

Editorial note:

In comparison with the previously known Würben's Latin Diary from the years 1655–1656¹²⁹ the German Diary is written in the third-person narrative form and, unlike in the earlier Latin diary, we do not find any Czech words in it.¹³⁰ The German transcript also contains several words (especially personal names) that Palacký was not able to read in the original and probably also a few mistakes that the historian made during the transcription. These are labelled [sic]. In his transcription Palacký also used a number of abbreviations that during our editorial work we expanded to conform with the German language's current rules. In addition to decoding the abbreviations on one hand, we tried to maintain the authenticity of the original transcript (and therefore we used transliteration), while on the other hand, we also modernised a number of features in the same manner as some contemporary German researchers do.¹³¹ The forming of uppercase and lowercase letters, the use of which had fluctuated in the text, was unified. Mostly capital letters are only used in proper names, place names and in the names of the days of the week and of the months. We also used the modern way of writing words either individually or joined-together and we added modern punctuation so that the text would be more comprehensible.¹³² Because it is a critical edition, we tried to identify a large number of the names of people and places that figure in it. For this we utilised square brackets, as also did the editors of Cardinal Harrach's *Tagzettel*, whose editorial rules we basically followed.¹³³

Aus einem Tagebuch des Grafen Johann Franz von Wrbn¹³⁴ von 1662

Prag, [Freitag] den 6.^{ten} Januarii. Heut ist der graf von Würben mitt seinem schwager [*Franz Ferdinand von Gallas*] hinüber in die Neustadt inn Emaus [*Emauzy*] gefahren undt allda der infulation des alldortigen aptens [*Antonio Sotomayor*], so sehr stattlich verrichtet worden, beigewohnt. Zu mittag hatt er sambt Ihro Eminenz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] undt viellen andern cavalier undt geistlichen allda geßen undt biß umb halbe drey verblieben. Hernach ist er zu dem herr obersten lehnhofrichter [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] gefahren undt allda mitt ihm, herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratlslaw von Sternberg*] undt grafen Franz z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] krimpe biß umb siben gespielt. Ihr Eminenz, der herr obrister landthofmaister [*Maximilian Valentin*

129 Opava Provincial Archive, Velkostatek Fulnek [Fulnek Estate], inv. No. 1.

130 R. KRUŠINSKÝ, *Deník*.

131 The discussion concerning different editorial rules is summarised by Jakob WÜHRER – Martin SCHEUTZ, *Zu Diensten Ihrer Majestät. Hofordnungen und Instruktionsbücher am frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hof*, Wien – München 2011, pp. 263–269.

132 See the principles defined in *Archivschule Marburg, Grundsätze für die Textbearbeitung im Fachbereich Historische Hilfswissenschaften* (Stand: 13th January 2005), URL: <<http://www.archivschule.de/content/409.html>>.

133 K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*.

134 Here Palacký used a strange, Czech-German, variant of the name – correctly it should be *von Würben und Freudenthal* in German.

von *Martinitz*] undt der herr obrister landkammerer [*Johann Friedrich von Trauttmansdorff*] haben bei einem anderen tisch picket gespielt. Nach sibene ist der graf von Würben mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] nach haus gefahren undt bald hernach zu dem abendeßen gangen. Nach dem eßen hatt er mit Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] ein weil geredt undt hernachmal zu denen letaneyen gangen.

- [Montag] den 9.^{ten} [Januarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach achte aufgestanden undt inn dem steueramt die von den herrn ständen dieses Königreichs aufgetragene commission mitt denen anderen benannten herrn deputirten gehalten undt geschlossen. Umb eilfe ist er inn den landtag gangen undt biß nach zwölfe darinnen verblieben. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen der herr prelat von Strahof [*Vinzenz Makarius Frank*], der herr probst von Alt Buntzl [*Rudolf Roder von Feldburg*], der pater provincial der patrum scholarum piarum [*Johann Dominik Franchi a Cruce*], sein persohn undt der Carl Lurago. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben mitt seinem schwagern [*Franz Ferdinand von Gallas*] inn das untere ballhaus, allda er mitt dem marqueur drey partien gespielt, gefahren, hernach aber Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] besucht undt mitt demselben undt herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] piket biß umb sibene gespielt. Nach sibene ist der graf von Würben nach haus gangen undt sich zu dem abendteßen gesetzt. Nach demselben hatt er ein weil mitt seinem schwager geschwatzt undt hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] den 12.^{ten} [Januarii]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt nach halbe achte auffgestanden undt inn die appellation gefahren, nach derselben inn den landtag undt hernach nach haus gangen. Zu mittag haben bey Ihr Excellenz den herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, Ihr Eminentz der herr cardinal [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], der herr chorbischof von Trier graf von Metternich [*Philipp Emmerich von Metternich-Winneburg*], der herr obrister landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] undt der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*]. Nach mittag ist die gantze gesellschaft inn die schloßkirchen zu der angst Cristi, nach derselben aber zu Ihr Eminentz gangen, allda man bey drey tischen mitt spiehlen sich unterhalten theils mitt quindici zu fünf groschen, theils mit piketione zu reichsthalern undt theils mitt krimpe spielen zu halten. Nach sibene hatt sich das spielen geendet undt ist die gantze gesellschaft außer Ihr Eminentz undt des herr graf von Würben, so nach haus zu seinem weib [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*], welche ann einen kopfweh sich etwas übel aufbefündet, hinunter zu dem herr obristen landtkammerer [*Johann Friedrich von Trauttmansdorff*] gangen. Der graf von Würben hatt nach dem abendteßen die gewöhnliche letaneyen gebett undt hernach sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Samstag] 14.^{ten} [Januarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach achte aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] gefahren, allda er biß nach eilfe blieben, hernach aber bey St. Benedikt meß gehört undt dem seegen mitt dem Hochwürdigem empfangen. Zu mittag haben bey Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der teutsche pater prediger [*Christophorus Eucharius SJ*] aus dem profeßhaus mitt einem andern pater undt der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*]. Nachmittag hatt der graf Max von Thun [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] den graf von Würben heimgesucht undt seindt hernach miteinander inn das untere ballhaus, von dannen aber sambt den graf von Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] undt den graf von Guttenstan [*Heinrich Friedrich von Guttenstein*] zu dem graf Diwisch Gotzen [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren, allwo der graf von Würben undt der graf von Thunn mitt ihm krimpe biß auf sechse gespielt. Hernach hatt der graf von Würben den grafen z Wrtbi undt grafen von Thunn biß inn ihr heüser gefuhrt undt auch selbstenn nach haus gefahren. Umb halbe achte ist er zu dem

abendteßen gangen und hernach mitt Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen von allerhandt sachen discourirt, nach neine hatt man die gewöhnliche letaneyen gebett undt darmitt Gott lob den heuntigen tag geschlossen.

- [Samstag] 21.^{ten} [Januarii]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt umb achte aufgestanden undt erstlich zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], hernach aber inn den landtag gefahren, inn welchen er fast biß umb zwölfte blieben. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, zween patres dominikanen undt der herr Ferdynandt Hyßerle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*], mitt welchen der graf von Würben nach dem eßen hinüber inn die Altstadt zu dem graf Gotzen [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren undt mitt ihnen sambt dem dem herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] biß auf sechse krimpe gespielt. Hernach ist er nach haus gefahren undt erstlich ein weil gelesen, hernach aber mitt den kindern sich unterhalten. Zu dem abendteßen ist man erst nach achte gangen, weilen die frau obriste burgrafin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] mit der grafin von Würben [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] bei der spanischen grafin von Kolowrath [*Maria Viktoria Nowohradsky von Kolowrat, née Gallas*], so Gott lob glücklich zwischen siben undt achte ein tochter [*Isabela Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] gebohren, gewesen. Nach dem abendteßen ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach demselben aber schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] den 26.^{ten} [Januarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben umb halbe achte aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau müetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], bei welcher er biß umb neune blieben, von dannen aber inn die appellation gefahren. Ein wenig vor eilf ist man inn den landtag, so heunt nicht gar ein stund gewehrt, gangen, zu mittag haben Ihr Excellenz der herr obrister burgraf [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] sambt dero gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], wie auch Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], die zwey kayserliche commissarii [*Wilhelm Albrecht Krakowsky von Kolowrat und Franz Ernst Schlick*], herr obrister landtcammerer [*Johann Friedrich von Trauttmandorff*] sambt der frauen [*Maria Clara von Trauttmandorff, née von Dietrichstein*], graf von Würben sambt der frauen [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] undt grafen Gallaß [*Franz Ferdinand von Gallas*] undt der chur trierische abgeordnete graf von Metternich [*Philipp Emmerich von Metternich-Winneburg*] thumherr zu Mayntz undt Trier bei dem herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] appellationsvicepresidenten geßen undt so tapfer geglaselt, daß etlichen der kopf zimlich schwer worden. Nach dem essen hat man sich in zwey parthey, deren eine als Ihr Eminentz, herr graf Schlick [*Franz Ernst Schlick*], herr obrister burgraf sein gemahlin undt die frau zum haus [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] quindeci zu fünf groschen, die andere aber als herr obrister landhofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*], herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebschinsky von Kolowrat*], herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt graf von Würben labet zu ducaten gespielt. Nach sibene haben die leztere ihr spiel geendet, die quindicisten aber biß nach achte des ihrige verzogen. Hernach ist der graf von Würben mit Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen nach haus gefahren undt nach halb neune zu der tafel gangen, nach welcher sie erstlich den rosenkrantz gebett, hernach ein weil miteinander geschwatz undt letztlich zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, mitt welchen diese tag, Gott lob, glücklich geschlossen worden, gangen.

- [Freitag] 27.^{ten} [Januarii]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt nach achte in die appellation gefahren, aus welcher er umb halbe eilfe aufgestanden, diweillen gewiße sachen, so den herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] betrefen, vorkommen; hernach ist er zu St. Benedikt gangen undt allda meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bey Ihr Excellenz der herr obristen burgrafen geßen, der herr principal landtagscommissarius, herr obrister landtrichter [*Wilhelm Albrecht Krakowsky von Kolowrat*] sambt der frauen [*Elisabeth Apolonia Krakowsky von Kolowrat, née Tilly*], der herr obrister landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*], der herr von Metternich [*Philipp Emmerich von Metternich-Winneburg*] chordechant zu Trier, der herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebschinsky von Kolowrat*],

der herr cammerpresident [*Alex Ferdinand Wratislaw von Mitrowitz*] undt der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] sambt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*]. Nach dem essen hatt der herr obrister burgraf, herr graf Metternich, herr appellationspresident undt die freyle Teresl [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*] schach, der herr obrister landhofmaster undt der herr von Sternberg aber kurtz gespielt. Der graf von Würben ist zu den graf Gotz [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren undt hatt allda mitt demselben, der frau Schmerzianin seine schwester, herr Hyßerle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*] undt grafen Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] biß umb sechse krimpe gespielt, nachmals aber nach haus gefahren undt nach dem abendteßen undt denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen schlafen gängen.

- [Dienstag] 31.^{ten} [Januarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach achte inn die appellation, nach derselbe aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß gefahren. Zu mittag haben bey den herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen der herr thomprobst [*Johann Franz Rasch*], der graf Carl Slawata [*Johann Karl Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*] undt der pater Hanel [*Melchior Hanel SJ*]. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben erstlich inn daß untere ballhaus, hernach aber mitt dem grafen Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] zu dem herrn obristen lehnhofrichter [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] gefahren undt mitt ihnen nebenst dem herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt herr obristen Kayserstein [*Johann Georg (?) von Kaiserstein*] biß umb halbe sibene krimpe gespielt. Als er nach haus kammern, hatt er seinen herrn schwägervatter nicht zu haus gefunden, dieweillen er nebenst seiner gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] undt freyl tochter der freyle Teresl [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*] bei Ihr Eminenz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] quindeci biß nach halbe achte gespielt. Nach achte ist mann zu der tafel undt nicht lang darnach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gängen.

- [Dienstag] 7.^{ten} Februarii. Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach achte aufgestanden undt inn der haus cappellen meß gehört, weil er wegen seines sehr starken cathars ihm nicht aus dem haus zu gehen getrauet. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der graf von Kolowrath thomherr zu Ollmutz [*Johann Wilhelm Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], der bischof von Königgratz [*Matthäus Ferdinand Sobek von Bilenberg*], der graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*], der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt der pater Constans [*Arzoni*]. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben in seinem zimmer mitt dem graf von Thunn undt grafen Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] biß umb sechse krimpe gespielt. Dennen herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], so erst nach fünfe kammern, zugesehen. Nach sibene ist mann zu dem abendteßen, hernach zu den letaneyen, nach denselben aber schlafen gängen.

- [Donnerstag] 9.^{ten} [Februarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben vor achte aufgestanden undt inn die appellation, hernach aber inn den landtag gängen. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz den herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, Ihr Eminenz der herr cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], der herr obrister landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] mit der frauen [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], der herr Wratl [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*]. Nach dem essen hatt mann ein weil geschwatz undt hernach inn die schloßkirchen zu der angst gefahren. Ein wenig vor fünfe ist der graf von Würben zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] gefahren undt sich ihr als ein spaniger klandt [sic] gewisen; wohin auch hernach sein gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] als ein pilgramin mitt ihrem pilgramb herr von Holleweil [*Johann Sebastian (?) von Hallweil*] undt Ihr Gnaden die frau obriste landthofmasterin zigeinerin mitt ihrem zigeiner herr Wratl von Sternberg undt der herr obrister landthofmaster als bierbreuer kammern. Nachmals seindt sie sammentlich zu dem herr obristen landtcammerer [*Johann Friedrich von Trauttmandorff*] gefahren undt allda neben anderen der würtschaft beigewohnt, auch ein pahr stundt

vor dem abendteßen undt nach dem eßen biß gegen ein uhr getantzet. Als mann nach haus kamen, ist mann erstlich zu den gewöhnlichen letaneyen, hernach aber schlafen gangen.

- [Freitag] 10.^{ten} [Februarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach achte aufgestanden undt inn die appellation gefahren, nach derselben aber bei St. Benedickt meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz den herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der pater Czeka [*Jakub Czeika SJ (?)*] undt der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*], nach dem eßen ist der graf von Würben zu dem herr obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] gefahren undt allda mitt den herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], grafen von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt herr Hysserle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*] biß auf sechse krimpe, hernach mitt Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] Ihr Gnaden der frau obristen landthofmasterin [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], grafen Frydrich [*Friedrich Leopold*] von Oppersdorf (so aus Mahren heunt anhero kamen) undt grafen Ferdynandt Heyßenstan [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*] biß umb halbe neune labet gespielt. Nach diesem ist mann zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach welchen mann biß umb halbe zwölfe trenta quaranta mitt oben besagter gesellschaft undt dem herr obristen landthofmaster gespielt. Ist also der graf von Würben erst nach mitternacht schlafen gangen.

- [Freitag] 17.^{ten} [Februarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt erst nach 9 inn die appellation gefahren, hernach aber bey St. Benedikt meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der abt von Sedletz [*Hilger Burghoff*], der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*] undt sein gespahn. Nach mittag hatt mann ein weil geschwatz undt als dan ist der graf von Würben mitt dem graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] zu dem graf Gotz [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren undt mitt ihm undt herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] krimpe biß umb sechse gespielt, als er nach haus kamen, hatt er mitt seiner gemahlin undt kindern, biß der zeit zu dem abendteßen worden, sich underhalten. Nach sibene ist mann zu der tafel undt nach derselben zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen gangen, mit welchen mann ein weil geschwatz undt hernach die gewöhnliche letaneyen gebett undt als dann sich zur ruh begeben.

- [Sonntag] 19.^{ten} [Februarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben, nach dem er sein postbrief uberlesen, aufgestanden undt hinunter inn das profeißhaus, allwo eine schöne machina, den tantz des israelitischen volks umb das von Gott gegeßene lamb vorstellendt, aufgerichtet worden, gefahren undt allda zu gewinnung deß vollkommene ablaß sein andacht verrichtet. Zu mittag haben bei Ihren Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, die alte frau grafin von Nachod [*Maria Renata von Náchod, née Breuner*], der herr obrister lehnhoferichter graf Ferdynandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] mitt der frauen [*Maria Cäcilia Slavata, née von Náchod*], der graf Leopoldt [*Franz Leopold Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt graf Carl Slawata [*Johann Karl Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*]. Nach dem eßen haben theils schach, theils aber quindici zu fünf grosen gespielt, darunter auch Ihr Eminentz der herr cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], so nach dem eßen zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen kamen, gewesen. Der graf von Würben, dieweil er nicht schach ziehen undt mann ihm bei dem quindici, als inn darinnen gar zu erfahren maister nicht haben wollen, hatt einzusehen abgeben, damitt er aber nicht gar müßig sein solte, hatt er der frau graf Slawatin beigestanden, ein viertl nach vihre ist die gantze gesellschaft wider hinüber inn das profeißhaus gefahren undt allda der exhortation beigewohnt undt den segen genommen. Nach der andacht ist man zu dem herrn obristen landrichter [*Wilhelm Albrecht Krakowsky von Kolowrat*], bei welchen ein guette gesellschaft von cavalir undt damen gewesen, gefahren undt etwann biß umb eilfe getantzt undt hatt herr graf Franz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] etliche cavalir undt dames unterschidliche neue

französische kleine tänztl gelehret. Nach der tadel hatt mann wider getantz, der graf von Würben aber hatt mitt der frau obristen landhofmasterin [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], herr appellationspresidenten [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratl von Sternberg*] undt grafen Fridrich [*Friedrich Leopold*] von Oppersdorf labet gespielt. Das mann also erst umb halbe zwey nach mitternacht nacher haus kammenn undt nach verrichteten gewöhnlichen letaneyen schlafen gangen.

- [Montag] 20.^{ten} [Februarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt inn das untere ballhaus geritten, allwo er ein weil pallotirt undt hernach zu St. Niklas auf der Kleinseithen geritten undt allda Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] meß gehört. Nach eilfe seindt Ihr Eminentz, der herr obrister burgraf [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] mitt der frauen [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], der herr obrister landhofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], die verwittibte grafinn von Thun [*Margaretha Anna von Thun und Hohensteinu, née von Öttingen-Baldern*], die verwittibte frau Zarubin [*Maria Elisabeth Záruba z Hustřan, née von Sternberg*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratl von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], die freyle Teresl von Martinitz [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*] undt der graf von Würben mitt der frauen [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] inn das wallische spitahl gefahren undt allda den armen leuthen, so von Ihr Excellenz der herr obrister burgraf tractiret worden, aufgewartet, hernach ist die gantze gesellschaft zu dem herrn obristen burgraf gefahren undt allda zu mittag geßen. Nach dem eßen haben Ihr Eminentz, der herr obrister burgraf undt die frau, die frau obriste landthofmasterin undt die frau Wratlin von Sternberg quindeci zu fünf groschen, der herr obrister landthofmaster, herr Wratl von Sternberg undt graf von Würben aber piket zu thalern gespielt. Umb halbe fünfe ist mann hinunter inn das profebhaus gefahren undt allda den segen genommen. Allsdann ist man zu Ihren Eminentz gangen, allwo die obgedachte persohnen wider quindeci undt die andere mitt zuziehung herr graf Ferdynandts Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] labet biß gegen acht gespielt, hernach ist der graf von Würben zu dem graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] gefahren undt allda mitt der verwittibte grafinn Wrzesowczin [*Maria Franziska Vřesovec, née von Wrtby*], grafen Maxen von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*], herr Ferdynand HyBerle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*], grafen Franzen Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] undt herr Hennegar [*Johann Wenzel Henniger von Seeberg (?)*] zu abendt geßen undt inn gueten vertraulichkeit uberaus lustig gewesen, unter andere kurtzweilen haben sie auch etliche sakpfeifen undt geiger tanzen undt zugleich aufspielen machen, so dann ausser der massen artlich anzusehen gewest. Nach halbe zwölfe ist der graf von Würben nach haus kommen undt sich bald darauf zu ruh begeben. Sonsten ist des graf Frantz Gallaß [*Franz Ferdinand von Gallas*] kleines söhnlein [*Leopold Ernst von Gallas*] umb drey viertl auf sibene ann der freyß, ann welcher er schon etlich tag krank gelegen, gestorben.

- [Montag] 27.^{ten} [Februarii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben vor 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation gefahren, hernach aber inn den landtag gangen. Zu mittag haben bey Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr thomprobst [*Johann Franz Rasch*], der herr generalwachtmaster Heister [*Donat Johann Heißler von Heitersheim*], der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*] mit seinem gespahn undt der graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*]. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben mitt dem graf z Wrtbi inn das obere ballhaus gefahren undt allda ein weil pallotirt, hernach aber den grafen Maxen von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*], so sich etwas ubel aufbefündet, heimgesucht. Nach vihre ist er inn das profebhaus zu dem miserere, nach denselben aber wider zu den grafen von Thunn gangen undt mitt ihm, herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratl von Sternberg*] undt grafen Franz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] biß nach sibene labet gespielt. Nach der collation undt denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen hatt mann sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Mittwoch] 1.^{ten} Martii. Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], allwo er fast bis umb zwölf blieben, gefahren. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, zween grafen von Hermstan [*Johann Friedrich und Johann Bernhard von Herberstein*] aus Schlesien, der baron _____,¹³⁵ der obriste Kop [*Wolfgang Fridrich Cob von Nüdingen*] undt der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] mitt seinen gespahn. Nachmittag hatt der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] dem graf von Würben heimgesucht undt seindt hernach mitteinander zu dem herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], bei welchen sie biß umb vihre krimpe gespielt undt allsdann hinunter inn das profießhaus zu dem miserere gefahren. Nach der andacht hatt der graf von Würben mitt dem grafen von Thunn dem herrn generalwachtmaster La Coron [*Johann van der Croon*], so ann dem stain diese tag tödtlich darnider gelegen, heimgesucht undt allda mitt herr graf Ludwig Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*] undt graf Frantzen Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] labet biß umb sibene gespielt. Alls der graf von Würben nacher haus kammern, hatt er sein post vollendts expediret undt hernach zu der colation gangen, nach diesem hatt er, biß der herr obristen burgrafen mitt seine post fertig worden, mitt lesung etlicher schriften unterhalten, hernach aber zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen gangen undt bei ihm theils geschwatz, theils gelesen, ein wenig vor 10 ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach denselben aber schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 2.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt als er inn den rath gefahren, von dem pater Constans [*Arzoni*] besucht worden. Nach der appellation ist er inn den landtag, hernach aber nach haus gangen. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] sambt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*], der graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] undt der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*] mit seinem gespahn. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben undt der spanische graf von Kolowrath ein parthy wider den marqueur inn dem oberen kleinen ballhaus gespielt, hernach aber inn die schloßkirch zu der angst Christi gangen. Nach derselben ist der graf von Würben mitt dem graf z Wrtbi hinab zu St. Niklas auf die Kleinseithen inn das miserere geritten, nach empfangenen segen aber inn das untere ballhaus gangen undt alldorten pallotiret. Nach 5 seindt sie zu dem herrn generalwachtmaster La Coron [*Johann van der Croon*] geritten, allda der graf von Würben mitt dem graf Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*] undt graf Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] labet biß umb sibene gespielt. Allsdann ist der graf von Würben nacher haus mitt dem herrn Julius von Kolowrath [*Julius Albrecht Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] geritten undt biß es zeit zu der colation gewesen, mitt seiner gemahlin undt kindern sich unterhalten. Hernach ist er zu der colation, nach derselben aber mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen zu der freyle Teresl [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*], so sich etwas ann einem cathar ubel aufbefündt, gangen. Nach 9 hatt mann die gewöhnliche letaneyen gebettet undt als solche vollendet worden, sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Freitag] 3.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach halber 9 aufgestanden undt inn der oberen kleinen ballhaus mitt dem spanischen graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] etliche parthy gespielt, welche dann so gleich geworden, daß mann in eine parthy 24 spiel gespielt. Zu mittag hat der graf von Würben neben dem herrn obristen lehnhofrichter [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt der frauen [*Maria Cäcilia Slavata, née von Náchod*], dem herrn obristen Kop [*Wolfgang Fridrich Cob von Nüdingen*] undt der frauen [*Anna Sophie Cob, née Janowsky von Janowitz*], denen zween Hans Fridrich undt Bernardt gebrüder grafen von Hermstain [*Johann Friedrich und Johann Bernhard von Herberstein*] undt dem freyherrn von nzen [sic]¹³⁶ bei

135 Palacký left a gap – either a name was missing in the original or he was unable to read it.

136 Apparently Palacký was unable to read the name correctly.

dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] geßen undt gar lustig gewesen. Nach dem eßen hat der graf Ferdynandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg undt der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] quindecim, die frau Luzerl von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], frau obriste Kopin, graf Bernardt von Hermstan, graf Frantz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] undt graf von Würben aber labet biß umb 7 gespielt. Nachdem der graf von Würben nach haus kamen, ist er bald hernach zu der colation, nach derselben zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] undt hernach mitt denselben zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen undt mitt denselben Gott lob den heutigen tag beschlossen.

- [Mittwoch] 15.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben vor 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich hinunter zu einem mahler auf der Kleinseithen, hernach zu St. Tomas, allwo er meß gehört, nachmals aber zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] geritten undt fast biß umb zwölf bei ihr blieben. Zu mittag hatt er neben Ihro Excellenz den herr obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*], seiner frau gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], seiner frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] und der graf Michals von Thunn [*Michael Oswald von Thun und Hohenstein*] bei Ihro Eminentz den herr cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] hiesigen erzbischof geßen. Nach dem eßen haben Ihr Eminentz mit dem herrn obristen burgrafen, seiner frauen und der frau Luzerl von Sternberg quindecim zu fünf groschen; der graf von Würben, graf Michal von Thunn undt herr Wratl von Sternberg aber quindecim zu dukaten gespielt. Umb drey viertl auf vihre ist der graf von Würben hinunter inn das miserere zu St. Niklas mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen gefahren, nach demselben aber mit dem graf Leopoldt von Kolowrath [*Leopold Ulrich Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] inn dem untern ballhaus ein weil pallotirt undt als er nach haus kamen, die post vollendts verfertigt. Nach der colation ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach denselben aber schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 16.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt weil ihm der graf Frantz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] heimgesucht, erst ein wenig vor 9 inn die appellation gefahren. Nach dem rath hatt er mit dem herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], grafen z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] undt herr Ferdynandt Hyßerle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*] auf den saal inn den silberladen umb silberne galanteri gespielt, als dann ist er inn die kirchen zu St. Benedikt mitt dem grafen z Wrtbi, hernach aber nach haus gefahren. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der graf Michal von Thunn [*Michael Oswald von Thun und Hohenstein*], der graf Hans z Wrtbi undt der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] mitt seinem gespahn. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben erstlich inn das untere ballhaus, hernach aber zu St. Niklas inn das miserere undt nach denselben wider inn das ballhaus gefahren undt allda ein weil pallotirt. Als er nach haus kamen, hatt er ein weil geschriben undt ein weil ein gewissen schriften gelesen. Hernach zu der colation, nach denselben zu der freyle Teresl von Martinitz [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*], so ann einen cathar sich übel aufbefündet, mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen undt endlich zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen.

- [Samstag] 18.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], bei welcher er inn der haus cappellen meß gehört undt biß nach halbe eins blieben, gefahren. Zu mittag haben bey Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] undt die verwitbtbe frau Schwihowskin [*Polyxena Ludmila Švihovská z Rýzंबरka, née Žďárská ze Žďáru*]. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben hinunter inn das ballhaus geritten undt allda ein weil pallotirt, hernach aber hatt er dem graf Ludwig Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*] heimgesucht undt ein weil mitt ihm geschwatz. Als er nach haus kamen, hatt er die post vollendts

verfertigt undt hernach zu der colation gangen. Nach derselben hatt er Ihre Excellenz der herr obrister burgraf zu der freyle Teresl [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*], so annoch an den cathar sich übel aufbefündet, begleitet, nachmals aber zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen.

- [Sonntag] 19.^{ten} [Martii]: Nachdem der graf von Würben die von der post kammene brief überlesen, ist er aufgestanden undt erstlich zu St. Niklas, allwo er gebeichtet, hernach aber zu den reformirten pater carmelitanern, bei welchen er communiciret undt ein theil der predig wie auch das gesungene ambt gehört, geritten. Allda ist er auch nachmals von Ihrer Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] nebenst Ihr Eminentz dem herrn cardinal [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], fast allen königlichen herren stadthaltern undt etlichen anderen cavaliren zu mittag tractirt worden. Nachmittag ist fast die gantze gesellschaft zu den herren kapuzinern inn der Neustadt zu St. Joseph gefahren, hernach aber der gewöhnlichen sontagsfastenandacht bei St. Benedikt beigewohnt. Nach der andacht haben Ihr Eminentz den herr obristen burgrafen heimgesucht undt mitt denselben, seine gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], frau obriste landthofmasterinn [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*] undt frau Wratlin von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] quindecim zu fünf groschen gespielt. Der herr obrister lehnhofrichter [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt der graf von Würben haben sich mit piketiren, der graf Carl Slawata [*Johann Karl Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt die freyle Teresl von Martinitz [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*] aber mitt dem schachspiel biß nach 8 unterhalten. Nachdem ist mann zu dem abendteßen, nach demselben zu den gewöhnlichen letaneyen, hernach aber schlafen gangen.

- [Mittwoch] 22.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], bei welcher er fast biß umb zwölfe blieben, geritten. Zu mittag hatt er mitt dem fürst von Homburg [*Wilhelm Christoph von Hessen-Homburg*], obrister Luzenberg undt herr grafen [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt frau grafin Slawatin [*Maria Cäcilia Slavata, née von Náchod*] bei dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] geßen undt allda nach dem eßen mitt dem fürst von Homburg, graf Slawatin, frau Luzerl von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] undt herr graf Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*] labet biß umb halbe achte gespielt. Umb fünfe ist der graf von Würben zu dem herrn obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] undt seiner gemahlin [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*] gangen undt hatt ihnen wegen des todes ihres söhnlein [*Johann Wenzel von Martinitz*] condoliret, nachmals aber ist er wider zu dem herrn Wratl zuruckgekert undt das spiel, wie obgemeldet, fortgesetzt. Nach der colation hatt der graf von Würben ein weil mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geredt undt nach dem gewöhnlichen letaneyen sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Freitag] 24.^{ten} [Martii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben vor 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation, hernach aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß geritten. Zu mittag haben bei Ihrer Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, Ihr Eminentz herr cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], dero herr brueder graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach undt herr vetter graf Ferdynandt von Harrach [*Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach*], der graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] mitt der frauen [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*] undt der herr Wratl [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*]. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben erstlich inn das obere ballhaus, allwo er mitt dem marqueur ein parthy gespielt, hernach aber zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], so ann einen starcken cathar sich übel aufbefündt, geritten undt biß umb sibene bei ihr blieben. Als er nach haus kammern, hat er sich ein weil mitt seinen kindern unterhalten, hernach aber zu der colation gangen. Nach derselben hatt er ein weil gelesen undt hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach denselben aber schlafen gangen.

- [Samstag] 1.^{ten} Aprilis. Heunt ist der graf von Würben umb 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], allwo er biß umb halbe 11 blieben, hernach inn den landtag undt nach denselben zu St. Benedikt gangen undt allda der meß undt dem segen beigewohnt. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsinsky von Kolowrat*] mitt der frauen [*Magdalena Ludmila Liebsinsky von Kolowrat, née von Oppersdorff*], der herr [*Friedrich Leopold*] von Oppersdorf mitt der frauen [*Anna Helene von Oppersdorff, née Jakartowsky von Suditz*], der pater Constans [*Arzoni*] undt der herr von Grafenburg [*Johann Gräff von Gräffenburg*]. Nach dem eßen haben Ihr Excellenz der herr obrister burgraf mitt dem herr appellationspresidenten schach gezogen, hernach aber zu den pater paulinern inn die Altstadt zu den schluß des viertzig stundigen gebets gefahren; der graf von Würben aber ist zu Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] geritten undt hatt mitt demselben, herr graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt herr graf Ferdinandt von Harrach [*Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach*] biß umb vihre labet gespielt, nach 4 seindt Ihr Eminentz hinunter zu dem gebett gefahren; der graf von Würben aber hatt mitt den obgedachten drey cavaliren inn den hofgarten biß fast umb sibene kugel geschoben; hernach nach haus undt zu der colation gangen. Nach derselben hatt er ein weil mitt Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen geredt undt hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen.

- [Dienstag] 4.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Heunt hatt der pater [*Johann*] von Würben [SJ] dem graf von Würben fruh heimgesucht, welcher hernach erstlich zu den pater capuzinern zu den exequien des seeligen herr weibbischof [*Giuseppe Corti*],¹³⁷ hernach aber inn den landtag geritten undt biß nach 12 darinnen blieben. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der graf Carl Slawata [*Johann Karl Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], der graf Lazianski [*Karl Maximilian Lažansky von Buková*], so unlängst aus den ländern kamen, undt der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [SJ] mitt seinem gespahn. Nach dem eßen ist die gesellschaft, welcher Ihr Eminentz der herr cardinal [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], die verwittibte frau Polixena Schwihowskin [*Polyxena Ludmila Švihovská z Rýzemberka, née Žďárská ze Žďáru*] undt der graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach zugewachsen, in das obristen burgrafen garten gefahren undt daraus theils auf der langen tafel, theils al truco, hernach aber kegel geschoben. Umb 7 ist mann nach haus kamen undt baldt darauf zu der colation, nach derselben zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen undt nachmals zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen.

[Montag] 10.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt erst nach neune aufgestanden undt hinunter inn das profeßhaus geritten, allwo er zween meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der fürst von Homburg aus dem haus von Hessen [*Wilhelm Christoph von Hessen-Homburg*], mitt seinen cameraden undt der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*]. Nach dem eßen hatt der kleine pagi inn dem saal getantz undt nach diesem hatt der fürst mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen schach gezogen. Hernach ist der graf von Würben mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen undt herr Wratl von Sternberg in Emaus auf die Neustadt, von dannen aber inn den hofgarten gefahren, wohinn hernach auch Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] mitt einer großen anzahl cavalier undt dames kamen. Die gesellschaft hatt theils kegel, theils schach gespielt, theils aber geschwatz undt spaziren gangen. Umb 8 ist mann nach haus kamen undt zu dem

137 The Prague Auxiliary Bishop, Giuseppe Corti, died on the 30th March 1662 and he was buried in the Capuchin cloister in accordance with his wishes. K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 184.

abendteßen gangen, nach welchen der graf von Würben mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen geschwatz undt allsdann zu den gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 20.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben vor 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich ein weil geschreiben, nachmals inn die appellation, nach derselben aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß gefahren. Zu mittag haben Ihr Excellenz der herr obrister burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] mitt den seinigen, neben Ihr Eminentz herrn cardinalen von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], herrn obristen landthofmastern [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] undt der frauen [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], der alten grafin von Nachod [*Maria Renata von Náchod, née Breuner*], der verwitbiten frau Zarubin [*Maria Elisabeth Záruba z Hustířan, née von Sternberg*], der herr Ferdynandt grafen von Kolowrath [*Ferdinand Ludwig Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] undt der herr Carl von Scherffenberg [*Karl Franz von Scherffenberg*], bei dem herrn appellationsvicepresidenten herrn Adolf Wratel von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] geßen, nachmittag ist Ihr Eminentz herr bruder herr graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach auch dahin kammen undt hatt sich die gesellschaft inn drey theil abgetheilt, deren ein theil quindeci zu fünf groschen, der ander labet zu dukaten undt der dritte piket zu thalern gespielt. Nach halbe fünfe ist mann inn die schloßkirchen zu dem segen, nach denselben aber inn den hofgarten gefahren, wohin auch der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] sambt seiner frau muetter [*Margaretha Anna von Thun und Hohenstein, née von Öttingen-Baldern*], freyle schwester [*Johanna Katharina von Thun und Hohenstein (?)*] undt der freyle Marie Lysl von Schaftenberg [*Maria Elisabeth von Scherffenberg*] kammen. Ein parthei hatt kegel geschoben, die andere aber spazieren gangen undt erst ein wenig vor achte nach haus kammen. Nach 8 ist mann zu dem eßen gangen, nach denselben ein weil geschwatz, als dann die gewöhnlichen letaneyen gebettet undt endlich sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Montag] 24.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Nachdem der graf von Würben umb 8 aufgestanden, ist er erstlich inn die appellation gefahren, nach 10 aber zu St. Georg inn das königliche stift oder closter gangen undt allda meß gehört. Zu mittag hatt er mitt dem graf Ferdynand von Kolowrath cavalir de Malte [*Ferdinand Ludwig Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], herr Carl baron von Schaftenberg [*Karl Franz von Scherffenberg*], herr Max baron Lamminger [*Wolfgang Maximilian Lamminger von Albenreuth*], herr graf Frantz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*], herr Hennegar [*Johann Wenzel Henniger von Seeberg (?)*] undt baron z Wrtbi [*Maximilian Ferdinand von Wrtby*], bey dem graf Hans Frantz z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] geßen undt zu den gesundheiten aus vier stückeln feuer geben, auch unter der mahlzeit ein gutte music gehabt undt über die maßen lustig gewesen. Nach dem eßen hatt ein theil der gesellschaft labet, ein theil krimpe gespielt, nach fünfe ist Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], der graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach undt der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] auch hin kammen, da dann ein parthy kegel geschoben, die andern aber das karten spielen continuiert. Ein wenig vor 8 ist der graf von Würben nach haus kammen undt nach dem abendeßen die gewöhnlichen letaneyen gebettet undt damitt Gott lob diesen tag beschloßen.

- [Dienstag] 25.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben vor 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation geritten, hernach aber zu St. Benedikt gangen undt von daraus die procession wider inn die schloßkirchen begleitet. Nach zehne hatt er mitt dem spanischen graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] inn dem obern kleinen ballhaus pallotirt undt nach 11 zu Ihr Eminentz herrn cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], bei welchen er neben Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*], seiner gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], dem herrn obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*], Ihr Gnaden seiner frau gemahlin [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], seiner gemahlin [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], herrn grafen Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*], seiner gemahlin [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*] undt des herrn baron Carl von Schaftenberg [*Karl Franz von Scherffenberg*]

geßen, geritten. Nachmittag hatt ein theil der gesellschaft quindeci, ein theil schach undt ein theil labet biß ein viertl nach sibene gespielt. Gegen abendt ist des herrn obristen böhmischen canzlers [*Johann Hartwig von Nostitz*] gemahlin die frau grafिन von Nostitz [*Eleonora Maria von Nostitz*] von Wien anhero kammern. Nach 8 ist der graf von Würben zu der tafel gangen, nach derselben aber mitt Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen von unterschiedlichen sachen, vornemlich aber von der liga, so die unirten quartianer mitt dem kosaken undt Tartarn gemacht, geredt. Gegen 10 ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen undt nachdem dieselben geendet worden, sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Mittwoch] 26.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], bei der er fast biß umb 12 blieben, geritten. Zu mittag haben bei Ihre Eminentz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der pater [*Rodrigo de*] Arriaga [SJ], der pater [*Maximilian*] Reichenberger [SJ], der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*], der herr von Grefenburg [*Johann Gräff von Gräffenburg*] cammerrath, der herr Dr. [*Johann Heinrich*] Pipius undt herr Dr. Turchner [*Christoph Balthasar Turchner*] appellationsrath. Nachmittag hatt der graf von Würben biß nach vihre mitt lesen unterhalten, nachmals aber inn das oberer kleiner ballhaus geritten undt allda ein kleinen weil pallotirt, hernach aber inn den hofgarten gangen, allwo er Ihr Eminentz herr cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] sambt andern cavalier undt dames antrofen undt biß nach halbe achte allda kegel geschoben; als er nach haus kammern, hatt er seine post vollendts geendet, hernach aber zu der tafel gangen. Als mann nuhn nach dem eßen bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen gewesen, hatt mann denselben gesagt, das es auf der Kleinseithen stark brennen, darauf dann er herr obristen burgrafen undt graf von Würben hinunter geritten, als sie aber auf dem Kleinseithner platz kammern, ist ihnen herr appellationsvicepresident herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislav von Sternberg*], so von dem orth, wo es brennen kammern, begegnet, undt daß es damitt weiters keine gefehr habe, gesagt, darauf sie dann wider umbgewendet undt inn vorüberreithen, Ihr Eminentz dem cardinal [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] undt frau grafिन von Nachod der wittib [*Maria Renata von Náchod, née Breuner*], so sie inn den fenstern gesehen, ein gute nacht gewünschet undt als sie nach haus kammern, die gewöhnlichen letaneyen verrichtet, hernach aber sich zu ruhe begeben.

- [Sonntag] 30.^{ten} [Aprilis]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 inn die schloßkirchen geritten undt allda sein andacht verricht, zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislav von Sternberg*] mit seiner frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], derr herr thomprobst [*Johann Franz Rasch*], der herr Celestinus [*Wenzel Franz Coelestin von Blumenberg*], der herr Nastaupil [*Daniel Vít Nastoupil ze Šiffberku*], der böhmische prediger der thomkirchen, ein thomherr undt der graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*], nach dem eßen ist die gesellschaft inn die schloßkirchen in die vesper gefahren, nach derselben aber inn dem hofgarten quindeci zu 5 groschen gespielt, der graf von Würben ist zu dem herrn obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] geritten undt allda mitt dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] undt etlichen cavaliern undt dames labet biß umb 7 gespielt, nach dem abendteßen ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt hernach schlafen gangen.

- [Dienstag] 2.^{ten} Maii. Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation, hernach aber inn die schloßkirchen gangen undt allda bei St. Sigismund grab dem amt beigewohnt. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer, der pater prediger von St. Niklas [*Christophorus Eucharis SJ (?)*], der herr Wanner hiesige thomherr [*Martin Mainer von Wolkenbach*]¹³⁸ undt der herr Przechorzowski

138 Palacký copied the first letter of the canon's name incorrectly. See Antonín PODLAHA, *Series praepositorum, decanorum, archidiaconorum aliorumque praelatorum et canonicorum S. Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Pragensis a primordiis usque ad praesentia tempora*, Praha 1912.

[*Christoph Karl Přehořovský z Kvasejovic*]. Nachmittag hat der graf von Würben den margraf Leopold von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] heimgesucht undt mitt ihm, herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt herr Carl von Schaftenberg [*Karl Franz von Scherffenberg*] labet bis auf 5 gespielt, hernach ist er mitt dem graf Ferdinandt von Colowrath cavalir de Malte [*Ferdinand Ludwig Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] inn das untere balhaus geritten undt allda ein weil pallotirt, nach 6 aber hinaus inn die schloßkirchen geritten undt allda inn St. Wentzelscappellen der copulation des freiheren _____¹³⁹ von z Wrtbi [*Maximilian Ferdinand von Wrtby*] mitt der jungfrau Vytanowskin [*Ludmila Katharina Vitanovský z Vlčovic*] beigewohnt undt hernach zu dem graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] geritten undt allda bei der hochzeit ein würthen abgeben. Nach dem eßen hatt mann getantz, der graf von Würben aber mitt dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg, herrn grafen Ferdinandt von Kolowrath, grafen von Thuen undt herrn Carl von Schaftenberg labet biß umb 12 inn der nacht gespielt. Nachmals hatt er die pursch beisammen gelassen undt sich nach haus begaben undt nachdem er sein gewöhnlichen gebett verricht undt ein weil mit lesen unterhalten, schlafen gängen.

