Memorial Aspects of St. Gangulf's Iconography

Yu. Ye. Arnautova

St. Gangulf and His Cult

St. Gangulf belongs to that rare type of medieval saint that can conventionally be called a "layman saint." "Historical" Gangulf, whose existence historians have never doubted, was a great landowner, a count (*comes*) and a courtier of the Frankish kings. According to legend, he lived in the mid-eighth century, was a contemporary of Pippin the Short, and is usually believed to have died in 760.[1]

The author of the first legend of St. Gangulf, lamenting the scantiness of the oral tradition he drew upon, reports very little about the saint's life.[2] Son of noble parents, Gangulf, who had early become notorious for his learning and piety, entered the service of the Frankish kings, was made a courtier and became one of the best statesmen and generals of the period. In between his duties at court he visited his lands near Langres, where he mostly hunted in the surrounding woods. Once, Gangulf and his retinue went to his estate and on the way halted in a picturesque meadow, next to a clear spring. Charmed by the place, Gangulf fancied buying the spring, since the water on his lands was muddy and slightly salty. The owner of the spring, seeing easy game, asked for a huge sum – and the bargain was struck.

However, the wife of the saint, a stupid and querulous woman, found the purchase impractical and started to harass her husband for it. It was then that Gangulf worked his first and only lifetime miracle: transferal of the spring. Handing a vine to a servant, he asked him to stick it in the ground not far from the house, and at that moment clear water sprang forth from the ground, while the greedy vendor's source of water sputtered out. The following events unraveled quite fast. According to the legend, Gangulf found out that in his absence his wife had betrayed him with a cleric. He suggested that she repent, but she stubbornly denied every accusation. He then made her undergo a trial by ordeal,

[1] This opinion can be questioned and the lifetime of the historical Gangulf may be dated to half a century earlier, to the reign of Pippin II rather than Pippin the Short. However, for the present study these arguments are of no consequence.

[2] "Vita Gangulfi Martyris Varennensis," ed. W. Levison, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 7, part 1, 142-74.

asking her, if her conscience was clear of the alleged crime, to dip her hand into the cold spring water. Obstinate liar, she calmly plunged her hand into the water, and the cold spring burnt her so that the flesh peeled off the bones. Contrary to the usual practice, Gangulf refrained from violence and did not slay the adulteress and her lover, but just sent them away. His act of mercy turned against him. Several days later the wife's paramour, fearing that Gangulf might change his mind and take revenge, treacherously killed him. Miracles at the graveside – mainly miraculous healings – immediately made Gangulf's sanctity apparent, while the lovers were instantly and severely punished by divine justice. So reads the legend that to a great extent determined the specific areas of St. Gangulf's patronage,[3] the legend that explains the basic motifs of the saint's iconography and his typical iconographic attributes.

Motifs occurring in the depictions of St. Gangulf are fairly standard: these are scenes from his legendary *vita*, usually taking place at a water spring. The saint is typically represented as an armoured medieval knight, with a sword on his belt, a shield and a lance in his hands. The lance is often replaced by a palatine staff (or as a variant by a marshal's baton) or a pilgrim's rod. In the baroque period the image of a knight was historicized and projected on the Sacred History. St. Gangulf was then portrayed as a Roman legionnaire (often with a palm of martyrdom in his hand or a wreath on his head), which can be interpreted as a parallel to late classical martyrs. Less frequently, the saint is clad as an aristocrat; in this case he usually holds a vine in his hand, as an indication of the spring he had found. In some churches St. Gangulf is depicted as a hunter, with a hawk or a dog.[4]

Soon after the death of the saint his cult started to spread within the Carolingian state. The popularity of one or another saint is usually judged by the number of churches, chapels, and altars dedicated to him or her. In this respect, the cult of St. Gangulf went through three waves of popularity. The first, at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries, was not very large. It is testified to principally by the names of the settlements related to St. Gangulf and by the charters mentioning his *patrocinia* (parishes). In this period, the cult of the saint localized in two regions: in his homeland, Burgundy, and – unexpectedly, it seems – quite far away to the east, in Allemania and northern Bavaria, recently annexed to the Carolingian state lands.

---

[3] St. Gangulf was mainly venerated as a patron of miracle-working springs. Later, possibly in the modern period, the saint also became the patron of marriage and marital fidelity.