- [Mittwoch] 3.^{ten} [Maii]: Die Prager stadt hatt heunt vuelle vornehme undt wachere leuth verlohren, dieweillen der margraf von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] sambt der fürstin [*Anna Silvia von Baden-Baden, née Carretto di Millesimo (?)*], Ihr Gnaden die frau obriste landthofmasterin [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], die verwittibte frau Zarubin [*Maria Elisabeth Záruba z Hustřan, née von Sternberg*], der graf [*Karl Leopold Carretto di Millesimo*] undt grafिन Millesimo [*Maria Franziska Carretto di Millesimo, née Hiesslerle von Chodau*], von hir theils auf ihre gütter, theils aber inn das Carlsbadt [*Karlovy Vary*] verreisert. Der graf von Würben ist nach 9 zu dem herrn obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] geritten undt allda der disputation seiner eltesten herr sohns des grafen Jaroslaus [*Jaroslav Bernhard von Martinitz*] de universa logica beigewohnt undt auch allda zu mittag bei dem eßen mitt dem herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], herr pater [*Rodrigo de*] Arriaga [*SJ*], pater Carl Grobendonk [*Karl Grobendonq SJ*], pater [*Maximilian*] Reichenberger [*SJ*], pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*], so presidiret, undt zween pater hibernern, so dem jungen grafen oppugniret, blieben. Nach dem eßen hat der graf von Würben mitt dem pater Carl kurtz gespielt, hernach zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] gängen undt allda biß umb halbe sechse blieben, von dannen ist er inn das untere ballhaus, hernach aber inn den hofgarten geritten undt allda mitt ettlichen cavalirn kegel geschoben, auch nachdem schon all weg gewesen, ein zimliche weil spaziren gängen undt seinen gedanken audientz geben. Nach dem abendteßen hatt er ein weil mitt Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geredt, nach den letaneyen aber schlafen gängen.

- [Montag] 8.^{ten} [Maii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn den rath, hernach aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß geritten. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, der herr von Holleweil [*Jakob Leopold von Hallweil*], der herr Carl von Scheftenberg [*Karl Franz von Scherffenberg*], der pater [*Rodrigo de*] Arriaga [*SJ*], der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] undt der herr Smrzka [*Wenzel Silvester (?) Smrčka z Mnichu*] burgrafen amtsrath. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben erstlich inn den fasangarten, hernach aber zu dem graf Frantz von Harrach geritten undt bei ihm mitt dem herr Carl von Schaftenberg tik tak gespielt, gegen abendt aber mitt ihnen undt dem graf von Guttenstan [*Heinrich Friedrich von Guttenstein*], baron Lamminger [*Wolfgang Maximilian Lamminger von Albenreuth*], herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt den jungen grafen Chinski [*Wenzel Norbert Kinsky*] inn den hofgarten gängen, wohin hernach auch die frau obriste burgräfin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], die frau Luzerl von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] undt die grafिन von Guttenstan [*Margaretha von Guttenstein, née*

139 The name is missing.

Lamminger von Albenreuth] kamen, mitt welchen die meiste cavalir spaziren gangen, der graf von Würben aber, der graf von Guttenstan, der herr Wratl von Sternberg undt der junge graf Chinski haben fort kegel geschoben. Etwa vor 8 ist mann nach haus kommen undt bald darauf zu der tafeln geseßen, nach derselben ein weil inn das herrn obristen burgrafen zimmer blieben, hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt darauf schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 11.^{ten} [Maii]: Diweillen etwas, so dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] antrifft, inn rath vorkamen, hatt der graf von Würben nicht darin gehen wollen, sondern ist inn den garten hinaus vor die stadt geritten undt allda einen weil blieben, hernach inn dem untern ballhaus ein weil pallotirt, nach eilfe aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seiner frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], zween patres jesuviten undt der baron Max Lamminger [*Wolfgang Maximilian Lamminger von Albenreuth*]. Nachmittag hatt der herr Wratl von Sternberg, der baron Lamminger undt der graf von Würben tik tak biß nach 5 gespielt; nachmals aber hinaus inn den Bubentz [*Bubeneč*] gefahren, wohin hernach auch Ihr Excellenz der herr obristen burgraf sambt deßen gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] kamen undt haben allda mit schwatzen undt spaziren gehen die zeit vertriben, wie auch etlichen menschen undt gemeinen leuthen, die waßer herumbgesprungen, zugeschaut. Nach halbe 9 ist mann nach haus kommen, baldt darauf zu dem eßen gangen, nach derselben ein weil von allerhand sachen geschwatzt undt allsdann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach denselben aber schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 18.^{ten} [Maii]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt umb 8 aufgestanden undt inn die schloßkirchen gefahren, allwo er inn Ihre Excellenz des herr obristes burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] cappellen sein andacht verricht undt dem gesungenen ambt beigewohnt. Zu mittag haben bei Ihre Excellenz geßen, der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] sambt der frauen [*Maria Viktoria Nowohradsky von Kolowrat, née Gallas*], der graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] sambt der frauen [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*], der hiesige herr thomprobst [*Johann Franz Rasch*], der pater [*Rodrigo de*] Arriaga [*SJ*] undt der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*]. Nachmittag hatt des herrn obristen burgrafen musicant auf unterschiedlichen instrumenten geschlagen undt ist der graf von Würben ein wenig inn das obere ballhaus mitt dem graf von Kolowrath undt dem graf z Wrtbi, nach dreye aber zu der vesper inn die schloßkirchen gefahren. Nach der kirchen hatt der herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt der spanische graf von Kolowrath dem graf von Würben heimgesucht undt miteinander labet biß fast umb 8 gespielt. Hernach ist der graf von Würben zu dem eßen gangen, nach welchen mann ein weil geschwatzt undt ein weil Ihr Excellenz des herrn obristen burgrafen musicanten, so auf dem instrument geschlagen, zugelast, nachmals zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt nach denselben schlafen gangen.

- [Freitag] 19.^{ten} [Maii]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt nicht inn rath gangen, weil dieienige sachen, so Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] angehen, noch nicht vollendet, hatt also ihm wohl ausgeruhet, inndem er ohnedeiß wegen großen zahnschmertzen die gantze nacht nicht über zwey stund geschlafen undt allererst umb neune aufgestanden. Nachdem er angelegt worden, hatt er seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] geschriben undt einen eigenen boten nacher Teplitz abgefertigt undt umb 11 zu St. Benedikt inn die meß gefahren. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der pater [*Johann*] Tanner [*SJ*] undt sein gespahn. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben mitt dem herr Wratl von Sternberg undt dem spanischen grafen von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] inn dem obern kleineren ballhaus ein weil pallotirt, hernach aber sammentlich zu dem herrn appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] gefahren undt biß nach halbe achte bei

demselben labet gespielt, hernach aber nach haus gefahren undt zu dem abendteßen gangen, nachmals hatt mann bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen ein weil von allerhandt sachen geredt, hernach zu den gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt nach denselben ein ieder inn sein zimmer gangen.

- [Samstag] 20.^{ten} [Maii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt hatt ihm der graf [Johann] von Würben undt der graf Frantz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] heimgesucht, auch erst umb 10 inn den rath, weil die sach, so Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] antrift, annoch nicht geendet, gangen, aber darvor so lange darinnen blieben, daß er die gewöhnliche spate meß bei St. Benedikt versäumt, gleichwohl aber nach dem seggen mitt den Hochwürdigen empfangen. Zu mittag hatt der graf von Würben mitt dem graf [Johann Franz von Wrtby] undt grafin z Wrtbi [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*], dem graf Schöllhart undt dem herrn vicelandtrichter herrn Hloziek [*Albrecht Christoph Hložek ze Žampachu*] bei dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] geßen undt alls nach dem eßen, der herr zu haus mitt dem graf z Wrtbi undt herr Hloziek commission zwischen dem abt von Braunau [*Augustin Hieronymus Seifert von Löwenthal*] undt seiner stadt gehalten, hatt der graf von Würben undt der graf Schöllhart mitt der frau Luzerl von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] undt der graf z Wrtbi krimpe zu 5 groschen gespielt undt umb 7 erst nach haus gangen. Baldt hernach ist mann zu der tafel gangen, vor welcher der graf von Würben noch alle seine mitt der wiener post gekommene brief gelesen. Nach dem eßen ist mann zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen gangen undt nachdem mann ein weil mitt ihm geredt, zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, deren eine von unser frauen durch Ihr Excellenz music gesungen worden, nachmals aber ein ieder inn sein zimmer gangen.

- [Sonntag] 21.^{ten} [Maii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben erst nach halbe neune aufgestanden undt nachdem er angelegt worden, hinunter zu St. Niklas inn das profesßhaus gefahren, auch allda die predig undt zween meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der graf [Johann] von Würben, der pater [Wenzel] Schwertfer [Sf], der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt der graf z Wrtbi [Johann Franz von Wrtby]. Nach dem eßen hat der graf von Würben ein weil gelesen, hernach aber mitt gleich gedachten zween grafen inn das untere ballhaus gefahren undt allda ein weil pallotirt. Als er inn dem spielen gewest, schickt herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt last ihm sagen, da herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] sey bei ihm, ob er nicht zu einer piket kommen wolle, welches er mitt ia beantwortet undt biß nach sibene mitt ihnen piket gespielt, hernach aber nach haus gefahren undt zu dem eßen, nach demselben aber zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt hernach ein ieder inn sein zimmer gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 25.^{ten} [Maii]: Der graf von Würben ist heunt nach 8 aufgestanden undt inn die appellation gefahren, aber noch vor 10 daraus aufgestanden, inn dehnt etwas, so dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] antrafen, vorkammen undt ein weil inn obern ballhaus pallotirt, hernach aber bei St. Benedikt umb 11 meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen geßen, der graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, die frau Luzerl von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], ihr herr [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt der graf z Wrtbi [Johann Franz von Wrtby] mitt der frauen [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*]. Nach dem eßen ist die gantze gesellschaft hinaus inn den Stern [*Hvězda*] gefahren undt allda theils quindeci theils aber krimpe, nemlich der graf von Würben, der herr Wratl von Sternberg, der graf z Wrtbi, der graf von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt der herr Carl von Schaftenberg [*Karl Franz von Scherffenberg*] gespielt. Nach sibene ist mann den meisten weeg zu fueß nach haus gangen undt hernach baldt zu dem abendteßen gangen. Nach denselben den rosenkrantz gebett, ein weil geschwazt undt nach denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen ein ieder sich inn sein zimmer begaben.

- [Freitag] 26.^{ten} [Maii]: Heunt ist der graf von Würben umb 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation, hernach aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß geritten. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen

burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr Celestinus hiesigen thomherr [*Wenzel Franz Coelestin von Blumenberg*], der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] undt sein gespahn. Nach dem eßen ist der graf von Würben mitt Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen, Ihr Eminentz dem herrn cardinal von Harrach [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] hiesigen ertzbischof, dem sie auch gleich bei dem Wyschehrader thor von seinen gutt *Ržecžicz* [*Červená Řečice*] komment antrofen, entgegen gefahren undt biß in sein haus begleitet. Hernach aber nach haus gefahren undt hatt der pater Anastasius capuziner dem graf von Würben heimgesucht, so hernach nach 6 mitt dem herrn obristen burgrafen erstlich zu St. Benedikt inn segen, nachmals aber inn den hofgarten, allwo Ihre Eminentz mitt den seinigen undt der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seiner gemahlin [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] sich auch eingefunden, gefahren. Als mann nach haus kammern, ist man zu der tafel, nach derselben zu denen letaneyen, hernach aber ein ieder inn sein zimmer gängen.

- [Freitag] 16.^{ten} Junii. Heunt ist der graf von Würben umb 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation (so heunt nach den ferien der octav unsers herrn Fronleichnams wider eröffnet worden), hernach aber zu seiner frau muetter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], so gleichwohl noch übel auf ist, geritten undt biß nach halbe eins bei ihr blieben. Zu mittag haben bei Ihre Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] mitt seinem gespahn, den herr general wachtmeister La Coron [*Johann van der Croon*] undt der obriste Clari [*Hieronymus Clary*]. Nachtmittag ist der graf von Würben zu Ihre Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] geritten undt allda mitt dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*], herr landtmarschalk graf Adam von Trauttmandorf [*Adam Matthias von Trauttmandorff*] undt dem spanischen graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] primera biß nach sibene gespielt, herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], Ihre Eminentz, herr graf Ferdinand Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] hiesiger lehnhofrichter undt der cavalir der Malte graf Ferdinandt von Kolowrath [*Ferdinand Ludwig Liebstinsky von Kolowrat*] haben sich mitt labet spielen unterhalten, hernach seindt Ihre Eminentz inn hofgarten gefahren undt allda mitt dem graf von Würben, graf Bucquoy [*Ferdinand Karl (?) Buquoy de Longueval*] und graf Wratl von Sternberg kegel biß $\frac{3}{4}$ auf 9 geschoben. Der graf von Würben, als er nach haus kommen, hatt ein weil mitt Ihre Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen geredt, hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach denselben aber hinauf inn sein zimmer gängen undt allererst sein nachteßen gehalten, darauf ein weil geschwazt mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] undt hernach schlafen gängen.

- [Samstag] 17.^{ten} [Junii] – Der graf von Würben ist heunt umb 8 aufgestanden undt erstlich inn die appellation, hernach aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß geritten. Zu mittag hatt er mitt dem graf Ferdinandt von Kolowrath [*Ferdinand Ludwig Liebstinsky von Kolowrat*], graf Franz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] undt grafen Bucquoy [*Ferdinand Karl (?) Buquoy de Longueval*] bei dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] geßen undt hernach mitt ihnen undt dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], so hernach hinkommen, labet biß umb sechse gespielt. Hernach seint alle außer des margrafens inn den hofgarten geritten undt allda mitt Ihre Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] kegel geschoben undt erst umb $\frac{1}{2}$ neune nach haus kommen. Unter wehrenden spiel bei dem margrafen hatt der graf von Würben die verwitibte frau Zarubin [*Maria Elisabeth Záruba z Hustiřan, née von Sternberg*], so mitt Ihre Gnaden der frau obriste landthofmasterinn [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*] von Carlsbadt [*Karlovy Vary*] hereinkommen, vorbeifahren sehen undt ihr recht angemerkt, das ihr das badt haubt wohl dient hatt. Nach neune ist mann zu dem abendteßen gängen, nach welchen der graf von Würben mitt Ihre Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] ein weil geschwazt undt ein weil inn der wallischen comedi, so Ihre Durchlaucht der ertzhertzog von Insprug [*Ferdinand Karl von Tirol*] zu ehren der königin Cristina aus Schweden halten laßen undt Ihre Eminentz ihm graf von Würben geliehen, gelesen. Nachmals ist man zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, so von Ihre

Excellenz music gesungen worden, nach diesen ein jedes inn sein zimmer undt nicht lang darnach schlafen gangen.

- [Sonntag] 18.^{ten} [Junii] – Der graf von Würben ist heunt nach 9 aufgestanden undt hinunter inn das profießhaus gefahren, allwo er die predig undt zween meß gehört. Zu mittag hatt er mit Ihro Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*], den herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*], seiner gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] undt vilen anderen cavalir undt dames bei den margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] geßen, nachmittag hatt die gesellschaft inn drey theil sich abgetheilt undt auf einen tisch quindeci zu 5 groschen, auf den andern labet zu gulden undt auf den dritten piket zu thalern gespielt. Herr graf Ferdinandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt graf Ferdinandt von Kolowrath [*Ferdinand Ludwig Liebssteinsky von Kolowrat*], so nach dem eßen hinkommen, haben bei den 4ten tisch labet gespielt mitt dem margrafen, nach sechse ist die meiste gesellschaft inn hofgarten gefahren undt allda kegel geschoben; als sie aber amm besten inn spiel gewesen, hatt es stark zu regen angefangen undt die dames inn höchster unordnung inn ihr wagen zu gehen veruhrsachtet. Nach 8 ist mann zu dem abendteßen gangen, unter welchen graf Ferdinandt von Kolowrath cavalir de Malte, so wills Gott morgen inn Schlesien verraist, zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen kommen undt mitt ihm undt den seinigen sich beurlaubt. Nach dem eßen hatt man theils geschwazt, theils gesungen, theils aber gebett; nach zehne ist man zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen, noch denselben ein jedes inn sein zimmer undt nich lang darnach sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Montag] 19.^{ten} [Junii] – Der graf von Würben ist heunt umb 8 aufgestanden undt inn die appellation geritten, hernach aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, Ihr Gnaden die frau obriste landthofmasterinn graf Maxin von Martinitz [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], die verwittibte frau Zarubin [*Maria Elisabeth Záruba z Hustřan, née von Sternberg*], der graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] undt den pater [Wenzel] Schwertfer [SJ] mitt dem pater Pfefferkorn [*Georg Pfefferkorn von Ottopach SJ*]. Nach dem eßen ist der graf von Würben zu seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*], so sich inn der nacht übel aufbefunden undt heunt imm beth blieben, gangen undt mitt dem graf z Wrtbi biß nach vihre bei ihr blieben; hernach aber zu dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] gangen, bei welchen er mitt dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] undt grafen Frantzen [*Albrecht*] von Harrach primera biß nach halbe achte gespielt. Nach 8 ist mann zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach demselben hatt der herr obriste burgraf sambt der frau grafin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] die grafin von Würben heimgesuecht und biß gegen 10 bei ihr blieben undt mitt ihren kindern, so theils getantz, theils geschwazt undt theils gesungen, ihr zeit vertriben. Nachmals ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nach demselben aber ein jedes inn sein zimmer gangen. Der graf von Würben hatt mitt seiner gemahlin noch ein gutter weil geschwazt, hernach inn seinen zimmer ein weil gelesen undt erst nach eilfe sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Donnerstag] 22.^{ten} [Junii] – Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt weil er die schmerzen seines schlimmen zahns nicht mehr erdulden können, hatt er ihm solchen durch einen zahnborher herausnehmen laßen, welcher es dann so wohl verricht, das es fast ohne schmerzen geschehen, hernach ist der graf von Würben auf die Kleinseithen gefahren, allwo er dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*], so heunt auf sein guth Lowositz [*Lovosice*] verraist, besuchen wollen, hatt ihm aber nicht zu haus fünden, ist also darvon inn das untere ballhaus gangen undt allda biß umb eilfe pallotirt, hernach aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört, zu mittag hatt der pater [*Rodrigo de*] Arriaga [SJ], der pater [*Johann*] Jahoda [SJ] undt der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohrađsky von Kolowrat*] bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, nachmittag ist der graf von Würben zu dem herrn appellationspresidenten [*Franz*

Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat] gefahren, welcher mitt dem herrn grafen Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt spanischen grafen von Kolowrath, mitt welchen graf von Würben auf halb gewinn undt verlust sich verglichen, labet biß gegen 8 gespielt, nach 8 ist mann zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach denselben ein weil geschwazt, hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen und nachmals ein jedes inn sein zimmer gangen.

- [Freitag] 30.^{ten} [Junii] – Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach 8 aufgestanden undt hinunter inn das ballhaus geritten, allwo er ein weil pallotirt, hernach aber die frau obriste burgravin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] mitt etlichen anderen dames undt cavaliren inn die landstuben, allwo das landtrecht gehalten wirdt undt heunt zween ausspruch geschehen, begleitet. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgraf [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*], der graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] undt der pater [Wenzel] Schwertfer [S]. Nachmittag umb 2 uhr ist Ihro Excellenz der herr obriste burgraf mitt seiner gemahlin undt freile tochter die freile Teresl [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*] undt dem pater Schwertfer von hier auf seine gutter verraist, dem der graf z Wrtbi undt graf von Würben das gleit biß zu den Stern [*Hvězda*] geben. Allda haben sie urlaub genommen undt seint wider nach haus geritten, welches sie dann so lar undt traurig bedunkt, daß sie nicht viell über ein viertl stundt darinnen blieben. Der graf z Wrtbi ist nach haus, der graf von Würben aber zu dem graf Getz [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] geritten undt mitt demselben, herrn Wratl von Sternberg undt graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] krimpe gespielt; zu abendt hatt er mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] undt der frau Knotin allein geßen undt der lieben abwesenden dabei gar fleißig gedacht. Nach dem eßen hatt er ein weil mitt seiner gemahlin geschwazt undt den kindern sich unterhalten, darnach aber nach verrichten gebeth sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Sonntag] 2.^{ten} Julii. Heunt ist der graf von Würben umb 9 aufgestanden undt auf gutt bedunken des dokters, weil ihm das zahnweh so gar hart zusezt undt nicht verlaßen will, ihm schrepfen laßen undt erst nach 10 darmitt fertig worden. Hernach ist er inn des profeßhaus gefahren undt allda zween meß gehört, auch neben etlichen andern cavaliern von herr graf Nostitz [*Johann Hartwig von Nostitz*] obrister cantzler in diesem königreich zu mittag tractiret worden. Ihro Excellenz der herr obriste cantzler seint mitt dem herrn obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] nach haus gefahren, der appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] und herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] aber zu grafen Ferdinandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], der graf von Würben ist mitt dem graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] inn das untere ballhaus gefahren undt allda ein weil pallotirt, nachmals aber zu den grafen z Wrtbi gangen undt biß umb halbe achte bei ihm blieben, etwas vor 8 ist mann zu der tafel gangen undt ist graf von Würben gantz allein darbei gewesen. Nach dem eßen hatt mann ein weil geschwazt undt der graf von Würben seinen kindern, wie sie getantz, zugeschaut, hernach aber sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Freitag] 7.^{ten} [Julii] – Der graf von Würben ist heunt nicht inn die appellation gangen, dieweillen sachen, so Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] seinen herrn schwehrevatter antrefen, vorgetragen worden; ist also darvor zu haus blieben undt ihm wohl ausgeruht undt erst umb eilfe mitt seiner gemahlinn [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] zu St. Benedikt inn die meß gefahren. Zu mittag hatt er unversehens gäst bekommen, nemlich den mehrischen grafen von Wallenstan [*Adam Franz von Waldstein*], den herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], sein gemahlinn [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] undt den pater Constantin [*Arzoni*], so sich alle selbst zu ihm geladen, haben also mitt den, was sie gefunden, zufriden seyn müßen. Nachmittag haben die cavalier etwann ein stundt landsknecht gespielt undt ist der graf von Würben ihr meister blieben; hernach seint sie zu dem grafen Gotz [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren, mitt

welchem sie krimpe biß umb sibene gespielt, bei welchen der graf von Würben gleichfals gewonnen, das er also den heutigen tag 95 dukaten zum besten erhalten. Als der graf von Würben nach haus kommen, hatt er ein weil schreiben undt erst nach halbe neine, dieweill sein gemahlinn mitt dem graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] inn den hofgarten des schönen wetters genoßen, zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach demselben hat der graf von Würben seinen kindern ein weil auf der cytharra aufgespielt, wodurch unter ihnen große freit undt ein tantz entstanden, so aber nicht gar lang gewehrt, dieweill sie schlafen gehen müssen, der graf von Würben ist auch umb ein [sic] eilfe schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 20.^{ten} [Julii] – Der graf von Würben ist heunt nach achte aufgestanden undt inn die appellation geritten. Hernach aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört; zu mittag hatt herr graf Hans Frantz z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] bei ihm geßen. Nach dem eßen hatt er den margrafen Leopold von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] heimgesucht, so ahn einen starken halsweh sich sehr übel aufbefündet undt gar verfallen ist; allda hatt er labet biß umb 8 gespielt. Nach 8 ist er nach haus geritten undt hatt herr graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratlslaw von Sternberg*], graf Sygmundt von Sarau [*Sigmund Friedrich von Saurau*], graf Millesimo [*Karl Leopold Carretto di Millesimo*], graf z Wrtbi, graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*], graf Ferdinandt von Heißenstain [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*] undt graf Frantz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] zu nacht bei ihm geßen. Die gesellschaft ist sehr lustig gewesen undt haben die juden tapfer aufgegeigt, obwohlen nur ein speculation tantz gehalten worden; haben auch zu den vornemsten gesundheiten, unter welchen Ihro Excellenz des herrn obristen burgrafens [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] undt Ihro Excellenz der frau grafin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] herr graff Frantz von Harrach angefangen carme aufgeigen müssen. Nach dem eßen hatt ein theil der gesellschaft krimpe, ein theil aber landsknecht gespielt undt hatt sich daß eßen undt spielen so lang verzogen, das der graf von Würben erst umb ein uhr nach mitternacht schlafen gangen. Der arme graf Schlik [*Franz Ernst Schlick*] hatt wohl ein viell üblere tagzeit, als die obgedachte cavalir gehabt, dieweilen er von der colica so sehr gequelt worden, daß er seinen letzten willen aufgerichtet undt die letzte öhlung hatt bringen laßen; were wider ein wackere junge böhmische wittib [*Ester Maximiliana Schlick, née z Drahotuš*] mitt hundert tausent gulden einen gutten gesellen aufzuhelfen vorhanden.

- [Donnerstag] 27.^{ten} [Julii] – Heunt fruh mitt sambt dem tag ist Ihr Gnaden die frau obriste landthofmasterinn [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*] von hier nacher Bistra [*Bystré*] zu ihren herrn [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*]; graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*], graf Ferdynandt von Heyßenstan [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*] undt graf Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] aber vormittag zu dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratlslaw von Sternberg*] auf sein gut [*Zásmuky*] verraiset, ist also Prag gantz lehr. Der graf von Würben ist umb halbe achte aufgestanden undt nach achte inn die appellation gefahren, nach derselben aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört. Zu mittag hatt herr Dr. [*Johann Sigmund*] Neschwitz undt herr Dr. Thurhner [*Christoph Balthasar Türchner*] appellationsrätthe bei ihm geßen, mitt welchen er nachmittag fast ein pahr stundt geschwazt. Hernach ist graf Frantz Gallaß [*Franz Ferdinand von Gallas*], so bei dem herrn obristen landtrichter [*Wilhelm Albrecht Krakowsky von Kolowrat*] zu mittag geßen, zu ihm kommen undt seint miteinander ein weil in der stadt spaziren geritten undt dem grafen Carl [*Ferdinand*] von Lodron, so gestern von Trident anhero kommen, besuecht, auch ein stundt mitt ihm von allerhandt sachen discurrirt, ein wenig vor 8 seint sie miteinander hierauf geritten undt hatt graf von Lodron bei dem spanischen grafen von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*], der graf undt grafin Gallaß [*Katharina Barbara Gallas, née von Martinitz*] aber bei den grafen von Würben geßen. Nach dem eßen haben sie ein weil geschwazt, hernach aber, weil es ein haupt schönen, frischer undt ahngener abent gewesen ist, der graf von Würben undt graf Gallaß umb den Hratschiner platz zu fueß spaziren gangen. Ein wenig vor 11 ist der graf Gallaß mitt seiner gemahlin nach haus gefahren, der graf von Würben aber erst noch ein weil geschriben undt hernach schlafen gangen.

- [Donnerstag] 24.^{ten} Augusti: Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach sechse aufgestanden, zu seiner kindelbetterinn [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*]¹⁴⁰ gangen, allda ein weil blieben undt hernach erst inn das professehaus, allwo er gebeichtet, hernach aber zu den jungfrau carmelitterinnen geritten undt allda der predig wie auch dem gesungenen amt beigewohnt. Zu mittag hatt er neben Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] undt dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] bei dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*] geßen; nachmittag ein weil mitt ihm landsknecht gespielt, als dann zu den carmeliterinnen inn die vesper gangen, nach denselben aber wider zu dem margrafen kommen undt mitt ihm, graf Ferdinandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*], herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt Ihr Eminentz labet biß umb sibene gespielt. Nach dem abendteßen hatt der herr obrister burgraf die grafin von Würben besuecht undt nach denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen hatt man sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Freitag] 25.^{ten} [Augusti] – Dieweilen heunt nach dem schnittferien die appellationscammer wider geöffnet worden, so ist der graf von Würben hineingangen undt wie gewöhnlich biß nach eilfe darinnen blieben, hernach aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*], der herr Paradeis [*Martin Paradis y Echaide*] undt noch ein pater. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben ein anderthalb stundt bei seiner kindelbetterinn zubracht, hernach dem herrn grafen Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach besuecht undt mit ihm hinauf zu Ihr Eminentz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] gangen, mit welchen, dem margrafen von Baden [*Leopold Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*], herrn grafen Ferdinandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] er biß umb sechse labet gespielt, hernach aber mitt dem grafen von Harrach inn den hofgarten gangen, allwo sie viell dames antrofen, mitt welchen sie biß fast umb achte geschwazt, es ist auch ein so haupt schönen abendt gewest, das man ihm nicht schöner undt ahngenehmer hette wüntschen mögen. Nach 8 ist mann zu der tafel, hernach zu den letaneyen undt als dann schlafen gangen.

- [Sonntag] 3. Septembris. Der graf von Würben ist heunt erst nach sibene aufgestanden undt nachdem er ein weil bei seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] blieben, hinab zu St. Niklas gefahren undt allda sein andacht verricht, zuvor aber hatt er den graf Frantzen [*Albrecht*] von Harrach undt [*Otto Heinrich*] marches de Grana mitt sich hinab geführt. Zu mittag hatt der graf von Würben sambt obgedachten cavaliren undt den spanischen grafen von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] bei Ihr Eminentz den herrn cardinal [*Ernst Adalbert*] von Harrach geßen undt vest lustig gewesen. Nachmittag seint Ihr Eminentz hinab zu St. Jakob zu einer theologischen disputation gefahren,¹⁴¹ die andere aber seint zu haus blieben undt haben biß umb halbe sechse primera gespielt. Nachmals ist die gantze gesellschaft inn den hofgarten gangen, allwo sie eine grosse anzahl von dames gefunden undt haben Ihr Eminentz, die frau obriste burgrafin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], die frau obriste landthofmasterinn [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], marches de Grana undt graf von Würben biß nach sibene kegel geschoben; als man nach haus kommen, hatt der graf von Würben ein so unaussprechlichen kopfweh empfunden, daß er gar nicht zu der tafel gangen, sondern nur bei seiner gemahlin etwas sehr weniges aber geßen undt nach dem abendteßen balt schlafen gangen.

- [Montag] 4. Septembris. Heunt ist der graf von Würben umb 6 aufgestanden undt ein weil geschriben. Hernach zu seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] gangen; nachmals aber

140 His wife, on the 10th August, gave birth to a daughter, Josepha Susanna, and was therefore in the postpartum period.

141 Count Würben writes about the church of Sv. Jakob (Saint James the Greater) in the Old Town of Prague. It was a church belonging to the Minorites and there was a theological school of the order situated in this cloister.

inn die appellation undt nach derselben zu St. Benedikt in die meß gefahren. Zu mittag haben bei Ihre Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der abt von Königsaal [*Georg Ulrich Juncker*], der graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] mitt noch einen pater undt der königliche herr procurator [*Christoph Norbert*] Knauth. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben ein weil bei seiner gemahlin blieben, hernach zu Ihr Eminenz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] gefahren undt mitt deroselben undt herrn Wratl von Sternberg piket biß fast umb fünf geSPIELT, als dann inn das Loreto zu dem gebett undt nach denselben inn den hofgarten gefahren, inn welchen sie mitt der frau obriste burgravin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], der frau obriste landthofmasterinn [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*] undt frau Wratlin grafिन von Sternberg kegel bis nach sibene geschoben. Als der graf von Würben nach haus kommen, ist er zu seiner gemahlin gangen, hernach das abendessen eingenommen, nach demselben ein weil geschriben, hernach aber zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneien undt nach demselben schlafen gangen.

- [Samstag] 9. Septembris. Der graf von Würben ist heunt wie gewenlich aufgestanden undt nachdem er biß umb achte mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] geschwazt, ein wenig inn seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] neues haus geritten, dahin ist hernach der graf Ferdinand von Heißenstan [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*] kommen undt, weil er morgens zu verraisen willens ist, von ihn urlaub genommen. Nach neune ist er inn den rath gangen, nach demselben aber bei St. Benedikt meß gehört, nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben wie gebreüchlich eine gutte weil mitt seiner gemahlin geschwazt, hernach mitt dem herrn Wratl grafen von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] zu dem graf Gotz [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren undt biß umb sechse krimpe gesPIELT. Hernach aber inn den hofgarten mitt Ihr Eminenz [*Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*] undt einen gutten gesellschaft kegel geschoben undt nach dem abendtßen undt verrichten gewöhnlichen letaneyen schlafen gangen.

- [Montag] 18.^{ten} [Septembris] – Heunt ist der graf von Würben nach achte inn die appellation, nach derselben aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß gefahren. Zu mittag hatt der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] mitt seiner frauen [*Maria Viktoria Nowohradsky von Kolowrat, née Gallas*] undt der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] bei ihm geßen, nach dem eßen seindt sie zu dem herrn appellationspresidenten [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] gefahren undt haben allda mitt ihn undt dem grafen Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] labet biß nach fünf gesPIELT, hernach seint sie dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*], so von Schlan [*Slany*] wider anhero kommen, entgegen gefahren, ihm auch nicht weit von der stadt antrofen. Nach dem abendteßen haben sie ein weil geschwazt, hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen, nachmals aber schlafen gangen.

- [Montag] 25.^{ten} [Septembris] – Heunt ist der graf von Würben wider inn aller fruh zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] gefahren undt allda, bis es zeit zu der letzten mees bei St. Benedikt worden, blieben, hernach aber zu gleich gesagter meß undt nach derselben schlafen [sic] gangen. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen: der graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, der prelat von Hradisch bei Ollmütz [*Thomas II. Olšanský*], der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*], Ihr Gnaden die frau obriste landthofmasterinn [*Anna Katharina von Martinitz, née Bukůvka z Bukůvky*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt der frauen [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], die verwittibte grafिन von Thunn [*Margaretha Anna von Thun und Hohenstein, née Öttingen-Baldern*] mitt ihren zween söhnen, dem graf Hans Ernst [*Johann Ernst von Thun und Hohenstein*], so thumherr zu Saltzburg, undt mitt dem graf Rudolf [*Rudolf Joseph von Thun und Hohenstein*], so ein kapuziner wirt. Nachmittag hatt die gesellschaft quindeci gesPIELT, der graf von Würben aber ist wider hinüber zu seiner frau mutter gefahren, bei welcher er auch den gantzen tag blieben undt theils mitt

bedienung derselben, theils aber mitt lesen zubracht, nach zehne ist er nach haus gefahren undt Ihre Excellenz den herrn obristen burgrafen gleich bei der letaney gefunden; nach denselben hatt er ihme ein gutte nacht geben undt sich schlafen gelegt.

- [Mittwoch] 27.^{ten} [Septembris] – Der graf von Würben ist heunt zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], so balt er nur angelegt worden, geritten, auch biß umb eilfe bei ihr blieben, nachmals aber zu St. Benedikt inn die meß geritten undt hernach nach haus gangen. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der pater Plachi [*Georg Franz Plachý SJ*] undt der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwerdtfer [*SJ*], der graf von Würben aber ist drüben bei seiner frau mutter zu mittag blieben. Nach zwei ist er zu dem herrn appellationspresidenten [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] geritten, mitt welchem undt dem herrn von Ragersdorf [*Johann Reichardt Schwab von Rogersdorf*] appellationsrath er das testament des grafen Rudolph von Thunn [*Rudolf Joseph von Thun und Hohenstein*], so ein kapuziner wirt, unterschriben, hernach ist er mitt dem graf Maxen von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] umb die stadt spatziren, nachmals aber inn die schloßkirchen geritten undt der vesper inn St. Wenzels cappellen beigewohnt. Nach der vesper ist er mitt dem grafen Frantzen [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, grafen Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt graf Maxen von Thunn inn dem hofgarthen gangen, allwo sie biß nach sechse kegel geschoben undt unter dem schein mitt eßung gutter durantschen sich gelabet. Der graf von Würben ist nach dem kegelscheiben noch zu seiner frau mutter geritten undt biß umb halbe achte bei ihr blieben, nachmals aber mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] nach haus zum abendteßen gefahren undt nach demselben undt den gewöhnlichen letaneyen sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Freitag] 29.^{ten} [Septembris] – Das schlafen hatt dem grafen von Würben heunt inn der nacht nicht recht vonstatten gehen wollen, hatt es also gegen tag einbracht undt biß nach achte inn bett blieben; hernach ist er zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], so er etwas beßer aufgefunden, von dannen aber hinüber inn die Altstadt zu den patern servitern zu St. Michali geritten undt allda das amt gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihre Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen; der herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], der herr Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], der herr Smrzka [*Wenzel Silvester (?) Smřka z Mnichu*] undt zween pater jesuiter. Nach dem eßen ist der graf von Würben wider hinüber zu seiner frau mutter geritten undt bis nach vihre bei ihr blieben, als dann ein wenig inn das untern ballhaus undt nachdem er allda etlich balen pallotirt, nach haus geritten undt ein wenig geschriben, nach halbe sechse aber zu St. Benedikt inn der segen gangen. Von dannen hatt er wider sambt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] sein frau mutter heimgesuecht undt biß nach halbe achte bei ihr blieben, hernach aber ihr ein gutte nacht gaben undt nacher haus gefahren, allda hatt er noch ein weil inn seinem zimmer gelesen, alß dann zu dem abendteßen gangen undt nachdem sie ein guette weil von allerhand sachen untereinander geschwazt undt die gewöhnliche letaneyen verrichtet, sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Sonntag] 1.^{ten} Octobris: Nachdem der graf von Würben angelegt worden, ist er hinüber zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] geritten undt biß nach 10 bei ihr blieben. Hernach aber bei St. Niklas inn dem profeißhaus meß gehört undt als dann zu den patern dominikanern zu St. Maria Magdalena geritten. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen; der graf Frantz [*Albrecht*] von Harrach, der graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], der graf Max von Thun [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt der pater regens studiorum der dominicaner undt noch ein anderer lector theologiae eben dieses ordens; nachmittag ist der graf Frantz von Harrach, der graf von Sternberg undt graf von Thun mitt dem grafen von Würben inn den hofgarthen geritten undt allda biß 6 kegel geschoben; hernach hatt der graf von Würben noch seine frau mutter heimgesucht undt die grafen

von Wallenstein, so gestern auf etlich tag von ihren gutt anhero kommen, gefunden; hatt also biß nach sibene mitt ihnen sich unterhalten, als dann aber nach haus geritten undt zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach welchem er ein weil mitt Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen geschwazt undt hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneien, nach denselben aber schlafen gangen.

- [Samstag] 4.^{ten} Novembris: Nachdem der graf von Würben heint vor achte aufgestanden, ist er inn den rath gefahren, nach denselben aber bei St. Benedikt meeß gehört; als er aus der kirchen nach haus kommen, hatt er den pater Carl Growendonk [*Karl Grobendonq SJ*] gefunden, mitt welchen er, biß Ihre Excellenz der herr obriste burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] nach haus kommen, gelurzt [?]. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen geßen: der pater [*Rodrigo de*] Arriaga [*SJ*], der pater Carl Growendonk, der jüngere herr Halleweil [*Jakub Leopold von Hallweil*] undt der herr [*Johann Sigmund*] Neschwitz appellationsrath, nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben wider mitt dem pater Carl Growendonk, aber nur ein spil, gelurzt undt hernach mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] gefahren, bei welcher er biß nach vihre blieben, nachmals aber zu St. Benedikt gefahren undt allda der predig, wie auch dem schlues des virtzig stündigen gebettes beigewohnt; die predig hatt der pater Constans Tozoni¹⁴² barnabiter gehalten, so wohl zimlich lang gewehrt, aber wegen ihren gelecht undt schöne vielen gar kurtz vorkommen. Nach der kirchen ist der graf von Würben nach haus gangen undt biß nach sibene inn sein zimmer gelesen, als dann zu seiner gemahlin gangen, bei welcher er die frau obriste burgrafin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] fünden hatt, allda er mitt seinen kindern ein weil sich unterhalten, nach halbe achte aber zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach demselben hatt mann ein weil geret undt ein weil gelesen, hernach aber zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen undt nach denselben sich zu ruh begeben. Sonsten ist der herr graf Adolf Wratislau von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seinen gemahlinn [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], herrn brudern den grafen Stephan [*Stephan Georg von Sternberg*] undt seinen mahn der frau Sarubin [*Maria Elisabeth Záruba z Hustířan, née von Sternberg*] von seinen guttern wider anhero nacher Prag auf den abent Gott lob glücklich ankommen.

- [Montag] 6.^{ten} [Novembris] – Heint ist der graf von Würben vor achte aufgestanden undt nachdem er angelegt worden, inn den rath gefahren, nach welchem er bei St. Benedikt meeß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der herr graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seiner gemahlinn [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*], der graf Nazerl von Martinitz [*Georg Adam Ignaz von Martinitz (?)*], seine freile schwester die freile Marie Baberl [*Maria Barbara von Martinitz*] undt die freile Anzerl von Oppersdorf [*Anna von Oppersdorff*]. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben ein weil mitt den dames geschwazt, hernach aber mitt dem graf z Wrtbi inn das untere ballhaus geritten undt biß nach halbe fünfe pallotirt. Hernach aber den pater Carl Growendonk [*Karl Grobendonq*] besuecht undt biß nach drey virtl auf sechse bei ihm blieben. Als dann nacher haus geritten undt ein weil geschriben. Umb halbe achte ist mann zu dem abentteßen, nach demselben zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen gangen undt ein weil von allerhant sachen discuriert, auch ein pahr spiel schach gezogen, hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt nach denselben schlafen gangen.

- [Dienstag] 7.^{ten} [Novembris] – Der graf von Würben ist heint gar früh aufgewacht undt noch vor achte aufgestanden, es hatt ihm der pater Anthoni hiberner [*Antonius Conorus (?)*] noch vor dem rath haimgesucht, als er hinnweg, ist er inn den rath, nach demselben aber zu St. Benedikt gefahren; zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen: der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*], der pater Marianna [*Marcus Marian SJ*], der herr appellationspresident [*Franz*

142 Correctly the name should be Arzoni; Palacký misread it.

Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat], der neue abt von Selau [*Siard Falco*] undt des herrn grafen Maxen von Martinitz [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*] eltere freile tochter die freile Frantzl [*Anna Maria Franziska von Martinitz*], nach dem eßen ist der graf von Würben zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] geritten, bei welcher ihm der graf Frantz Schellhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*], der graf de la Riviere [*Louis Barbier de La Rivière*] undt der graf Suis [*Ernst Ferdinand de Suys (?)*] besuecht haben. Umb halbe fünfe ist er hinüber zu dem graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], mitt welchem, herrn appellationspresidenten undt spanischen grafen von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] er biß umb halbe achte labet gespielt. Als er nach haus kommen, ist mann gleich zu der tafel gangen, nach derselben den rosenkrantz gebett, hernach eine weil geschwazt undt zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen, nach denselben aber sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Donnerstag] 9.^{ten} [Novembris] – Der graf von Würben ist heint nicht inn die appellation gangen, dieweillen sachen vorkommen, so seinen herrn schwehervattern den herrn obristen burggraf [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] angehen, ist also darvor zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] gefahren, bei welcher er biß nach eilfe blieben undt als dann bei St. Benedikt meeß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen geßen, der graf Ludwig Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*], ein wallischer cavalir von geschlecht Massimi, der graf Hans Frantz z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] mitt seiner gemahlinn [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*], der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*] undt der pater Faschan [*Christoph Faschang SJ*]; nach dem eßen hatt der graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], obgedachter graf Caraffa undt der spanische graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] dem graf von Würben heimgesucht undt biß umb sibene labet gespielt, als sie hinweggangen, ist der graf von Würben unter seine kinder gangen, bei welchen er ein kleine weil blieben undt hernach das abenteßen eingenommen, nach demselben hatt er ein weil etliche kupferstich geschaut, hernach zu dem abenteßen, nach demselben aber schlafen gangen. Sonsten ist der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] heint früh wider von seinen guttern anhero kommen undt dem grafen von Würben unter den spielen heimgesuecht.