[4] On St. Gangulf's iconography see F. Mayer, "Der heilige Gangolf, seine Verehrung in Geschichte und Brauchtum," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 67 (1950/54): 90-139 (hereafter Mayer, "Der heilige Gangolf"); J. Sauer, "Die Gangolfskapelle in Neudenau," *Ibid.*: 140-174; Ch. Pierret, *Saint Gengoux, patron des mal mariés* (Arlon, 1985) (hereafter Pierret, *Saint Gengoux*); P. Stintzi, Ch. Haaby, *Die St. Gangolphs-Kapelle bei Schweighouse* (Guebwiller, 1947); S. Lachitzer, "Die Heiligen der Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft des Kaisers Maximilian I," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 1886, vol. 4 (reprint New York, 1966); A. Boeckler, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale* (Augsburg, 1923).

Researchers' attention has traditionally focused on the second wave of St. Gangulf's cult, which followed after a break of almost a hundred and fifty years. This surge of interest in the saint is usually linked to the emergence of a new, "lay" type of sanctity and to the Cluniac monastic reform. The monastery in Varenne founded by St. Gangulf (up to the tenth century home of the saint's relics) belonged to the Benedictine order. Thanks to the Benedictines, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the cult of the saint received a new impulse, especially in the areas touched by the new Cluniac movement. In big cities, such as Toul, Trier, Mainz, and Florennes, churches with canon houses attached to them were dedicated to St. Gangulf, while the saint himself, as a symbol of "holiness in the world," became a patron saint of the military aristocracy.

However, as the time of the Crusades and of the *milites Christi* ideology passed, new social orders with new ideals came to the historical foreground. By the fifteenth century St. Gangulf had ceased to be a patron saint of the warlords to become a "popular" patron of miracle-working springs, cattle, and successful marriage. In big cities the saint's cult withered or is barely perceptible, while in the country it thrived in churches and chapels built over the "springs of St. Gangulf," which often become targets of local pilgrimage. The name of St. Gangulf, just like the names of many other saints, entered various folk-beliefs and rites meant to ensure the prosperity of a peasant household and the well-being of the livestock or to restore health with the help of the water from St. Gangulf's spring.

Methodological Aspects of Studying Images as *Memoria*

Most of the extant images of St. Gangulf date to the last wave of his popularity (the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). In contrast to famous masterpieces of painting and sculpture, the frescoes and statues from the little churches and chapels of St. Gangulf in northern Alsace or Bavarian Schwabia have never attracted any special attention from art historians, as their "artistic value" is insignificant. However, the functions of any work of art, whatever its quality, are not limited to aesthetics. Given that an artifact comes into being at a certain time and in a certain place, that it is created for a certain purpose and normally not only has a creator but also a commissioner, this artifact may serve as an informative source on social history. One only has to put the right questions to this type of source to move from an art-historical viewpoint that considers primarily aesthetic qualities. Images can be considered in their social and historical contexts to see what they reveal if examined as historians examine their usual sources, texts.

It was Lucien Febvre who suggested that images (hereafter I will use the word "image" in its broadest sense, as an *imago* rather than "a work of art") should be studied in their dynamic correlation with the society as "historical tes-

timonies."[5] Since then historians have significantly broadened both the spectrum of problems to be studied with the help of the socio-historical analysis of images and the stock of methods for such a study. I believe that one of the fruitful methods is the study of an image as a *memoria*.

The Latin term *memoria* is used in historical science to designate "memory" in all aspects of this multifaceted phenomenon: memory (*mneme*) as a property of human conscience; recollection, revitalization in the mind (*anamnesis*) of past events or persons; liturgical commemoration (*commemoratio*), and social activities related to memory (*memoria*). The latter constitute the basis for memory of the living about the dead, since it is through the *memoria* expressed in various social activities that the living and the dead come together as an "inseparable community." The past becomes part of the present, the dead "come to life" not only as recollections but also in their "real" presence, for example, when being called by their names at a liturgical commemoration or as witnesses at court.[6]

The notion of the "presence" of the dead (*Gegenwart der Toten*) constituted one of the foundations of legal and social thought from pagan antiquity to the eighteenth century. One believed (and acted accordingly) that the dead remained full-fledged subjects of the law, property owners, and recipients of gifts. These gifts need not have been purely spiritual, as a prayer, they could easily have been material, so that, for example, a donation to a church was perceived as a gift to the patron saint of this church.

The medieval cult of saints and the cult of the dead have a common root, that is, memory (*memoria*) that the living preserve of the dead. This idea is very important for the understanding not only of the cult of saints but also of many forms of social relations in general, particularly of *memoria* within a social group, which will be discussed here. In monastic and ecclesiastical communities, among noble kin, in groups comprising persons doing the same kind of work or bound together by mutual obligations and common convictions, memory of the dead played a special role as a binding and consolidating factor that reinforced the legal, economic, and political status of the group.

Images can also be viewed as a kind of *memoria*, as a means to visually communicate what is expressed vocally when the name of a person commemorated or recalled is pronounced to indicate the person's "real presence" among the living.[7] The term "memorial image," which entered the historians' language several decades ago, does not imply any specific genre of visual representation;

---

[5] L. Febvre, "La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?" *Annales d'histoire sociale* 3 (1941): 5-20.

[6] O. G. Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. Braet and W. Verbeke, 21- 77 (Leuven, 1983), 26.

[7] On theoretical aspects of studying *memoria* see M. Borgolte, "Memoria. Zwischenbilanz eines Mittelalterprojekts," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 3 (1998): 197-210; O. G. Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 70-95; i*dem*, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," 21-77.

it is rather a "research instrument." By calling an image "memorial," a historian specifies what will be the focus of his study: namely, a *social function* of the image. A memorial image is supposed to have various layers, or levels, of meanings which reflect certain social notions and correlate to certain social activities based on these notions. Heuristic value is therefore attached not only to the content analysis of the image but also to the study of the *social context and social relations within which this content emerges and functions.*[8]

Most often historians talk about the social functions of memorial images in respect to the rulers' portraits, which served to legitimize political power, or to the tombstone representations of monastery founders meant to be reminders of the rights and privileges of a given monastic community.[9] The iconography of saints, unless those saints were representatives of some royal dynasty or founders of an order or a monastery, is normally appraised only from the viewpoint of religion. Therefore, only cultic aspects of saints' iconography are taken into consideration. Do they exhaust iconography as a historical source? Let us compare the decoration of churches (chapels) of St. Gangulf in areas where his cult had diverse historical roots.

---

[8] O. G. Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialbild," in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich, 1984), 385-387.

[9] Rulers' portraits, which in the Middle Ages served "representation" purposes and were meant to legitimize political power, are important for historians as testimonies of the notions of power. They contain various "layers" of statements intended to manifest ambitions and authority and to emphasize the sacral basis of power. See, for instance, P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1928); O. G. Oexle, "Welfische Memoria," in *Die Welfen und ihr Braunschweiger Hof im hohen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Schneidmüller (Wiesbaden, 1995), 61-94; i*dem,* "Fama und Memoria Heinrichs des Löwen: Kunst im Kontext der Sozialgeschichte. Mit einem Ausblick auf die Gegenwart," in *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*, ed. J. Ehlers and D. Kötzsche (Mainz, 1998); G. Melville, "Vorfahren und Vorgänger. Spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft," in *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. P.-J. Schuler (Sigmaringen, 1987), 203-309. On memorial images of monastery or church founders, and of great donors whose belonging to a given community of believers is constantly maintained through liturgical commemoration and in iconography see Ch. Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria: Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild: 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen, 1993) (hereafter Ch. Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria*); H.-R. Meier, ed., *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn: Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Berlin, 1995); C. Schleif, *Donatio et memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* (Munich, 1990). On the socio-historical functions of tombstone representations see A. von Hülsen-Esch, "Zur Konstituierung des Juristenstandes durch Memoria. Die bildliche Repräsentation des Giovanni da Legnano," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. O. G. Oexle (Göttingen, 1995), 185-206 (hereafter von Hülsen-Esch, "Zur Konstituierung des Juristenstandes durch Memoria").

Reflections of St. Gangulf's Patronage in Iconography

In the piedmonts of Vosges, 3 km away from the village of Lautenbach with an ancient monastery of St. Michael (eighth century), there is a little chapel dedicated to St. Gangulf. Above the entrance one can still discern the construction date: 1449. Up to the 1920s this place was a pilgrimage site for the crippled, the lame, and the blind, who sought healing from the water of the spring coming out from beneath the altar.[10] The chapel is known for its late gothic frescoes illustrating the life of St. Gangulf, among which particularly numerous scenes are related to the spring: St. Gangulf finding and purchasing the spring, St. Gangulf sending a servant with a vine to open a new spring, and the ordeal at the spring. Several votive gifts from pilgrims seeking healing – oil paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – depict St. Gangulf clad as a medieval knight or a Classical warrior. On the altar, a sculptural representation of St. Gangulf wearing armour dates to the baroque period. The only "companion" of St. Gangulf in this chapel, apart from the traditional Virgin Mary, is the Archangel Michael (a baroque wooden sculpture in the side aisle), patron of the monastery whose priory owned the chapel. No doubt in this chapel St. Gangulf was venerated as a holy miracle-worker, patron of the healing spring.