- [Samstag] 11.^{ten} [Novembris] – Dieweillen heint fünf jahr seindt, das der graf von Würben sich in den heiligen ehestandt begeben, so hatt er unten inn dem profeißhaus bei St. Niklas gebeichtet undt communiciret, auch der predig undt nach derselben zween meßen beigewohnt, hernach aber nach haus geritten. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burgrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen; der herr Wratl graf von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seiner gemahlinn [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der pater Kaumka [?] undt der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*SJ*]. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben ein weil mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] geschwazt, hernach aber in das untere ballhaus geritten undt allda mitt dem graf Hans z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] biß nach vihre pallotirt, als dann hinüber inn die Neustadt zu St. Martin geritten undt die kirchen so voll gefunden, das sie mitt harter müh hinein kint, seint gleichwol durchgedrungen undt haben noch etlich leit überredet, das sie ihnen inn ihrer bank einen orth eingeramet, aber eß hatt sie fast gereiet, dieweillen das volk sich so stark auf die bank gedrungen, das sie vielmals geforchten, die bank gehe über einen haufen. Die andacht hatt sich mitt einen procession mitt dem Hochwürdigem undt dem Te Deum laudamus geendet, wie auch das allda ahngestellte viertzigstündige gebett, von dannen ist der graf von Würben mitt dem graf z Wrtbi nach haus geritten undt hatt der graf von Würben theils mitt lesen undt theils mitt schreiben die zeit biß nach halbe sibene zubracht, hernach zu seiner gemahlinn undt kindern gangen undt mitt ihnen, biß es zeit zum abenteßen worden, sich erlustiget. Nach dem abenteßen ist mann hinüber zu dem herrn obristen burgrafen gangen, so mitt seiner gemahlin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*] ein weil schach gezogen, der graf von Würben ist aber wider sein gebrauch so schlafrig gewesen, das er ein kurtzes schlafel gethan, hernach ist er zu denen letaneyen gangen, deren

eine nemlich von unser frauen von Ihr Excellenz musik wie alle Sambstag gesungen worden undt nach denselben hatt er sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Dienstag] 14.^{ten} [Novembris] – Es hat den grafen von Würben heint gar nicht gelust, aus den beth aufzustehen, dieweill es so balt gewesen, hatt aber, gleichwol es ein wenig vor achte gewagt undt aufgestanden, auch inn den rath gefahren, nach demselben aber bei St. Benedikt meeß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, die verwittbte hertzogin Frantz Carlin von Sachsen [*Christine Elisabeth von Sachsen-Lauenburg, née von Meggau*], ihr freile tochter [*Maria Susanna von Sachsen-Lauenburg*], die frau Wratlin von Sternberg [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], die spanische grafin von Kolowrath [*Maria Viktoria Nowohradsky von Kolowrat, née Gallas*], die grafin z Wrtbi [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*] undt die graf Canin [*Anna Susanna Khuen von Belasy, née von Meggau (?)*], der graf von Würben aber hatt mitt vielen ander cavalirn bei dem graf Frantz Schellhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] geßen undt seint so wol obgedachte dames als cavalieri hinüber inn die Altstadt zu der comedi gefahren, der graf von Würben aber ist zu dem spanischen graf von Kolowrath [*Johann Wenzel Nowohradsky von Kolowrat*] geritten undt mitt ihm undt dem graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] biß umb sechse labet gespielt. Hernach ist der graf von Würben nach haus geritten undt hatt ein weil geschriben undt ein weil gelesen. Ein wenig vor 8 ist mann zu dem abenteßen gangen, nach demselben ein kleine weil geschwazt undt dann die gewöhnliche letaneien gebettet, nach demselben aber sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Donnerstag] 16.^{ten} [Novembris] – Heint ist der graf von Würben umb $\frac{3}{4}$ auf 8 aufgestanden undt nach achte inn die appellation gefahren, nach derselben aber bei St. Benedikt meeß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen; der herr appellationspresident [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], der graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seiner gemahlin [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der spanische graf [*Vespasian*] von Paar, der graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] mitt seiner gemahlin [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*] undt ein gewißer weltlicher geistlicher. Nachmittag ist die ganze gesellschaft außer deß grafen von Würben hinüber inn die Altstadt zu der comedi gefahren, der graf von Würben aber hatt erstlich die lantagscommission inn der Grinen stuben gehalten, hernach aber mitt dem herrn Ferdynand Hiserle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*] zu dem graf Gotz [*Dionysius Albrecht Kotz von Dobrsch*] gefahren undt mitt ihm biß umb sechse krimpe gespielt. Als der graf von Würben nach haus geritten, hatt er ein gantzen haufen wagen, so von der comedi kommen, antrofen, ist aber nun vorbeigeritten undt sich gar nicht aufgehalten, der graf Frantz Schellhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] ist ihm zu roß begegnet, mitt welchen er biß zu des graf Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*] wohnung geritten, es hatt heint in der nacht gleich gedachten grafens Caraffa gemahlin [*Gudula Elisabeth Caraffa, née von Efferen*] die gewalt Gottes geruhet, ist also inn schlechten zustandt. Der graf von Würben, nachdem er nach haus kommen, hatt ein weil geschriben undt ein weil mitt seinen kindern, biß es zeit zu dem abenteßen worden, sich unterhalten, nach dem abenteßen hatt mann ein weil geschwazt, der graf von Würben aber sein zeit mitt gedanken zubracht undt nach denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Sonntag] 26.^{ten} Novembris: Heint ist der graf von Würben umb halbe neune aufgestanden undt zu seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*], von ihr aber zu St. Niklas inn die kirchen gefahren, allda er ein predig undt zween meeß gehört. Als die post von Wien kommen, ist er sehr über das tödliche hinscheiden Ihro Durchläucht des ertzherzogs Leopoldts [*Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich*], so den 21. dieses monates zwischen 5 undt 6 früh geschehen,¹⁴³ betribt worden. Zu mittag haben bei dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*]

143 The Archduke had already passed away on the morning of the 20th November. See K. KELLER – A. CATALANO (Hg.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Vol. 7, p. 278.

geßen, die verwittibte frau Polixena Schwihowskin [*Polyxena Ludmila Švihovský z Rýzंबरka, née Žďárská ze Žďáru*], der graf undt grafín z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby und Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*], der graf Ferdynandt von Heißenstan [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*] undt zween patres dominikaner. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben ein weil mitt den dames geschwazt, hernach aber hinab zu dem grafen Ferdynandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] obriste lehnhofrichter inn diesem königreich gefahren undt mitt demselben, grafen Michel von Thuen [*Michael Oswald von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] biß umb sibene quindeci gespielt. Als der graf von Würben nach haus kommen, hatt er ein weil mitt seinen kindern sich unterhalten, hernach zu dem abenteßen gangen undt nach demselben mitt dem herrn obristen burggrafen ein gutte weil von allerhandt sachen geredt. Nach denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen ist der graf von Würben zu seiner gemahlinn [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*], so ann einen starken cathar sich etwas übel aufbefindet, gangen undt nachdem er ein weil mitt ihr geschwazt, sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Samstag] Den 2.^{ten} Decembris: Die gantze halbe nacht hatt der graf von Würben mit husten zubracht undt als er nachmals ein wenig eingeschlafen undt hernach erwacht, ist ihm der cathar so stark gesucken, das er vermeint, er müße den gantzen tag zu haus zubringen. Nachdem er aber die böhmische cioccolada, daß ist warmes bier mitt frischer butter, genommen, ist es ihm ein wenig beßer worden, darauf er hinab inn das profeißhaus gefahren undt allda der andacht beigewohnt. Auch nebenst dem herrn obristen landthofmaster [*Maximilian Valentin von Martinitz*], herrn obristen landtmarschalk [*Adam Matthias von Trauttmansdorff*], herrn appellationspräsidenten [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*], herrn burggrafen des königgrätzer creyses [*Johann Wilhelm von Gersdorf*], des grafen z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*], des prelathen von Königssaal [*Georg Ulrich Juncker*], des pater provincialis der patern jesuiter [*Johannes Saxius S*] sambt etlich andern patern zu mittag von Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] tractirt worden. Nach dem eßen hatt die verwittibte graf Wrzesowczin [*Maria Franziska Vřesovec, née von Wrtby*] Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen schriftlich zu vernehmen geben, wie das der graf Ferdinandt von Haissestan [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*] allbereith vor mehr als drey monaten ihr die ehe versprochen, daher sie dann die zwischen ihm undt der freyle Marie Sandl Teiflinn [*Maria Susanna Teufel*] gestern vorbeegangene thatt vor nichtig undt ungiltig anzusprechen gezwungen werde, darauf ist der herr obriste burggraf zu der hertzoginn [*Christine Elisabeth von Sachsen-Lauenburg, née von Meggau*] gefahren undt mitt ihr undt denen interessenten in gegenwarth des graf Wratls von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] undt grafens Frantz Schellhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf*] (?) darauß conferiret, was sie geschlossen, wirt die zeit geben. Der graf von Würben ist nach der vesper zu dem graf Maxen von Thuen [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] gefahren undt mitt ihm biß fast umb sechse tik tak gespielt, hernach aber nach haus gefahren undt auf die post geschriben. Ein wenig vor achte ist man zu dem abendteßen gangen, nach demselben ein weil geschazt, als dann die gewöhnlichen letaneyen gebett undt hernach sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Sonntag] 3.^{ten} Decembris: Es hatt der cathar dem grafen von Würben diese nacht nicht gnediger als die vorhergehende tractiret, dieweillen er aber, damitt er balt fortgehe, ihm übel (?) zu tractiren entschlossen, so ist er noch vor achte aufgestanden undt inn das Loreto zu dem Rorate gefahren, nach demselben aber seiner frau mutter [*Elisabeth Polyxena von Würben, née Dembinsky von Dembin*] heimgesucht und biß nach eilfe bei ihr blieben, als dann aber bei St. Benedikt noch ein meeiß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen der graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] mitt seiner gemahlinn [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*], der graf Frantz Schellhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf*] (?), der graf Sygmundt von Sarau [*Sigmund Friedrich von Saurau*] mitt seiner grafín [*Helena Maria von Saurau, née von Jungen*], der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*S*] undt sein gespahn. Nachmittag hatt der graf von Würben ein weil mitt den dames geschwazt, hernach inn sein zimmer gangen undt bis gegen vihre

gelesen, hernach ist er zu St. Benedikt inn die gewöhnliche adventsambstagsandacht¹⁴⁴ gefahren undt der predig, nach derselben aber der letaney undt dem segen beigewohnt. Nach der andacht hatt er dem herrn appellationspresidenten [*Franz Karl Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat*] heimgesucht undt mitt ihm, herrn grafen Ferdinand Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] undt grafen Wratl von Sternberg biß umb halbe achte label gespielt. Als er nach haus kommen, hatt er noch ein weil gelesen, hernach zu seiner gemahlinn [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] gangen undt mitt ihr undt seinen kindern, biß es zeit zum abendteßen worden, sich unterhalten. Nach derselben hatt er Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen die wallische zeittungen gelesen, hernach aber zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen, nach denselben ist ein jedes inn sein quartir gangen undt sich zu ruh begaben. Sonsten ist die neiliche venedische see action wider die caravana von Alexandria mitt heintigen zeittungen bestettiget undt das über 15 saiken die venetianer bekommen, gewißer bericht eingelofen.¹⁴⁵

- [Mittwoch] 6.^{ten} Decembris: Die weillen der catharr dem grafen von Würben zimliche ruh gelaßen, so hatt er, was die vergangene nacht versaumet worden, wider einbracht undt biß umb halbe achte ahn einen stuck geschlafen, nachdem er angelegt worden, ist er inn den rath gefahren undt nach demselben bei St. Benedikt meefß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihro Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, der obriste landtmarschalk inn diesem königreich graf Adam von Trautmansdorf [*Adam Matthias von Trauttmandorff*], herr graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratl von Sternberg*], herr Ferdinand Hißerle [*Ferdinand Ernst Hiesserle von Chodau*], herr obriste Clari [*Hieronimus Clary*] undt der pater Constans [*Arzoni*] barnabiter. Nach dem eßen ist der graf von Würben inn sein zimmer gangen undt allda ein weil gelesen undt ein weil geschriben, ein wenig vor vihre aber hinab zu dem graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] gefahren undt mitt ihm undt seiner gemahlin [*Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*] geschwazt; hernach ist der graf Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] auch hinnkommen undt hatt dem grafen z Wrtbi undt dem von Würben überredet, das sie inn schlitten, doch ohne geleitt, fahren sich entschlossen. Aber des graf von Würben roß hatt inn außschlagen ein stangen zerschmettert undt des graf z Wrtbi seines nicht inn _____¹⁴⁶ gehen wollen, ist also der graf von Würben mitt dem grafen von Thuen inn schlitten geseßen undt mitt ihm auf den Hratschinn herumbgefahren. Als er nach haus kommen, hatt er ein weil gelesen, hernach zu seiner gemahlinn [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] und kindern gangen undt mitt ihnen, biß es zeit zu dem abendteßen worden, sich unterhalten. Nach dem abendteßen hatt ein weil mit Ihr Excellenz geredt undt hernach nach verrichten letaneyen sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Freitag] 8.^{ten} Decembris: Heint ist der graf von Würben nach halbe achte aufgestanden undt als er angelegt worden, inn das Loreto zu dem Rorate gefahren undt allda sein andacht verrichtet. Er hette zwar als ein mittglied der großen bruderschaft unser frauen der andacht bei den patern jesuivern in dem collegio beiwohnen sollen, aber wegen seines cathars bei so scharfer kälte hatt er es unterlassen müssen. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen, die junge grafin von Thuen [*Clara Franziska von Thun und Hohenstein (?)*], der graf Max von Thuen [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*], der graf undt grafin z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby und Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*], der graf Ferdinand von Heißenstan [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*], der pater [*Wenzel*] Schwertfer [*S*] undt der pater _____¹⁴⁷ rhetoricae.

144 Obviously this is a mistake: correctly this should say Sunday Worship.

145 In 1662 the Venetians tried to provoke the Austrian Habsburgs into participating in a joint war against the Turks, but they were not successful. Therefore they themselves attacked the Turks. Zdeněk KALISTA, *Benátská politika na uherském sněmu v Bratislavě r. 1662* [The Venetian Policy in the Hungarian Diet in Bratislava in 1662], Prague 1942.

146 Palacký apparently misread this.

147 Palacký apparently misread this.

Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben ein weil mitt den dames geschwazt, hernach aber in seinem zimmer mitt dem grafen von Thuen biß umb vihre tik tak gespielt; hernach hatt er den grafen von Thuen zu dem herrn Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] geführt, selbst aber erstlich zu den patern kapuzinern, hernach inn das Loreto undt leztlich zu St. Benedikt gefahren undt inn allen 3 kirchen der letaney beigewohnt undt den segen empfangen. Nach verrichter andacht ist er nach haus gefahren undt hatt biß nach sechse theils gelesen theils geschriben. Ein wenig vor 8 ist mann zu dem abenteßen gangen undt nach demselben ein weil geschwazt, nach denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen aber sich zu ruh begeben.

- [Dienstag] 12. Decembris: Dem graf von Würben so gar nicht aus dem beth zu gehen gelustet, daß er erst nach achte der selbe verlaßen undt zimlich spat inn rath gefahren; nach eilfe ist mann inn den landtag gangen undt biß gegen zwölfe darinnen verblieben. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen; der graf undt grafinz z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby und Barbara von Wrtby, née z Kokořova*], der graf Ludwig Caraffa [*Luigi Antonio Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano*], der graf Frantz Schellhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] undt der graf Ferdinand von Heißenstain [*Johann Christoph Ferdinand von Heissenstein*], nachmittag seint die cavaliere außer des graf z Wrtbi zu dem grafen von Würben inn sein zimmer gangen, aber nicht lang bei ihm blieben, sondern sametlich hinab außer des grafen von Heißensteins zu herrn grafen Ferdynandt Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] obriste lehnrichter gefahren. Allda hatt der graf von Würben mit gleichgedachten herrn obristen lehnrichter undt dem graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*] quindeci, graf Caraffa undt graf Schöllhart aber mit den dames labet gespielt. Ein wenig vor sechse hatt sich die cavaliere spiel geendet, worauf der graf von Würben nacher haus gefahren undt vor dem eßen mitt seinen kindern ein weil sich unterhalten undt Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen frantzösische zeitungen gelesen, umb achte ist mann zu der tafel, nach derselben zu dem herrn obristen burggrafen, hernach zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen undt entlich ein iedes inn sein zimmer gangen.

- [Dienstag] 19.^{ten} Decembris: Der graf von Würben ist heint nicht inn die appellation gangen, dieweillen er inn sachen des geistlichen undt der herrenstands dem ritterstandt, das so sie sich obgedachte herrn ständt wegen der inn der kayserlichen undt königlichen landtags proposition enthaltenen punkten verglichen, vortragen müssen, mitt welchen es sich dann so lang verzogen, das es halbe eilfe worden, ehe er von den ritterstandt wolkommen können; ist also nur ein wenig inn das obere ballhaus, hernach aber zu St. Benedikt gefahren undt allda meeß gehört. Zu mittag haben bei Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen [*Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz*] geßen: die alte frau grafinz von Nachod [*Maria Renata von Náchod, née Breuner*], der herr obriste landtmarschalk [*Adam Matthias von Trauttmansdorff*], der herr obriste lehnhofrichter graf Ferdinand Slawata [*Ferdinand Wilhelm Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg*] mitt seiner gemahlinn [*Maria Cäcilia Slavata, née von Náchod*], der graf Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], – dem gestern früh umb vihr uhr sein gemahlin [*Anna Lucia von Sternberg, née Slavata*] einen jungen sohn gebracht, so auch gleich gestern getaufet undt Frantz Carl Adam Joseph, gevatter seint gewesen der graf Adam von Trauttmansdorf undt graf Stefan von Sternberg [*Stephan Georg von Sternberg*], gevatterinn die verwittibte hertzogin Frantz Carlin von Sachsen [*Christine Elisabeth von Sachsen-Lauenburg, née von Meggau*], welche, dieweil sie krank ist, ahnstatt ihren ihre freile tochter die freile Maria Sandl [*Maria Susanna von Sachsen-Lauenburg*] geschickt, – der pater [*Petr*] Wodniansky [*S*] undt der pater secretarius. Nachmittag ist der graf von Würben also balt inn den schlitten geseßen undt hatt den kleinen Jehnizek darinn herumbgeführt; bei dem graf z Wrtbi [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] ist er abgestigen undt ein weil mitt ihm geredt; nach vihre ist er zu der Noven¹⁴⁸ wider inn schlitten gefahren undt hatt den grafen Max von Thunn [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] undt den kleinen Jehnizek biß dahin gefährt. Nach der andacht ist der graf von

148 A novena is a prayer that is repeated for nine consecutive days.

Würben sambt dem graf Hans Frantz z Wrtbi inn schlitten iber die brucken auf der Kleinseithen undt dem Hratschin herumbgefahren undt hatt der graf z Wrtbi dem grafen Frantz Schöllhart [*Franz Caspar Schellardt von Obbendorf (?)*] undt der graf von Würben dem grafen Max von Thuen gefuhrt. Ein wenig vor sibene seint sie bei dem graf von Würben abgestiegen, so sie mitt etlichen eingemachten sachen regaliret. Dieweillen der herr obriste burggraf bei dem neuen weibischof herr Barseti¹⁴⁹ [*Giovanni Battista Barsotti*] sich verschwazt, so ist mann erst ein wenig vor achte zu dem abenteßen gangen. Nach demselben hatt mann ein weil geredt undt der graf von Würben etliche von Ihr Excellenz dem herrn obristen burggrafen ihm communicirte sachen gelesen, als dann ist mann zu denen gewöhnlichen letaneyen gangen, nach denselben aber hatt sich ein iedes inn sein zimmer begeben.

- [Sonntag] 24.^{ten} Decembris: Der graf von Würben hatt heint nebenst einer guetten undt schönen gesellschaft von dames, nemlich Ihr Excellenz die frau obriste burggräfin [*Susanna Polyxena von Martinitz, née von Dietrichstein*], der freile Marie Sandl Teuflinn [*Maria Susanna Teufel*] undt der freile Teresl von Martinitz [*Theresia Franziska von Martinitz*] bei dem grafen von Wrtby [*Johann Franz von Wrtby*] frühstuken sollen, nach den Rorate bei den patern jesuvern inn den profießhaus; dieweillen er aber so acht, er wegen des raths abkommen können, allezeit heier inn das Loreto zu dem Rorate gangen, so hatt er es auch allda schließen wollen; ist also gleich nach achte hingefahren, hernach aber nach haus, allda er sich putzen laßen undt nach eilfe bei St. Benedikt meeß gehört. Nach der meeß ist er mitt dem graf Maxen von Thuen [*Maximilian von Thun und Hohenstein*] inn das obere ballhaus, allda sie ein weil miteinander pallotirt undt als dann zu dem graf Adam von Trautmansdorf [*Adam Matthias von Trauttmansdorff*] obristen landtmarschalk inn diesen königreich zu mittag eßen gefahren, allda sie auch schonn den grafen Frantz [*Joseph*] von Lamberg antrofen. Nach dem eßen hatt der graf von Würben mitt dem herrn grafen Wratl von Sternberg [*Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg*], so auch allda zu mittag geßen, piket gespielt undt hernach zu St. Benedikt inn der predig fahren wollen, dieweillen aber keine gewesen, so ist er mitt dem graf Maxen von Thuen undt grafen Frantz von Lamberg inn das untere ballhaus gefahren undt biß nach vire miteinander pallotirt, hernach aber zu den carmelitarinnen inn die Novena gefahren. Nach der andacht hatt der graf von Würben den grafen von Lamberg heimgesuecht undt mitt ihm biß fast umb sibene geschwazt. Hernach nacher haus gefahren undt nur inn camera etwas wenig geßen, damitt er desto andachtiger inn der Metten sein kenne. Nach diesen hatt er ein weil geschriben undt als dann sich ein wenig widergelegt zu ruhen. Ein wenig vor 10 ist er mitt seiner gemahlin [*Maria Elisabeth von Würben, née von Martinitz*] hinab inn die Metten inn das profießhaus gefahren, allwo er biß nach mitternacht blieben undt der Metten, predig undt gesungenen ambt beigewohnt, hernach aber nach haus gefahren undt recht schlafen gangen.

149 Palacký was not sure about the transcription and inserted a question mark alongside the name.

Index of personal names

- de Arriaga, Rodrigo (1592–1667), Jesuit theologian and philosopher living in Prague 171, 175, 188–190, 193, 199
- Arzoni, Costanso, member of Barnabite order living in Prague 166, 170, 175, 180, 183, 186, 194, 199, 203
- von Baden-Baden, *Margrafen*, Imperial princely family
 Anna Silvia, née Carretto di Millesimo (1607–1664), wife of Leopold Wilhelm 189
 Leopold Wilhelm (1626–1671), Imperial field marschal 163, 167–168, 188–189, 193–193, 195–196
- Barbier, Louis, Abbé de La Rivière (1593–1670), bishop of Langres 200
- Barsotti, Giovanni Battista (1600–1663), auxiliary bishop of Prague 205
- Burghoff, Hilger (1623–1666), member of Cistercian order 181
- Buquoy de Longueval, Ferdinand Karl (1634–1685), officer of Imperial army 192
- Caraffa della Stadero di Polignano, countly family
 Gudula Elisabeth, née Efferen, wife of Luigi Antonio 201
 Luigi Antonio (1631–1683) 183–185, 200
- Carretto di Millesimo, countly family from Bohemia
 Karl Leopold († 1689) 189, 195
 Maria Franziska, née Hiesserle von Chodau (1636–1639) 189
- Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–1689) 192
- Clary de Riva, Hieronymus († 1671), Imperial *Obrist* 192, 203
- Cob von Nüdingen, noble family from Bitburg
 Wolfgang Friedrich († 1679), Imperial *Obrist* 183
 Anna Sophie née Janowsky von Janowitz, wife of Wolfgang Friedrich 183
- Coelestin von Blumenberg, Wenzel Franz (1606–1674), member of St. Vitus' chapter 188, 192
- Conorus, Antonius, member of Irish Franciscan (Hybern) order living in Prague 199
- Corti, Giuseppe (1593–1662), auxiliary bishop of Prague 166, 186
- van der Croon, Johann, officer of Imperial army 183, 192
- Cžeika, Jakob SJ, Jesuit living in Prague 181
- von Dietrichstein, Ferdinand (1636–1698), *Obersthofmeister* of Leopold I 151, 175
- Dobrovský, Josef (1753–1829), Czech philologist and historian 155–156
- Eucharius, Christophorus SJ (1627–1691), preacher in the Jesuit vocational house in Prague 178, 188
- Falco, Siard (1628–1677), abbot of Želiv (Seelau) 200
- Faschang, Christoph SJ (1615–1670), member of Jesuit order living in Prague 200
- Franchi a Cruce, Johann Dominik, member of Piarist order 178
- Frank, Vinzenz Makarius († 1669), abbot of Strahov 178
- von Fürstenberg, Imperial princely family 156
- Gallas, countly family living in Bohemia
 Franz Ferdinand (1635–1697), brother-in-law of Johann Franz von Würben, husband of
 Katharina Barbara von Martinitz 178–179, 182, 195
 Katharina Barbara (1635–1697), née von Martinitz 169–170, 195
 Leopold Ernst (1661–1662), son of Franz Ferdinand Gallas 162, 182
- von Gersdorf, Johann Wilhelm (“*der Spanische Gersdorf*”, † 1664), *Königgratzer Burggraf* 202
- de Grana, Otto Heinrich (1629–1695), officer in Imperial army and diplomat 196
- Grobendoncq, Karl SJ (1600–1672), member of Jesuit order living in Prague, teacher of Bernhard
 Ignaz von Martinitz 171
- von Gräffenburg, Johann Gräff, *Appellationsrat* 186, 188

von Guttenstein, countly family living in Bohemia

Heinrich Friedrich (1639–1690), *Pilsner Kreishauptman* 178, 189

Margaretha, née Lamminger von Albenreuth 189

Habsburg, ruling dynasty

Ferdinand I (1503–1564), Bohemian and Hungarian king, Emperor 172

Ferdinand III (1608–1657), Bohemian and Hungarian king, Emperor 147, 164

Ferdinand Karl von Tirol (1628–1662), Austrian archduke 192

Joseph I (1678–1711), Bohemian and Hungarian king, Emperor 154

Leopold I (1640–1705), Bohemian and Hungarian king, Emperor 175

Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662), Austrian archduke 201

Maximilian II (1527–1576), Bohemian and Hungarian king, Emperor 172

von Hallweil, Johann Sebastian (1622–1700) 180, 189, 199

Hanel, Melchior SJ (1627–1689), member of Jesuit order and university teacher living in Prague 180

Hanka, Václav (1791–1861), Czech writer and translator 156

von Harrach, countly family living in the Austrian and Czech lands

Ernst Adalbert (1598–1667), archbishop of Prague and cardinal 180–182, 184–188, 192–193, 196–197

Ferdinand Bonaventura (1636–1706), Imperial ambassador to Spain 153, 176, 185–186

Franz Albrecht (1614–1666), brother of Ernst Adalbert von Harrach 186–187, 189, 191, 193, 195–198

von Heissenstein, Johann Christoph Ferdinand († 1691) 181, 195, 197, 202–204

Heißler von Heitersheim, Donat Johann († 1696), officer in Imperial army 182

Henniger von Seeberg, Johann Wenzel 182, 187

von Herberstein, countly family living in the Austrian and Czech lands

Johann Friedrich (1626–1701) 183

Johann Bernhard jr. († 1685), younger brother of Johann Friedrich von Herberstein 183

von Hessen-Homburg, Wilhelm Christoph (1625–1681), *Reichsfürst* 185–186

Hiesslerle von Chodau, Ferdinand Ernst (1620–1692), *Appellationsrat* 179–182, 184, 201, 203

Hložek ze Žampachu, Albrecht Christoph († 1671), Bohemian *Vizekämmerer* 191

von Hormayer, Josef (1781–1848), Austrian politician and historian 156

Jahoda, Johann SJ (1623–1676), member of Jesuit order and university teacher living in Prague 193

Junckher, Georg Ulrich (1615–1684), abbot of Zbraslav (Königssaal) 197, 202

Jungmann, Josef (1773–1847), Czech philologist and translator 155

von Kaiserstein, Johann Georg († 1677), *Obrist* in Imperial army 180

Kinsky, countly family living in Bohemia

Franz Ulrich (1634–1699), Bohemian *Oberstkanzler* 161, 176

Wenzel Norbert (1642–1719), younger brother of Franz Ulrich 189

von Khevenhüller-Metsch, Johann Josef (1706–1776), *Obersthofmeister* of Emperor Franz I of Lothringen 176

Khuen von Belasy, Anna Susanna, née von Meggau († 1689) 201

Knauth, Christoph Norbert, royal *Prokurator* in Bohemia 197

Kotz von Dobrsch, Dionysius Albrecht († 1665), count living in Bohemia 168, 178–181, 194

von Kaunitz, countly family living in the Czech lands

Ernst Franz (1647–1680), member of Bohemian family branch 154

Leo Wilhelm (1614–1655), member of Moravian family branch 176

Krakowsky von Kolowrat, countly family living in Bohemia

Wilhelm Albrecht (1600–1688), *Oberstlandrichter* in Bohemia 152, 169, 179, 181, 195

Elisabeth Apolonia (1637–1714), née Tilly, wife of Wilhelm Albrecht 179

- von Lamberg, countly family living in the Austrian and Czech lands
 Franz Joseph (1637–1712), Count living in Carinthia 172
 Johann Maximilian (1608–1682), *Oberstkämmerer* of Leopold I 148
 Maria Judith, née von Würben († 1690), wife of Johann Maximilian von Lamberg 148
- Lamminger von Albenreuth, Wolfgang Maximilian (1634–1696), Baron living in Bohemia 187, 189–190
- Lažansky von Buková, Karl Maximilian (1639–1695), Count living in Bohemia 186
- Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat, very branched family living in Bohemia
 Ferdinand Ludwig (1621–1701), Maltese knight, brother of Franz Karl 172, 187, 189, 192–193
 Franz Karl (1620–1700), President of the *Appellationsgericht* 164, 168–170, 176, 179, 182, 186, 190–191, 194, 197–198
 Leopold Ulrich (1635–1690), Count living in Bohemia, brother of Franz Karl 172, 184
 Magdalena Ludmila, née von Oppersdorff (1625–1672), wife of Franz Karl 186
- von Lodron, Carl Ferdinand († 1666), Count from Trento (Trient) 195
- Lurago, Carl (1615–1684), architect of Italian origin living in Bohemia 165, 171, 178
- Mainer von Wolkenbach, Martin, member of St. Vitus' chapter 188
- Marian, Marcus SJ (1608–1678), member of Jesuit order living in Prague 199
- von Martinitz, countly family living in Bohemia
 Anna Katharina († 1681), née Bukůvka z Bukůvky, wife of Maximilian Valentin 178, 180–182, 185, 187, 189, 192–193, 195–197
 Anna Maria Franziska (1652–1694), the oldest daughter of Maximilian Valentin 200
 Bernhard Ignaz (1603–1685), *Oberstburggraf* in Bohemia 143, 148, 151–152, 167, 169, 174–175, 178–204
 Georg Adam Ignaz (1650–1714), the second son of Maximilian Valentin 199
 Johann Wenzel (1660–1662), son of Maximilian Valentin 162, 185
 Jaroslav Bernhard (1646–1685), the oldest son of Maximilian Valentin 167, 189
 Maria Barbara, daughter of Maximilian Valentin 199
 Maximilian Valentin (1612–1677), *Oberstlandhofmeister* in Bohemia, younger brother of Bernhard Ignaz 152, 167–169, 177–182, 185, 187–189, 194–195, 200, 202
 Susanna Polyxena († 1706), née von Dietrichstein, the second wife of Bernhard Ignaz 155, 179–180, 182, 184–185, 187, 189–190, 193–197, 199–200, 205
 Theresia Franziska (1643–1706), the youngest daughter of Bernhard Ignaz 151, 180, 182–185, 194, 205
 Veronika Polyxena († 1659), née von Sternberg, the first wife of Bernhard Ignaz 166, 170
- Massimo, noble family from Italy 200
- Maťa, Petr, Czech historian 144, 152, 154, 159, 161
- von Metternich-Winneburg, Philipp Emmerich († 1698), Canon of Trier and Mainz 178–179
- von Náchod, Maria Renata (1604–1665), née Breuner 181, 187–188, 204
- Nastoupil ze Šiffberku, Daniel Vít († 1665), Auxiliary bishop of Prague 188
- Neschwitz, Johann Sigmund, Dr. († 1689), *Appellationsrath* 188
- von Nostitz, countly family living in the Czech lands
 Christoph Wenzel (1648–1712), Count living in Bohemia and Silesia 176
 Eleonora Maria († 1681), née von Lobkowitz, wife of Johann Hartwig 188
 Johann Hartwig (1610–1683), Bohemian *Oberstkanzler* 167, 188, 194
- Nowohradsky von Kolowrat, countly family living in the Czech lands
 Isabela (1662–1690), daughter of Johann Wenzel 179
 Johann Wenzel (“*der Spanische Kolowrat*”, 1638–1690), Count living in Bohemia 183, 187, 190, 192–197, 200–201
 Maria Viktoria, née Gallas (1639–1687), wife of Johann Wenzel 179, 190, 197, 201

- Olišanský, Thomas II, abbot of Hradisko (near Olomouc) 197
von Oppersdorff, countly family living in the Czech lands
 Anna (1633–1694) 199
 Anna Helene, née Jakortowsky von Suditz († 1661), wife of Friedrich Leopold 186
 Friedrich Leopold († 1699), Count living in Moravia 181–182, 186
- von Paar, Vespasian (“*der Spanische Paar*”), Count 201
Palacký, František (1798–1876), Czech historian and politician 143, 155–160, 176–177, 183, 188, 199, 203, 205, 211
Paradis y Echaide, Martin († 1668), Baron living in Bohemia 196
Pfefferkorn von Ottopach, Georg SJ (1611–1665), Jesuit teaching in Kutná Hora 193
Pipius, Johann Heinrich, Dr. († 1674), Rector of the Charles-Ferdinand University, *Appellationsrath* 171, 188
Plachý, Georg Franz SJ (cca 1606–1664), Bohemian Jesuit and theologian 198
Popel von Lobkowitz, Christoph the Younger (1549–1609), *Oberstlandhofmeister* in Bohemia 176
Přebořovský z Kvasejovic, Christoph Karl († 1695), Baron living in Bohemia 189
- Rasch, Johann Franz († 1666), member (Provost) of St. Vitus’ chapter 180, 182, 188, 190
Reichenberger, Maximilian SJ (1613–1676), Jesuit living in Bohemia 188–189
- von Sachsen-Lauenburg, Imperial ducal family
 Christine Elisabeth, née von Meggau († 1689), widow after Franz Karl 201–202, 204
 Maria Susanna, daughter of Christine Elisabeth 201–202, 204
- von Saurau, countly family living in the Austrian and Czech lands
 Helena Maria, née von Jungen, wife of Sigmund Friedrich 202
 Sigmund Friedrich (1631–1712), Count 195, 202
- Saxius, Johannes SJ (1616–1666), Jesuit and teacher at the Charles-Ferdinand University 202
Schellardt von Obbendorf, Franz Caspar (1628–1701), Count living in the Czech lands 167, 170, 180–184, 187, 191–192, 195, 200–202, 204–205
- von Scherffenberg, noble family living in the Austrian and Czech lands
 Karl Franz (1636/7–1667), Baron 187, 189, 191
 Maria Elisabeth 187
- Schlick, countly family living in Bohemia
 Ester Maximiliana, née z Drahotuš, wife of Franz Ernst 195
 Franz Ernst (after 1623–1675) 163, 179, 195
- Schwab von Rogersdorf, Johann Reichardt († 1667), *Appellationsrath* 198
Schwertfer, Wenzel SJ (1617–1680), Jesuit and confessor of Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz 171, 175, 183–184, 188–194, 196–197, 199–200, 202–203
- Seifert von Löwenthal, Augustin Hieronymus († 1663), abbot of Břevnov and Broumov 191
Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg, countly family living in the Czech lands
 Ferdinand Wilhelm (1630–1673), *Obersthoflehnrichter* in Bohemia 168–170, 177, 180–185, 192–194, 196, 202–204
 Franz Leopold (1639–1691), Canon of Passau 181
 Johann Karl (1640–1712), member of Carmelite order 180–181, 185–186
 Maria Cäcilia, née von Náchod († 1694), wife of Ferdinand Wilhelm 181, 183, 185, 204
- Smrčka z Mnichu, Wenzel Silvester († 1700), Bohemian noble 189, 198
Sobek von Bilenberg, Matthäus Ferdinand (1618–1675), bishop of Hradec Králové (Königrätz) 180
Sotomayor, Antonio († 1678), abbot of Emauzy (Emaus) 177
- von Sternberg, countly family living in the Czech lands
 Adolf Wratislaw (1627–1703), Vice-President of the *Appellationsgericht* 177–205

- Anna Lucia, née Slavata von Chlum und Koschumberg (1637–1703), wife of Adolf
Wratislaw 178–192, 194, 197, 199–202, 204
- Franz Karl (* 1662), son of Adolf Wratislaw 162
- Stephan Georg (1626–1706), officer in Imperial army 199, 204
- von Sternberg-Manderscheid, countly family living in Bohemia
- Augusta, née von Manderscheid-Blankenheim (1744–1811) 158
- Franz Josef (1763–1830), employer of František Palacký, son of Augusta 156
- de Suys, Ernst Ferdinand († 1684), Count 200
- Švihovská z Rýžmberka, Polyxena Ludmila, née Žďárská ze Žďáru († 1691), Bohemian noblewoman
184, 186
- Tanner, Johann SJ (1623–1694), Jesuit writer and teacher living in Bohemia 171, 175, 180–183, 186,
189–190
- Teufel, Maria Susanna, Bohemian noblewoman 202, 205
- von Thun und Hohenstein, countly family living in the Austrian and Czech lands
- Johanna Katharina (1635–1688), half-sister of Maximilian 187
- Johann Ernst (1643–1709), brother of Maximilian, later archbishop of Salzburg 197
- Clara Franziska (1642–1687), sister of Maximilian 203
- Margaretha Anna, née von Öttingen-Baldern († 1684), mother of Maximilian 182, 187, 197
- Maximilian (1638–1701), Count living in Bohemia, friend of Johann Franz von Würben 168,
170, 172, 178, 180–184, 187–189, 191, 194–195, 197–198, 200, 202–205
- Michael Oswald (1631–1694), Count living in Bohemia, half-brother of Maximilian 184, 202
- Rudolf Joseph († 1702), member of Capuchin order, brother of Maximilian 197–198
- Tschernin von Chudenitz, Hermann Jakob (1659–1710), *Oberstburggraf* in Bohemia 176
- von Trauttmansdorff, countly family living in the Austrian and Czech lands
- Adam Matthias (1617–1684), *Oberstlandmarschall* in Bohemia 167, 169, 192, 202–205
- Johann Friedrich (1619–1696), *Oberstlandkämmerer* in Bohemia, brother of Adam Matthias
160, 169, 178–180, 183
- Maria Clara, née von Dietrichstein (cca 1626–1667), wife of Johann Friedrich 179
- Türchner, Christoph Balthasar, Dr. († 1683), *Appellationsrath* 171, 188, 195
- Vřesovec z Vřesovic, Maria Franziska, née von Wrtby († after 1670) 182, 202
- von Waldstein, countly family living in the Czech lands
- Adam Franz († 1666), Count living in Moravia 194
- Adam the Younger (1570–1638), *Oberstburggraf* in Bohemia 161, 176
- Wodniansky, Petr SJ, member of Jesuit order living in Prague 204
- Wratislaw von Mitrowitz, Alex Ferdinand († 1672), President of the Bohemian Chamber 169, 180
- von Wrtby, countly family living in Bohemia
- Barbara, née z Kokořova († 1703), wife of Johann Franz 185, 187, 190–191, 200–204
- Barbara Eusebia, née von Martinitz († 1656), mother of Johann Franz 170
- Johann Franz (1631–1687), Count, friend of Johann Franz von Würben 170, 172–173, 177–178,
180, 182–185, 187–191, 193–195, 199–205
- Johann Joseph (1669–1737), *Oberstburggraf* in Bohemia 161, 176
- Ludmila Katharina, née Vitanovský z Vlčkovice († 1697), wife of Maximilian Ferdinand 189
- Maximilian Ferdinand († 1681), Baron 187, 189
- von Würben und Freudenthal, countly family living in the Czech lands and Silesia
- Elisabeth Polyxena, née Dembinsky von Dembin († cca 1669), mother of Johann Franz 147,
170, 178–180, 183–186, 188–190, 192, 197–201
- Ernst Bernhard (1660–1708), the oldest son of Johann Franz 150
- Eugen Dominik (1786–1848), Count, owner of the estate of Hořovice 156

Johann SJ (1610–1664), member of Jesuit order living in Prague 156–158, 160, 163–164, 166–167, 169–170, 173–177, 185–186, 191

Josepha Susanna (* 1662), the second daughter of Johann Franz 150, 166, 196

Katharina Polyxena (* 1658), the oldest daughter of Johann Franz 150

Leopold Ferdinand (1661–1663), the second son of Johann Franz 150

Maria Elisabeth, née von Martinitz († 1671), the first wife of Johann Franz, daughter of Bernhard Ignaz von Martinitz 151, 176, 178–180, 182, 192–194, 196–200, 202–203, 205

Theresia Franziska, née von Martinitz (1643–1706), the second wife of Johann Franz, sister of his first wife 151, 180, 182–185, 194, 205

Wenzel († 1649), father of Johann Franz 147

Záruba z Hustířan, Maria Elisabeth, née von Sternberg, aunt of Adolf Wratislaw von Sternberg 182, 187, 189, 192–193, 199

von Zinzendorf, Karl (1739–1813), noblemen from Saxony 176

von Zierotin, Johann Joachim (1667–1716), nobleman from Moravia 161, 176

Resumé

Jan František hrabě z Vrbna a jeho deníkové zápisy z roku 1662

Tato studie sestává ze dvou částí. V druhé, rozsáhlejší se nachází edice nově objeveného, německy psaného fragmentu deníku hraběte Jana Františka z Vrbna (1634–1705) z roku 1662, který obsahuje 77 denních zápisů z doby, kdy se hrabě zdržoval v Praze. Nejedná se však o edici originálu; ten se nedochoval. Autoři tedy vydali opis částí deníku, který pořídil ve 20. letech 19. století František Palacký, když pracoval na svém genealogickém spisu věnovaném rodu Šternberků. Edici předchází úvodní studie, v níž autoři zasazují tento pramen do příslušných kontextů. Nejprve se věnují pisateli deníku, hraběti Vrbnovi, a rekonstruují jeho životní osudy a skvělou světskou kariéru, kterou mu umožnilo nastartovat přestěhování z Moravy do Prahy a sňatek s dcerou nejvyššího

purkrabí Bernarda Ignáce z Martinic. Následně se autoři zabývají motivací vedení deníku a jeho výpovědním možностям. Analyzují Vrbnův denní program od vstávání po ulehání, jeho každodenní program, vztah hraběte k rodině a rekonstruují síť Vrbnových pražských přátel a známých sdružených v martinickém příbuzenském klanu, v jejichž společnosti trávil většinu času. Zabývají se také jeho volnočasovými aktivitami, kterým dominovaly karetní hry, zábavy v zahradě a *jeu de paume* (předchůdce moderního tenisu). Autoři srovnávají tento deník s ostatními a docházejí k závěru, že se jedná o poměrně unikátní pramen, protože z českého prostoru se z této doby deníky mladých šlechticů s rozrůstající se rodinou na počátku veřejné kariéry nedochovaly.

Magdalena OŻARSKA

The Fake Diary of a Historical Figure: Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa's *Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska* (1825)

Abstract: This paper discusses a somewhat forgotten diary novel by the first Polish woman writer and educator to make a living from creative writing, Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa (1798–1845). *The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska* (1825) was one of her early works, designed for adolescent readers (first serialised in *Rozrywki* [Amusements], a youth magazine which she had started but a year earlier). Françoise (Polish: Franciszka) Krasińska was a historical character: born into a Polish aristocratic family of the Corvin-Krasińskis in 1742, she set her mind on rising above the social station originally allocated to her. Around fifteen, she met Royal Prince Charles (Karl) Christian Joseph of Saxony. They were secretly married on March 25, 1760. This morganatic marriage spelled years of solitude, financial straits and emotional imbalance for Krasińska. The spouses were not to be reunited until over a decade after the wedding. The long separation was largely due to the character of the Prince, who had hoped to become King of Poland, which however never materialised. They had only one daughter, Princess Maria Christina of Saxony, who in due course became the grandmother of Victor Emanuel II, the first king of united Italy.

Hoffmanowa's novel, begun as a project aimed to educate young girls in modesty and other traditional feminine virtues, soon became a tour-de-force of fake diarising, the first ever psychologically complex presentation of the workings of a young girl's mind in Polish literature. The diary was rendered so convincingly that it was for decades taken as a transcript of a real journal (hence its several translations into Western languages). Yet it is now quite clear that the novelist produced her manuscript on the basis of genuine correspondence of Françoise Krasińska, to which she had unrestricted access, and historical newspaper accounts, but not a journal as it had never existed. In my paper, I wish to discuss the Journal's precarious balance between historical fact and fiction as well as examining the ways in which this autobiographical forgery is enacted.

Key words: fake diary – Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa – morganatic marriage – Prince Karl Christian Joseph of Saxony – autobiographical pact

Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa (1798–1845) was the first Polish woman writer and educator to make a living from her creative writing and teaching since she was aged twenty-seven.¹ One of her early works, designed for child and adolescent readers (first published in instalments in *Rozrywki dla dzieci* [*Children's Amusements*], a youth magazine which she had started but a year earlier), was *The Journal of Françoise Krasieńska, Written in the Final Years of the Reign of Augustus III* (1825). It was Poland's first historical novel based on a sound material study in the manner of Walter Scott,² and Poland's first psychological novel to deal with the formative years in the life of an adolescent.³ The text was significantly indebted to sentimental novels which typically featured a social gap between lovers of impressionable age, torn by intense passions.⁴ It was also not free from a certain fairy-tale touch in its love plot involving a young girl and a royal prince, but without the standard "happy everafter".⁵

Françoise (Polish: Franciszka) Krasieńska was a historical character: born into the Polish aristocratic family of the Corvin-Krasieńskis in 1742, she soon set her mind on rising above the social ranks originally allocated to her. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, she met Charles (Karl) Christian Joseph of Saxony, the Duke of Courland and the Royal Prince. On March 25, 1760, they secretly entered into a morganatic marriage, which spelled years of solitude, financial straits and emotional imbalance for Françoise. The spouses were not to be reunited until over a decade after their wedding. Their long separation was largely due to the character of the Royal Prince, who was a ladies' man, ready to charm any drawing- or ball-room company. On a political plane, he was hoping

1 Izabela KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, in: Klementyna Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska], Warszawa 1976, pp. 173–186, here 179.

2 Ida KOTOWA, *Introduction* (1929), in: Klementyna Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska, Written in the Final Years of the Reign of Augustus III], Wrocław 2006, pp. v–lxxv, here xi–xiv; Aleksandra FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*: in: Klementyna Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska], Warszawa 1961, pp. 5–18, here 9–14.

3 Konstanty WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Historja powieści w Polsce: rozwój typów i form romansu polskiego na tle porównawczem* [A History of the Novel in Poland: a Comparative Study of Types and Forms], ed. Zygmunt Szwejkowski, Lwów 1925, pp. 165–171; I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxxii; Maria JASIŃSKA, *Narrator w powieści przedromantycznej (1776–1831)* [The Narrator in Pre-Romantic Novels (1776–1831)], Warszawa 1965, p. 270. It is interesting that Wojciechowski compares *The Journal* with Maria Wirtemberska's *Malvina or the Heart's Intuition* (1816), the first Polish psychological novel ever, and concludes that Hoffmanowa's achievement stands higher than Wirtemberska's because the former deals with a mind undergoing the formation process, whereas *Malvina* portrays a mature female character. See K. WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Historja powieści*, p. 169.

4 M. JASIŃSKA, *Narrator*, pp. 74–75.

5 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, pp. 14–15.

to become King of Poland, which however never materialised. The couple had only one daughter, Princess Maria Christina of Saxony, who in due course became grandmother to Victor Emanuel II, the first king of united Italy.

Klementyna Hoffmanowa's novel, begun as a project aimed to educate young girls in modesty and other long-established feminine virtues, soon turned into a tour-de-force of fake diarising. The diary was rendered so convincingly that it was for decades taken as a transcript of a real journal.⁶ Hence its several translations into Western languages: French in 1835–1836, 1895, 1903 and one undated (by at least three different translators); English in 1897; German in 1900; and Italian in 1901. It is, nevertheless, quite clear that the novelist produced her manuscript on the basis of Françoise Krasieńska's genuine correspondence, to which she had unrestricted access, and historical newspaper accounts, but not a journal as it had never existed.⁷ In my paper, I will focus on the ways in which this autobiographical forgery is enacted as well as examining the precarious balance between historical fact and fiction as presented in the novel. For the purposes of the present paper, I will use the English translation published by Onesuch Press in 2012,⁸ which claims to have drawn on and updated the novel's very first English version by Kasimir Dziekonska.⁹

6 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, p. 6.

7 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxiv.

8 Klementyna TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska*, introduction by Marianna Rychlowska, London – Melbourne – Nashville 2012.

9 To what extent this claim is true may be disputable. The 2012 edition is, to say the least, not very carefully presented: it contains a number of spelling and terminological inconsistencies which cannot but make the reading of the text by speakers of English difficult. It has also abandoned the original authorial explanatory notes and consistently misdated the majority of Krasieńska's diary entries. The introduction by Marianna Rychlowska does not do full justice to the background of the text, either.

It must also be said that the 2012 English-language edition of *The Journal* does not spell out the name of its translator anywhere. Only a brief note informs the reader that "*The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska was first published in Polish in 1825 and the first English translation appeared in 1837. A translation by Kasimir Dziekonska appeared in 1895. This edition, first published in 2012 is based on those two texts*" (copyright page, unnumbered). The information about the first English version being published in 1837 is inaccurate: in 1835–1836, the first translation into a foreign language was printed, but the foreign language was French: *Journal de Fr. Krasieńska*, translated by Olympe [Olimpia] Chodźko, in: *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale et pittoresque*, Paris, vol. I (after I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. lxxiii).

It is to Olimpia Chodźko, the *Journal's* first translator (into French), that we owe the misconception concerning the journal's originality. It was she who first presented the text to the reading public as a genuine diary, claiming that Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa merely saved the manuscript from oblivion (I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. lxxv). This presentation proved to be particularly popular with Italians, given that the diary appeared to have been authored by an ancestress of their first king of united Italy, Father of the Fatherland – Padre della Patria (I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 185). It is interesting that even in the twenty-first century some researchers believe it to be a true

Most critical studies of *The Journal* outline Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa's views on the novel, particularly on the romance, and even more particularly – on the French romance. In keeping with contemporary convention,¹⁰ the novelist was known to disapprove of the latter on the grounds that it inflamed the imaginations of young ladies. Reading romances, it was thought, only rendered them unfit to become devoted, selfless wives, whose utmost reward should be their husbands' contentment and their children's properly patriotic upbringing.¹¹ Hoffmanowa believed in the moral mission of literature and in her own obligation to teach, moralise and edify adolescent female readers without unduly exciting their impressionable minds.¹²

Alongside her didactic beliefs, Hoffmanowa was passionate about recent history and an enthusiast of Walter Scott's historical fiction. Significantly, when she turned to the subject of Françoise Krasińska's royal love affair and subsequent morganatic marriage, this must have seemed to her more than merely an appealing story from the past. Naturally, it lent itself very well to the writer's overall instructive purposes as Françoise's life provided a perfectly realistic moral lesson to many an imprudent girl who may have sought romance and/or social distinction rather than dedication to her duties and requisite humility.¹³

record, penned by the Royal Princess herself. Cf. Radosław KUBICKI, *Kobiety w polskiej tradycji i myśli politycznej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Franciszki i Zofii z Krasińskich* [Women in Polish Political Tradition and Thought with Special Focus on Françoise Krasińska and Zofia Krasińska], in: Dariusz Kalina – Radosław Kubicki – Michał Wardzyński (eds.), *Françoise z Krasińskich Wettyn, Księżna Kurlandii i Semigalii, prababka dynastii królów włoskich: Dziedzictwo rodziny Krasińskich w regionie świętokrzyskim* [Françoise Krasińska Wettin, Princess of Courland and Semigal, Great-Grandmother of an Italian Royal Dynasty: The Heritage of the Krasiński Family in Świętokrzyskie Region], Kielce – Lisów 2012, pp. 185–196.

- 10 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, p. 9–11; German RITZ, *Kobiecte obrzeża polskiego romantyzmu. Funkcja literatury kobiecej w rozwoju literackim* [Feminine Margins of the Polish Romanticism: the Function of Women's Writing in Literary Developments], transl. Małgorzata Łukasiewicz, in: *Kresy* 4, 2005, pp. 44–61, here 45.
- 11 Particularly significant in the period of Poland's partitions by three foreign powers: Russia, Prussia and Austria (1772–1795).
- 12 Klementyna HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska, Written in the Final Years of the Reign of Augustus III], Wrocław 2006 (first published 1929); Klementyna HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska], Warszawa 1961; Grażyna BORKOWSKA – Małgorzata CZERMIŃSKA – Ursula PHILLIPS, *Pisarki polskie od średniowiecza do współczesności. Przewodnik* [Polish Women Writers from the Middle Ages to Modern Times: a Survey], Gdańsk 2000.
- 13 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxxvii. On that score, Tańska-Hoffmanowa's novel can be readily juxtaposed with contemporary private exhortations by a mother, Zofia Zamoyska (née Czartoryska), to her daughter Jadwiga Sapieżyna (née Zamoyska), written in 1825, and then copied by the latter for her own daughter on the occasion of her wedding (1868). The manuscript, titled *Advice to her Daughter*, advocates a set of traditional values to be embraced by a new wife, such as humility,

As it happened, Klementyna Tańska, when a child, was for several years cared for not by her birth mother, but by a lady called Aniela Szymanowska (née Świdzińska), and her daughter. Aniela Szymanowska was the eldest daughter of Barbara Świdzińska (née Krasieńska), the elder sister of Françoise Krasieńska herself. The writer also knew Marianna Lanckorońska (née Świdzińska), Barbara's sister-in-law. Access to historical accounts of aristocratic life in the 1760s was easy: the numerous surviving copies of the *Polish Courier* (*Kurier Polski*) newspaper provided a rich source of detailed period information (Kotowa xvi). Yet, as Ida Kotowa insists, the most important source – and inspiration – for the novelist was the genuine correspondence of Françoise Krasieńska, to which she had unrestricted access. Françoise had been in the habit of writing regularly to her sister Barbara, and later – to Barbara's sons and daughters. The letters were reverently preserved by the family's successive generations, and it can be surmised that the fate of Françoise Krasieńska was a popular subject of conversation when the young Tańska stayed at Aniela Szymanowska's household.¹⁴

Kotowa emphasises that “*the person of Françoise Krasieńska has been among the most interesting female figures in our [Polish] history*”.¹⁵ This may be true, but it is a fact that Françoise has been a subject neither of other literary works, nor of theatrical or – later – film productions. Even today this historical character is little known, and her name mostly talks to historians or specialists in nineteenth-century Polish literature. In the nineteenth century, this niche was clearly recognised by Tańska-Hoffmanowa, a young novelist at the time of the book's production. It must have seemed to her that turning the family's oral history and her protagonist's genuine correspondence into a young girl's personal journal was a perfect way of handling the curious material which opened the door to disseminating the ideas dear to the novelist's own heart.

There is little doubt that no diary penned by Françoise ever existed: if it had, its existence would surely have been proudly acknowledged by the novelist, not to mention the possibility of its surviving into the following decades, if not centuries. Additionally, the diary form seemed well-suited to the novelist's own frame of mind at the time: she

patience, and the like. The mother also exhorts her daughter to bear in mind that the husband may not always act like a youthful, carefree lover, particularly when preoccupied with the affairs of the state or his business (Zofia ZAMOYSKA (née Czartoryska), *Rady dla córki* [Advice to her Daughter], introduction by Maria Dębowska, Lublin 2002, pp. 36–38). She also cautions her that a young, attractive woman may unintentionally excite affection in a man. It would seem that Tańska-Hoffmanowa's heroine was not the object of sufficient motherly precaution on that score, her wilfulness duly punished over a span of several long years.

14 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxi.

15 *Ibidem*, p. xxiii. All translations of Polish sources, other than the 2012 or Dziekonska's versions of the *Journal*, are my own.

had just started to feel romantically attracted to her future husband, Polish patriot and historian, Karol Boromeusz Hoffman, whom she would finally marry in 1829.¹⁶

So how does Klementyna Tańska-Hoffmanowa execute her forgery? How does she trick her audience into believing that they are reading the genuine diary of a late-eighteenth-century young Polish female aristocrat? One of the most significant answers is located, strategically, only in the fake diary's closing pages: this is where the novelist has placed a number of original letters written by and to Krasieńska. For herself, the narrator reserves a brief chance to comment on the subsequent fate of her protagonist, now wife to the Royal Prince, and to outline her eventual contribution to the growth of the House of Savoy. In this somewhat paradoxical attempt to validate the text's autobiographical truth, Tańska-Hoffmanowa thus breaks the hitherto laboriously forged "autobiographical pact", to use a term of Philippe Lejeune's,¹⁷ of Françoise's fake diary.

Yet the novel's close is not the only site where signs of the said pact can be detected. A number of them are casually dropped on the metatextual plane; others are located elsewhere in the narrative. All through the text, for instance, the novelist's attention to detail is praiseworthy. To satisfy the then unwritten requirements of the journal genre, the diary opens rather conventionally: on January 1, 1759, New Year's Day, at the castle in the estate of Maleszowa (not Maleszow, as the locality is persistently misnamed in the *Journal's* English translations). The opening entry of the fake diary is devoted to a brief presentation not only of the sixteen-year-old diarist, but also of her family's genealogy and history, as well as a detailed description of the Maleszowa castle, no longer in existence today. By way of introduction, traditional Polish customs which the castle inhabitants observe are most carefully outlined, as are major characters and their daily routines. The following January 2 entry focuses on the current political situation and the person of King Augustus III, which provides the much wanted pretext for introduction of the character of Charles (Karl), the Royal Prince. This in turn allows the diarist to anticipate – and methodically chart – her rapidly growing interest in this young man. Most importantly perhaps, a metatextual authorial intention is spelled out vividly in the opening entry, where due apology – a conventional topos in women's writing of the past epochs – is offered:

"I purpose to write the thoughts of my mind on whatever subject is most occupying myself or the people around me, but without any notion that I am either a Heroine or an Authoress. This being

16 The coincidental identity of Françoise's and Klementyna's fiancés' names, i.e. Karl and Karol, has been brought to attention by I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 181.

17 See Philippe LEJEUNE, *Le Pacte autobiographique. Nouvelle édition augmentée*, Paris 1996.

*the first day of a new year is an excellent opportunity for making a commencement, and I can henceforth command plenty of leisure for the purpose.*¹⁸

The apparent truthfulness of Françoise Krasieńska's "historical I"¹⁹ is established through her detailed discussion of the Krasieński sisters' daily lives, their parents' castle at Maleszowa, their courtiers and attendants. There is some prattling about the learning of French and the diarist's determination to diarise in Polish. There is some family history, as well as an outline of the current political situation, as conceived of by an adolescent girl from listening to table conversations of her elders and visitors to the household. All this takes up the long pages of the first two diary entries of January 1 and January 2, 1759, respectively. Omitted from the 2012 edition, as well as from Dziekonska's translation, are several metathematic comments which serve the design of consistently faking the diary form from the very start:

*"Possibly, when I am dead, someone will find this journal, and my grandchildren will read from it of things unknown to them? ... A strange thought this is, but it grips my attention; would anyone read this journal several decades after my death? But then why not? Many letters or memoirs have met that fate in France. Oh, I need to write clearly and carefully; what a pity I am not so much of a stylist as for instance Madame de Sévigné or Madame de Motteville; who knows? Maybe I would do better to write in French. ... If this notebook does not get eaten up by mice, or torn up for curlpaper – with so many hairstyles to make; if it is found and read by anyone who cares, let them forgive my ignorance in so many things, and let them remember that I have never learnt how to write a diary, that I am hardly sixteen years old, and that whatever preoccupies me so much today, they will most likely find tedious."*²⁰

The first mention of the Royal Prince comes in the diary's second entry when the Polish monarchy is discussed on the occasion of a forthcoming king election. It is in connection with this event that the name of the Royal Prince crops up time and again. He is soon to be appointed to the Dukedom of Courland in a ceremony referred to as the investiture. This forthcoming event is hotly debated and gives Françoise room for much girlish fantasy and speculation. When the moment is finally to come, she notes down:

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- 18 All quotations from the most recent English version of Krasieńska's purported diary come from the following edition K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal* (here p. 1). If a passage is missing from this translation, pertinent information is placed in the paper, and my own translation from the Polish edition of K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany* is provided.
- 19 Sidonie SMITH – Julia WATSON, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Minneapolis – London 2001, pp. 59 ff.
- 20 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, pp. 5–6 (my translation).

“This day will be a memorable one for Duke Charles. A few weeks ago he was elected Duke of Courland, which is a tributary of Poland, and to-day occurs the ‘investiture’, that is, the giving possession. The king is so happy about the good fortune of his beloved son, that he is said to look ten years younger.”²¹

What both English translations have omitted is the following couple of sentences:

“I cannot know whether this is good or bad. What I do know is that this makes me very happy because I wish the Royal Prince well. I don’t really know why, but this is very important to me, and it seems to me that the fates of the Commonwealth of Poland will soon depend on him, and that he will avert the storm which threatens my country by establishing a good government; and he will only be able to do that by becoming the King of Poland.”²²

At an early point of the journal novel, this passage is meant to subtly highlight the mingling of affection and ambition which rapidly takes over the young girl’s thoughts.

This is what Tańska-Hoffmanowa has her protagonist say on the subject of the Polish throne when given the first chance to do so:

“The other candidate is Duke Charles, twenty-six years old, the most beloved of the sons of our present king. People say he has a real gift for attracting all hearts to him; he is very handsome, very stately in figure, and very courteous in manner; and having spent almost his whole life in Poland, he knows our language perfectly well. I have heard so much of his good qualities that my best wishes are for him, although Poniatowski is my countryman.”²³

The original again reads somewhat differently at this point: “I don’t know why, but my heart goes out to the latter [i.e. the Royal Prince], though the other candidate [Stanislaus Poniatowski] is my countryman.”²⁴ This is how the original “not knowing why” anticipates the affair of the heart to be begun shortly, and the deception of a young girl’s fake diary, premeditated by novelist Tańska-Hoffmanowa, thus continues. Occasionally, philosophical remarks are provided in the manner of “How often in this world the same thing brings trouble to one and joy to another!” This is an accurate translation from the Polish by Dziekonska, as opposed to the 2012 somewhat socialist-sounding “Our pleasures must ever be purchased by the pains of the class which toils for us!”²⁵ the context being – on the face of it – the forthcoming Twelfth Night celebrations. In accordance

21 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, pp. 13–14.

22 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, pp. 28–29 (my translation).

23 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, pp. 12–13.

24 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, pp. 25 (my translation).

25 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 16.

with a time-honoured custom, the heroine hopes to find the only almond in the Twelfth Night cake and thus become the queen of the ball. But the almond goes to her elder sister, Barbara, who – again according to a long-standing superstition – is soon to be married.

The Prince himself is meantime rumoured to be young, good-looking, courteous, and an amazing dancer. He is also said to be partial to Poland, Poles and the Polish language, a condition which makes the hearts of patriotic Polish ladies dissolve. Somewhat naïvely at the start, the young Françoise begins to almost half-consciously fantasise about making an acquaintance of the Prince. When she notes in her second entry, dated January 2,²⁶ “*What festivals there will be in Warsaw! How I should like to be there now, and to see the grand doings, but especially to see the Royal Prince*”,²⁷ this is the first nominal reference to Charles. Prior to that, it was barely a repetition of rumours concerning his appearance and character. But this beginning of a youthful infatuation is soon disturbed by a bad omen, thus commented on by one of the Krasińskis’ servants, Matenko (Polish: Macieńko), the Maleszowa jester, endowed with prophetic gifts:

*“Yesterday, just when we were drinking to the health of the Duke of Courland, and our band was doing its best, and our company of dragoons were firing salutes, – at that very moment the chamberlain, who had been sent to Warsaw, returned with the news that on account of the indisposition of the duke, the ceremonies of the investiture had to be postponed. ‘Bad omen’, said Matenko; ‘the ducal coronet is in danger, and he will never wear the royal crown.’”*²⁸

(Dziekonska’s translation of the latter passage reads: “*as the mitre slips, so the crown will slip*”). Françoise feels like crying on hearing this portentous news, but is distracted by the arrival of guests at the Maleszowa castle, who are soon joined by Barbara’s suitor and husband-to-be, Staroste Michał Świdziński. When the girl’s parents consent to the marriage with all due ceremony, speeches, gifts, etc., Françoise cannot help but be moved to tears – as any young and romantically-inclined girl would. Tańska-Hoffmanowa also makes her note that the following words are meant to eradicate her previous rather unkind remarks about the Staroste, a mature thirty-year-old man: “*I am very sorry to have written about the Staroste as I did, but then it is not I that is to marry him, and if he pleases Basia, that is enough*.”²⁹ In this way, conforming to the then unwritten rule that journal entries ought not to be altered under any circumstances³⁰ the novel continues

26 I use the original dating of the original Polish version. The English translations place this passage under January 3, which is where their persistent misdating begins.

27 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 14.

28 *Ibidem*.

29 *Ibidem*, p. 17.

30 For a detailed discussion of this and other diarising rules, see Philippe LEJEUNE, *On Diary*, eds. Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak, transl. Katherine Durnin, Honolulu 2009.

to emulate the journal mode. If the reader were to see Françoise do otherwise, the truthfulness and authenticity of her diary would be irrevocably compromised in the case of even one entry being revised after the end of the diarised day, “*when the clock strikes midnight*” as Lejeune puts it.³¹

Other than metathematic reflection, the passage devoted to Staroste Świdziński has another purpose, too: it serves the diarist to link her future brother-in-law’s family to the individual who really attracts her, the Royal Prince: “*Colonel Świdziński, who knows [the Prince] personally, has not words enough to tell how charming he is. I wonder if I shall ever see him.*”³² On seeing Françoise’s agitation, the old Matenko tells her, prophetically, that by the time the year is over, she will also have become a wife.³³ What follows is a very detailed description of customs attending the forthcoming wedding, splendid parental gifts to the bride, including a rich trousseau, whose contents are lovingly listed by Françoise, and a barrel of wine made in the year when the bride was born. The plot centred around the Royal Prince is temporarily suspended as Françoise and her younger sisters are preoccupied with the making of their own wedding gifts for Barbara.

During all the hectic preparations, Françoise barely drops a remark that Barbara is worried lest any of the invited royalty would come to her wedding, while she (Françoise) would more than welcome the opportunity to meet them: “*exactly what I should so much like to happen*” (emphasis original).³⁴ Clearly, ideas have already sprung in her mind that she hardly dares to articulate. On February 2, she notes down with disappointment: “*Many of the invited guests have already replied that they are coming, but the king and the royal princes will send only their envoys.*”³⁵ “*To my great regret*”, reads a final clause missing from the English versions,³⁶ and the personal feeling of the quasi-diarist is one that few readers would fail to relate to or sympathise with. By this time, the plot line sketched with the novelist’s (not the diarist’s) hand and spiced with fictional insights into her protagonist’s mind has shown consistency which would be hard, if not impossible, to find in a large majority of genuine diaristic texts.

Expectedly, the pre-wedding atmosphere finds the heroine visualizing her own future wedding and promising a few servant girls that she will take them with her to her new home when the time comes. Whether she has any plans as to whom to wed is never even suggested at this point, but this projected generosity to servants and their families makes

31 *Ibidem*, p. 182.

32 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 18.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 19.

34 *Ibidem*, p. 23.

35 *Ibidem*, p. 25.

36 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 47 (my translation).

her happy. Undoubtedly, Françoise hopes for an equally good trousseau and similarly heartfelt blessings from her mother and father as those received by Barbara. She rejoices in her newly acquired maturity which involves being trusted with the custody of the key to the family's medicinal cupboard and the prospect of becoming the eldest daughter in the household. All these musings are qualified with the temporal marker of "when I am married" in English,³⁷ the Polish original being closer to "if I am ever married".³⁸ Why does the novelist have her heroine doubt this? In those days, marriage was, after all, the most popular option for young women of good families, so what reasons does Françoise have to doubt this in her journal? The only plausible reason is that she has already set her eye on someone whose availability to her is tentative. Needless to say, no names are given, but a sense of disappointment lies heavy on the young lady's journal entry in which she confides that she is very sorry to hear that the King and the Royal Prince will only be sending envoys to Barbara's wedding.³⁹ From a reader's viewpoint, it is indeed hard to believe that those hints are there for nothing, or that life itself would produce this journal in the form in which it is presented.

During the wedding celebrations, the excited Françoise lets her quasi-diaristic pen drop a hint as to her designs. The visionary Matenko is left out when small bouquets are handed to the wedding guests, of which he complains bitterly and declares that he will not be coming to Françoise's wedding anyway, even if she should marry a royal prince. When she finally gives him some flowers and a golden pin as compensation, Matenko replies: "I am sometimes a prophet; remember, young lady, what I have said to you... I shall keep these flowers till your wedding day, and who knows with what title I shall address you when giving them back?"⁴⁰ The passage missing from both English translations reads: "I very much wanted Matenko to have the flowers. Not because of his silly prediction: I am not a daughter of the Radziwiłł⁴¹ family, and these are not the days when kings happily married worthy Polish women..."⁴² Statements like these subtly imply what is going on in the mind of the young Françoise, increasingly attracted to the figure of the Royal Prince whom she has not even met yet. These entries likewise brim with the timid hopes for royalty which she nourishes at the back of her head. It seems, however,

37 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 27.

38 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 50 (my translation and emphasis).

39 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 25.

40 *Ibidem*, p. 30.

41 Barbara Radziwiłł (1520–1551) became Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania through marriage to King Sigismund II Augustus.

42 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 55 (my translation).

that she is too overwhelmed by her own thoughts to be able to confide them to her diary. Or, another reason might be an implied lack of privacy and the worry that more explicit passages might be read by unauthorised persons. Yet, at this point, the diarist can still fend off these thoughts by watching Barbara's wedding and joyfully wishing similar celebrations for herself in some unspecified future. She does, however, spend most of the wedding party dancing with the Royal Prince's envoy, Castellanic (i.e. a Castellan's son) Kochanowski, who is more than ready to praise his master. Following the diary account of Barbara's wedding, lovingly described with all the splendours and intricacies of Old Polish wedding customs, the diarist's subsequent status of the eldest daughter in the family – the Starostine (one of her father's titles being that of Staroste of Nowe Miasto Korczyn) and proudly learning household management skills are duly recounted.⁴³

Françoise's musings about her own future wedding and showering rich gifts on servants are temporarily suspended by the unexpected arrival of a suitor, Castellanic Kochanowski. A young man of a good family but, surprisingly, an ignoramus on the issue of correct manners, he has the misfortune to break the rules and ask for Krasieńska's hand himself rather than through the mediacy of distinguished matchmakers. Françoise fails to understand the purpose of his visit until goose in dark gravy is placed in front of him, a dish served in the Old Poland to indicate a refusal of a daughter's hand in marriage.⁴⁴ Only then does her father inform her that her parents have not considered the young man an eligible candidate. Old Krasieński expresses his certainty that this viewpoint is shared by Françoise herself, on which Françoise thus comments in her diary: "*As my journal is only me talking to myself on paper, I may be candid and confess that neither his age nor the manner of Kochanowski's proposal seems to me to form a sufficient obstacle. The true reason is his want of a title.*"⁴⁵ An early but ominous sign of the young Françoise's growing ambition.

A number of times, Tańska-Hoffmanowa builds a disturbing contrast⁴⁶ between Françoise's sister Barbara, her values and her quiet happiness, and Françoise herself. The latter, almost fearing her own words, says that she wants more in life than Barbara does and that she cannot visualise herself enjoying the homely joys of secluded family life:

"I have no desire to marry. I am so happy – completely without want or care in my dear parents' house. ... My position is very different from what it used to be for I am treated with twice as

43 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 34.

44 Most traditionally, to that end, black (duck or other blood) soup was used. The name came from the dark colouring of the dish.

45 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 41.

46 Tańska-Hoffmanowa's uses of contrast are given a thorough examination by Ida Kotowa (I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, pp. xxviii–xxix).

much respect and consideration since my sister's marriage. When no strangers are by I am served fourth at table. I hold many important keys and I accompany my parents wherever they go. I feel conscious that I should find no reason to regret abandoning so pleasant a manner of life and such valuable privileges to become the wife of anyone. Besides, marriage is not in my opinion, so exceedingly desirable as some persons think. A woman's career is over when she marries. Once married, all is fixed – certainty takes the place of all her pleasant dreams. For her, no more hopes, no more doubts, no more suspense, no more possibility of anything better. She knows what she is and will be until death. For my part, I like to give free scope to my thoughts. When I sit at my embroidery frame, or at my netting, my thoughts are always travelling far and fast; all the things I have ever read come back to my mind; I share the fate of all the heroines of Madame de Beaumont, Madame de La Fayette, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry; and it seems to me that I am destined to adventures similar to theirs. Basia often scolded me for these fancies, but her habits of thought were quite different from mine. She often told me that she never brooded over her future, and never thought of the husband to come, except at her prayers – for it must be said that with the beginning of the sixteenth year, by the direction of our mother, we have to add to our every-day prayer the request for a good husband. Basia thought it was a very right thing to ask God that the one who is to take the place of our father and mother, and with whom we have to live until our death, should be good, but it never occurred to her to wonder what he would be, and where and when she should meet him, She always said: "There will be time enough to think of him when he comes." And she was right; she got such a good and sensible man. She wrote to my parents that, but for being homesick for Maleszow, she would be the happiest woman in this world. One can see that she loves the Staroste more and more, and that she is quite satisfied with her lot. Who knows? Perhaps I should also be happy in such a position. In any case, my parents were right in refusing the Castellanic; I am very sorry that the poor fellow has been disappointed."⁴⁷

This passage affords splendid didactic opportunities: if any of Hoffmanowa's readers should delude herself as to what constitutes a woman's proper happiness, let her read on about the dire consequences of vanity, such as the splendourless wedding, the secrecy, the loneliness, and the lasting abandonment which will all before long become part and parcel of Françoise's life.

The plot moves on: the heroine will be sent to a Warsaw boarding school for high-born young ladies to be taught more French, courtly manners, dancing and bowing. Next, her aunt, Princess Lubomirska, wife to the Prince Castellan of Cracow and Voivode of Lublin, will introduce her to Warsaw's elegant society. At one of the balls, she will, expectedly, meet the Royal Prince. On his part, he will be duly enchanted, and the courtship proper will begin. In the meantime, Françoise delightedly notes that the Royal Prince's supporters are growing in numbers, and that even a Warsaw theatrical performance of Sophocles's *Antigone* has recently been modified to accommodate laudatory verses in his honour. She goes on to say that something in her heart tells her he

47 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, pp. 40–41.

will be King of Poland in future. Fate seems to favour her designs, but the circumstances ominously disquiet her:

*"I don't know how it is, but my reading no longer delights me, my work is tiresome and I feel as if some event interesting to me ought to happen. ... I often find myself dwelling with infinite complacency upon thoughts of my beauty and I can scarcely now recognise my former light-hearted, innocent self in the self-centred creature I have lately become."*⁴⁸

This sounds almost like a rite-of-passage moment, and rightly so, as the reader will soon be prompted to find out.

On her arrival at the school, Françoise notes: "*My education will soon be completed and I shall take pains to become a superior woman*",⁴⁹ fit for a king – one might be tempted to add, but the quasi-diarist discreetly stops before saying a word too many. On a disturbing note, her mother, who may have preferred to see her daughter at a convent school rather than at one run by a Frenchwoman, cautions her to ensure that her learning be turned to good and not evil, the meaning of which the young girl fails to grasp for the moment. Soon the ominous signals are forgotten. Françoise is eager to learn a variety of bows for people of different ranks, but she asks the teacher to be first taught the bow appropriate for a royal prince, a sure sign that old ideas are still deeply rooted in her mind. On April 28, however, Françoise does not fail to remark that the Royal Prince is away and will not be back soon. Is she sorry not to be able to try her elegant bow on him? Or is she pleased with more preparation time? The reader does not know: it is the diarist's secret and the diary's obvious lacuna. On July 26, she happily acknowledges the receipt of her very first personal letter (from her elder sister), addressed to "*Mademoiselle la Comtesse Françoise Krasińska*", and the very reading of her title in French gives her exquisite joy.

On December 26, when about to start a round of social visits with her aunt, Françoise admits to both looking forward to them and feeling nervous at the same time. She closes the entry with this philosophical sentence: "*The beginning of each thing is unpleasant*."⁵⁰ The next entry opens excitedly with the news that the Royal Prince has arrived in town, which is followed by a factual survey of eligible young men whom the heroine has recently met, and the expression of hope that she will in due course meet the Royal Prince, too. This should not be difficult as he is reputed to be very sociable and attends most of the Warsaw balls. Her hope materialises by January 1, 1760: "*All my wishes are*

48 *Ibidem*, p. 43.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 45.

50 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 89 (my translation – both Dziekonska's and the 2012 edition have missed this fragment).

accomplished and oh, how far beyond my most sanguine dreams! Not only have I seen the Royal Prince, but I talked with him; I not only talked with him but...”⁵¹ This is followed by a lengthy account of what she was wearing for the occasion, what he looked like, how his eyes showed his attraction to her, etc., etc., only to close on the diarist's thoughts of her loneliness and nobody to advise her on the affair. She asks an expectedly rhetorical question as to whether she will see him again soon and what he will think of her then.⁵² Their meetings soon become more and more frequent; when Françoise is confined to the home for ten days to recover from the fatigue brought on by nightly dancing, the Prince comes to visit regularly. For the time being, the aunt seems to approve of, or at least close her eyes to, the young couple's growing intimacy.

In the meantime, Barbara gives birth to a baby daughter, and the godparents will be (unsurprisingly) Françoise and the Royal Prince. It is hinted that this relationship poses an obstacle to godparents' future marriage, which makes the heart of poor Françoise sink (January 12). Yet there is a feeling that what the old Matenko had anticipated is about to come true one way or another. Before Easter, Françoise heaves a sigh: “*Good God, what a blessing it would prove if he were King!*”⁵³ Once again, the disparity between the homely joys of the elder Barbara and the hopes which Françoise cherishes for herself is stressed: “*She [Barbara] sees me in a position which is in no way in harmony with my tastes, my wants or my faculties. She desires that the future may be to me the happy fate that her reason and cool judgment have made for her, and I, I must reflect.*”⁵⁴ The intensity of the Prince's love for her is meanwhile tested to the young lady's satisfaction: he grows pale and sad when she leaves Warsaw for a time. Thoughts about royalty are in her head all the time: during her Easter confession, Françoise is comforted by the priest who tells her that one can lead a saintly life even if very high in society, but this path makes it more difficult.

If Françoise finds anybody to her liking, they must be partial to the Royal Prince: this is the case with Prince Martin (Polish: Marcin) Lubomirski. The visit to Opole Lubelskie, the seat of Prince Martin, brings the young lady another bout of excitement. Prince Martin is having a small pavilion built in his castle grounds in less than four weeks, and she senses that this project has something to do with her. Before that is explained, she dwells on how much she enjoys staying in a tower room of the Janowiec⁵⁵ castle,

51 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 55.

52 *Ibidem*, p. 57.

53 *Ibidem*, p. 66.

54 *Ibidem*, p. 67. In the 2012 edition, this passage is preceded by the sentence: “*Barbara seems to comprehend perfectly what passes in my mind*”, which is found neither in the Polish original nor in Kasimir Dziekonska's translation.

55 “Janow”, as the 2012 edition mistakenly calls the locality (after Dziekonska).

which makes her feel like a romance heroine.⁵⁶ This gives the novelist an opportunity to describe the interior of the castle, which only disrupts the progression of the plot with several pages⁵⁷ that sound a rather unlikely part of a young lady's journal. Its main idea, after all, is to chart her love affair. The texts comes back into its routine with the arrival of the Royal Prince a fortnight later, which occasion draws the following comment from Françoise:

*"Who could have ever expected such happiness! The Royal Prince is arrived – is here, and once more I see him, hear him, live in his presence! The pavilion, park and all, are for him and for me – for all I know that he loves me; and it is to give him the pleasure of being with me that this pretext has been used to draw him to Janow [sic]."*⁵⁸

In the original, she follows this with a potent question: *"Oh God, what have you got in store for me?..."*⁵⁹ The next entry, May 18 (or 19 as the 2012 edition misdates it), brings a clear climax in the heroine's happiness. Rather freely rendered in 2012 as: *"I am the happiest of human beings! The most favoured by God! Blessed beyond – oh so far beyond the most sanguine hopes! I, Françoise Krasinska, who am not of the blood royal, am yet chosen to be the Royal Prince's wife, Duchess of Courland, and in all probability, one day Queen of Poland"*,⁶⁰ and *"I am betrothed. Is it really true? I, Frances Krasinska, I shall be Duchess of Courland, and perhaps one day something more!"* by Dziekonska, the original reads: *"How shall I believe that this has really happened? And what is still to happen? I, Franciszka Krasinska, not even a princess, I shall be wife to the Prince of Courland, the Princess of Courland, and later perhaps something more?"*⁶¹ Whichever way, a fevered account of the betrothal follows, its excited quality counterpoised with a sudden anticlimactic ending: *"The trees and the birds were the only witnesses of that silent betrothal. But these rings were not consecrated; a father's hand had not given me away, nor did a mother bestow her blessing. Oh yes, now I believe that all is true, for I feel hot tears on my cheeks."*⁶² A noticeable split in Françoise's hitherto consistent feelings arises and will persist hereafter.

56 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 78.

57 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, pp. xix–xx.

58 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 81.

59 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasinskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 137 (my translation).

60 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 82.

61 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasinskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 139 (my translation).

62 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 83.

Yet not all of the account is strictly true to historical fact. Ida Kotowa emphasises the striking discrepancy between facts and Tańska-Hoffmanowa's presentation of Françoise's father, Stanisław Krasieński, and his sister – the heroine's aunt, Princess Lubomirska.⁶³ For the father in particular, there were political stakes in promoting the love affair between Françoise and the Royal Prince. Old Krasieński had opposed the kingship of Augustus III, the Prince's father, and supported that of Stanislaus Leszczyński in the 1733 election.⁶⁴ Naturally, under the circumstances, he was proud of the intended marriage and took steps to obtain a church indult for the marriage to be solemnised at an earliest possible date. He was also involved in the drawing of the prenuptial agreement for the couple.⁶⁵ His sister in turn was presented in less positive light than she deserved. She also made every effort to promote the relationship as she was close friends with the Royal Prince herself.⁶⁶ It seems that Tańska-Hoffmanowa consciously styled Françoise's father as a paragon of Old-Polish virtue, as well as downplaying and limiting his sister's role in the affair in order to articulate her own didactic goals.⁶⁷

The diarist's next entry sees her intoxicated with happiness, notwithstanding the bad omen of the unbecoming betrothal, and unable to verbalise it: "*language, so rich in the eloquence of sorrow, is powerless when such bliss as mine is to be pictured*".⁶⁸ When the initial bliss wears off, the hitherto subtly signalled anxiety sets in and, paradoxically, once again makes it possible for the fake diarist to continue writing:

*"Last week I took up my pen frequently but presently laid my journal aside, for I found a perpetual repetition of the same sentiments; and when my poor head would strive to arrange words, my heart wandered off into a thousand fond hopes and dreams. Now a terror seizes my mind, and I can write – If he should cease to love me."*⁶⁹

Fake metatextual passages naturally serve to substantiate the genuineness effect of the forged diary. The Royal Prince soon leaves, and Françoise contemplates the issue of his father's not agreeing to the match. Despite her worry, the June 7, 1760 entry finds the diarist apostrophising her sister Barbara (the passage missing from both English translations): "*Oh happy Basia! Why wasn't the Royal Prince born an equal to my family? Equal? Would you really want this? Oh 'tis good indeed that God and ourselves alone can*

63 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. xxxviii.

64 *Ibidem*, p. xxxix.

65 *Ibidem*, pp. xxxix–xli.

66 *Ibidem*, p. xviii.

67 *Ibidem*, p. xl.

68 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 84.

69 *Ibidem*.

read the depths of our hearts.”⁷⁰ This is clearly meant to testify to the growing complexity of the young heroine’s emotions, and as such makes her diaristic account more credible than it would be otherwise. The Prince is to come back in the autumn, the couple are to meet in Warsaw, and Françoise can hardly wait for leaves to start turning yellow.

When reunited, Françoise and the Royal Prince discuss their forthcoming wedding ceremony: the Prince wishes to have it over with behind the backs of his fiancé’s parents. She is uneasy at this thought and feels slighted to realise that it is only his goodwill to marry a commoner. She then, instead of him, writes her parents with the news, and he considers her letter excessively humble. A recollection comes to Françoise’s mind of Barbara wishing that she were as contented with her marriage as she is herself. When on October 18, Françoise receives a letter from her parents wishing them all the best, but without the expected affection. When the Prince receives no reply at all, he feels offended by the pride of some Polish nobility, as he puts it. The inadequacy of the pre-wedding atmosphere shocks her, particularly when all the happy commotion of Barbara’s wedding preparations is remembered. The diarist comments on this:

*“What a strange destiny is mine! I am making the most brilliant marriage in all Lithuania [and Poland], and the daughter of my shoemaker would have a wedding and a trousseau that I might well envy.”*⁷¹

The next entry, of November 4 (misdated as November 6 in both English versions), thus narrates the day of the wedding ceremony:

“My fate is sealed! I am the wife of the Prince Royal, the Duke. We have sworn eternal faith and love. He is mine – mine only! We were obliged to hurry through the ceremony fearing discovery which mingled much pain with my happiness.

At five in the morning the Prince Woivode knocked at my door. I was quite dressed, we went out stealthily; at the gate the Royal Prince and Prince Martin were waiting for us. It was quite dark, the wind blew fiercely; we walked to the church, as a carriage would have made a noise. It was not far, but I should have fallen several times, if the Royal Prince had not supported me. At the door of the church the good curate met us. The church was dark and silent as a grave; at a side altar two candles were lighted; no living soul but the priest and the sacristan. Our steps resounded on the flagstones as in a cavern.

The ceremony did not last ten minutes, and then we hastened away as if pursued. The Royal Prince brought us to the gate, and the Prince Martin had to compel him to go away. I had my everyday dress on, not even white, only I hastily put a bit of rosemary in my hair. Yesterday, remembering Basia’s wedding, I prepared for myself, with tears, a golden coin, a piece of bread, and a lump of sugar, but in my haste I forgot to take them this morning.

70 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 146 (my translation).

71 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 92.

*I am now alone in my room. No friends wish me joy, no parents bless me, all is silent as the graves around me for all are yet sleeping. Were it not for this ring I wear on my finger – and which I must now take off and hide from all eyes, I could not persuade myself that I am married to my beloved Prince Charles, and yet I feel so sad!*⁷²

This passage, worth quoting at length, provides an unmistakable anti-climax at a point where a culmination of Françoise's happiness ought to be recounted.⁷³ The several references to graves, darkness and sadness are more than obvious bad omens. Importantly, this is not exactly in accord with historical fact. As noted by Kaniowska-Lewańska, the wedding ceremony was in fact witnessed by the bride's father, and not her young cousin Prince Martin.⁷⁴ This was changed by the novelist in order to preserve the plot's consistency in its depiction of the heroine's parental rejection and ultimate homelessness. Zofia Lewinówna also discusses the historical background of the wedding⁷⁵ and poses the question of whether bridegroom's father actually knew about the marriage. The public knowledge of the Royal Prince's marriage and political schemes concerning immediate divorce receive a detailed discussion from Lewinówna,⁷⁶ together with the financial straits and emotional tribulations experienced by the wife to the Royal Prince.⁷⁷ It may be interesting to note that the bride's father was facing pressure from the royal court to make his daughter consent to the divorce. It is known that he was offered lands and offices, but it was in the interests of the Krasiński, the Lubomirski and the Małachowski families to promote the marriage in the hopes of possible access to the crown – a prospect which they found hard to dispense with.⁷⁸

Six weeks after her "terrible" wedding,⁷⁹ the responses of relatives do not make the burden any lighter. Françoise's aunt, Princess Lubomirska, drives her out of her house on the grounds that it is not worthy of being home to such a grand figure. Calling the bride's deed a shame for the Krasiński family,⁸⁰ the old lady continues to add fuel to

72 *Ibidem*, p. 93.

73 There is a tradition of anticlimactic accounts of wedding ceremonies in Old Polish women's self writing. One notable example may be *A Transaction; or a Description of the Entire Life of One Orphan Girl through Doleful Laments Written by the Same 1685* (Polish: *Transakcja albo Opisanie całego życia jednej sieroty przez żalodne treny od tejże samej pisane roku 1685*) by Anna (née Stanisławska) primo voto: Warszucka, secundo voto: Oleśnicka, tertio voto: Zbąska.

74 I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 184.

75 Zofia LEWINÓWNA, *Afterword*, in: K. Hoffmanowa z Tańskich, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej* [The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasińska], Warszawa 1961, pp. 203–291, here 217–219.

76 *Ibidem*, pp. 224–233.

77 *Ibidem*, pp. 233–263.

78 *Ibidem*, pp. 233 ff.

79 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasińskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 156 (my translation).

80 As explained above, not exactly true.

the fire, and the diarist elaborates on her growing embitterment. All this brings her to question her own future: “*Will I ever enjoy quiet days by the side of my beloved husband, as Basia does? – Oh no, that’s not for me!...*”⁸¹ Thinking that perhaps parental blessing and approval will put her mind at peace, the diarist does not omit to note that now it pains her to see her sister’s happiness: a complete reversal of her views is thus made obvious. The discrepancy between the superficial splendour of her fate and the real misery of it is stressed repeatedly. Not least important is her financial worry: hoping as she always had to be rich enough to present servants with extravagant gifts, Françoise is hardly in a position to do so now that she is actually married. When visiting the Maleszowa castle, she is confronted by Matenko who once again reminds her sadly that he can be a prophet at times. Even her father thinks that it is improper to open the wine made in the year of Françoise’s birth, as he had for Barbara’s wedding, because the bridegroom is absent. Finally envoys arrive to insist that her marriage be dissolved, to which Françoise proudly responds that the marriage is valid because it was transacted in church, and that she will not sign divorce papers unless her husband himself should so wish.

And now for the most curious part of *The Journal of Countess Françoise Krasieńska*:

*“Here ends the journal of Françoise Krasieńska. Henceforth her thoughts and adventures were too replete with poignant anguish for her to commit them to paper. It was her fate to be gradually disenchanting. She had courage to contend with the injustice of the whole world, but was subdued by the first symptoms of indifference from her husband, who acted upon by various motives of expediency and influenced by the advice of his father’s ministers, soon ceased to care for her.”*⁸²

This is followed by a short summary of Françoise’s remaining life story, with focus on the fact that she never became the Queen, which she had so desired. Then come a few selected and modernised passages from her letters to Barbara, Barbara’s children, etc. The final included letter is not modernised, featuring archaic spelling as well as mixed Polish and French vocabulary, which must have rendered its reading difficult even to Tańska-Hoffmanowa’s contemporaries. This twofold approach to her heroine’s original letters was perhaps due to the fact that the novelist may have wished to show her readers how exactly the historic texts which she was using were written, or to what extent they were ridden with Frenchism or – to a lesser extent in the case of Françoise than other characters – with Latinism of the previous generation.⁸³ This final letter,

81 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 160 (my translation).

82 K. TANSKA HOFFMAN, *The Journal*, p. 103.

83 I. KOTOWA, *Introduction*, p. lx.

which expresses Françoise's original desire to be reunited with her husband and to settle down in another country, is however missing from both English editions.

But what is interesting is that, with the inclusion of the letters, *The Journal's* authenticity is simultaneously corroborated and disrupted. Izabela Kaniowska-Lewańska points out that the rather abrupt ending, whose effectiveness from the novelistic viewpoint is questionable, may have had other than writerly reasons. In the original version of *The Journal*, Tańska-Hoffmanowa placed the following sentence, missing from book editions: "*The readers might possibly wish to read more about her future lot, but let the Publisher be excused due to his incapacity.*"⁸⁴ This might have been due to the novelist's own inability to continue writing when personally affected by her mother's death.⁸⁵

As we have seen, Tańska-Hoffmanowa's literary hoax is almost perfect. Françoise Krasieńska's real or historical "I"⁸⁶ is presented in a manner that, although not strictly in accordance with historical fact, is nevertheless very convincing to the reader, given all the names of Polish nobility of the period, the historical events which the diarist purports to witness, and the detailed accounts of archaic lifestyle. Her narrating "I" is at pains to conceal her royal ambition, but the narrated "I" is occasionally allowed to hint at it. As a narrator with a particular temporal and geographical situation, she is made more credible, which is achieved by the diarist's painstakingly providing numerous details of young ladies' life, mentalities and outlooks, as well as those pertaining to her personal past and present. Yet, as has been shown, there are signals discernible to a careful reader to suggest that the forgery is not absolute. Finally, how should the reader deal with the dubious moral which the novel – as a whole – proffers?⁸⁷ Françoise may not be exactly happy in her marriage for many years, but ultimately she seems to achieve a peace of sorts and succeeds in securing her husband's affections. Her conduct is never openly condemned by the novelist, who could have used this chance to have the third-person omniscient narrator of the novel's final sections pronounce a clear judgment at the end, but she refrained from it. The reader continues certain of the novelist's sympathy for the diarising and letter-writing protagonist.

But this is predominantly a first-person novel, where the novelist's opting for first-person narration has a number of lasting consequences, one of them being emulation of

84 K. HOFFMANOWA Z TAŃSKICH, *Dziennik Franciszki Krasieńskiej w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III pisany*, p. 167 (my translation).

85 I. KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Afterword*, p. 184.

86 I use this division of the so-called autobiographical "I" after S. SMITH – J. WATSON, *Reading Autobiography*, pp. 58–62.

87 A. FRYBESOWA, *Introduction*, p. 13.

an existing non-novelistic genre.⁸⁸ The first-person story-teller's ignorance of pieces of information, carefully selected by the novelist, is almost as significant as that of a genuine diarist, even if the origins and consequences of this ignorance differ. The fake diarist should not know what will happen next as this knowledge is reserved for the novelist exclusively. Tańska-Hoffmanowa subverts her diarist's reliability by letting her drop hints that sound too crafted and thus suspicious. As the reader gradually learns more and more about the narrator-diarist through her story-telling, the book comes to resemble increasingly what Głowiński has called formal mimetism: an imitation of a non-fictional genre which normally does not contain any global meaning – unlike its formally mimetic imitation.⁸⁹ However, it must be admitted that in this case Tańska-Hoffmanowa dispenses with her opportunities for executing a framework for any overall meaning that might appear. We have seen that, while she uses the diary's beginning in a way which is typical of the pure diary genre, she does not at all explore the possibilities of the ending. Rather, the journal ends abruptly, because of what seems to be the diarist's arbitrary choice, and not because of authorial manipulation, which looks much in keeping with diary conventions.⁹⁰

88 Michał GŁOWIŃSKI, *Gry powieściowe. Szkice z teorii i historii form narracyjnych* [Novelistic Games: Sketches in Theory and History of Narrative Forms], Warszawa 1973, pp. 59–65.

89 *Ibidem*, p. 63.

90 Margo Culley has noted that “*diaries do ... have distinct shapes, [which] ... derive from their existence in time passing. Some are shaped by external events in the diarist's life, which, even from the writer's point of view, have a beginning, middle and end. Courtship diaries ending with a marriage and travel diaries ending with the arrival at a destination are examples of such texts.*” Margo CULLEY (ed.), *A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present*, New York 1985, p. 19. Philippe Lejeune, in turn, observes that partial diaries – recording the progress of vacations, spiritual retreats, research or pregnancies – terminate at preplanned points as “*their limitation is simultaneously chronological and thematic*” (Ph. LEJEUNE, *On Diary*, p. 189). In contrast to autobiography, which may be said to take its beginning from the end, “*the diary is virtually unfinishable from the beginning*” (*ibidem*, p. 191). In view of the above, the beginning and the ending are two significant diaristic moments, and Tańska-Hoffmanowa's handling of them situates her closer to painstaking imitation of the journal genre than to overarching didacticism, consistently attributed to her written works.

Resumé

Fingovaný deník historické osobnosti:

Klementyna Tańská-Hoffmanová a její *Deník hraběnky Franciszky Krasińské (1825)*

Autorka analyzuje tak trochu zapomenutý deníkový román první polské spisovatelky a vychovatelky Klementyny Tańské-Hoffmanové (1798–1845). *Deník hraběnky Franciszky Krasińské (1825)* patří mezi její nejstarší díla a byl určen dospívajícím čtenářům. Poprvé vyšel na pokračování v časopisu *Rozrywki*, jež začala vydávat v roce 1824. Franciszka Krasińská byla historickou osobností. Narodila se v roce 1742 v polské šlechtické rodině Korwin-Krasińských a toužila po sociálním vzestupu. Když jí bylo 15 let, seznámila se s polským královským princem Karlem Christianem Josefem Saským. Dne 25. března 1760 byli tajně oddáni, ovšem tento morganatický sňatek přinesl Krasińské léta samoty, finančních sporů a emoční nestability. Manželům bylo dovoleno žít společně teprve až více jak 10 let po sňatku. Dlouhé odloučení zapříčinil zejména sám princ, jenž doufal, že se stane polským králem, k čemuž ale nikdy nedošlo. Měli spolu jen jednu dceru, princeznu Marii Christinu Saskou, jež se později stala babičkou Viktora Emanuela II., prvního krále spojené Itálie.

Hoffmanové román, který byl původně psán za účelem vychovat mladé dívky k pokoře a dalším tradičním ženským vlastnostem, se brzy stal uznávaným prototypem žánru falešných deníků. Dílo je považováno za vůbec první komplexní psychologickou prezentaci práce myslí mladé dívky v polské literatuře. Deník byl napsán tak přesvědčivě, že byl dlouhou dobu považován za přepis skutečného deníku, a proto byl dokonce přeložen do několika západních jazyků. Nyní je však zcela jasné, že spisovatelka vytvořila rukopis na základě znalosti skutečné korespondence Franciszky Krasińské (k níž měla neomezený přístup) a historických novinových článků, rozhodně však nevyužila její deník, protože žádný takový nikdy neexistoval. V tomto článku autorka analyzuje, jak Hoffmanová při tvorbě svého díla zdatně balancovala mezi historickými fakty a fikcí, a zkoumá také způsoby, které jí umožnily vytvořit tento autobiografický padělek.

Marie MACKOVÁ

The Nobility in Bohemia and in the Habsburg Monarchy within the Legal and Social Context of the 19th Century

Abstract: In this study the author specifically summarises Czech research on nobility in relation to the Habsburg Monarchy during the 19th Century. She demonstrates that the nobility did not comprise a monolithic, internally undifferentiated unit, because its lifestyle was still regulated by the specific provisions of the aristocratic hierarchy, which did not always have the nature of a standard legal norm. It was above all the nobility who clung to its observances and enclosed itself in an increasingly tighter, though not hermetically sealed, individual group of persons. In terms of their number, they represented a mere fraction of the entire society, but their significance could not be entirely ignored. Meanwhile, in the traditional area of aristocratic influence its impact was gradually fading. During the 19th Century this process probably progressed most rapidly in the army and specifically amongst the senior officers. A more complex situation arose at a higher level of the Catholic hierarchy, whereas this trend manifested to its least extent within the diplomatic service. Meanwhile the nobility that did not have any direct ties to the Imperial Court was gradually losing-out. In the mid-19th Century the nobility lost both their rights and their obligations as landed lords. On the other hand, usually nothing would prevent them from participating in a modern business. Not everybody belonging to this social layer, however, had both the necessary ability and/or the desire to do so.

Keywords: nobility – Habsburg Monarchy – Bohemia – 19th Century

During the long 19th Century the aristocratic families' privileges that had been traditional in Central Europe since the Middle Ages increasingly came into conflict with the gradually changing overall legal environment. On the other hand, the area of society that the family privileges concerned did comply with its rules at least to the same extent as it had in the past. Due to the changed legal and social reality, however, alongside the aristocracy a completely new and different elite began to take shape. An elite of this nature could build its success and make an impact mainly based on its own talents and skills, their own work and their resultant wealth. Throughout the long 19th Century both these groups coexisted here in parallel. Although it might seem

that these different worlds must be incompatible, in fact they actually influenced each other to quite a considerable extent. The “old elites” – the category of the nobility that benefitted from their family privilege – could not continue to rely solely on maintaining their position only on the basis of a legal proviso. In addition to the legislation, they were also obliged to accept the changing economic rules and to at least ensure taking care of and maintaining their wealth. The “new elites” – which defines those individuals who obtained their significant posts based on their abilities – were, on the contrary, fascinated by the aristocratic lifestyle and they frequently attempted to imitate it.¹ During this period no laws were ever implemented within the Habsburg Monarchy that would be restrictive against the nobility as an identifiable group of people. However, a long series of laws came into force that extended the power of the State while also strengthening the rights of all its citizens. On one hand this was implemented by expanding the previously “empty” legal space, which had not been specifically defined in any manner and on the other hand, by shifting the competencies that had previously belonged to someone else, which, in practice, meant primarily to the nobility. This was how, *de facto*, the nobility lost a significant amount of its power during the 19th Century. Only compensated, however, were those whose property was directly affected.

Already in the early 19th Century the legal theories current at that time were reflected in practice within in the Habsburg Monarchy where all its citizens were considered as being equal before the law. The new criminal and civil law codes placed the nobility, specifically as individuals, in a previously unfamiliar situation, however. The principle of equality before the law that is enshrined in the General Civil Code (*Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch...*, 1811) displaced any nobleman or a noblewoman from their century-ingrained position of excellence and to some extent it drove them from the notional protective bulwark built by the exclusivity of the family affiliation that established the legal proviso. In the first stage, in terms of public influence, nobility's rights and their obligations increased rather than decreased.² These mainly comprised the expanded and the more clearly defined delegated powers of the State, which primarily concerned the

1 This issue is dealt with more specifically in Milena LENDEROVÁ – Zdeněk BEZECNÝ – Jiří KUBEŠ (eds.), *Proměny elit v moderní době* [Changes of Elites in Modern Times], České Budějovice 2003, for example.

2 These were based primarily on the *Code on crimes and on severe criminal misdemeanours* from the year 1803, which was subsequently amended in 1852 as *Criminal Code No. 117/1852 of the Imperial Code*. In the area of civil rights the *General Civil Code* (*Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch für die gesamten deutschen Erbländer der österreichischen Monarchie*) followed shortly afterwards in 1811, which was even more stable and lasted virtually until the outbreak of the First World War without any major amendments being made. To this end, from the more recent literature, for example, in Wilhelm BRAUNEDER – Milan HLAVAČKA (Hg.), *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft auf dem Papier: Konstruktion, Kodifikation und Realisation der Zivilgesellschaft in der Habsburgermonarchie*, Berlin 2014.

patrimonial administration and thereby also affected a large segment of the nobility. In the same area there were also significant changes to the State Administration, especially that of the first-instance type (this was largely organised by the nobility who were fulfilling the previous role of the landed nobility), which had to build on the state-implemented justice administration of a higher instance. All the landed nobility, and thereby also the aristocracy, were not only obliged to bring these qualitative changes (the existence of university educated officials, their doctoral exams, etc.) to life, but also to pay for them. With only minor amendments, this system remained in force, throughout the first half of the 19th Century. Conversely, in the economic sphere, the legal complex temporarily remained in force that tied certain parts of the free enterprise of non-aristocrats to the explicit consent of the sovereign and the exemptions that he granted. It should be acknowledged, however, that during this period, the nobility, as a whole, rather preferred to hold onto the traditional economic activities and only sporadically they issued on the still somewhat shaky ground of the manufacturing (or sometimes even the factory) business, for example. Daredevils like these, however, did have an advantage over their non-aristocratic competitors not just in terms of having a larger amount of capital that was often available for a start-up, but also better access to the Court, and therefore that requisite legal exemption was tied to the sovereign's decision.

Zdeněk Bezcený considers that the position adopted by the nobility in regard to diplomacy and to foreign policy in general, and also in the army and in the Church as being as traditional as it was in the 19th Century. While throughout the 19th Century foreign policy and therefore diplomacy too remained in the sphere of influence of the sovereign and thereby also close to the nobles, the other two mentioned areas were also the first ones, where, already during the first half of the 19th Century (or in the period immediately preceding it) the non-aristocratic element could penetrate even into high positions.

There were still a considerable percentage of nobles amongst the army officers, but their number was steadily declining during the 19th Century in favour of skilled and capable non-aristocrats (there are evident differences between the weapons employed, while more non-aristocrats were serving in officer positions with infantry weapons and technology, the fewest in the cavalry). Although in the past it would not have been impossible that, in the event of the concurrence of specifically favourable circumstances, a man without a predicate had ascended to any of the senior officer ranks, this did not happen very often. The Coalition and the Napoleonic Wars did bring about a significant change, however. First, the huge number of men, particularly non-aristocrats, who reached the battlefields in comparison with the past. Secondly, the large number of officers who died in a large number of major battles and had to be replaced. For a nearly

20-year period of wars such a high number of men could not be provided exclusively from the nobility. Especially in the battlefields, the promotion was often immediate and to merit. At that time the armies that were spread across Europe received in their officer corps a number of capable non-aristocratic commanders, including some bearing a general's rank. As the way in which wars were conducted in Europe had changed, the structure of the Officer Corps also changed. Individual personal skills were evaluated and subsequently, during peacetime, in-depth institutional education as well. If the term "good family" could be added in, that was considered as a bonus, but not as a primary condition. Objections of aristocratic officers to this trend are virtually absent. Although it is possible to indicate closer social ties between nobles of a corresponding category, this is not relevant during service, however. Ancestry could be decisive in regard to who will dine with whom and in whose company, but not in regard to who will command whom.³ This trend significantly strengthened following the issuance of the modern Armed Forces Act (so called *Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*, the *Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 151*) in the year 1868. The universal conscription for men virtually had enshrined in it anointed differences what family privilege could bring about in this environment.

Careers in other traditional areas of activity of aristocrats, i.e. in the service of the Roman Catholic Church, had already been opened-up to non-aristocrats for a long time, on the basis of the appropriate training having been received. In the church hierarchy it was possible for a capable and suitable loyal clergyman to advance, although – unlike in the army – some of very high-level positions were specifically reserved for nobles almost until the outbreak of the Second World War. Therefore, during the 19th Century, not so many drastic changes to the situation took place in the church as they did in the army. Nobles were only disappearing from amongst the high-ranking church officials very slowly but their numbers amongst the parish clergy had also not increased. In regard to the female religious orders, however, it became self-evident that they had lost their attraction for noblemen's daughters. There was no longer any significant need to place a number of these girls in a convent, if there were no appropriate offers for their hand in the marriage market.⁴

3 About this, for example, Marie MACKOVÁ, *Mladší princ. Karl Gustav Wilhelm Hohenlohe-Langenburg 1777–1866* [Younger Prince. Karl Gustav Wilhelm Hohenlohe-Langenburg 1777–1866], Brno 2014. There is also a list of additional literature.

4 More recent works written about the status of the Roman Catholic Church in the Habsburg Monarchy of the 19th Century include, for example: Zdeněk R. NEŠPOR – Kristina KAISEROVÁ (eds.), *Variety české religiozity v "dlouhém" 19. století (1780–1918)* [Variety of Czech Religiosity in the "Long" 19th Century], Ústí nad Labem 2010; Zdeněk NEŠPOR, *Náboženství 19. století: nejcirkevnější století, nebo období zrodu českého ateismu?* [Religion of 19th Century: the Most Religious Century, or the Time of Birth of Czech Atheism?], Prague 2010. However no one expressly deals with the status

Although the years 1848–1849 produced several relatively short attempts to implement various profound changes to the administrative system and thereby also, to some extent to, the social system in operation in the Habsburg Monarchy,⁵ but it was administrative reform that eventually became equally important in regard to the status of the nobility, since it liquidated the patrimonial management and together with that of the delegated first-instance administrative jurisdiction of the landed lords: i.e. an undeniable aspect of the nobility. The domain, as the basic element of first instance administration, was cancelled. Most of its patrimonial powers were transferred to the newly emerged political or judicial districts (*Bezirke*), while some of them were also taken over by a newly constituted self-government and a tiny fraction was forwarded to the State Administration of a higher instance.⁶ Thereby the only continuously ongoing factor became the implementation of the patronage law that had been adopted by the newly

of nobility within the church structures; marginally referring to this issue is, for example, Jitka JONOVÁ, *Kapitoly ze života Lva Skrbenského z Hříště pohledem Svatého stolce* [The Life of Lev Skrbenský von Hříště from the Papal Throne's View], Uherské Hradiště 2013; EADEM, *Olomoucký arcibiskup Theodor Kohn z pohledu vybraných fondů Vatikánského archivu* [Olomouc Archbishop Theodor Kohn in the Mirror of the Vatican Archives], in: Pontes ad fontes: církevní dějiny ve světle pomocných věd historických a příbuzných oborů, Hradec Králové 2011, pp. 298–310; EADEM, *Theodor Kohn (1845–1915). Kniže arcibiskup olomoucký, titulární arcibiskup pelusijský* [Theodor Kohn (1845–1915). Prince Archbishop of Olomouc], Brno 2015. A probe into the world of female ecclesiastical orders during the period monitored, for example in Marie MACKOVÁ, *Voršilky v Čechách do 1918* [The Ursulines in Bohemia to 1918], Pardubice 2007.

- 5 Some researchers characterise this as a change towards a conservative attempt to preserve the pre-March situation. See, for example, Jan ŽUPANIČ, *Nová šlechta rakouského císařství* [New Nobility od Austrian Empire], Prague 2006, p. 15 – who refers to the figure of the Emperor as having been the last guarantor of the previous continuity, though he does not take into account its administrative and economic aspects in this context.
- 6 Concerning the issue of the administrative reform of 1850 and the details of the transition from a patrimonial model of administration to a state and local administration, look for example, in Adam WANDRUSZKA – Peter URBANITSCH, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918, Bd. II, Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, Wien 2003², pp. 270–305; Lukáš FASORA – Jiří HANUŠ – Jiří MALÍŘ (eds.), *Občanské elity a obecní samospráva 1848–1948* [Civil Elites and Municipal Administration 1848–1948], Brno 2006; Milan HLAVÁČKA, *Zlatý věk české samosprávy. Samospráva a její vliv na hospodářský, sociální a intelektuální rozvoj Čech 1862–1913* [Golden Age of Bohemian Local Administration 1862–1913], Prague 2006; Pavel KLADIWA, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914, Part I, Vývoj legislativy* [Local Administration in Moravia and Silesia 1850–1914: Development of Legislation], Ostrava 2007; Pavel KLADIWA – Andrea POKLUDOVÁ – Renata KAFKOVÁ, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914, Part II, Vol. I, Muži z radnice* [Local Administration in Moravia and Silesia 1850–1914: The Men from Town Halls], Ostrava 2008; EADEM, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914, Part II, Vol. II, Finance a infrastruktura* [Local Administration in Moravia and Silesia 1850–1914: Finances and Infrastructure], Ostrava 2009; Pavel KLADIWA – Aleš ŽÁŘICKÝ (eds.), *Město a městská společnost v procesu modernizace 1740–1918* [Town and its Society during the Modernisation Process 1740–1918], Ostrava 2009.

created *Großgrundbesitz*.⁷ The private noble properties were transformed in order to create these estates. Its further operation and its eventual prosperity, however, were affected by the definitive abolition of *Untertänigkeit* in September 1848.⁸ Thereby, from a legal perspective it was primarily the rural population that was equalised. The nobility, as former landed gentry lost some of their material benefits without receiving any compensation, which previously had been considered as tributary obligations. Monetising, on the other hand, was established for a purchase of rustic land by those who farmed on it so far. From this step being taken there was a resultant direct economic loss for the gentry, but this was certainly not sufficient to compromise the security of their property, in any way. At the social level the situation was more complex, however. Although the abolition of *Untertänigkeit* represented a desirable and welcome step for a predominant part of society, the residues of previous ties were still traceable for a relatively long time.

Most notable is that it was published during the early stages of the existence of the modern self-governing system. The administration of municipalities (towns and villages) was entrusted to the hands of representatives who were elected from amongst their inhabitants. The first modern type of elections for municipal councils, pursuant to the interim Municipal Act (*Provisorisches Gemeindegesetz*) of 1849, showed how much influence the nobility had, especially in villages and in small rural towns. This stemmed from the ending of the role of the landed nobility, who previously had quite a substantial influence on the administration of municipalities, but who were also capable of making valid decisions and, in most cases, also took responsibility for their decisions. If a nobleman wished to continue to influence the development of former serf towns and villages, he was obliged to participate in a regular election. His advantage in regard to being elected was his knowledge and experience of both legal and official machinations in general (whether real or imaginary), his extensive personal contacts and, last-but-not-least, especially for part of the rural population, the appealing possibility of being able to hide behind his authority in the event of any problem arising. However, even the social prestige and the universal respect, that some of the nobles enjoyed by fulfilling the role of the landed nobility, should not be disregarded, since it will not disappear from one

7 For more detail see Stanislav PŠENIČKA, *Vývoj patronátního práva v českých zemích od doby osvěcenského absolutismu do roku 1949* [Development of Patronage Law in the Czech Lands from the Rule of Joseph II to 1949], *Revue církevního práva* 22/2, 2002, pp. 127–160.

8 Most recently about this issue in Pavel KLADIWA – Andrea POKLUDOVÁ, *Hans Kudlich (1823–1917): Cesta života a mýtu* [Hans Kudlich (1823–1917): The Life and Myth], Ostrava 2012. The internal mechanisms of the process and the emphasis on the right to own property are described by still unsurpassed František ROUBÍK, *K vyvazení gruntů v Čechách v letech 1848–1853* [Transformation of the *Großgrundbesitz* in Bohemia 1848–1853], *Sborník archivních prací* 9, 1959, pp. 160–219.

day to the next. Sometimes it really did represent the will of the voters and sometimes it was the nobility that distinctly contributed to it. The result, however, was comparable: a nobleman – the owner of the estate (and a former *Obrigkeit*) – or a nobleman of a similar status was elected to the post of mayor (*Bürgermeister*).⁹ Later-on this did not happen so often, but, for example at the former Schwarzenberg Estate in Orlík, in 1861, the Prince was actually elected to the Municipal Councils in 19 municipalities out of 26 in the cadastral area in which the princely land assets were to be found. He was particularly popular amongst the lowest taxpayers. The prince took all this for granted but when, on the other hand, he was not elected, however, the estate management ceased employing the crofters (*Häusler*) from these villages in the princely service. Against his former *Untertanen* he did not have any other legal instruments.¹⁰ The nobles who were elected to the district administration, which was established in Bohemia after the year 1864, were in a different position. In these cases it was neither about the pressure nor a mistake by the voters, but rather about consciously entering into a political scene of the regional type.¹¹

During the first half of the 19th Century, political power – if it indeed existed outside the personage of the sovereign – was concentrated in the hands of the Estates, the character of which was defined in accordance with historically obtained rights and to

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- 9 For example, in Kyšperk in East Bohemia (nowadays known as Letohrad) Count Karl von Nimptsch was elected to the Council in the first modern-day election and subsequently also as the Mayor. To the residents of Kyšperk he did not represent former landed nobility in the truest sense of the expression. The actual owner of the estate was his wife Therese, née Countess Marcolini. It is questionable, however, to what extent the legal situation was actually known about in what, only a short time ago, was simply a small liege town. What was undoubtedly appreciated was his degree of influence, his experience, his knowledge of tenure, law and of management. As has been shown by subsequent developments, this was a miscalculation. The Count was interested only in social issues and then only during the first year after his election. The First Councillor (*Gemeinderath*) was obliged to do all the other necessary work for him. And since the first term lasted for a full 11 years, this inevitably represented a rather precarious situation. In more detail in Marie MACKOVÁ, “*Základem svobodného státu je svobodná obec*” aneb *Jak Kyšperští poprvé volili starostu* [The First Mayor Election in Kyšperk], in: Pocta Josefu Kollmannovi, Prague 2002, pp. 179–183.
- 10 As in Kyšperk, so also in the municipalities around Orlík, the elected Prince did not run the office himself. But he resolved this in a more favourable manner by appointing in his own place an alternative expert from amongst his economic officials. Zdeněk BEZECNÝ, *Příliš uzavřená společnost. Orličtí Schwarzenbergové a šlechtická společnost v Čechách v druhé polovině 19. a na počátku 20. století* [The Orlík Branch of the Schwarzenbergs and Noble Society in Bohemia in the Second Half of 19th and at the Beginning of 20th Centuries], České Budějovice 2005, pp. 67–69.
- 11 One specific case, for example, is described in Milan HLAVAČKA, *Vznik okresní samosprávy na Mělníku* [Establishment of District Administration in Mělník], in: *Středočeský sborník historický* 28–29, Prague 2006, pp. 77–100; Tatjana TÖNSMEYER, *Adelige Moderne. Großgrundbesitz und ländliche Gesellschaft in England und Böhmen 1848–1918*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2012, pp. 263–267.

make any change to their composition was an extremely complex process.¹² This system was already gradually collapsing between the years 1848 and 1864, at which point in time it was finally replaced by a modern-day parliament. Even after the establishment of the modern parliamentary system in the Habsburg Monarchy, the nobility still retained a certain amount of political influence; though it was obliged to obtain it in the same manner as every other Member of Parliament: through elections.¹³ Despite this the parliamentary benches of the Bohemian *Landtag* were occupied by a relatively disproportion number of men who also belonged rather to historic than to the newly promoted nobility.¹⁴ They all accepted the changes to the State's legal and social systems and began to exploit new opportunities for their own promotion. Notwithstanding that, mostly their family privilege could only serve as a support in the social sense.

Although not every nobleman and noblewoman belonged to the landed nobility until the mid-19th Century, these administrative still significantly changed and helped to further – mainly socially – the delimitation of the nobility as a specifically defined societal group. The Monarchy continued to survive as a significant aspect of the parliamentary system (regardless of the relatively gradual inception of this system and of its actual interruption during the years 1852–1860). Property became the primary criterion. That, of course, gave the historical nobility an advantage because, in the past, most families had been at least solidly secure economically, while many noblemen engaged in modern forms of business and continued to successfully increase their assets. On the other hand, during the shaping of the legal environment of the 19th Century, the ancient aristocratic privileges only continued to exist in the context of the internal regulations of the Imperial Court. Thereby, having a link to the Monarch and to his court environment had become vital, even though it no longer remained the centre of State Power. It was increasingly becoming rather more of a cultural and social centre, which also served to help to fulfil the sovereign's needs. However the representational function that specifically interfered with areas that were closely connected to the person of the sovereign cannot be overlooked, as was, for example, the previously referred-to foreign

12 The legal framework was still based on the provisions of the *Verneuerte Landesordnungs* from the years 1627 and 1628. To this end, for example, Antonín OKÁČ, *Český sněm a vláda před březnem 1848. Kapitoly o jejich ústavních sporech* [Bohemian *Landtag* and Government before March 1848], Praha 1947; Jiří KOŘALKA, *Češi v habsburské říši a v Evropě* [The Czechs in Habsburg Monarchy and Europe], Prague 1996. In general also Pavel BĚLINA – Milan HLAVÁČKA – Daniela TINKOVÁ, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [Big History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown], Volume XI. a, Prague – Litomyšl 2013.

13 Naturally with the exception of the hereditary seats in the House of Lords.

14 Z. BEZECNÝ, *Příliš uzavřená společnost*, p. 29 in 1901 even refers to 16 % of all of the Bohemian *Landtag's* deputies.

representation of the State, the army, and last but not least the cult of the ruler in relation to the inhabitants of the Monarchy.¹⁵ Both in connection with the environment of the Imperial Court and also outside it, the tendency of the nobility to create a closed circle of individuals, who, in a certain manner, had departed further from the others and had thereby been greatly strengthened.¹⁶ This boundary, on the other hand, had a special appeal for some of those who stayed outside the fray. The bearers of the newly granted incolates had not joined any existing social groups, but rather created its additional offshoots, each with wholly distinct characteristics.¹⁷

In the 19th Century several groups of nobles coexisted in the Habsburg Monarchy who, although they lived with a legal proviso of some type of incolate, their position was different. In addition to the unofficial, but largely accepted division between the courtly and the provincial nobility, there were families who still had the Imperial incolate and whose position was complicated both by the demise of the Holy Roman Empire and by a process that was known as mediatisation.¹⁸ Then there were families whose incolate

15 Re this subject from one perspective in detail, for example Martina WINKELHOFEROVÁ, *Viribus unitis. Císař a jeho dvůr. Nový pohled na Františka Josefa* [Emperor and His Court. A New Look at Francis Joseph], Prague 2011. And from a completely different perspective Jiří RAK, *Zachovej nám, Hospodine. Češi v Rakouském císařství 1804–1918* [The Czechs in Austrian Empire 1804–1918], Prague 2013.

16 This, however, was not only a problem for the nobility of the Habsburg Monarchy, but during the period monitored, by and largely for the whole of Europe. To this end, recently, for example, Dominik LIEVEN, *Abschied von Macht und Würden. Die europäische Adel 1815–1914*, Frankfurt am Main 1995; T. TÖNSMEYER, *Adelige Moderne*.

17 The number of extensive and more specialised works that deal with the nobility of the 19th Century, not only in the Habsburg Monarchy, has recently been increasing. We can refer to, for example: Hannes STEKL, *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, Wien – München 2004; Rudolf BRAUN, *Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben: Adel im 19. Jahrhundert, Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, in: *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*, Göttingen 1990, pp. 87–95; Tomáš KNOZ – Jan DVORÁK (eds.), *Šlechta v proměnách věků* [Nobility in the Changes of Times], Brno 2011.

18 22 of all the mediatised imperial noble families had their own sovereign who was seated in the Habsburg Monarchy. However, in addition, other families from individual mediatised imperial families lived there whose regents and also the predominant portion or even all of their own landed property were outside the Habsburg Monarchy. A separate contract had to be concluded with each such family that defined the rights of its members within the Monarchy. These basically represented the defunct or the retained rights of the regent families and also the degree of their conformity with the ruling Habsburg House. Re this issue, for example, J. ŽUPANIČ, *Nová šlechta*, pp. 44–47, 84; Heinz GOLLWITZER, *Die Standesherrn. Die politische und gesellschaftliche Stellung der Mediatisierten 1815–1918*, Göttingen 1964²; Thomas SCHULZ, *Die Mediatisierung des Adels*, in: *Baden und Württemberg im Zeitalter Napoleons*, Stuttgart 1987, pp. 157–174. In connection with the situation of a specific family then, for example, Hans Konrad SCHENK, *Hohenlohe vom Reichsfürstentum zur Standesherrschaft*, Künzelsau 2006. The same from the “Austrian perspective” then in M. MACKOVÁ, *Mladší princ*.

was historically linked to either the Bohemian or the Hungarian crown. After them were always more frequently individuals and families that had acquired a modern incolate of the Austrian Empire.¹⁹ These all, however, were dealing among themselves rather in regard to their mutual relationships, their claims and their positions than with their relationships with the non-aristocratic majority that surrounded them. Thereby a special legal environment emerged, which involved only those people with an incolate and that regulated their relationships both with their sovereign and amongst themselves. At the same time this did not restrict in any way the general legal environment of the Monarchy that was applicable to all of its inhabitants, including nobility of all kinds.

After 1806 in the court environment it was first necessary (in chronological order) to address the conflict between the imperial nobility and the families that held their incolate from the hereditary lands. This could be facilitated by the reintroduction of a court rank order (*Rangordnung*) from the year 1728.²⁰ Although this standard, even as a domestic order, belonged to a completely different social context, it remained valid until early in 1873, when a new *Rangordnung am Hofe seiner k. und k. apostolischen Majestät* was issued. That Order, however, primarily reflected alterations in the manner of the operation of the court, i.e. at that time it was only the private environment of the House of Habsburg that the current nobility could participate in a defined manner; often, however, in the role of honest servants or even of regular employees. In addition also established in 1839 was the Habsburg *Imperial Austrian Family Order* (*Kaiserlich Österreichische Familien-Statut vom 3. Ferbruar 1839*) that was revised in 1900.²¹ This Order governed the aristocratic hierarchy throughout the Habsburg Monarchy and also its internal structure, thereby confirming its exclusive link to the sovereign's court. It did not mention any relation to the non-aristocrats, with the exception of referring to nobilitation. This continued to happen and in this respect the Imperial Power was neither restricted by the parliamentarism of the last quarter of the 19th Century nor by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Österreichisch-Ungarischer Ausgleich*, 1867), which altered the entire character of the State. In a few cases, the aristocratic society of the Habsburg Monarchy of this period expanded to include new dukes and counts, but the most frequent and attractive nobilitations were those of a lower level. Those could be achieved based on faithful service provided in the office, or based on generally

19 This issue is also addressed by J. ŽUPANIČ, *Nová šlechta*.

20 Re this issue, for example H. STEKL, *Adel und Bürgertum*.

21 J. ŽUPANIČ, *Nová šlechta*, pp. 17, 20.

recognised cultural merits, etc.²² The sovereign bestowed noble titles to persons in accordance with his personal will and regardless of their religion, their origin, their status or their gender. Women were also nobilitated during this period: often based on the merit of their deceased spouse or on the basis of a morganatic marriage, but also for their own merits, such as charitable works or their overall humanitarian achievements.²³

Within the general legal environment of the Habsburg Monarchy, which virtually throughout the entire 19th Century assumed, amongst other things, absolute equality before the law and that after 1850 only retained a few of the real privileges of the nobility²⁴ there were the court rules that constituted a legal proviso. These rules, in turn, however categorised people (without many any gender distinction) in accordance with their own internal guidelines (which during the 19th Century acquired their real binding form based on a supreme imperial decision – all the four monarchs during that century had successively participated in this process). It provides the idea that the further the significance of the court departed from real power, the more complex became the rules that governed the court environment. The “rigid Habsburg traditions” might thereby represent a desperate attempt to protect the vanishing world against parliamentarism (which thrived during the Monarchy) and also from the predatory rule of capital. Gradually, however, within the courtly environment the situation also changed. Both access to the Court (*Hofzutritt*) and belonging to Courtly Society (*Hoffähigkeit*) were made more simple in 1879 when barons were also ranked amongst the higher nobility. The next step followed in 1886, when other nobles, especially those of the service type, obtained free access to the court.²⁵ Especially those families that belonged to the “first society” (the oldest) who had free access to the court and were very close to the ruling house could have a problem with the acceptance of the concept of equality before the law. There were probably numerous reasons, but the most significant ones included a feeling of individual exclusivity and of the effort needed to preserve the social order

22 The number of the aristocratic titles that were awarded during the 1848–1898 period comprised: 14 princes (including 5 morganatic descendants of the ruling dynasty); 42 counts; 680 barons; 2,172 knights; 1,798 common noblemen. *Ibidem*, pp. 96, 107.

23 *Ibidem*, p. 154.

24 The right to use noble titles and/or predicates in their prescribed form, the right to use a coat of arms, the right to a pension of a specific type, scholarships and/or places in the Cathedral Chapters, in institutes for noblewomen and in educational institutes and also the right to receive an income from certain foundations, the right to dignity and honorary offices that were bound to certificates of origin and the possibility of authorising the establishment of a trust. *Ibidem*, p. 227.

25 This involved both the secret and the court councillors, the bearers of orders from the Monarchy, all the ministers, generals and officers who were on active duty, the members of the Cisleithanian Imperial Council and of the Hungarian Diet and all other ambassadors and/or envoys. *Ibidem*, p. 24.

of the past by maintaining the family name, honour and symbolic capital.²⁶ In everyday life, however, there was no room for any open resistance in regard to the changing legal environment. To this end occasional loudly expressed opinions were considered (and probably quite rightly so) as representing an individual's eccentricity.²⁷

This trend continued – though not totally fluently and it was also influenced by several notable twists of Great History – even in the 20th Century. The newly founded Czechoslovak Republic additionally deepened the problems of the nobility by its annulment of all the surviving legal platforms, which in any case could establish a foundation for a legal proviso for this group of people. Despite the Reception Law.²⁸

“Myths can be understood as representing a specific complex of unconscious attributes belonging to the nobility. In other words, they mostly constitute unconscious strategies that the nobility employ in their social behaviour. These strategies seem to pertain only to the nobility and are very different from the strategies used within other social groups.”²⁹

Refocusing the awareness of belonging (and of responsibility) on the social plane becomes stronger, the more that this complex of relationships is transferred from public to private space. The status cited corresponds to the situation during the 20th Century, but its roots – as with many other similar events – can already be found dating back to the 19th Century and its changes. Although their radicalism was engulfed in a saloon form. Although, by definition, for the duration of the Monarchy the nobility could not disappear from its legal space (and an incolate was always bound to a crown), this legal proviso was increasingly undermined by the modern-day legal principles of civil society. Social perceptions were not always reconciled with the applicable laws in time.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that this still represented – though through the perspective of modern statistics – only a fraction of the society. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Franz II men with an incolate accounted for only cca 0.12 %

26 In the cited work Jan Županič considers this attitude especially in the context of its opposition to unequal marriage, which was documented during the 19th Century, while during its second half, in the context of the current situation, it appears to be an anachronism.

27 Zdeněk BEZECNÝ, *Poslední lancknecht* [The Last *Landsknecht*], in: Martin Gaži (ed.), *Schwarzenbergové v české a středoevropské kulturní historii*, České Budějovice 2008, pp. 415–422; IDEM, *Starý obránce starých práv* [The Old Defender of Old Rights], in: Zdeněk Hojda (ed.), *Věch stáří, nebo zralý věk moudrosti?*, Praha 2009, pp. 65–69.

28 This happened because of Act No. 61/1918 Coll., which was amended in 1920, but the actual changes to it were related only to the possibility of using and wearing some awards. The impact on noble families and on individuals differed, depending on the circumstances, but this is not the subject of this study.

29 Radmila ŠVAŘÍČKOVÁ SLABÁKOVÁ, *Mýtus šlechty u nás a v nás* [The Myth of Czech Nobility in Our Minds], Prague 2012, p. 146.

of the male population in Bohemia, while in Moravia the figure was 0.1 %. In 1846 2,275 holders from the 17+ age group of the noble title lived in Bohemia and this accounted for 0.11 % of the population. In Moravia and Silesia, the figure was 0.1 % and the comparable figures of well below 1 % of the total population in a given country were also applicable to other countries of the later Cisleithanian, with the exception of Galicia. In the Hungarian crown lands, this figure was much higher, because there the historical lower nobility were preserved.³⁰

In the first half of the period monitored this numerical minority, however, dominated a significant part of the economy. In the second half of the century, however, this group gradually lost its legal provisos of a corresponding type in this area. Prior to 1850 its proximity to the court and the court officers facilitated the acquisition of other benefits, but after 1850, and even more-so after 1859 (i.e. the period of the fall of the *Zunftsystem* and the subsequent entry into force of the new *Gewerbegesetz* and the new *Allgemeines Handelsgesetzbuch* 1862) it had to deal with the conditions of a liberal economy, initially in its rawest variant. Some individuals managed very well, others chose to deal with only certain aspects and utilised them efficiently.³¹ There were also some who simply shut their eyes and tried to pretend that nothing had changed and nothing will change. Those who managed and were responsible for family trusts frequently found themselves in this specific situation. Land ownership, historically developed and anchored, naturally gave the nobility an economic advantage in addition to a certain amount of knowledge that had been transferred through the collective memory and also to a long-cultivated relationship to the land. On the other hand many historical and legal provisos vanished and even those owners who came from a civic environment could become the owners of

30 Z. BEZECNÝ, *Příliš uzavřená společnost*, p. 28 with a reference to works of Ralph MELVILLE, *Adel und Revolution in Böhmen. Strukturwandel von Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz 1998 and Milan MYŠKA, *Šlechta v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku na prahu buržoazní éry (Hospodářská aktivita české aristokracie a tzv. „kapitalistická modernizace“)* [Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian Nobility at the Beginning of Industrialization and Modernization], *Časopis Slezského muzea*, B, 36, 1987, pp. 46–65. To this end also Milan HLAVAČKA – Jiří KAŠE – Jan P. KUČERA – Daniela TINKOVÁ, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české* [Big History of the Lands of Bohemian Crown], Vol. XI. b, Prague – Litomyšl 2013, pp. 82–83; Helmut RUMPLER – Martin SEGER, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Bd. 9, 1–2, Wien 2010.

31 Many of those nobles who had no landed property, learned regularly about how to invest in stocks prudently. Interesting for them were not only stable state bonds, but also the shares of emerging industries. To this end, for example Jiří BRŇOVJÁK – Aleš ZÁŘICKÝ (eds.), *Šlechtic podnikatelem – podnikatel šlechticem. Šlechta a podnikání v českých zemích v 18. a 19. století* [Nobility and Entrepreneurship in the Czech Lands in 18th and 19th Centuries], Ostrava 2008. However, there are numerous case studies: e.g. also M. MACKOVÁ, *Mladší princ*.

Landtafel estates, if they had enough money to buy an estate of this kind. Amongst these were both newly nobilitated and non-aristocrats.³²

It was not necessary for the nobility of the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19th Century to deal with such a problem as its own identity beyond the Monarchy. It still did exist then, albeit in a parliamentary form, offering the possibility of identification to virtually the entire wide spectrum of the population, including nobles. The question was just how big a piece of the whole remained for any specific social group and how well did such a group of people know how to exploit it. The confessional identity that was still in force in much of the 18th Century was not fully applicable to the nobility of that time. On the other hand, the vast majority of aristocrats remained completely untouched by contemporary identification with any of the modern nations (in spite of the strong individuals who originally adopted these ideas). In the social plane the nobility attempted to create a “different reality”³³ that made the differences in lifestyles evident. Closely tied to this was an emphasis on the family tradition on which the identity of nobles of the 19th Century drew a lot. In the lifestyle realm there were significant differences; a different reality that distinguished the 19th Century aristocrat from his surroundings³⁴ and that guaranteed him a perceivable element of exclusivity. Because the legal environment forced him to blend in with others and the economy could only distinguish him if he had some specific personal qualities (e.g. he could manage his assets alone so as to make a profit, or he knew how to find the right people who could do the same thing for him). This situation that was additionally gradually changing led to a certain loss of the exclusivity of the aristocrats and also, in fact, to the ultimately signified shift – but not loss – of a sphere of influence. In addition to that it is necessary to take into account what both the collective and individual memory that was modified by the events and the changes during the subsequent 20th Century did to further this process.³⁵

32 Z. BEZECNÝ, *Příliš uzavřená společnost*, also to this end pp. 31–33.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 104.

34 *Ibidem*, p. 123.

35 Collective memory is currently a widely discussed topic that is not related only to the nobility. Re this topic at the most general level, for example: Joseph CAMPBELL, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Novato 2008; Douwe DRAAISMA, *Metaphors of Memory: a History of Ideas about the Mind*, Cambridge 2000; Daniel L. SCHACTER, *Seven Sins of Memory*, Houghton Mifflin 2001; Jiří ŠUBRT – Štěpánka PFEIFEROVÁ, *Kolektivní paměť jako předmět historicko-sociologického bádání* [Collective Memory as an Object of Historical-Sociological Research], *Historická sociologie*, 1, 2010, pp. 9–29; Hayden WHITE, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Baltimore – London 1973.

Resumé

Šlechta v Čechách a v habsburské monarchii v právním a společenském kontextu 19. století

Autorka v této studii shrnuje především české výzkumy o šlechtě na území habsburské monarchie v 19. století. Demonstruje, že tato šlechta nebyla jednotným, vnitřně nediferencovaným celkem, protože její život byl stále regulován specifickými ustanoveními o šlechtické hierarchii, která většinou neměla charakter všeobecné právní normy. Na jejich dodržování však lpěla především sama šlechta a uzavírala se tím do stále těsnějšího, byť ne neprodyšně uzavřeného, okruhu osob. Početně šlo o zlomek společnosti, ovšem jejich význam nebylo možné tak úplně přehlížet. V tradičních oblastech

šlechtického působení se její vliv pozvolna vytrácel. Nejrychleji tento proces postupoval v průběhu 19. století patrně v armádě, resp. mezi vyšším důstojnictvem. Složitější situace byla ve vysoké katolické hierarchii a nejméně se tento trend projevil v diplomatických službách. Postupně ztrácela ta šlechta, která neměla přímé vazby na panovnícký dvůr. V polovině 19. století přišla šlechta o práva a povinnosti pozemkových vrchností. Na druhou stranu jí většinou nic nebránilo v moderním podnikání. Ne všichni z této společenské vrstvy však k tomu měli schopnosti či chuť.

Zbyněk VYDRA

People of the Past and Present. Magazine *Stolitsa i usad'ba*, the Russian Nobility and Its Self-Presentation in the Final Years of the Tsarist Regime¹

*Abstract: As a ruling class for centuries, the nobility created a complex system of symbols and rituals which jointly formed the (political) culture in Russia. Especially during the second half of the 19th century, the position of the nobility was gradually but substantially being changed. Russian society evolved towards a civic society, mainly as a consequence of the Great Reforms of the 1860s. The nobility, traditionally the most prominent social estate (soslovie), was confronted with the emancipation of the serfs, the emergence of the middle-class and its rising influence. Therefore the dominant public role of the nobility was challenged. The article is focused on the public role of the Russian nobility in the final years of the tsarist regime. The author analyzes several ways of the nobility self-presentation towards the public and tries to answer the question how far the “portrait of the nobility” was real or imagined. The analysis is based on various primary sources, foremost on the magazine *Stolitsa i usad'ba* (City and Country Estate). The magazine, designed as a magazine of “beau monde”, was published between 1913 and 1917. It tried to present the crucial role of the nobility in Russia’s past and show its importance in the political, social and cultural life. Nonetheless such a presentation was full of contradictions. The publishers declared that the magazine was “non-political” and “non-class specific” but with the emphasis on the nobility and its distinctive role in the past and present it could hardly compete with the values of the lower classes. Even if the nobility had been able to cooperate with the industrialists and educated classes and create a new civic elite, for the peasants, it would have remained the old enemy. The lower classes refused to accept the elite as a whole, and the cultural scenario presented by *Stolitsa i usad'ba* had no future in revolutionary Russia.*

Key words: Russia – nobility – First World War – country estate – everyday life

1 The article is a revised version of the paper presented at the annual BASEES Conference 2014 (Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge). I am very grateful to Miloš Hořejš (Národní technické museum Praha / National Technical Museum, Prague), Michael Hughes (Lancaster University), George Gilbert (University of Southampton) and Matthew Rendle (University of Exeter) for their comments, and especially to Hana Šánělová (University Pardubice) for her thorough revision of the English text.

The second half of the 19th century in Russia was a period of gradual transformation of the estate society into a class and civic society. The abolition of serfdom, together with other reforms of Alexander II, was a crucial step starting this process. The nobility, a privileged estate, had to compete with the new situation. To what extent it was able to do it still remains the subject of debate among historians.² In this article, I do not want either to analyze this discussion or examine the process of disintegration of the nobility as a distinctive estate in detail. In the introduction, I only confine myself to a few summarizing statements.

The estate system (*sosloviia*) formally existed in Russia until the revolution of 1917. The nobility remained the first and privileged estate, but many of its hereditary privileges disappeared over the years. Hence we can identify with Seymour Becker's opinion: "*Estate consciousness was rapidly disappearing among the remaining noble landowners, and class consciousness was developing in its place.*"³ For the same reason, I believe for the nobility it is appropriate to adopt the definition of elite used by Dominic Lieven. At the beginning of the 20th century, especially after 1905, the nobles converged with other elite groups; in Lieven's words:

*"There were signs of growing cohesion within the elites. Nobles and industrialists were grouping themselves in the United Nobility on the one hand and the Congresses of Representatives of Trade and Industry on the other. The various sections of the elite were also organizing themselves in the Dumas, whose establishment brought central government and the provincial zemstvo nobility close together. It would be naïve to expect all the conflicts between government, nobles, industrialists and intelligentsia to be resolved within seven years merely by the creation of a parliamentary system. But the first step to resolving these conflicts lay through the organization of interest groups and parliamentary factions. Even in 1914 the form unity might take shadowy but nevertheless discernible."*⁴

2 The discussion was/is focused on the "decline of the Russian nobility". See Roberta T. MANNING, *The Crisis of the Old Order in Russia: Gentry and Government*, Princeton 1982; Seymour BECKER, *Nobility and Privilege in Late Imperial Russia*, Illinois 1985; with significantly different conclusions than Manning. Closer to Becker is Dominic LIVEN, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914*, New York 1993. For a shortened version of his arguments, see D. LIEVEN, *The Elites*, in: *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, Cambridge 2006, pp. 227–244. On Russian/Soviet side, see especially Avenir P. KORELIN, *Dvorianstvo v poreformennoi Rossii 1861–1904 gg., Sostav, chislennost', korporativnaia organizaciia*, Moscow 1979; Ekaterina P. BARINOVA, *Rossiiskoe dvorianstvo v nachale XX veka. Ekonomicheskii status i sotsiokul'turnyj oblik*, Moscow 2008. Barinova's conclusions about the chance of the nobility to survive the decline are rather skeptical.

3 S. BECKER, *Nobility and Privilege*, p. 173.

4 D. LIEVEN, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, p. 225.

The aristocracy on the one hand ceased to be a clearly defined estate and was divided and subjected to both external and internal pressures. On the other hand, the new class and civic consciousness was not common to all nobles. The definition of a nobleman as an exceptional person standing above others was still alive.⁵ I believe that the estate consciousness of the nobility did not totally disappear. The estate character (*soslovnyi kharakter*) of Russian society was important for many nobles, and they regarded this model of the organization of society valid even at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶ After all, in *The Union of the United Nobility (Soiuz ob'edinennogo dvorianstva)*, the organization which has already been mentioned, was not entirely clear whether it is an estate or class organization.⁷ Although it represented rather members of the conservative part of the nobility, it was not internally united.

This inconsistency was also reflected in the self-presentation of the nobility. On the one hand, the nobility showed its transformation into a new social class in which the origin and hereditary privilege did not play a vital role; on the other hand, this self-presentation contained visible nostalgia for the “old days” of serfdom, symbolized by the noble country estates.

Just as each person has their own rituals and confesses personal values and preferences, there are rituals and values shared by individual social groups or by society entirely. Each group is defined through these rituals and values creating their identity and presents itself to the other groups.⁸ In the first part of the article, I deal with the issue of what position the nobility reserved in Russian society, how it saw itself and what image it created and then presented to society. Self-presentation of the nobility is shown on the basis of the magazine *Stolitsa i usad'ba*. In the second part, I would like to point out the fundamental differences between the mentality of the nobility and the peasantry and thus prove that the values promoted by the nobility could hardly resonate in a wider society. Here, I use other primary sources, mostly the noble's memoirs and diaries which

5 A. P. KORELIN, *Dvorianstvo*, p. 22.

6 Count Sergei Dmitrievich Sheremetev (1844–1918) was such an archetypal conservative, patriarchal nobleman. See Douglas SMITH, *The Former People. The Last Days of the Russian Aristocracy*, London 2013, pp. 35–37. For further positive assessment of the estate society, see Alexei V. OBOLENSKY, *Moi vospominaniia*, Stockholm 1961, p. 41.

7 S. BECKER, *Nobility*, pp. 162–166, 168–169. Further on the United Nobility, see: Geoffrey A. HOSKING – Roberta T. MANNING, *What Was the United Nobility?*, in: Leopold H. Haimson (ed.), *The Politics of Rural Russia, 1905–1914*, Bloomington 1979, pp. 142–183.

8 David Cannadine's *Introduction*, mainly in its first part, offers an excellent discussion about rituals, symbols and power in monarchies, although it is not focused on Russia. David CANNADINE – Simon PRICE (edd.), *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 1–19. See also very inspiring collection of essays: Eric HOBSBAWM – Terence RANGER (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

are the key to understanding the intellectual world of the aristocracy; especially, the memoirs of Princess Lydia Vasilchikova, which are full of insightful comments on the nobility/peasantry relations and the fatal discrepancies in the life values of both social classes.⁹

Nobility and its self-presentation: magazine *Stolitsa i usad'ba*

Publishing magazines “from life” was one possible form of the noble’s self-presentation. In the autumn of 1913, a new magazine *Stolitsa i usad'ba* was established in St. Petersburg. Vladimir Pimenovich Krymov (1878–1968), a journalist and writer, was the chief editor of the magazine.¹⁰ He succumbed to the charm of the countryside and peasant farming while studying at the Academy of Agriculture in 1901 and visiting various estates during his student practice. Then his interest in *usad'ba* (*estate*) started. He made extensive social contacts among the writers in St. Petersburg (M. Gorky, V. Rozanov) and was attracted by high society. Krymov was known among the aristocracy living in the capital, including the members of the Romanov family (e. g. he had an acquaintance with Grand Duke Andrei Vladimirovich) and maintained close relationships with Fyodor Vladimirovich von Shlippe, the Moscow Marshal of the Nobility.

The magazine was usually published monthly or bi-weekly, printed in a large format on high quality paper and richly illustrated (picture nr. 1). It was very much appreciated by bibliophiles, and the best St. Petersburg photographers (A. N. Pavlovich, Ya. V. Shteinberg, A. E. Belyaev) worked for it.¹¹ Many experts contributed to the magazine regularly: Nikolai Osipovich Lerner, a literary historian and expert on Pushkin, art historians Georgii K. Lukomskii (author of many texts on the history of country estates) and Ivan I. Lazarevskii (author of texts on the history of art collecting), and bibliographer Vasily A. Vereshchagin. Fiction writers popular for their light “gallant style”: Nikolai Ya. Agnivcev, Yuri D. Belyaev, Baron Nikolai V. von der Osten-Drizen (editor of bulletin *Vestnik Imperatorskikh Teatrov*), Yevgeny A. Znosko-Borovsky (also a well-known chess master) and A. Ya. Levinson belonged to the authors, too. Chief-editor Krymov specialized in reports from the upper classes. The last issue (Nr. 89–90) of the magazine was published on September 30, 1917. Why did the magazine cease to exist? According

9 Lydia VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia. Vospominaniia kniagini Lidii Leonidovny Vasilchikovoi 1886–1919*, St. Petersburg 1995.

10 A. B. USTINOV, *Krymov, Vladimir Pimenovich*, in: *Russkie pisateli 1800–1917*, vol. 3, Moscow 1994, pp. 184–185; *Rossiiskoe zarubezhie vo Frantsii 1919–2000, Biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 1, A–K, Moscow 2008, p. 766.

11 The first Russian printed color photograph was published in the nr. 26, 20. 1. 1915.

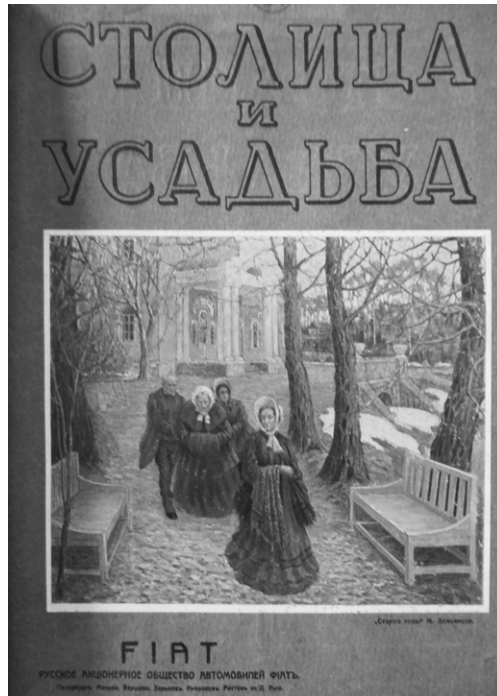


Fig. 1: The front page of *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 1, 15. 12. 1913.

to Krymov, everything was over at that time. He saw and heard Lenin at one of the public meetings and concluded that the only option was to leave Russia.¹² On April 11, Krymov and his wife left Petrograd and started a journey around the world. Very likely, the shortage of material was a reason too; there was only low quality paper, no printer and not enough articles and illustrations in the September 1917 issue.¹³

What was the motive for publishing the magazine? In the first edition on the 15th December 1913, the editorial informed the readers:

“All newspapers have chronicles of accidents, but no one writes about the happy moments of life. Life is full of evil; there is much more sadness than happiness, but there is also good and beauty; however, it is not common to write about a beautiful life ... We print a portrait of an interesting man, his home, his elegant things, we write about the way of his life only when he dies, if he is

12 Vladimir KRYMOV, *Portrety neobychnykh liudei*, Paris 1971, p. 252.

13 I consider useful to mention that it is not easy to find original copies of *Stolitsa i usadba*. Outside Russia, it is only possible in specialized Slavonic libraries. Most of the issues, except the latest ones from 1917, I studied at the Slavonic Library in Prague. The latest copies are not available in Prague, but I found them in the Russian National Library in Moscow.

a victim of a train accident or takes part in a judicial process! Perhaps if somebody is active in public affairs, he has such a privilege, but not all interesting people work in this sphere, there are many others as well.

Foreign press – especially in England, a country with the most advanced culture – finished with this principle a long time ago. British newspapers publish not only obituaries, but they also write about joyous births, balls, hunts etc.

There is so little happiness in life that it seems necessary to talk about it as much as possible. The recent Russian country estate with its specific life has gone. City life is changing rapidly, some things are becoming better and others are vanishing... How many works of art, inspiration, human thoughts, noble traditions, and beautiful antiques have already died in those old estates, homes, objects that have already been destroyed by time or by man himself? A beautiful life is not available to everyone, but it does exist; it creates specific values which cannot be shared. We would like to capture the sketches of Russian life in the past and gradually draw a picture of what has left, what is now, what is changing, and emphasize the beautiful present. This is the editor's task. Politics, party affiliation or class hatred will be totally alien to the magazine."¹⁴

Therefore the editorial was full of nostalgia for the old days and effort to preserve the memories of the beauty of the past. Although the editorial did not mention the nobility directly, the focus on it was undeniable. The history of country estates was mainly the history of the nobility, so the magazine focused on the noble country estates with splendor manor houses or luxurious houses in the cities. Each issue of the magazine had a section entitled *Country-Estate in the Past and Present* (*Usadba v proshlom i nastoiashchem*) with a detailed description of its history and a lot of pictures.¹⁵

Really no difference was made in the approach to the owners of the residences. The choice was varied and random, mostly depending on the willingness of the owners. However, the owners themselves expressed their interests more than once. Affiliations to different political parties did not play a role. In one of the issues, the country estate Andrejevskoe was depicted (picture nr. 2); it was the property of Prince Anatoly A. Kurakin, a member of the conservative monarchist organization Russkoe Sobranie (the Russian Assembly) and a member of the State Council who belonged to the rightist faction.¹⁶ Another time, it was the country estate Gremiach (the Chernigov province) of Prince

14 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 1, 15. 12. 1913, p. 4.

15 Nobles themselves were often authors of the articles. In the first issue, Alexander Stolypin, brother of the assassinated Prime Minister Petr Stolypin, wrote an article about their family country-estate Srednikovo. Baroness Sof'ia Bel'gard (born 1855) wrote an article about the country estate Maklec (the Tula province) belonging to her sister, Baroness Olga Vladimirovna Frederiks (1859–1920). See *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 71, 1. 12. 1916, pp. 3–5.

16 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 49, 1. 1. 1916, pp. 10–11 (author of the article: Baron N. V. Drizen).



Fig. 2: The country estate Andreevskoe, property of Prince Alexei A. Kurakin, in Yaroslavl province (source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 49, 1. 1. 1916, p. 10).

Vasily D. Golitsyn, the director of the Rumiantsev Museum and the man who stayed rather outside politics.¹⁷

There was no distinction between the old aristocracy and the new nobility. The articles about the country estate Sharovka (the Kharkov province), belonging to Baron Leopold Kenig, the owner of sugar refineries (picture nr. 3),¹⁸ and Natal'ievka, the property of sugar magnate Paul I. Kharitonenko, are good examples. Natal'ievka (picture nr. 4) was a new country estate, given as a model of contemporary and positive effort to make the country life “comfortable and beautiful”.¹⁹ Natal'ievka could serve as proof that the exclusive world of the aristocracy was more open to the new nobility and industrialists,

17 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 50, 15. 1. 1916, pp. 3–5.

18 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 26, 26. 1. 1915, pp. 3–8.

19 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 32, 15. 4. 1915, pp. 4–9. Natal'ievka was founded by Ivan Gerasimovitch Kharitonenko (1822–1891) and named after his youngest daughter, Natal'ia, who married Count Peter Stenbok (divorce 1907), and later Prince Mikhail Gorchakov (wedding 24th November 1907).

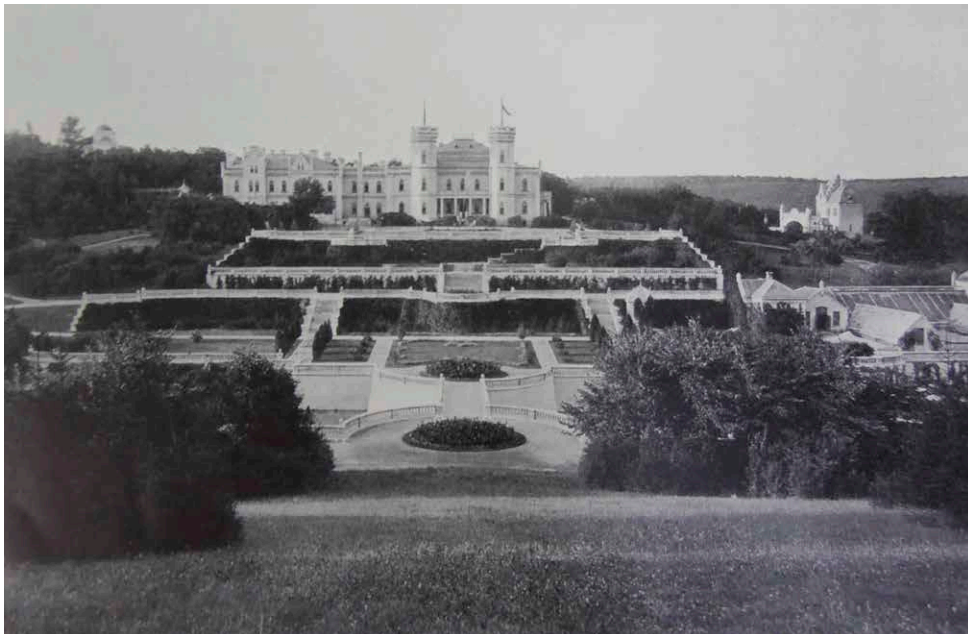


Fig. 3: The Sharovka estate, property of Baron Leopold Kenig, in Kharkov province
(source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, No. 26, 20. 1. 1915, p. 3).

who were undoubtedly a part of the Russian social elite (the Kharitonenko family was only elevated into the hereditary nobility in 1899).

Last but not least, presentations of different country estates were also a celebration of the Russian Empire. Besides country estates in central Russia, manor houses in the Ukraine, the Baltic countries and Finland were depicted. The Russian owners of estates were celebrated as “promoters of Russian culture” in the empire borderlands. Prince Alexei V. Obolensky, the owner of the estate at Lake Saimaa in Finland (picture nr. 5), and his wife were hailed as “pioneers of the implementation of the beautiful Russian culture in the region”²⁰

Other sections of the magazine were focused on various aspects of a noble life with obvious inspiration by the lifestyle of the British aristocracy.²¹ In his memoirs, Krymov stated: “I decided to publish a magazine modeled after the English ones.”²² England was

20 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 14–15, 1. 8. 1914, pp. 15–17.

21 See the discussion about the copying of the English aristocratic life-styles in: D. LIEVEN, *Aristocracy in Europe*, chapter 7, “Life, Manners, Morals”, pp. 134–158.

22 V. KRYMOV, *Portrety neobychnykh liudei*, p. 241



Fig. 4: Nataľievka, country house of Pavel I. Kharitonenko, in Kharkov province
(source: *Stolitsa i usad'ba*, no. 32, 15. 4. 1915, p. 6).

admired as a country with the most advanced culture, and *Stolitsa i usad'ba* followed magazine *The Ladies Field*, published in London since 1881, in many ways. *The Ladies Field* was more aimed at a female audience and focused mainly on the contemporary life of the upper class, while *Stolitsa i usad'ba* was more interested in history and art history. *The Ladies Field* had a fashion section, missing in the Russian magazine. However, the basic scheme of both magazines was very similar. Another English magazine – *Country Life* also served as a model, and the section about auctions was inspired by the chronicle of *The Burlington Magazine*. Similar “upper-class” magazines were published in various European countries, e. g. *The Sketch* in the United Kingdom (between 1893 and 1959) or *Sport und Salon: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für die vornehme Welt* in Austria-Hungary (between 1898 and 1918). However, *Stolitsa i usad'ba* made no references to foreign magazines (with the exception of *The Ladies Field* and *The Burlington Magazine*).

Almost every issue of *Stolitsa i usad'ba* contained reports relating to the tsarist court (e.g. the appointment of new ladies-in-waiting, court dignitaries etc.) and the social life of the nobility in St. Petersburg and Moscow, including photos of engaged couples and



Fig. 5: The country house of Prince Alexei V. Obolensky, on the lake Saimaa in Finland
(source *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 14-15, 1. 8. 1914, p. 17).

newlyweds, reports about marriage anniversary celebrations, balls, parties, and events in noble clubs (the Imperial Yacht Club in St. Petersburg, established in 1846, or the English Club in St. Petersburg, established in 1770). Reports on the city life alternated with images of the countryside. Photos of “pets” (picture nr. 6) showed another part of the nobility private life. Since the first edition, articles about foreign embassies, starting with the French one, were published. Chronicles of the life of high society, sections about sports, tourism and art collecting, as well as the part about history and present of the Russian theatre and famous Russian actresses, were almost obligatory for each issue. Articles about gypsies and the gypsy culture represented a special but frequent topic.

Hunting was a traditional activity which underlined the social exclusivity of the nobility (picture nr. 7). Simultaneously, the magazine showed more civil and contemporary leisure activities, especially sport. Sport activities were seen as a sign of a modern life, and the nobles were involved in a number of sports.²³ The most attention was devoted

23 For the growing popularity of sports activities among the nobility, see Louise MCREYNOLDS, *Russia at Play. Leisure Activities at the End of the Tsarist Era*, Ithaca – London 2003, Chapter 3, pp. 76–112.



Fig. 6: “Our darlings”. Mrs. von Shulman with her pets – Japanese Chin ‘Sadayako’ and Siberian tiger ‘Murik’ (source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 10, 15. 5. 1914, p. 21).

to tennis, horse riding, sailing, chess, and sport shooting (*tir au pigeons*). The first issue of the magazine published a photo of Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Sumarokov-Elston, a Russian tennis champion (picture nr. 8).²⁴

Again, referring to the “English habits”, readers were encouraged to travel. Editor Krymov wrote: “*The Russians go but do not travel.*”²⁵ The reports about exotic countries should have been an inspiration: Egypt and Sudan, Southeast Asia, French Polynesia. The growing popularity of motor sports among the upper class was related to modern tourism. To be modern meant to own a car. Even Tsar Nicholas II, after some hesitation, became a devotee of cars.²⁶ *Stolitsa i usadba* regularly published advertisings for cars, mostly of English and American production (Napier, Packard). This was not surprising

24 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 1, 15. 12. 1913, p. 23.

25 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 11, 1. 6. 1914, p. 20.

26 His aide-de-camp Prince Orlov was a great promoter of motor sport in Russia and the tsarist court spent large sums on new cars. See Igor V. ZIMIN, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' Rossiiskogo imperatorskogo dvora: vtoroia chetvert' XIX – nachalo XX v. Vzroslyi mir imperatorskikh rezidentsii*, St. Petersburg 2010.



Fig. 7: „After the hunt“. Bear hunting at the estate of Count Illarion I. Vorontsov-Dashkov (source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 19-20, 10. 10. 1914. p. 18).

in the context of European nobility because aristocrats became the pioneers of motoring very often. The ownership of a car was the sign of social exclusiveness and also modernity, as a car was commonly considered to be a revolutionary means of transport.²⁷

The First World War broke out relatively shortly after the magazine had been founded. The war significantly influenced the life of the Russian nobility. The officer corps of the army was still considerably recruited from the nobility and there was hardly any noble family whose members would not have somehow been dragged into war events.²⁸ The elite regiments of the Imperial Guard, composed almost exclusively of nobles, were deployed on the front in the early stage of the war and suffered terrible losses during the fall of 1914 and summer of 1915. Noblewomen were engaged in charitable activities,

27 For Austria-Hungary, see: Miloš HOŘEJŠ – Jiří KRÍŽEK, *Zámek s vůní benzínu. Automobily a šlechta v českých zemích do roku 1945* [Castles with a Scent of Petrol. Cars of Aristocrats in the Czech Lands up to 1945], Prague 2016. The enormous popularity of the motoring among the British aristocrats is well documented in: *Samochody wytwornego towarzystwa. Miodowe lata angielskich automobili 1902–1905. Automobiles of English High Society. The Honeymoon Years 1902–1905*, Kraków 2007. See also the journal *The Car Illustrated: a journal of travel by land, sea and air* published in the United Kingdom since 1902.

28 In 1912, there were 45,582 officers in the Russian military. Just over 51 % were from the hereditary nobility. The majority of generals (87 %) and colonels (71 %) remained nobles, but among lower ranks the number varied from a low of 40 % in the infantry to a high of 75 % in the cavalry. See Peter KENEZ, *A Profile of the Prerevolutionary Officer Corps*, *Canadian Slavic Studies* 7, 1973, pp. 129, 132.



Fig. 8: „Sport in Russia“. Photo of the Count Mikhail N. Sumarokov-Elston, the Russian champion in tennis, is in the center of the page (source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 1, 15. 12. 1913)

managed the Red Cross units and served in field hospitals.²⁹ War patriotism and public service of the nobility belonged to the main topics of *Stolitsa i usadba* since August 1914. The magazine introduced new sections: *Petrograd in the Time of War*, *Moscow in the Time of War* and *Province in the Time of War*. Photos of noblewomen, as nurses, stimulated patriotism, and estate houses were shown in their new role of makeshift hospitals. The nobility was presented as a patriotic class working for the welfare of the country (picture nr. 9).

Creating the image of a rural idyll continued despite the war. Reports about life on country estates showed the union between the nobility and Russian countryside.

²⁹ Two of Princess Vasilchikova's brothers (Vladimir and Dmitry, who was killed in 1917) served in the army, the third brother (Boris) did not because he was a District Marshal of the Nobility. Her husband, Prince Illarion Vasilchikov, served in the army as a volunteer until the State Duma reopened its sessions in 1915 (he was a member of the State Duma); his brother Georgii was killed on the front in 1916. L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, p. 279.



Fig. 9: “Military hospital of Countess Nadezhda A. Kapnist”. Countess Kapnist is standing, her daughter Margareta Petrovna is sitting from right (source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, no.24, 15. 12. 1914, p. 22)

The history of country estates was presented as an integral part of Russian history. Their construction and beautification was the noble contribution to the creation of a cultural landscape. At the same time, this was creating the illusion of a happy life in the countryside and closeness between the nobility and peasantry. In her book about the life of the nobility in the countryside, Priscilla Roosevelt aptly remarked: “*Here we see the final echoes of estate theatricality and of the general fascination with folk culture.*”³⁰ Princess Mariia Vasilievna Golitsyna milking a cow (picture nr. 10) is a perfect example of the aristocratic stylization to the role of “peasant-woman” in the “Russian Versailles”.

For whom was *Stolitsa i usadba* intended? It is estimated that it was mainly for the aristocracy and educated people in larger cities interested in Russian aristocratic culture. The price of the magazine was not inconsequential. The first issue cost 75 kopeks, but soon the price rose to 1 ruble per copy. For comparison, the popular magazine *Ogonëk* cost only five kopeks, pictorial magazine *Solntse Rossii* (*Russia’s Sun*) ten kopeks, and the price of a book printed in Suvorin’s publishing house *Deshevaia biblioteka* (*Cheap*

30 Priscilla ROOSEVELT, *Life on the Russian Country Estate. A Social and Cultural History*, New Haven – London 1995, p. 327.



Fig. 10: Princess Maria V. Golitsyna, in local costume, milking a cow at the family estate Gremyach, Chernigov Province (source: *Stolitsa i usadba*, no. 50, 15. 1. 1916, p. 5)

Library) ranged from fifteen to twenty kopeks.³¹ Even with regard to the number of copies, Krymov began cautiously. The first issue was published in an edition of one and a half thousand. Since it was quickly sold out, there were six thousand copies of the second issue printed. Krymov recalled that the circulation had been rising steadily up to twenty thousand copies at the end of the existence of the magazine. *Stolitsa i usadba* was primarily subscribed to by noblewomen, and even Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna subscribed to the magazine at the end of 1914.³²

Although the editors of *Stolitsa i usadba* designated the magazine as apolitical, non-partisan and non-class, it was not entirely true. Even if the first and second principles were more or less followed, the magazine could not be considered non-class because it dealt almost exclusively with the nobility. Country estates, though owned by wealthy non-nobles, were associated with the traditional aristocratic life. Land tenure and the related culture of country estates were the basis of aristocratic estate privileges for

31 For *Ogonëk*, see Jeffrey BROOKS, *When Russia Learned to Read. Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861–1917*, Evanston, Illinois 1987, pp. 115–116.

32 V. KRYMOV, *Portrety neobychnykh liudei*, pp. 242–243.

centuries. The material and cultural background of the Russian nobility, its city palaces, and country houses were inextricably linked with the era of serfdom. The vast majority of country estates shown on the pages of *Stolitsa i usadba* were built during the era of serfdom, and therefore the nobility kept and strengthened, in a sort of way, recalling “the old times” in the collective memory. Constant referring to the splendor past of country estates ultimately left one major impression – nostalgia. Nostalgia for ages when time was passing slowly, society was hierarchical, social roles were clearly defined, and the noble world was not confronted with any challenges. These old times came to life on the pages of the magazine. In a way, it was the displacement of negative memories of the Revolution in 1905. The happy idyll of rural life was as fictional as the idealized connection between the Romanov dynasty and the Russian people presented at the jubilee of the Romanovs in 1913 and other state festivities before the First World War.³³

The celebration of country estates at the beginning of the 20th century was a part of retrospectivism and nostalgia at the time of modernization. *Usadba* (country estate) and its myths became a symbol of the high Russian/national culture, incorporated into the mythic version of the Russian national identity.³⁴ In 1913, Count Pavel Sheremetiev stated:

“Our country nests are carrying the ancient torch of culture and enlightenment. God grant them success; if only they were spared the senseless movement to destroy them, supposedly in the interests of social justice.”³⁵

According to Laura Victoir, “By particular groups of the cultural elite and aristocrats, an estate was included in a version of Russian national identity that harked back to what contemporaries thought of as a golden age of estate culture.”³⁶

In this context, Laura Victoir wrote about the anthropomorphisation of “the old houses” portrayed as “shadows”, or “ghosts of the past”.³⁷ Undoubtedly, *Stolitsa i usadba* contributed to this trend and belonged to the context of the artistic magazines, a new sort of publication emerged in Russia at the turn of the 20th century. Magazines like *Mir iskusstva* (World of Art, 1898–1904), *Apollon* (1909–1917), *Starye gody* (Bygone Years,

33 For the detailed analysis of the Romanov jubilee and other state-organized festivities, see: Richard WORTMAN, *Scenarios of Power, Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II*, Princeton 2006, Chapter 21.

34 Laura VICTOIR, *Creating and Preserving a Myth: Changing Attitudes about Country Estates in Late Imperial Russia*, *Revolutionary Russia*, vol. 25, nr. 1, June 2012, p. 66.

35 *Ibidem*, p. 68.

36 *Ibidem*, p. 61.

37 *Ibidem*, p. 68.

1907–1916) were focused, in various degrees, on the phenomenon of country estates. The magazine portrayed the living conditions on estates, too. However, it did not picture ruins but luxurious houses along with their owners. The glorious past became the living present. And the future should have been also great. In Vladimir Krymov's words, "After the war, Russia's future will be even better."³⁸

Stolitsa i usadba presented the nobility as an elite class. After the war broke out, it began to emphasize its public service and depicted the nobility as a patriotic class working for the country. At the same time, the nobility remained a class with a specific position in society based on rich traditions. In this presentation, the nobility and Russia were inseparable. However, such a cultural scenario combining modern civic values with the traditional picture of "lords" was hardly acceptable to the majority of society, particularly to the lower class primarily represented by peasants.

A world without peasants?

One of the most striking features of *Stolitsa i usadba* was its ignoring of the peasant world. Although country estates represented a sort of a symbolic island of the noble and western culture in the midst of the peasant world, no trace of this could be found on the pages of the magazine. Yet the relationship between the nobility and peasants, which definitely was not without conflict, constituted a crucial factor for the future of country estates.

Many nobles, both liberals and conservatives, believed that peasants were kind, and the nobility and peasants were close to each other and understood each other. Prince Alexei Obolensky, a moderate conservative, admired the diversity of the country and "moral purity" of peasants whom he considered to be "*naturally intelligent, hardworking and talented*".³⁹

However, not everyone shared this idea of the idealized rural world.⁴⁰ In 1912, Ivan Bunin, a famous Russian writer and member of a once wealthy noble family, said: "*In no other country is there such a striking gap between the cultured and uncultured classes as in ours.*"⁴¹ Bunin welcomed the October Manifesto in 1905, but the peasant unrests of the following year confirmed his skepticism about Russia's future. He had no illusions about the goodness of the Russian people (see his famous stories *The Village* or *Sukhodol*),

38 *Stolitsa i usadba*, nr. 16–17, 1. 9. 1914, p. 21.

39 A. V. OBOLENSKY, *Moi vospominaniia*, p. 63.

40 For the various noble ideas about the peasants, see E. P. BARINOVA, *Rossiiskoe dvorianstvo*, pp. 207–232.

41 D. SMITH, *Former People*, p. 57.

and that is why he criticized intellectual naive ideas about peasants, their needs and opinions.⁴²

Bunin was not the only one to perceive the coexistence of peasants and the educated elite as being very difficult. In his reflections on Russian history, philosopher Georgii Fedotov wrote:

*“A lord (barin) and a peasant (muzhik) sometimes seem to begin to understand each other, but that is a delusion. If the lord can understand his servant (Turgeniev, Tolstoy) then the servant does not understand either the life or the world of lords. And the lord’s understanding is limited, too: he can see the peasants’ life and thinking, however, he still cannot grasp a thousand-year tradition, the religious world of the peasantry – “Christianity” – which is behind them.”*⁴³

Princess Lydia Vasilchikova’s memoirs also show the difference between these mentalities and values.⁴⁴ Princess Vasilchikova recalled the peasants’ inertness and lack of interest in improving their economies. With some kind of resignation, she stated: *“The worst traits of a Russian peasant were manifested when he found himself among “his people.”*⁴⁵ She admitted that the nobility had not understood the peasant mentality, and there had been a gap between both classes. The relations from the times of serfdom had been broken, and new ones were not created yet. Princess Vasilchikova illustrated the difference in mentalities with the following incident. Her father, Prince Leonid Viazemsky, systematically built up his estate Lotarevo in the Tambov province. He built a church, a school and a hospital and tried to improve his peasants’ standard of living in every possible way. One day, while touring his estate, the Prince started to talk with a peasant who did not know his identity. He asked him whether the peasants were satisfied with what the lord was doing for them, and if they were grateful to him.

*“Satisfied? Yes, very satisfied”, answered the peasant, “How to be dissatisfied? But to be grateful? For what? After all, he has done all the things not for us but for the salvation of his soul. Who takes care of the others? But the salvation of your own soul, that’s different!”*⁴⁶

42 His fears were fulfilled in 1917. See his diary *Okaiannyye dni (The Cursed Days)*, St. Petersburg 2000.

43 Grigorii FEDOTOV, *Sudba i grekhi Rossii. Izbrannyye stat’i po filosofii russkoi istorii i kul’tury*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg 1991, p. 85. Aleksandr V. Davydov captured insincerity in the relationship between the nobles and peasants in his memoirs; he considered this the legacy of serfdom. *“It is evident that each side tried to cheat the other, but whereas the peasants guessed perfectly well the thoughts of the landowners, the latter were incapable of piercing the stone wall of the dissembling character of the peasant.”* Alexander DAVYDOFF, *Russian Sketches. Memoirs*, Tenafly, N. J. 1984, pp. 177–179.

44 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, pp. 109–113.

45 *Ibidem*, p. 109.

46 *Ibidem*, p. 110.

Princess Vasilchikova thought that after the abolition of serfdom, the cultural contact between the nobility and the peasants had faded. “*I think the fundamental mistake of the educated Russians of my time, in their relationship with peasants, was that they considered them the same people as they were and attributed them their own feelings and thoughts.*”⁴⁷ Princess Vasilchikova wrote her memoirs during post-revolutionary emigration, so they could easily reflect the knowledge of later events. However, she was convinced that the brutal behavior of the peasants during the revolution originated in their mentality. Besides the other matters, an animal instinct prevailed among the Russians and was reflected by their “*atrocious behavior towards animals.*”⁴⁸ While Prince Alexei Vasilievich Obolensky linked the essence of the peasant question to the failing of the land reform (which was not carried out along with the abolishment of serfdom or shortly after it),⁴⁹ Princess Vasilchikova saw the problem neither in incomplete reforms nor in not receiving the constitution fifty years earlier but in the insufficient development of the moral principles of the peasantry:

*“If for urban people whose idea of peasants was limited by Turgeniev’s ideals on the one hand, and by the narodniks’ revolutionary articles on the other hand; if for these dilettantes of the rural life the Russian peasant of 1918 was a surprise, for us, the inhabitants of a village who grew up among them, their behavior was not, alas, a novelty. At that time, the only difference was that their atrocious behavior towards animals was transferred to humans. And that’s not such a big step.”*⁵⁰

In the absence of common values, it is not surprising how callously, brutally and uninhibitedly peasants proceeded against the nobles and their property. In the revolution of 1905–1906, peasants burned at least 1,000 noble estates.⁵¹ Princess Vasilchikova recalled the destruction of estate Zubrilovka, belonging to Prince Alexander A. Golitsyn-Prozorovsky, in the Penza province in 1905. The peasants not only destroyed the palace

47 *Ibidem*, p. 113.

48 *Ibidem*, pp. 113–115.

49 A. V. OBOLENSKY, *Moi vospominaniia*, pp. 33, 63.

50 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, p. 113.

51 D. BAIRAU (BEYRAU), *Ianus v laptiakh: krest`iane v russkoi revoliutsii, 1905–1917gg.*, *Voprosy istorii* 1, 1992, pp. 22–23. Russian historian Anfimov states much more – 2,864 destroyed country estates. A. M. ANFIMOV, *Neokonchennye spory*, *Voprosy istorii* 5, 1997, p. 64. On the violence in the countryside and especially the new phenomenon of “hooliganism”, see Orlando FIGES, *A People’s Tragedy. The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, London 1998, pp. 96–98; Stephen P. FRANK, *Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856–1914*, Berkeley 1999, pp. 280–289; Joan NEUBERGER, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg*, Berkeley 1993, p. 114; Neil WEISMANN, *Rural Crime in Tsarist Russia: the Question of Hooliganism*, *Slavic Review* 37/2, 1978, pp. 228–240.

and art collections but also “*carried out atrocities which we only became accustomed to in 1917*”.⁵²

Princess Vasilchikova considered envy to be the main motive for the destruction of somebody else’s property. Peasants were not hereditary landowners, the land belonged to the community (*obshchina*), and they did not have a deep relationship to material possessions.⁵³ The agrarian reform carried out by Prime Minister Petr Stolypin in the following years was far from complete. It only concerned a limited number of peasants and did not fundamentally change the peasants’ mentality.⁵⁴

It was not only a different relationship to the material possessions, land and animals. While the nobles emphasized their patriotism and put the service for the Russian homeland before everything else, peasants identified with the Russian state very little. This became evident in the First World War. Peasants were tired of the prolonged conflict. According to Princess Vasilchikova, they were particularly bothered with the fact that the war took the workforce out of a village and wanted the war to end soon.⁵⁵ Patriotism meant nothing to them; and it was one of the main reasons why the Bolshevik propaganda was so successful in the country in 1917. General Brusilov simply described the situation after the fall of the monarchy as follows:

*“The soldiers wanted only one thing – peace, so that they could go home, rob the landowners and live freely without paying any taxes or recognizing any authority.”*⁵⁶

Naturally, Brusilov’s words are simplified, but the fact that more and more peasants deserted from the army, and the Russian army began to decay rapidly during the spring and summer of 1917 is well known.⁵⁷ The soldiers of peasant origin wanted to return to their villages as soon as possible because grabbing the noble land and the destruction of country estates gradually started during the spring.⁵⁸ Often, it was the “completion of

52 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, p. 132. The destruction of Zubrilovka was one of the most famous cases of peasant attacks on noble estates in 1905. For a detailed description of this peasant pogrom, see Vasilii VERESHCHAGIN, *Razorennoe gnezdo*, St. Petersburg 1908.

53 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, pp. 98–99.

54 Boris N. MIRONOV, *Social’naia istoriia Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII – nachalo XX v.)*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg 1999, pp. 481–483.

55 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, p. 301.

56 O. FIGES, *A People’s Tragedy*, pp. 379–380.

57 On the army disintegration, see Allan WILDMAN, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army*, 2 vols., Princeton 1980, 1987.

58 On destructions of country estates, see D. SMITH, *Former People*, pp. 93–96.

the land redistribution” of the years 1905–1906 and the revenge against the nobles who had defended their estates.⁵⁹

Princess Vasilchikova described the destruction of their family farm Lotarevo in the Tambov province as follows:

*“When the neighboring peasants came to destroy Lotarevo, they started gradually. First they robbed the poultry farm, then they stole pigs, sheep and cows, eventually they burglarized the stud farm ... and finished up with the house. The Lotarevo butler [...] narrated that the house had been plundered so perfectly that even the fire poker had not been left. He said, ‘If a stray dog came running, I would not oust him more!’ The tiled stove painted by my father was broken into pieces, and the door handles were broken off. After all, the main aim of the agitators was to prevent the owners from returning.”*⁶⁰

Even a few years later, Lydia could not explain how the people could behave like that. She was mostly taken aback by the passivity of the servants who had lived with her family for years but did not prevent the looting. Finally, she agreed with the opinion of a native Russian who she debated the revolution with: “Yes, we have to tell the truth; the Russian nation is holy but perfidious.” And a Ukrainian officer said to the Princess:

*“I am Ukrainian (malorus) and after the revolution, the peasants in our country also completely changed, but I’ve never seen such people as your Great-Russians (velikorosy) are, and I did not understand that in the world, such animals could exist.”*⁶¹

Many nobles believed that the traditional relations between them and peasants were disturbed by the revolutionary intelligence that manipulated the peasants (Princess Vasilchikova also spoke about “agitators”). Prince Boris Vasilchikov assumed that “*under the influence of the revolution in 1905 and with the assistance of intelligence, peaceful and patriarchal relations boiled in a systematic incitement of peasants against the nobility.*”⁶²

However, the dissonance in the relationship and the perception of one class by the other one had deeper roots than just the revolutionary agitation. The peasants’ hatred towards the nobility went far back into the past. After the abolition of serfdom, the antagonism was strengthened because the peasants were not satisfied with the reforms.

59 Various examples of the destruction of estates are summarized in O. FIGES, *A People’s Tragedy*, p. 365. See also Cathy FRIERSON, *All Russia is Burning*, Washington 2002, pp. 106–109.

60 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, p. 409.

61 *Ibidem*, p. 411.

62 Boris A. VASILCHIKOV, *Vospominaniia*, Moscow 2003, p. 94. Prince Alexei Obolensky used the same words (“*quiet patriarchal life*”) when describing the country life at the end of the 19th century. See A. V. OBOLENSKY, *Moi vospominaniia*, p. 19.

They did not understand why they should pay for the land gained along with the personal freedom.⁶³ The traditional perception of the nobility was thus negative and more over, in the following decades there were several crises which further deepened the old animosity.

In his last book on the peasant traditional culture, Leonid Heretz identified three critical moments in the relations between the peasantry and the nobility. The first one came with the famine in 1891–1892. According to Heretz, “*The antagonism between the groups was even more drastic than educated Russians (and Western historians) could have imagined: the opposition was absolute, in the context of the dualism inherent in the traditional worldview, and the conflict between the groups was understood in apocalyptic terms.*”⁶⁴ The peasants believed that the cholera epidemic accompanying the famine was a part of the conspiracy:

“*To the popular mind, there was only one group possessing the combination of organization, learning, and malice required to identify the culprits behind the cholera – the lords.*”⁶⁵

In this moment of the crisis, it was significant that the memories of the serfdom were still alive. Then, the sins of the nobility from the time before 1861 were imputed to the young generation of “lords”. The revolution in 1905–1906 was the second moment. The weakness of the nobility was evident. In the anticipation of the land redistribution, peasants were attacking noble estates again. And even though the revolution had been defeated, their servile behavior changed. The fear of lords gradually disappeared, and just resentment and hatred remained.⁶⁶ The third moment came with the First World War. While the war propaganda emphasized the image of a brave, patriotic conscious soldier-peasant, the soldiers’ combat enthusiasm was very fragile, and the signs of resistance to the mobilization occurred in the autumn of 1914.⁶⁷ Peasants expected the redistribution of the noble land. They did not like the prolongation of the war, so a new conspiracy theory soon appeared. It said that the war was being artificially prolonged by the nobility

63 On peasants’ reactions to the abolishment of serfdom, see Geoffrey HOSKING, *Russia. People and Empire, 1552–1917*, London 1999, pp. 221–224. For more details, see Daniel FIELD, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar*, Boston 1976.

64 Leonid HERETZ, *Russia on the Eve of Modernity. Popular Religions and Traditional Culture under the Last Tsars*, Cambridge 2008, p. 130.

65 *Ibidem*, p. 133.

66 *Ibidem*, pp. 183–184.

67 On the war patriotic propaganda, see Hubertus F. JAHN, *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I*, Ithaca 1998. On the peasants’ reaction to the mobilization, see Aaron B. RETISH, *Russia’s Peasants in Revolution and Civil War. Citizenship, Identity, and the Creation of the Soviet State, 1914–1922*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 22–26.

so that it could exterminate as many peasant soldiers, i. e. potential claimants to the land, as possible. This conspiracy theory, by Leonid Heretz called the great “*killing-off*”, was another blow to the relation between the peasants and the nobility.⁶⁸

On the eve of the revolution, even without the assistance of external agitation, peasants felt a deep hatred towards the nobility. The presence of agitators, or rather soldiers who deserted, returned to villages and were influenced by the revolutionary propaganda from the front, only accelerated the decision of peasants to occupy the noble land, which was their long-term goal. The important thing was that with the advent of the revolution, peasants and the lower classes of society did not distinguish between the nobility and other strata of the elite. All of them were “lords” and “bourgeois” (*burzhui*), thus enemies.

Conclusion: ‘The ship is sinking, but the orchestra is still playing.’

Having had the experience from the years 1905–1906, did the nobility anticipate the repetition of a revolution, new attacks by peasants, and the liquidation of country estates? Some testimonies indicate that the nobility suffered from the trauma of the revolution and was haunted by fear. Once, Countess Katia von Carlow had “*a sort of terrifying vision – she saw the hall and familiar corridors full of angry and menacing crowd with sticks and weapons, forcing their way along*”.⁶⁹ Some nobles noticed changes in the peasants’ behavior. They began to act more defiantly and disrespectfully after 1906: “*Instead of the peasants’ previous courtesy, friendliness and humility, there was only hatred on their faces, and the manner of their greetings was such as to underline their rudeness*”.⁷⁰ Sergei Podolinskii, Prime Minister Stolypin’s nephew, returning to his Tula estate in 1908, remarked:

*“Externally everything appeared to have returned to normal. But something essential, something irreparable had occurred within the people themselves. A general feeling of fear had undermined all trust. After a lifetime of security – no one ever locked their doors and windows in the evening – the nobles concerned themselves with weapons and personally made the rounds to test their security measures.”*⁷¹

Princess Ekaterina Sayn-Wittgenstein, eighteen years old in 1917, was expecting something wrong several weeks before the revolution. On February 12, she wrote in her diary:

68 L. HERETZ, *Russia*, p. 229–231.

69 D. SMITH, *Former People*, p. 58.

70 Aleksandr N. NAUMOV, *Iz utselevshikh vospominanii 1868–1917*, vol. 2, New York 1955, p. 72.

71 R. T. MANNING, *The Crisis*, p. 146.

*“In Russia, everything is going to the destruction of the country now. Each step of the government is leading to that. It seems that the country has never been so disorganized from the inside as now. Surely, all of this will be resolved in the near future, and, of course, it will result in a disaster. [...] I have never been a pessimist, and even now I would never say what I have written before a stranger, but everyone can think what he wants. Everyone must look at the true state of affairs soberly and with no illusions.”*⁷²

But on the other hand, or perhaps because of this concern, she fled from reality into the fictional world of peace and illusion. On February 23, she wrote:

*“Almost nobody talks about the plight of these days. Everyone somehow avoids actual interviews. Music in general, and especially opera, is the fashion of season. If now someone read my diary, he would know the atmosphere was very pleasant to me. The purchase of a gramophone was an impetus to the development of this mood. Since, listening to high-quality gramophone records has become our hobby. [...] We live so quietly and happily that, undoubtedly, something unpleasant that will disturb everything is going to happen.”*⁷³

Historian Douglas Smith writes: *“A sense of doom settled over Russia. The apocalypse seemed to be approaching and no one and nothing could stop it.”* And he adds Baron Nikolai Wrangel’s words said to Count Valetin Zubov on the terrace of Café de Rohan in Paris in May 1914:

*“We are on the verge of events, the likes of which the world has not seen since the time of the barbarian invasions. [...] Soon everything that constitutes our lives will strike the world as useless. A period of barbarism is about to begin, and it shall last for decades.”*⁷⁴

Such words sound prophetic today. However, not all the nobles were thinking alike. Princess Vasilchikova argued, on the contrary, that the life after 1905 returned to normal to such an extent that the events of the revolution did not serve as a warning. Nobody expected the repetition of a revolution twelve years later:

*“Between those years, none of my friends transferred money abroad, not because it was considered unpatriotic, but because, as I remember, there was no panic.”*⁷⁵

72 Ekaterina SAYN-WITTGENSTEIN (SAIN-VITGENSHTEIN), *Dnevnik 1914–1918*, Paris 1986, pp. 77–78.

73 *Ibidem*, p. 78.

74 D. SMITH, *Former People*, p. 59; Valentin P. ZUBOV, *Stradnye gody*, Moscow 2004, p. 41.

75 L. VASILCHIKOVA, *Ischeznuvshaia Rossiia*, p. 134.

A similar peace radiated from the pages of *Stolitsa i usad'ba*, too. The magazine remotely reflected the events of the war through charity bazaars or bays in which noblewomen cared for the wounded, but the world behind the front was being shown without conflicts. If the cloud of apocalypse had floated over Russia, it would not have overshadowed this ideal world. It was the same dreamy picture of old times as the paintings by Vasily Maximov (*Vsë v proshlom / Everything is in the Past*) or Vasily Polenov (*Babushkin sad / Grandmother's Orchard*).

The idealization of the noble life in the countryside was obvious. Although Krymov, in the first issue of *Stolitsa i usad'ba*, wrote how the face of estates had changed and how much it had been destroyed, his magazine did not report on anything like this. Other magazines, such as *Bygone Years (Starye gody)*, dealing with the culture of aristocratic residences and showing the real downfall, were significantly more pessimistic.

Stolitsa i usad'ba offered the escape to a peaceful and ideal world. In his memoirs, Krymov openly stated that he had wanted to “*stop the panic*” even if he had realized how idealistic such an effort was. He likened Russia to a sinking ship with passengers starting to panic. At such a moment, the captain has only one task, to stop the panic; therefore he behaves quietly, walks among the passengers on board, calmly smoking his cigar.⁷⁶

According to Russian art historian Valery Turchin, Krymov created an “*artificial myth*”: “*He did what is only possible in mythological consciousness: he stopped time.*”⁷⁷ But how can time be stopped? The last issue of the magazine (nr. 88–90, September 1917) could be transposed for the first, and nothing would change: the same beauties and the same advertisements for cosmetics and luxury cars. A sort of picture of eternity, as the beauties are not getting older thanks to cosmetics, and the architecture of noble estates is eternal.

When analyzing the new interest in country estates before the First World War, Laura Victoir declared:

*“In the wave of industrialization, social unrests, and changing societal paradigms, this exploration of the past, whose important topic the estates became too, was also an expression of antipathy to modernization.”*⁷⁸

But that is only partially true because the modernization could have various forms. *Stolitsa i usad'ba* visualized not only “the glorious past”, but also the modern side of

76 V. KRYMOV, *Portrety neobychnykh liudei*, pp. 251–252.

77 Valery S. TURCHIN, *O zhurnale ‘Stolitsa i usad’ba’*, in: *Russkaia usad'ba: Sbornik Obshchestva Izuchenia Russkoi Usadby*, Moskva 1999, p. 70.

78 L. VICTOIR, *Creating and Preserving a Myth*, p. 61.

the nobility life referring to the standard of western, especially British, elites' behavior: sports, traveling, motoring. Moreover, many estates belonged to the "new nobility", and merging the old aristocracy with the new business elite was also a kind of social modernization.

Stolitsa i usad'ba did not suggest that the nobility retreat from its position in society. On the contrary, it emphasized its inseparability from Russia. After all, noble country estates were not only a part of the past but also of the present. The Russian nobility did not live for itself but served Russia in the broadest sense of the word. Prince Alexei Obolensky captured it in an idealized form:

*"Always close to the people; our ancestors treated them like their brothers. Personal interests were always subordinated to the interests of the state, and the history of Russia has never seen any other image of the Obolensky family."*⁷⁹

The fundamental problem of this self-representation lay in the fact that the represented values were not common to all the classes of Russian society. They might be acceptable to the wider elite, not only the nobility but also industrialists or liberal intelligentsia. The elite appreciated subjects, objects and symbols to which peasants or common people had no relation, nor respected, nor understood their utility or symbolic meaning, and therefore did not need them, as demonstrated in the second part of the article.

The lower classes of society, peasants and workers (to a significant extent still linked to the countryside through their peasant roots), could hardly accept the role to which the nobility was stylized on the pages of *Stolitsa i usad'ba*. It was still the role of the ruling class in which the serfdom resonated powerfully. Even if the nobility had been trying to transform itself from a narrowly defined estate group into wider civic elite (and could have been successful), it would have been a futile effort to face the cultural scenario of the lower classes. The radical social revolution refused all the elites, and there was no longer a place for the world in the pages of *Stolitsa i usad'ba*.

79 A. V. OBOLENSKY, *Moi vospominaniia*, p. 50.

Resumé

Lidé minulosti a přítomnosti.

Časopis *Stolitsa i usadba* a sebe prezentace ruské šlechty v posledních letech carského režimu.

Šlechta, která byla po staletí vládnoucí třídou, si vytvořila komplexní systém symbolů a rituálů, které společně formovaly (politickou) kulturu Ruska. Především během druhé poloviny 19. století postavení šlechty procházelo postupnou, avšak zásadní změnou. Ruská společnost se vyvíjela směrem k občanské společnosti, zejména v důsledku tzv. Velkých reforem z 60. let. Šlechta, tradičně promincentní sociální třída (*stav*; *soslovie*), byla konfrontována se zrušením nevolnictví, nástupem střední třídy a jejím rostoucím vlivem. Dosavadní dominantní role šlechty byla tudíž ohrožena. Článek se zaměřuje na veřejnou roli ruské šlechty v posledních letech monarchie. Autor analyzuje různé způsoby sebe prezentace šlechty vůči veřejnosti a snaží se zodpovědět otázku, jak dalece byl „obraz šlechty“ reálný či imaginární. Analýza je postavena na různých primárních pramenech, především na časopisu *Stolitsa i usadba* (Město a venkovský statek). Časopis koncipovaný jako „žurnál vyšších kruhů“ vycházel v letech 1913–1917. Pokoušel se

ukázat klíčovou roli šlechty v ruské historii a její význam v politickém, společenském a kulturním životě země. Během první světové války zdůrazňoval vlastenectví a veřejnou službu šlechty ve prospěch států a národa. Nicméně taková prezentace byla plna protikladů. Vydavatelé deklarovali, že časopis je „nepolitický“ a „netřídní“, ovšem jednoznačným důrazem na šlechtu a její výjimečnou roli v minulosti fakticky zdůrazňovali stavovské rozdíly a stěželi mohli soupeřit s hodnotami nižších vrstev. Byť šlechta dokázala spolupracovat s průmyslníky a inteligencí a spolu s nimi vytvářet novou občanskou elitu, pro rolníky zůstávala starým nepřítelem. Nižší vrstvy odmítaly elity jako celek a kulturní scénář prezentovaný časopisem *Stolitsa i usadba*, kombinující nostalgii po zlatých časech „šlechtických hnízd“ s moderním občanským uvědoměním akcentujícím národní význam šlechtické kultury, neměl v revolučním Rusku budoucnost.

Reports and reviews

ČAPSKÝ, Martin, *Město pod vládou kazatelů. Charismatictí náboženští vůdci ve střetu s městskou radou v pozdně středověkých českých korunních zemích* [Charismatic Religious Leaders in Conflict with the Town Councils in the Late Medieval Lands of the Bohemian Crown], Praha: Argo 2015, 200 pp., ISBN 978-80-257-1426-3.

In his most recent work Martin Čapský confirmed that the scope of his interest still rests between the peak and the late periods of the medieval history of Bohemia, Moravia and also Silesia, of course, in regard to its widespread historical significance. He also demonstrated his abiding interest in the urban culture and its inner workings. For his comparative study entitled *Město pod vládou kazatelů* he chose five examples of Bohemian and Silesian cities (Prague, Plzeň, Hradec Králové, Wrocław, Legnica), in the fates of which he discovered situations that were worth comparing and the common denominator of which is one of the most interesting phenomena of urban life: urban revolt and the related introduction of a new order in the city administration, whereby, under the leadership of the preachers, any future activity is decided by the general urban population. In regard to these events (which all took place in the 15th Century, but at different times) the author is not interested in the charismatic power of the spiritual leaders, based on which they were able to induce an urban society to break-away from the long-established order and also, for example, to even refuse to obey their previous rulers, nor in an overly detailed study of the crowd that constituted that “public” which listens to the calls of preachers and grasps onto rebellion as representing a means of change. In this instance closer to the centre of interest is the tension existing between the secular authority and the town’s representatives – i.e. the councillors, and the spiritual authority – whereby there are preachers whose words, whether spoken from the pulpits of temples or from makeshift podiums on town squares, are gaining momentum – especially in politically tense periods. The interaction between the town officials and skilful preachers, the manner of their cooperation or conversely of their conflicts and their power-struggles for obtaining popularity and the favour of urban society, offer the reader an interesting perspective for understanding another very important aspect of urban community life: i.e. the different levels of communication.

The author exhibited his sound orientation in the field of communication studies, from which he drew both his personal inspiration and the methodological basis of his interpretation. He also observed such processes as which information was being

communicated and how public opinion was being influenced in a medieval urban society. He also reflected specific means of communication together with their urban context (e.g. at the Town Hall, on the square, in parvis). Thereby we can experience the power of the spoken word, a powerful weapon of the clergy and of all those who are seeking to increase the effectiveness of their message – as well as of their written communication – which is more relevant to town councils. Although at first glance it may appear that the written word does not carry the punch and/or the power of the spoken word (even if the spoken word is additionally enriched by the rhetorical skills of the church clergy), in the historical distance – as the author presents it – the written word already brings its rich fruit in the manner of the creation of a memory in regard to the specific event. The formation and the codification of the memory of that revolt and of its preaching “dictates” represent an equally important chapter in regard to this manner of town communication. Its sources are mostly town chronicles written by municipal clerks who often recorded the opinions and the positions adopted by the town councillors. They acted as supporters of the old order and, accordingly, they also made-known their views on the self-appointed leaders from among the clerics who were disrupting this old order. And, as the author confirms, it is their record of events acquired during the time gap following the decline of a specific preacher that will ultimately remain as valid evidence of the past events that the urban society had experienced. Based on their civic role of chroniclers and town administration members the urban scribes had the lion’s share of the interpretation of the turbulent events and their related works passed-on this interpretation viewed from the perspective of the “winners’ side” to the following generations.

In those chapters that are dedicated to the examples of five selected cities and their experiences of the urban rebellion that occurred under the leadership of the preacher, many of the nuances of these folk stories can be monitored in detail. Inevitably, of course, the highest degree of attention is paid to those who were heading them. We follow the controversy regarding the legitimacy of those who have traditionally or recently been governing the city: the legitimacy of the town council granted by tradition and by social consent and the legitimacy of the spiritual leaders who are supported by their faith in the rightness of acting in the name of God’s word and law. We can participate at times when the loyalty of the councillors to the municipality is being questioned or when the councillors are dithering between the favour of their townspeople and their own allegiance to the king. While the crowd itself also becomes a major actor, that crowd of people without names and without political expression, which, however, in tense moments overcomes its traditional passivity even seizes arms and commits violence to express its disagreement. This public activity adds weight to the words of the preachers and gives them the political power of being their spokespersons. As a background to these events, however, the author

also allows a warning voice of urban conscience to be heard that is precisely aware that in times of revolt it is violating well-established rules and acting in opposition to the social consensus. Perhaps this is also the reason for an occasional search for internal and external perpetrators being implemented and for executions that are not consistent with the generally accepted legal practices.

Although the story from each of the five cities includes its own specific details, whether in the form of an external enemy of the city or in relation to the linguistic and/or the religious aspects of the dispute or to the preachers themselves and their tactics, Martin Čapský's investigations have many traits in common, the generalisation of which is certainly both practicable and beneficial. Townspeople, their scribes and the memories of their preachers represent the witnesses for the next chapter of the history of the medieval mentality, in regard to understanding the mechanisms of urban communication, religious symbolism that pervades secular space and vice versa, and also for other areas of life in relation to the urban communities of Central Europe. Currently the examples selected are specifically suitable and pertinent because of the extremity of the current situation. Emerging strongly now are traditional and well-established rules, precisely because they are being broken, as well as an unusual surge of individuals and categories that otherwise usually remain rather passive.

Certainly one important contribution of the book is that it also incorporates the revision of several significant historical clichés and claims, or, to be more precise, emphasises the interpretive shift that these historical images have been undergoing in recent years. Amongst the first of these that the author targets, is a vision of the secularisation of the church in the late Middle Ages and of the consequent separation of the secular from the sacred space (p. 26n). This theory dignifies the emancipation of the urban (secular) authority over the church. The author, on the contrary, however, refers to studies that define the links between the town councils and the church leaders, the jointly secular and sacred character of the town celebrations or the town's influence on the occupation of ecclesiastical benefice, and links them to his own research, from which the link between the council and the town preachers emerges as being absolutely crucial. Priests are also amongst the most powerful promoters of urban policy and order. The town council relies on them for its support. In the event that any of the preachers decided to take his own path and oppose the municipal administration, the councillors would then lose a very powerful asset for communication with and for reaching out to the public, or might even face a powerful negative campaign against themselves. The additional certain revision was also induced by the opinion of František Graus, that the ecclesiastical space was the only kind that was "*able to offer the society of the premodern period an index of understandable symbols capable of surpassing the segmental character of urban social space*" that is capable

of arousing large-scale social unrest (pp. 40, 150). Although the author of the present work does not display either an unambiguous agreement or disagreement with Graus' thesis, he does offer a clear comparison between two kinds of rebellion: i.e. between unrest that is led by preachers, who, in accordance with his interpretation, do not only go just against the town council, but also against the actual royal power and thereby have a significant social impact, and between the rebellions implemented without any spiritual leaders, perhaps merely based on disagreement with the government's recent decisions will quickly fizzle out without achieving any major results. This final evaluation thereby supports Graus' theory.

The actual manner of the division of the book and the processing of the individual chapters do not entirely follow mainstream habits, which does not do any harm but perhaps, only occasionally, may lead to some uncertainty on the part of the reader. At the beginning the author introduces the reader to the issues defined in his book by "throwing" the reader directly into the story, while leaving him or her to find out for him/her-self what are actually the main issues and/or the problems of the present study. Indeed the following chapter that comprises a critical evaluation of literature in regard to the history of communication and urban culture in general is both detailed and already conceptually charged. On the basis of the varied theoretical approaches of different authors, the reader is becoming acquainted with the conceptual aspects of communication studies and also with specific terms that will be used in the subsequent text. In regard to some terms, however, the author requires the reader to be overly autonomous in regard to the understanding of terms, particularly in regard to the interpretation of some special categories, which indeed are very specific to communication studies, but less so to general historiography. Although such concepts as "*komunikačně utvářená veřejnost*" or "*segmentární veřejnost*" (the latter is explained on p. 34 based on the previous concept but I was not able to find a more precise explanation however) are approximately comprehensible, their interpretation would certainly have been more helpful if it had included the author's statement concerning which specific idea he is trying to elucidate by using these concepts.

The literature used as a methodological basis for this work mostly emanates from the German environment and therefore it particularly accentuates the examples and phenomena that are traceable to the medieval Imperial Cities. This choice of German literature has its own logic, of course – whether on the basis of the historical geographical and cultural proximity of the Empire and the Czech lands and thereby also the anticipated contact points in regard to the development of an urban culture in both of the countries or based on the high level of frequency of contemporary supporting studies while their authors are dedicating their work to the urban communities and to the manner of their interaction. It would certainly be an interesting enrichment for the research foundation if Anglo-Saxon literature or literature from the Latin countries were included, especially

in regard to such topics as cooperation between the preachers and the town or the legitimisation of social stratification while also applying to participate in the town's administration. In comparison with the more advanced Italian urban culture the different standards for burghers in Southern and Central Europe would probably stand out more clearly, for example, at the "boundary of disobedience" to the supreme or the anointed authority (p. 77). The author decided to not broaden his base, however, and to not include sources of another provenance, probably based on the excessive expanse of the secondary material collected and also because of greater cultural "separation" between, for example, Italian and Bohemian cities than in comparison between the Bohemian and the Imperial cities.

The publication entitled *Město pod vládou kazatelů* which first saw the light of day last year at Argo Publishing (which unfortunately – and traditionally – also includes a considerable number of typos and of grammatical errors, which, however, is not the fault of the author, but of the publisher) represents a detailed study that uncovers some rules concerning the flow of information and propaganda or conversely of the defensiveness of political representatives and the interaction between the authorities and the public during the medieval culture. The topic of communication fully updates this medieval theme, including for the contemporary reader.

Kateřina Ptáčková

KOSIŃSKA, Urszula, *August II w poszukiwaniu sojusznika. Między aliansem wiedeńskim i hanowerskim (1725–1730)* [Augustus II and his Search for Allies: Between the Treaty of Vienna and Hanoverian Alliance (1725–1730)], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton 2012, 557 pp., ISBN 978-83-7543-227-5.

The historical resort often omits to mention certain periods of history about which it could be said that they are just not popular. Should these periods involve domestic historians and sensitive episodes from the history of their country, even less emphasis is placed on them. In Poland, for example, such a period is the period known as the Saxon era, i.e. the period of the rule of the Polish Kings of the Saxon Wettin dynasty, Augustus II the Strong (1697–1733) and his son Augustus III (1733–1763). The Poles themselves call this period between the years 1697–1763 using the working title "Dark Ages". They associate the rule of a sovereign from a foreign dynasty with the decline of Rzeczpospolita, which culminated in the division of the Republic at the end of the 18th Century. For the subsequent more than a hundred years the Polish State entirely disappeared from the World Map, hence the aversion of Polish historians and of the general public to the Saxon Period is easily understandable.

However, this unwillingness to deal with the unpopular part of its history is clearly reflected in Polish production. If you are looking for local monographs referring to the Saxon period, you will probably not meet with great success.¹ The meagre number of historians who contributed their piece include Józef Gierowski² and Jacek Staszewski. The latter can then boast of having written the biographies of both these Wettins, though we are already talking about somewhat older works.³ Over the last fifteen years nobody has followed-up on his research particularly in regard to Augustus II, while in the Polish environment he represents a very much ignored person. We can obtain a basic idea about his reign after reading the classical overview of the history of Poland⁴ or publications that focus exclusively on the lives of Polish monarchs.⁵ In both cases, there is no problem with reading about the process of the election of Augustus II to the Polish throne (1697), about his subsequent forced abdication in 1704, about the dissatisfaction of the Polish gentry with his centralising efforts and we can thereby reach cca. the half-way point of this sovereign's rule, until the Tarnogród Confederation and the subsequent "Silent Sejm" in 1717. The relatively detailed description of the first half of his reign is abruptly interrupted, however. The informative character of the second half of his reign constitutes a huge contrast to the earlier part. Basically, you will not learn anything more about Augustus II than that he tried to ensure his son Frederick Augustus' succession to the Polish throne. Although this is not a false statement, from the logic of things it must be clear to everyone that Augustus II did not dedicate fifteen years of his rule to this single objective. One of the few (recent) publications that refer to this monarch in detail was written by the Polish historian Jacek Kurek.⁶ In his work he maps the final years of Augustus II the Strong on the Polish throne, focusing solely on the years 1729–1733, however, and as the author himself admits in the introduction, the entire second half of the reign of the Elector of Saxony and Poland, still remains unexplored.

1 I do take into account the Polish historiographical environment; in regard to foreign production, relatively-speaking the situation is better. Undoubtedly one of the most important historians who has been dealing with Augustus II is Karl Czok. See, for example, Karl CZOK, *August der Starke und seine Zeit. Kurfürst von Sachsen und König von Polen*, München 2006. The situation in the Czech environment is very similar to that of the Polish environment, if not worse - neither of the Wettins has yet received any substantial attention in the Czech language.

2 Józef GIEROWSKI, *Dyplomacja polska doby saskiej (1699–1763)*, in: *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Tom II (1572–1795), Warszawa 1982, pp. 331–480; Józef GIEROWSKI, *Historia Polski, 1505–1764*, Warszawa 1982.

3 Jacek STASZEWSKI, *August II Mocny*, Wrocław 1998; IDEM, *August III Sas*, Wrocław 1989.

4 Maria BOGUĆKA, *Dzieje Polski do 1795*, Warszawa 1964; Józef GIEROWSKI – Stanisław GRODZISKI, *Wielka historia Polski III.*, Kraków 2003; Mariusz MARKIEWICZ, *Historia Polski 1492–1795*, Kraków 2004; Jerzy TOPOLSKI, *Historia Polski*, Poznań 2003, etc.

5 For example Mariusz TRĄBA – Lech BIELSKI, *Poczet królów i książąt polskich*, Bielsko-Biała 2003.

6 Jacek KUREK, *U schyłku panowania Augusta II Sasa*, Katowice 2003.

Therefore, in light of the facts described above, Urszula Kosińska has truly become a groundbreaking author. This Polish historian who works at the University of Warsaw has been devoted to the Saxon period for quite some time already. So far in her monographs, however, she has only ventured into the waters of the 1720's very carefully.⁷ In addition, however, the studies currently published appeared to suggest that she was definitely not avoiding their publication and that writing the actual monograph itself was only a matter of time and of lengthy research.⁸ Given the current absence of any detailed work concerning the second half of Augustus II's reign in Poland, I would like to say that, literally, the reviewed book fills a white gap in Polish history (at least in accordance with the time period that it covers).

I definitely do not consider myself as a person who is relevant in regard to a critical evaluation of the book, which primarily draws attention by the actual breadth of its source base.⁹ I would primarily rather draw the attention of historians who are mainly outside Poland to this unique and, in my opinion, superior work. Based just on the above reasons, I consider that the chosen topic of the book clearly places it in the fundamental book category and that, for a long time, it will establish the direction of research concerning Augustus II and the second half of his reign, not only in Poland.

Before we focus on the book itself, it is probably necessary to mention that Kosińska is not yearning for any clarification of the internal situation in Rzeczpospolita. She is especially involved with political history and therefore she examines the reign of Augustus II with international eyes, i.e. within the broader context of the events that were taking place on the European continent. She does not seek to pin-down domestic politics, the economic status nor life at court, but she does look at how the position of Poland in the international arena was affected by the union of two sovereign states through the person of their joint ruler. In my opinion, in the latter scenario, she is also suggesting to what

7 Urszula KOSIŃSKA, *Sejm 1719–20 a sprawa ratyfikacji traktatu wiedeńskiego*, Warszawa 2003; EADEM, *Sondaż czy prowokacja? Sprawa Lehmana z 1721 r., czyli o rzekomych planach rozbiorowych Augusta II*, Warszawa 2009.

8 From amongst a large number of studies I would particularly like to mention, for example, EADEM, *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-pruskich w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta II: Misja Franza Moritza von Viebahna w Saksonii i Polsce w latach 1727–29*, in: Ryszard Skowron (red.), *Polska wobec wielkich konfliktów w Europie nowożytnej. Z dziejów dyplomacji i stosunków międzynarodowych w XV–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009, pp. 483–494; EADEM, *August II i król Fryderyk August w latach 1725–1729 a problem elekcji vivente rege*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 119, 2012, 2, pp. 305–321; EADEM, *Stosunki sasko-polsko-rosyjskie a sprawa Maurycego Saskiego i aliansu dynastycznego z Rosją w świetle relacji saskiego posła w Petersburgu Jeana Le Forta (lata 1726–28)*, in: S. F. Sokal - A. M. Janyškevič (red.), *Vjalikae Knjastva Litouskae i susedzi: Prava. Vajna. Dyplamatyja*, Minsk 2012, pp. 349–366.

9 The basis of the book consists of material from unpublished sources from domestic archives located in Cracow and Wrocław and also from abroad, i.e. from Berlin, Dresden, Moscow and Vienna. In addition to these sources, the author makes use of over thirty different editions of source materials.

extent the Saxon ministers asserted themselves at the Royal Court at the expense of the Polish gentry and how the government tried to centralise its power in accordance with electoral Saxony. However, rather than its internal development, it is the coverage of the international activities of Rzeczpospolita that remain the author's primary objective.

Kosińska obviously did not choose the period between the years 1725 and 1730 for her work randomly. In the introduction she justifies her choice when several breakthrough situations occurred in Europe in 1725. The most important of these included the change of personnel on the Russian throne, when after the death of Tsar Peter I, his wife Catherine I took over the throne. In parallel, there were concluded two treaties – the Treaty of Vienna and the Treaty of Hanover – that for the next five years split Europe into two camps, while the neutral nations – Saxony and Poland – found themselves in the viewfinder of both of the alliances. Compared to the initial date mooted, concluding the work by the year 1730 seems somewhat less logical. The author herself justifies it first based on purely practical aspects; namely that the scope of work “*would grow to an irrational size*” (p. 11). Eventually, however, she stated reasons that would convince everybody that the final year of her work had been chosen deliberately. As the most important milestones from amongst those that Kosińska refers to I consider another change on the Russian throne (Empress Anna Ivanovna ascends to the throne), and especially the disintegration of the already mentioned two alliances based on which the entire book essentially revolves.

In addition to the usual introduction and conclusion the publication consists of nine chapters, while the last two I will additionally mention critically below. The first chapter entitled “*Sytuacja w Europie po zakończeniu wojny północnej. Czas zmiennych przymierzy*” serves as a broad introduction to achieve a better understanding of the subsequent detailed description. Here Kosińska describes the complicated international relations during the first half of the 1720's, when Europe was slowly beginning to differentiate into two camps, i.e. the Vienna Alliance and, against it, the Hanover Alliance (both were concluded in 1725). Just to give a specific idea of what the European international situation was like then I will add that the Vienna Alliance was originally instigated by the concluding of a treaty of alliance between Austria and Spain and subsequently, in 1726, the alliance was expanded to include Russia and the Bavarian, the Palatine and the Cologne Electors. Two countries, which had originally stood by the Hanover Alliance, Prussia and Sweden, thereby also joined on the Emperor's side. The rival Hannover Alliance comprised England, France and Holland. At that time Saxony and Rzeczpospolita constituted interim neutral countries about whose participation in alliances a high-stakes game was played.

While the first chapter discusses the international scene, the second takes-on the task of viewing the same period (i.e. until the mid-1720's) from the perspective of domestic

activities (“*Pozycja Augusta II i Rzeczypospolitej w układzie międzynarodowym a problem sukcesji saskiej w Polsce*”). The view of course is two-fold, since lives at two separate courts – in Dresden and in Warsaw – are intertwined there, which are personally linked, however, both by the person of the ruler and by many (particularly Saxon) ministers. Amongst other things, also described here are the problem of the *vivente rege*¹⁰ election and the concept of “*łagodnych rządów*”, which Augustus II initiated after the “Silent Sejm” in 1717.

The third chapter entitled “*Między sukcesją polską a austriacką. Dyskusje o pryncypiach polityki Augusta II w latach 1725–1726*” I consider as representing one of the most important parts of the entire book. It discusses the actual motives of Augustus II and his ministers for taking specific steps in regard to both international and domestic politics. Her text suggests that she has confidence in these lines and that she knows exactly what she is talking about. Using preserved correspondence between the ruler and his ministers and between the ministers themselves, instructions to ambassadors abroad, memorials (e.g. the memorials of Field Marshal Count Flemming – the first Saxon minister) together with many other archival materials and also foreign literature, in this chapter Kosińska compiled a very detailed insight into the negotiations that were taking place at the Saxon-Polish Court. Out of the many topics that were discussed eventually three main issues crystallised; specifically 1) whether and/or which of the alliances the Saxony-Polish union should join or whether or not it should continue to further maintain its neutrality, 2) how to ensure the success of Frederick Augustus in the election of the new King of Poland subsequent to the death of Augustus II and 3) how, at the same time, to maintain the demands of the Saxon dynasty for Austrian Succession (in 1719 Frederick Augustus married the Austrian Archduchess Maria Josepha, but the renunciation clause of Maria Josepha was enshrined in the marriage contract).

The following four chapters (the 4th Chapter entitled “*Rokowania o traktat partykularny z cesarzem w latach 1726–1727*”, the 5th Chapter entitled “*Stosunki sasko-austriackie w latach 1727–1729*”, the 6th Chapter entitled “*Stosunki z Prusami w latach 1725–1728*”, the 7th Chapter entitled “*Ostatnia próba Drezna dogadania się z Austrią i Prusami (1729–1730)*”) subsequently chronologically – and in great detail – describe how Augustus II tried to achieve these objectives in the years 1726–1730 with only mixed success. A separate chapter is devoted to the relations between Saxony and Prussia, since the Prussian King was the biggest rival of the Polish ruler. At the same time the manoeuvring of Prussia between the Hanover and the Vienna alliances had a significant effect on the relationship between Emperor Charles VI and the Saxon-Polish monarch, whereby in 1726 it was of paramount importance for Vienna to get Augustus on their side, but after the transition of Prussia

10 Kosińska also dedicated an independent study to this topic: *August II i królewicz Fryderyk August w latach 1725–1729 a problem elekcji vivente rege*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 119, 2012, 2, pp. 305–321.

to the imperial camp this need was considerably reduced, which was reflected primarily in the negotiation of the conditions for the accession of Augustus to the Vienna Alliance.

The entire story is interwoven with an abundance of personal names. To identify all the individuals that figured on behalf of all the parties mentioned in the negotiations probably also represented a very difficult challenge because of the scant information available concerning what was happening during this time. Thanks to this, however, the story does not slip into a dry description of the political history, which tends to be very complex and therefore also often very dull too. On the contrary, the presence of real characters adds freshness to the description and also complements the picture of the negotiations because Kosińska shows how much depended on the individual actors in the specific game.

In addition to the countless pros that the book has, I cannot omit also mentioning certain negatives. Of these the only major problem is the presence of the last two chapters. The entire book, as has already been mentioned, is concerned with Augustus II's foreign policy and his decision-making between the Vienna and the Hanover alliances, while the vast majority of it focuses on negotiations with Emperor Charles VI. By contrast, the last two chapters are somewhat external to this concept. The eighth chapter, entitled "*Stosunki z Francją w latach 1725–1730*", describes relations with France, whereby information is provided in it about the marriage of Louis XV with Marie Leszczyńska and the course adopted by the diplomatic missions of the Saxon ministers at the Paris Court. Also conceived in a similar manner is the ninth chapter entitled "*Stosunki z Rosją w latach 1725–1730*". In that chapter Kosińska discusses the problem of the succession of Maurice of Saxony (the stepson of Augustus II) in Courland and the attempts to turn Russia onto its side in the matter of the succession of Frederick Augustus in Poland. I certainly do not want to claim that this represents unnecessary information, but it does seem somewhat undeveloped in comparison with the previous parts of the work. In certain cases information that has already appeared in the previous chapters is just additionally repeated several more times. In comparison with the previous logically assembled sections, in the context of the whole book the last two are a bit distracting. Additionally, based on the list of the archives that were visited, it is clear that the author could not have compiled the comprehensive view that she presents, since she more or less drew on unilateral information that was submitted mainly by Saxon ministers. The French archives are not featured here at all, while in the case of Russia, though the Moscow archive is represented, the materials studied would certainly not have been sufficient, however.¹¹ At this point, therefore, I have to ask myself whether or not it would be more beneficial to devote a separate study to these issues and instead of filling the remainder of the time

11 Kosińska had available only one extensive study fund, which in comparison with the study funds of the Dresden, Berlin or Vienna archives is grossly insufficient.

by continuing the narration until the year 1733, as the author rejected it in the introduction because of the volume of the work involved. If, after all, I did adopt the concept of the last two chapters, as a Saxon perspective of negotiating with two major allies of opposing alliances – France with England, Russia with Austria – then I am missing at least one chapter regarding the relations with England as the hegemon of the Hanover Alliance and thereby as a counterweight to the detailed, already described relations with Austria. Still, it would be probably better to remove those – in my opinion – redundant chapters and, on the other deepen the perspective of the negotiation between the Saxon-Polish Court and the Emperor. Convenient for negotiations with England regarding the accession of Saxony-Poland to the Hanover Alliance would be a separate monograph that would define in detail the problems outlined in the reviewed book.

Despite the aforementioned minor criticism that I allowed myself to make in regard to Urszula Kosińska's book, this work remains as a high standard achievement. A list of the materials analysed gave rise to a detailed explanation of the international politics of the Saxon-Polish Court (especially in regard to its negotiations with Austria). Numerous ambassadorial instructions, multitudinous correspondence, memorials of individual ministers and many other sources, serve, at the political level to provide a very detailed view of the functioning of the Court of Augustus II during the second half of the 1720's. Despite the considerable complexity both of the events and of the political history involved, the author managed to refrain from tangling herself in a veritable plethora of facts and figures and thereby being able to offer not only a comprehensive narrative, but also, from the reader's perspective, easily read and understandable story.

Nela Michalicová

The rules of inheritance in historical Poland. Reflections on the dissertation

KITOWSKI, Piotr, *Sukcesja spadkowa w mniejszych miastach województwa pomorskiego w II połowie XVII i XVIII wieku. Studium prawno-historyczne [Inheritance Succession in Smaller Towns of the Pomeranian Voivodeship in the Second Half of the 17th and 18th Century. A Legal and Historical Study]*, Warszaw 2015, 320 pp. ISBN 978-83-7543-374-6.

The dissertation *Sukcesja spadkowa w mniejszych miastach województwa pomorskiego w II połowie XVII i XVIII wieku. Studium prawno-historyczne* by Piotr Kitowski is devoted to an increasingly popular subject of study, namely the history of marriage and family analysed from a historical, mentality, religious, theological, anthropological and cultural

perspective.¹ Until recently, the subject of inheritance and succession law discussed in the monograph has been mostly neglected by researchers. According to Kitowski, in their studies on inheritance (among both the nobility and townsfolk) most researchers analysed source documents (post-mortem inventories, last wills and testaments, life estate deeds, inheritance treaties) from the point of view of the material culture and the history of mentality, while disregarding the legal and jurisprudential aspects thereof (p. 17).² In the author's opinion, there is still "a noticeable lack of comprehensive and systematic analyses combining two distinct perspectives (a historian's and a lawyer's) and methods of proceeding that could fill the existing void in Polish historical research" (p. 17). Such is, therefore, the role of the reviewed dissertation. Kitowski's study covers the period from the second half of the 17th century to 1772. This choice is due, on one hand, to relative political stability enjoyed by Royal Prussia following the 1655–1660 war against Sweden and, on the other hand, the first partition of Poland and the resulting changes in borders and laws. The area of study focuses primarily on four towns – Chojnice, Kościerzyn, Nowe nad Wisłą and Skarszewy – which despite being included in a "joint group of towns" also present "certain differences, mainly in terms of population and economic profile" (p. 19). The aim of the study is to analyse all stages of the inheritance process – starting with the opening of succession and ending with the legal distribution of property among heirs – based on the most relevant legal source documents (i.e. inventories, family division of property,

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- 1 Cf. Rafał SZCZUROWSKI – R. ZAWADZKI (eds.), *Małżeństwo i rodzina w okresie staropolskim. Teologia – demografia – wychowanie*, Kraków 2002; Danuta PENKALA-GAWĘCKA, *Małżeństwo w perspektywie antropologicznej*, Czas Kultury 2006, Nr. 4, pp. 4–17; Cezary KUKLO (ed.), *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, Warszawa 2008; Anetta GŁOWACKA-PENCZYŃSKA, *Rodzina staropolska w świetle źródeł z małych miast wielkopolskich w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku*, in: Andrzej Karpiński – Iwona Dacka-Górzyńska (eds.), *Spółczesność staropolskie. Seria nowa, vol. 3: Społeczeństwo a rodzina*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 131–147; Bożena POPIOŁEK – Agnieszka CHŁOSTA-SIKORSKA – Marcin GADOCHA (eds.), *W kręgu rodziny epok dawnych. Dzieciństwo*, Warszawa 2014; Bożena POPIOŁEK – Agnieszka CHŁOSTA-SIKORSKA – Marcin GADOCHA (eds.), *W kręgu rodziny epok dawnych: Kobieta i mężczyzna. Jedna przestrzeń – dwa światy*, Warszawa 2015.
 - 2 Andrzej WYCZAŃSKI, *Szlacheckie inwentarze pośmiertne z XVI w. jako źródło do dziejów kultury materialnej w Polsce*, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* (henceforth KHKM) 1954, Nr. 4, pp. 691–699; Urszula AUGUSTYNIAK, *Inwentarze mienia radziwiłłowskiego z XVI–XVII wieku jako źródło do historii mentalności i życia codziennego – możliwości badań*, KHKM 2003, Nr. 2, pp. 231–247; Dariusz GŁÓWKA – Andrzej KLONDER, *Inwentarze mienia w badaniach kultury Europy od średniowiecza po nowożytność*, KHKM 2003, Nr. 3, pp. 157–174; Ewa DANOWSKA, *Inwentarze pośmiertne krakowskich mieszczan z lat 1697–1795 w zbiorach Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, KHKM 2004, Nr. 1, pp. 79–84; Jan GŁÓWKA, *Zasobność domów mieszczan kieleckich na podstawie księgi Rady Miejskiej z końca XVIII w.*, KHKM 2004, Nr. 1, pp. 85–92; Katarzyna JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, *Inwentarze pośmiertne z ksiąg miejskich Sandomierza z XVII wieku*, KHKM 2004, Nr. 1, pp. 37–50; EADEM, *Testamenty i inwentarze pośmiertne z ksiąg miejskich województwa sandomierskiego (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, Kielce 2010.

donations, sale deeds, last wills and testaments, and estate appraisals) used in Royal Prussia from the 16th to the 18th century and originating from nearly 120 town records (pp. 21–22). The source material has been analysed using three research methods: legal-comparative, descriptive-analytical, and quantitative (p. 25).

The dissertation is divided into two parts, different in terms of content but mutually complementary. The first part titled *Inheritance under the Culm law* (pp. 33–203) comprises four chapters dedicated to different legal aspects of inheritance proceedings. The second part titled *Material culture of the citizens of smaller towns in Pomerania in the light of inheritance documentation (wills and testaments, post-mortem inventories, divisions of property)* (pp. 207–285) comprises three chapters (distinctly historical in character) and aims to present the material culture (real estate and chattel) of the citizens of small towns in Royal Prussia involved in the inheritance process. The dissertation ends with a concise summary including final conclusions and research desiderata, two appendices on the measurements and monetary units used in the 18th century, a list of tables, and a bibliography including source documents (handwritten and printed) as well as a selection of source literature (mostly in Polish) (pp. 286–320).

In the first chapter titled *Normative bases for inheritance succession* (pp. 33–46), the author focuses on the origins of the Culm law and its application in the territory of Royal Prussia. In his observations Kitowski points out that the introduction of the Culm law in Prussia was a result of the activity of the Teutonic Order, which granted municipal charters to two towns: Toruń and Chełmno (English: Culm). In time, the influence of the Culm law expanded onto other Polish territories, according to Kitowski, thus becoming “*a basis for the regulation of legal matters [...] among the nobility, townsfolk, and peasantry*” (p. 35), the key aspect thereof being that both sons and daughters had the same rights to claim inheritance. The nobility disliked the fact that both genders could inherit; the nobles were particularly displeased with the women’s right to inherit real property, concerned that this would result in fragmentation of the already impoverished estates that “*in extreme cases could led to [...] a complete economic downfall and taking over of the nobility’s property by townspeople*” (p. 38). Throughout the centuries, however, the Culm law took on its final shape, effective in towns, its legislation being largely based on city laws, municipal ordinances and resolutions.

The second and particularly extensive chapter titled *Inheritance rights* (pp. 47–109) opens with the observation that “*the division of property among heirs*” started upon death of the owner (followed by the opening of succession) and could follow either the statutory rules (*ab intestato*), the decedent’s last will and testament (*ex testamento*), or a halfway solution i.e. the so-called mutual will (*testamentum reciprocum*) (p. 47). Kitowski’s observations focus mainly on a comparison between the rules of inheritance under the

Magdeburg law and the Culm law, as well as a description of their fundamental principles, including the inheritance rights of spouses. Under the former of said laws, the decedent's spouses were only fourth in line to inherit. Under the latter, however, due to the existence of joint property the estate was divided into two equal parts, one passing on solely to the surviving spouse and another being divided between the remaining heirs. Kitowski also remarks that if no heirs appeared within an established deadline, the inheritance would escheat (Polish: *kaduk*) and its value would be allocated to funding detention houses, prisons, feeding the criminals and the poor (p. 55).³ In the remaining part of this chapter, Kitowski discusses the inheritance by testament (pp. 65–107). Therefore, he focuses on the principles of formulating a will or testament, presents different types of testaments (private and public), and makes a thorough analysis of their structure. The chapter concludes with his thoughts on the so-called mutual testament (*testimentum reciprocum*) that allowed spouses to bequeath to one another a part of their properties that was “larger than the half established by the Culm law”, which in total could amount to as much as $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of the estate (p. 107).

In the equally extensive third chapter titled *Inheritance proceedings* (pp. 110–183), Kitowski concentrates on stock-tacking of the inherited property by way of a post-mortem inventory, i.e. a legal instrument construed as a record “of the deceased owner's property including – at least in theory – the totality of the decedent's estate as well as all liabilities encumbering said estate” (p. 110). According to Kitowski such inventory was, therefore, useful to the decedent's heirs, providing them with information on debts linked to the inherited property, as well as to the decedent's children, who often would take possession of independent estate only after reaching adulthood.⁴ Let us note that Kitowski closes the chapter with some interesting observations on the subject of disinheritance, enumerating specific reasons therefor (p. 172).⁵

3 The principle of escheat also existed in the so-called country law (Polish: *prawo ziemskie*). See Zbigniew ZDRÓJKOWSKI, *Ziemskie prawo prywatne*, in: Juliusz Bardach (ed.), *Historia państwa i prawa*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1957, p. 294; Jacek PIELAS, *Podziały majątkowe szlachty koronnej w XVII wieku*, Kielce 2013, p. 36.

4 See Katarzyna JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK (ed.), “Wszyscy śmiertelni jesteśmy i dlatego rozrządzamy majątności swoje”. *Wybór testamentów z ksiąg miejskich województwa sandomierskiego (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, Kielce 2014, pp. 12–13. See also Karol KORANYI (ed.), *Bartłomiej Groicki: Porządek sądów i spraw miejskich prawa magdeburgskiego w Koronie Polskiej*, Warszawa 1953, p. 175.

5 Cf. Karol KORANYI (ed.), *Bartłomiej Groicki: Tytuły prawa majdeburgskiego*, Warszawa 1954, pp. 3–23, pp. 182–184; Juliusz BARDACH (ed.), *Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk – Bogusław Leśnodorski: Historia państwa i prawa Polski, vol. II, Od połowy XV wieku do 1795 r.*, Warszawa 1957, p. 165, pp. 179–180; Krystyna BUKOWSKA, *Orzecznictwo krakowskich sądów wyższych w sporach o nieruchomości miejskie XVI–XVII w.*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 98–99; Stanisław PŁAZA, *Historia prawa w Polsce na tle porównawczym, tom I, X–XVIII w.*, Kraków 1997, pp. 304–309; K. JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK (ed.), “Wszyscy śmiertelni jesteśmy i dlatego rozrządzamy majątności swoje”, pp. 9–10.

In the fourth chapter titled *Care of minors and widows* (pp. 184–203) Kitowski describes the role of legal guardians representing the interest of widows and orphaned children (p. 184). In his considerations, the author focuses primarily on legal guardianship over minors, which – in his opinion – “*was a substitute for the natural authority of a parent over a child*” (p. 193). Above all, the legal guardian’s duties consisted in watching over their ward’s estate and protecting it from dwindling; therefore, as soon as he took the position, the legal guardian would have a so-called repertory drawn up, i.e. a record of all movable and immovable property, including all debts. Considering the great importance of such record, any negligence or fraud in its elaboration was subject to punishment (pp. 194–199). Legal guardianship, as states the author, usually expired when the ward reached adulthood (21 years of age), in the case of a man, or contracted marriage, in the case of a woman, whose legal guardianship henceforth passed onto her husband (pp. 201–202).

The second part of the dissertation is titled *Material culture of the citizens of smaller towns in Pomerania in the light of inheritance documentation (wills and testaments, post-mortem inventories, divisions of property)* (pp. 207–285). It is historical in character and has been divided into three chapters, in which Kitowski presents movable and immovable property in the possession and at the disposal of townsfolk in smaller town in Royal Prussia.

In the first chapter titled *Immovable property* (pp. 207–227) Kitowski focuses on one of two principal types of assets most frequently seen in inheritance documents, namely the immovables. An appraisal of a homestead and the adjoining land was the first step in taking inventory of the inherited estate and, according to Kitowski, said information is present in two-thirds of all inventories found in smaller towns of Pomerania (p. 208). Subsequently, Kitowski concentrates on establishing the value of houses, outbuildings (barns, malthouses, breweries, distilleries) and land (pp. 208–223), which is presented in detailed tables (pp. 210, 214, 222) and accompanied by relevant commentary. The chapter ends with the conclusions of the author, who observes that “*in all [of the studied – U. K.] towns, the highest share of immovable assets belonged mainly to members of town authorities: mayors (either current or former), their deputies, town councillors, and judges*” (p. 223).

The second chapter titled *Movable property* (pp. 228–266) contains a detailed description of specific movables such as chattels (e.g. furniture, tableware, weapons, paintings, books, comestibles) belonging to the furnishings of houses and farms, livestock (e.g. oxen, horses, cows, sheep) and food (purchased by the husband before his death and sufficient for the period of one year),⁶ analysed in terms of their actual and perceived value (pp. 237–262).

6 Under the Magdeburg law, widows would also receive the so-called “food for the road”, i.e. a one-year food allotment, Cf. Katarzyna JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, *Spadkobranie w rodzinach mieszczzańskich województwa sandomierskiego w XVII wieku*, in: C. Kukło (ed.), *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe*,

Let us also note the author's observations on trousseaus that appear in the inventories. They were a form of "*customary donation with a strictly defined purpose*" (p. 262), usually drawn up before a widow's or widower's next marriage, where they acted as disinheritor. Such trousseau included a wide range of foods for the wedding reception, wedding gifts, household goods, and livestock (pp. 263–264).⁷

In the last, fourth chapter titled *Debts and liabilities* (pp. 267–285) Kitowski remarks that a constant element in both testaments and post-mortem inventories was a record of all of the testator's debts and liabilities contracted before their death. The author rightly concludes that such a document is incomplete as a source, as it presents "*only a portion of the financial aspects of the inheritance*" (p. 267). Despite its incomplete character, such record facilitated establishing the condition of the testator's property, served for making bequests to non-relatives, and regulated debts incurred during the decedent's life. However, a more comprehensive picture of the decedent's estate could be found in the inventories, which disclosed assets and liabilities arising from both before and after the testator's death (p. 270).⁸

The dissertation ends with a brief summary in Polish (pp. 286–291), German (pp. 292–297) and English (pp. 298–302) containing general conclusions drawn from each of the chapters, as well as the author's statement that "*the manner of handling inheritance matters between family and other heirs*" was one of the elements that reduced social conflicts as well as a reflection of the legal awareness of the citizens of smaller towns in Royal Prussia (p. 286). Kitowski emphasises that the analysis of around 120 town records from Chojnice, Kościerzyn, Nowe nad Wisłą and Skarszewy allowed to conclude that "*in terms of inheritance law, ius culmense at times showed some considerable differences as compared to other legal systems in force at that time*" (p. 286). In addition to the conclusions, it is worth to note the research desiderata proposed by the author, in particular those referring to conducting equivalent studies for other smaller towns in the Voivodeships of Chełmno and Malbork as well as Warmia, and contrasting the obtained data with big cities such as Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń.

Due to its interdisciplinary nature, the dissertation by Piotr Kitowski titled *Inheritance succession in smaller towns of the Pomeranian Voivodeship in the second half of the 17th and*

p. 285; Urszula SOWINA, *Wdowy i sieroty w świetle prawa w miastach Korony w późnym średniowieczu i wczesnej nowożytności*, in: Maria Dąbrowska – Jerzy Kruppé (eds.), *Od narodzin do wieku dojrzałego. Dzieci i młodzież w Polsce*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 2002, p. 19.

7 See Katarzyna JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, *Wyprawy ślubne mieszczanek z województwa sandomierskiego (w XVII wieku)*, *Almanach Historyczny* 10, 2008, pp. 191–200.

8 See Agnieszka BARTOSZEWICZ, *Testament jako źródło do badań nad piśmiennością mieszczańską w późnym średniowieczu*, *KHKM* 2011, Nrs. 3–4, pp. 293–303; Magdalena WILCZEK-KARCZEWSKA, *Testamenty szlachty wielkopolskiej z XVII wieku*, *KHKM* 2011, Nrs. 3–4, pp. 337–342, p. 344.

18th century. A legal and historical study successfully combines research methodologies of a lawyer, a historian and a historian of material culture. The study offers an excellent comparative synthesis with an emphasis on both a detailed description of legal aspects and a historical interpretation thereof, despite the differences in methodology, supported by examples from testaments, post-mortem inventories, inheritance contracts, family divisions of property, and donation records. The author's professional approach is also evidenced by the introduction, which includes a thorough presentation of the source database as well as source literature on the subject. In addition, the dissertation abounds in interesting and valuable comparisons between the town law and the country law (Polish: *prawo ziemskie*), with some particularly noteworthy conclusions on the state of preservation of testators' property. Kitowski states that "*as opposed to the documents drawn up among nobility, scarcely any inventory, division of property or testament drawn up in a town included information on the appearance, structure or condition of real estate. In fact, this was not an exception but a common practice among real estate appraisers in many towns of the Commonwealth*" (pp. 225–226). One subject brought up in the monograph that deserves a more detailed study is the question of life estate rights authorising a surviving spouse to use the decedent's property (in part or in full), this being – according to the author – "*a provision widely used in historical Polish testaments*" (p. 97).⁹ The way this right was construed, how much time it remained in effect (until the widowed spouse's death or until another marriage) and how it was formulated in the last will – all these constitute worthy subjects of study. It would also be interesting to analyse the financial situation of widows, since the life estate rights gave a widow a real opportunity to influence the distribution of her late husband's legacy.¹⁰ The question of disinheritance is equally interesting: it affected people from all social strata, regardless of their wealth and religion. In practice, however, we find few examples of such practices in source documents, perhaps due to the laws that required a detailed statement of reasons. In such circumstances, most testators decided not to disinherit, considering a public disclosure of family issues too shaming and embarrassing.¹¹

9 See Bożena POPIOŁEK, *Woli mojej ostatniej testament ten... Testamenty staropolskie jako źródło do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009, pp. 26–27.

10 Cf. Bogdan LESIŃSKI, *Stanowisko kobiety w polskim prawie ziemskim do połowy XV wieku*, Wrocław 1956, p. 119; Urszula KICIŃSKA, *Umowy dożywocia jako forma zabezpieczenia materialnego szlachcianki w dawnej Polsce*, *Krakowskie Studia Małopolskie* 18, 2013, pp. 182–200; EADEM, *Umowa dożywocia jako przykład regulacji majątkowej małżonków w dawnej Polsce*, *Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego* 5, 2013 (2014), pp. 266–283; J. PIELAS, *Podziały majątkowe*, pp. 206–207; IDEM, *Wdowa-matka a kwestie majątkowe w rodzinach szlachty koronnej w XVII wieku*, in: A. Karpiński – I. Dacka-Górzyńska (eds.), *Spółceństwo staropolskie*, pp. 175–176.

11 Cf. Katarzyna JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, *Wydzielnictwo w testamentach mieszczzańskich z województwa sandomierskiego (w XVI–XVIII wieku)*, *Almanach Historyczny* 11, 2009, pp. 18–20.

While Kitowski wrote an excellent and innovative dissertation, he did not manage to completely avoid a few shortcomings. Considering the legal character of the monograph, the introduction seems to lack a more detailed explanation of the subject of succession (p. 12). Furthermore, a more detailed description of the scope and territory of the Pomeranian Voivodship in the 17th and 18th century would be appropriate, considering that the term appears as an indication of the area of research in the title. The researcher's statement that his study focuses on four towns (Chojnice, Kościerzyn, Nowe nad Wisłą and Skarszewy) seems too vague for a reader not familiarized with the subject (p. 19). One would also consider too vague his observations regarding the statutory order of inheritance. The different kinds of law discussed by the author – Magdeburg law, Culm law and nobility law (the corrected Royal Prussia law, Polish: *korektura pruska*) (pp. 50–57) have not been described in detail, which gives an impression that the author only skimmed the subject and therefore directed his work to experts specialising in the subject. The work lacks a broader picture of the history and the existence of different types of law in the Polish territory, as well as at least some basic source literature on the subject. It is also unclear whether the rather lengthy considerations on the structure of testament were indeed necessary. (pp. 79–96) They seem justified considering the subject and structure of the monograph; however, doubts arise considering the fact that contemporary literature offers many pieces of research (by authors such as e.g. Bożena Popiołek, Katarzyna Justyniarska-Chojak, Mariusz Lubczyński, Henryk Suchojad, and Jacek Pielas)¹² where the structure of the last will has already been discussed in great detail.

However, the aforementioned concerns do not diminish the value of the dissertation, which offers an excellent legal and historical synthesis much needed in present-day research. The study, in particular the research pertaining to smaller towns in Royal Prussia, fills a void and paves a way for further interdisciplinary studies combining legal perspective with history, culture, and anthropology.

Urszula Kicińska

12 Mariusz LUBCZYŃSKI – Jacek PIELAS – Henryk SUCHOJAD (eds.), *Cui contingit nasci, restatmori. Wybór testamentów staropolskich z województwa sandomierskiego*, Warszawa 2005; B. POPIOŁEK, *Woli mojej*; Katarzyna JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, *Testamenty i inwentarze pośmiertne z ksiąg miejskich województwa sandomierskiego (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, Kielce 2010; Ewa DANOWSKA (ed.), *Dług śmiertelności wypłacić potrzeba. Wybór testamentów mieszczan krakowskich z XVII–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2011.

MANYŚ, Bernadetta, *Uroczystości rodzinne w Wilnie za Augusta III (1733–1763)* [Family Ceremonies in Vilnius in the Times of Augustus III (1733–1763)], Poznań: Nauka i Innowacje 2015, pp. 408. ISBN 978-83-64864-05-6.

In her publication,¹ Bernadette Manyś examines the customs of eighteenth-century Vilnius, focusing on important moments and the impact of events on the town's society. By using various sources, she attempts to reconstruct public opinion and citizens' attitudes towards these events. In her latest monograph the author analyses family life through the prism of Vilnius family ceremonies and celebrations during the reign of Augustus III. The life of the family is first investigated from the perspective of family ceremonies and celebrations, which are key moments in a person's life and their loved ones, and at the same time from two different perspectives, private and public. The author primarily focuses on Christian ceremonies and celebrations and also refers to those within aristocratic, noble and bourgeois families. This was achieved thanks to extensive study source material in the Polish and Lithuanian archival centres. The key source material for the author was from the press, mainly „The Polish Courier” from the years 1729–1733 and 1737–1760. In this publication of three hundred pieces covering Vilnius, half of them were devoted to family ceremonies and celebrations.

The second press material analysed was the „Lithuanian Courier” from the years 1760–1763, which contains many entries of family ceremonies and celebrations. In addition, the author used „Supplements to The Vilnius News”, „The Warsaw News”, „Literary News” and „Gazeta Vilnius”, as well as newspaper manuscripts stored in the archive section of the Radziwiłł Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. The author also sourced material such as seasonal literature, wills, accounts from different congregations, weddings, baptisms and deaths as well as registry books. Furthermore correspondence, records, diaries, post-mortem registries, inventories from churches in Vilnius, confraternities books and records of the cathedral chapter were employed. The author was able to gather such

1 Bernadetta MANYŚ, *Pompa funebris a życie codzienne w świetle XVIII-wiecznych oracji funeralnych Pawła Giżyckiego*, in: Homo sum: humani Nil a me alienuj puto. Życie codzienne wczoraj i dziś, Poznań 2011, pp. 191–201; EADEM, „Propaganda rodowa” podczas uroczystości pogrzebowych Pawła Karola Sanguszki oraz Michała Serwacego Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego, in: Vade Nobiscum. Materiały studenckiego koła naukowego historyków Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Vol. VII, Łódź 2011, pp. 343–350; EADEM, „Przeznaczny wodzu Litwy Palemonie, Twoja stolica często w ogniu płonie”. *Obraz Wilna po pożarach z 1748 i 1749 roku na podstawie relacji Bazylego Bonifacego Jachimowicza*, in: „Trzeba dyscypliny – bez niej nie da się pasji składnie wyrazić...” Studia z dziejów nowożytnych (XVI–XVIII w.), Poznań 2012, pp. 287–303; EADEM, *Anna Katarzyna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa i Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł „Rybeńko”. Relacje matki z synem na podstawie dziurysza wojewody wileńskiego*, in: Kulturowe wzorce a społeczna praktyka. Studia z dziejów kobiet, Poznań 2012, pp. 127–139; EADEM, *O „tekstach”, Wilnie i wilnianach słów kilka...*, Klio vol. 25, no 2, 2013, pp. 269–276.

impressively diverse source material making it possible to trace the organization of the celebrations, characterize these rites, and to show the evolution of these different customs.

The source material collected required a compilation of literature on the subject and a better understanding of Lithuanian historiography. It should be noted that the Lithuanian historians' findings here are especially valuable. They conducted research on the matter of the ceremony which is not widely known amongst Polish experts. Just as advanced is the research on cultural activities of the Oginski family which Manyś also uses in her work.² It should be noted, however, that the author does not take into account the latest position in this field, namely the findings of recent work by Lina Balaišytė.³ The author was also inspired by findings of western researchers.⁴

The study is interdisciplinary in its nature and a variety of sources were employed and many methods and analytical techniques were used from the fields of the history of mentality, sociology, social history as well as historical demography.

Manyś in similar vein to Maria Bogucka, recognized these customs as being a starting point for the development of civilization, one which allowed the operation of both the family and society.⁵ Chronologically speaking, the work covers the reign of Augustus III

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- 2 See: Vladas DRĖMA, *Vilniaus bažnyčios: iš Vlado Drėmos archyvų*, Vilnius 2008; Algirdas BALIULIS (sud.), *Lietuvos magdeburginių miestų privilegijos ir aktai*, t. 6, Vilnius 2008; Romualdas BUDRYS et alii (red.), *Auksakalystė. XIII–XX a. Pirmoji knyga: Kolekcijos*, Vilnius 2006; Lina BALAIŠYTĖ, *Oginskiai viešajame XVIII a. valstybės gyvenime: iškilmingi įžengimai į Vilniaus ir Trakų vaivadijas*, in: Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė (sud.), *Kunigaikščiai Oginskiai Lietuvos istorijoje. Kultūrinės veiklos pėdsakai*, Vilnius 2010, pp. 63–76; EADEM, *Valdovo vaizdinys Stanislovo Augusto karūnavimo iškilmėse*, *Menotyra* 16, 2009, Nr. 3–4, pp. 91–99; EADEM, *Publicum dolori theatrum: kilmingųjų laidotuvių apipavidalinimas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVIII a. viduryje*, in: Lina Balaišytė – Auksė Kaladžinskaitė (sud.), *Dailės istorijos studijos*, t. 3. *Ars memoriae: atmintis – dailės funkcija ir tema (XVIII–XXI a.)*, Vilnius 2008, pp. 9–23; EADEM, *Vilniaus pasaulietinės iškilmės ir jų apipavidalinimas XVIII a. viduryje*, in: Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė (sud.), *Viešosios ir privačiosios erdvės XVIII amžiaus Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje*, Vilnius 2008, pp. 121–147; Darius BARONAS, *Vilniaus pranciškonų kankiniai ir jų kultas XIV–XX a.*, Vilnius 2010; Antanas Rimvydas ČAPLINSKAS, *Vilniaus istorija: legendos ir tikrovė*, Vilnius 2010 i in.; Olga DADIOMOVA, *Mykolas Kazimieras Oginskis ir jo muzikinis palikimas*, in: Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė (sud.), *Kunigaikščiai Oginskiai Lietuvos istorijoje. Kultūrinės veiklos pėdsakai*, Vilnius 2010, pp. 373–378.
- 3 Lina BALAIŠYTĖ, *Valdovo pašlovinimui, šlovintojo atminimui: Augusto III iškilmės Vilniuje*, in: Jolita Liškevičienė – Sigita Maslauskaitė – Gabija Surdokaitė (sud.), *Lietuvos kultūros karališkasis dėmuo: įvaizdžiai, simboliai, reliktai*, Vilnius 2012 (=Acta Academiae Artium Vilmensis, T. 65–66), pp. 307–318; EADEM, „*Marcijono Mykolo Oginskio dorybių portretas*“: *apie didiko vaizdinį XVIII a. proginėje architektūroje*, *Menotyra* 19, 2012, Nr. 4, pp. 301–309.
- 4 Norbert ANGERMANN, *Die Deutschen in Litauen. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick*, Lüneburg 1996; Rolf BECKER, *Van der Döpe – Das neue Ritual der deutsche Taufe*, in: Karl Georg Kaster – Gerd Steinwascher (Hg.), *450 Jahre Reformation in Osnabrück – V. D. M. I AE. Gottes Wort bleibt in Ewigkeit*, Bramsche 1993, pp. 303–312.
- 5 Maria BOGUCKA, *Staropolskie obyczaje w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1994, detailed explanation of the concept of custom, see. pp. 11–24.

and this defined time allows us to get to the know the source material and try to focus on this specific period better (which can be distinguished from the more general term „Saxon times” used in earlier historiography). This approach appears suitable because more and more attention is currently being focussed on the changes in cultural life during the 1830’s, steering culture towards a new era of the Enlightenment as a later period of Saxon times.

The work consists of three chapters covering the order of family life and also associated celebrations, weddings and baptisms and funerals. The main aim was to show the organization and conduct of individual family ceremonies and celebrations as well as their impact on individuals and families, the urban community, which as the author writes, can not be seen in the construction, but it helps her as a reference point. The choice of Vilnius, as one of the largest and most dynamic cities in the Republic, is significant. Moreover, a similar study for the cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has not yet been undertaken. Another objective was therefore to highlight the characteristics of the Vilna family ceremonies and celebrations and, where possible, contrast them with similar ceremonies and celebrations elsewhere in the kingdom.

In the first chapter of *Vilnius – A Picture of Wedding Celebrations*, pre-wedding celebrations such as courting, engagement, the maiden’s evening, the idea of separating the blessings of the wedding, and finally the wedding ceremony and the wedding feast themselves are all discussed. When talking about the next stages of preparation and the event itself, the author has attempted to reconstruct their importance both for the individuals concerned and for their loved ones. The author has also characterised this from a broader perspective through functions that were fulfilled for society. This emphasis on the social aspect and the penetration of the symbolic sphere with a the real sphere is particularly interesting and has not yet been analysed in other studies. In this way, betrothal has been characterised, a ritual of a symbolic nature, but with sealed contracts (p. 39). The author dedicates much space analysing the Tridentine reform reception, verifying the implementation of its objectives. As a result this section focuses on the conditions of publishing the announcement, with certificates required by the Church and also the manner of selecting witnesses. The author’s research has produced interesting results. This requirement was also quite fluent compared with other conditions as the method of announcing the declaration evolved, and its observance was not as rigid. However the declaration had to meet a number of important functions in addition to the certification to prevent irregularities and ensure the readiness of the contracting parties for the Sacrament (p. 59). The author herself suggests that not much space was devoted to the issue of prenuptial and dowries, showing that the issues and circumstances surrounding the preparation of contracts were not inherent in rituals. It seems, however, that the definition of these principles is essential for this research and Manyś makes a brief summary, focusing on the most interesting cases where writing

a prenuptial occurred at a time different than generally accepted i.e. before or during the engagement. Writing these contracts resulted from a policy pursued by the families, which in turn created an image of the power of the family and its splendour; matrimonial politics were a deliberate strategy, taking into account benefits such as defined social status and wealth (p. 35), and was part of greater efforts to bring these to a marriage. This constituted an important, if not the most important part of the preparations. A further study and exploration of this theme could result in interesting data on this subject.

It would also be worth widening the investigation into marriage, which is discussed in one of the subsections. Under the terms of the Council of Trent, the appropriate place for a wedding was a parish church of the marrying couple, however, we know, as the author emphasizes (p. 78), the nobility and prosperous parts of the nobility (and the bourgeoisie), established a habit of concluding the act of the wedding on the premises of their own foundations (churches, chapels, monasteries), and even in private palaces. This certainly influenced the visual and symbolic realm of the rites, specially prepared rituals for the occasion. Its analysis in the context of this topic might prove very valuable, however we cannot see information in the sources.

In the next chapter called „*I baptise you...*” *Baptisms in Vilnius* issues related to baptisms granted by parish churches in Vilnius are discussed. The author depicts the sacrament of baptism through the prism of time and place where the ceremony was organized, a selection of friends, and how birthdays and name days were celebrated, in order to complete the picture of family celebrations. The material appears to be lacking information on baptisms in Vilnius in the years 1733–1763 and this prevents us from determining the type of gifts handed out or children’s costumes (p. 140). The study, however, enables the author to precisely determine popular names and the season in which they were given (for 1749), which was illustrated in Tables 6 and 7 (pp. 142–143) and is an interesting example of the long-lasting trends in society’s mentality. The role of celebrating name days and how it gave colour to everyday life is highlighted, this celebration also allowed an opportunity for reunions, maintaining social contacts and making new acquaintances (p. 144). These celebrations which took place within the sphere of the sacred and the profane, are another example of their pervasiveness, so frequent in Old Polish society⁶ (p. 145).

The third chapter *Funerals in Vilnius*, is the last and is dedicated to the following; preparing for death, preparing outfits for the funeral, and from the testament funeral, the anniversary ceremony of the funeral, the cost of the funeral, the wake, the décor of the temple and finally, the burial place. The source material, which was used in this chapter

6 Cf. Bożena POPIOŁEK, *Sacrum przestrzeni domowej w czasach saskich*, in: Bogdan Rok – Filip Wolański (red.), *Staropolski ogląd świata. Poszukiwanie sacrum – odnajdywanie profanum*, Wrocław 2013, pp. 35–50.

is highly comprehensive. This is a result of the special relationship and the Old Polish society's attitudes towards death, and thus the careful preparation of the dying for death itself. In this chapter an analysis of the audiovisual realm was carried out, one which was created and built specifically for the funeral. The author devotes a separate section to the audio sphere *The Sound of the Bells* which is extremely important for several reasons. A supplementary description of the preparations for the funeral is given here, and also how a family celebration belonged to the whole community living space; the urban space. This analysis gives us an insight into the glamour associated with these organized events and the wealth of the deceased. It also leads to the conclusion about the events awareness as „a kind of building” and the relationships with specific religions, temples and thus the spirituality of given meetings (pp. 188–189). The author devotes a lot of space to the visual sphere by describing the Vilnius ceremonial route (p. 196), the temples' decor (p. 244), burials (p. 256 et seq.), but also the procession (pp. 199 et seq.) which formed part of the visual element. The gravity of these events for the community demonstrates the need to continue research into the cultural sphere of Old Polish society, which would undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms of how it worked. In this chapter the author wanted to discuss a family occasion in a broader context and how it was an event built for a larger group, not only the family but also the community in which they lived.

An important supplement which helps gives greater context to the book is the list of selected information in the tables contained in the annexes of the publication. A list of those responsible for the burials is shown in *Annex 1 – List of Persons Responsible for Vilnius Burials between 1733–1763*, defining their relationship with the deceased, and showing who undertook these tasks. Annex 2 summarizes the place of burial and the estimated costs, and in Annex 3 the *List of Aristocratic and Noble Funerals in Vilnius between 1738–1759* is presented. Complementing this information in Chapter III is the *Song of Death* (Annex 4). Annex 4 presents the summary of marriage days in an urban parish church in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the years 1733–1742.

In conclusion, the study is the first such comprehensive look at ceremonies and celebrations in the community of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It highlights the features and characteristics of these celebrations in this area. However, since the author refers to a medium sized town, which Vilnius was, it is not necessary to extrapolate these mechanisms to the rest of the Lithuanian state, but rather reconcile it with other cities of the kingdom, to some extent Manyś tries to show this in her work. This brings two benefits because it shows the specifics of Lithuanian culture, as well as elements of family rituals in the Crown.

Of huge importance is the vast use of Lithuanian studies concerning the range of issues of ceremony and urban space. This brings historians closer to the centres of Lithuanian

methodology and the state of research, knowledge of which outside Lithuania is still underdeveloped undoubtedly because of the the language barrier.

The layout of the paper is clear and readable, both for professionals and for those unfamiliar with the subject. In the introduction, the author briefly introduces the history of the city and its development over the centuries, outlining its territorial development and describing the function of Vilnius during the analysed period. In this type of work, this procedure was undoubtedly necessary, but it somewhat breaks down the introduction's structure and narration dealing with the research and delineated targets. I think that dividing the part devoted to the history of Vilnius would be beneficial for both the narrative carried out in the introduction as well as for the study itself.

The monograph is written in a meticulous scientific way with a detailed list of annexes, illustrations, tables, charts, an index and a summary both in English and Lithuanian, which helps in using individual chapters.

It is worth noting that the tables presented in the annexes which take into account the lists of people linked to the aforementioned ceremonies and festivities are not only an important, graphic supplement to our knowledge. This is shown by the careful examination of the sources that made it possible to organize the dispersed knowledge in a clear manner, as well as being useful in further research into the noble family during Saxon times.

In conclusion it is worth noting again that there is a lack of similar studies devoted to customs and habits in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Manyś's work certainly helps fill this knowledge gap, and at the same time also points towards further detailed research.⁷ The comments above have no bearing on the huge value of the work but are the result of fundamental archival and bibliographical query. By analysing the cultural importance of family ceremonies and celebrations, the author manages to present a view of the family and reveal a fragment of the history of the city, showing its space through the prism of culture, which compels us to further deepen our research into the cultures and ceremonies of the modern era.

Agnieszka Słaby

7 The problem is mentioned in Juliusz CHROŚCICKI, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej*, Warszawa 1974; IDEM, *Od śmierci do egzekwii*, in: Joanna Dziubkova (oprac.), VANITAS. Portret trumienny na tle sarmackich obyczajów pogrzebowych, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, listopad 1996 – luty 1997, Poznań 1997, pp. 28–33; IDEM, *Oswajanie śmierci pięknem*, Barok. Historia – literatura – sztuka 2004, Nr 1, pp. 17–39; Michał ROŻEK, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie*, Kraków 1976; Bogdan ROK, *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze staropolskiej*, Wrocław 1995; IDEM, *Zakony wobec śmierci hetmanów w czasach saskich (1697–1763)*, in: Marek Derwich – Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (red.), *Klasztor w państwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 289–298; Bożena POPIOŁEK, *Woli mojej ostatniej testament ten... Testamenty staropolskie jako źródło do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009; Edmund KIZIK, *Wesele, kilka chrztów i pogrzebów. Uroczystości rodzinne w mieście hanzeatyckim od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2001; Izabela BOGDAN, *Ceremonie ślubne i renesansowa muzyka weselna w Królewcu w latach 1582–1645*, Poznań 2009.

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