Many a chapel similar to this one appeared in the later Middle Ages over miracle-working springs and next to wells on hilltops. St. Gangulf's patronage of springs was well substantiated by his legend: the saint found a spring for a rest on his travels, another one sprang forth at the saint's will, the third served for the miracle of the ordeal. The frequent travels of St. Gangulf to the royal court, mentioned in the same legend, also shared in the chain of associations: to travel in the Middle Ages meant to move from one place of rest (next to a water source!) to the other. Thus, local cult places dedicated to St. Gangulf appeared along the roads at wells or springs where travelers often had a rest halt: small chapels were erected over the springs, and their water acquired the fame of miracle working. Why the popularity of the "springs of St. Gangulf" reached its peak in the later Middle Ages can be explained plausibly. In spite of the resistance of the official Church, the archaic cult of water springs still found its way into Christian rite and practice, first on the level of popular religion. Later, against the background of the religious activity of believers and their need for miracles, this cult was gradually "legalized" through inclusion in the cult of one or another saint.

* * *

[10] According to legend, Gangulf was wounded in the hip, which is why the lame and the paralyzed hoped to be healed by the water of such springs. The legend offers no clue as to why St. Gangulf could be invoked for help by those with stomach ailments, skin, eye, and ear diseases. Most likely the mechanism of including these diseases within St. Gangulf's patronage is the same as in the case of the 'Fourteen Holy Helpers.'

More towards the east, on the other side of the Rhine, along the historical communication lines in the Schwabian Alb, the concentration of St. Gangulf's *patrocinia* is the greatest. More than a dozen little churches and chapels are/were dedicated to St. Gangulf in this area, even though not all of them are extant nowadays. One need not be a specialist to notice how the interior decoration and images in these churches differ from those in Lautenbach or in St. Gangulf's homeland, Varenne-on-Amance, the site of "the" actual spring mentioned in the legend.[11] What I mean here is not the (self-evident) difference between artistic schools but the specific representation of St. Gangulf with his attributes and the peculiarities of the space of an image: who accompanies St. Gangulf, who his co-patrons are, where they are located in the space of a church and in relation to each other. Let us analyze some examples.

A chapel in the little town of Neudenau on the Jagst River, next to the "springs of St. Gangulf," is one of the oldest ancient monuments of the saint's cult based on the Romanesque foundations. The chapel is decorated with frescoes dating back to the 1370s and 1380s and with wooden statues from the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries.[12] Apart from the traditional scenes from the saint's legend on the side wings of the altarpiece (early fifteenth century), an individual image of St. Gangulf with a rod is especially interesting – a rod was a symbol of pilgrimage and this chapel was a pilgrimage site of local importance. Next to St. Gangulf St. Lawrence is depicted on holding a book and on a horse.

On the altar (c. 1500, Schwabian-French school) three saints are depicted in knightly garb. The central figure stands out, on a little dais under a canopy – this is the patron of the chapel, St. Gangulf himself. He has palatine headgear, a rod in his right hand and a sword in his left. To his right stands St. Martin cutting his mantle in two so as to dress the poor; to his left stands St. Maurice with his permanent attribute, a banner on a long shaft. Why Gangulf is depicted in the company of these two saints is clear. Firstly, the group most likely symbolized the army of Christ: St. Martin (316-379) was a Roman legionnaire before he became a monk and then bishop of Tours; St. Maurice – a late Classical martyr – led the famous Theban legion comprised of Christians and was put to the sword at Emperor Maximian's order during persecution of the Christians in 302-305. In other words, the entire group in their previous "worldly" life had to do with military service and, accordingly, with military order. The second reason for St. Gangulf's companionship with St. Martin, which later became traditional, will be discussed below.

On the consoles there are four more small figures. A Roman pope wearing a tiara is supposedly St. Urban, patron of horse-breeders (as a variant, of horse-dealers); St. Wolfgang (tenth century bishop of Regensburg) was the patron of shepherds and horses; another figure in episcopal vestments holds a book and a staff; and St. Anthony – patron of shepherds and cattle – has a swine at his feet.

[11] There, fifteenth-century stained glass depicts St. Gangulf as a warrior and hunter.
[12] For a detailed description of these images see Ch. Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria*, 140-174.

The company of "warriors" for St. Gangulf is not limited to Saints Martin and Maurice. In the altar part of the left aisle stands a late gothic statue of St. George – Roman soldier and martyr of the time of Diocletian. He is also a patron of soldiers and horses. On the frescoes in the same part of the chapel one can discern scenes of the martyrdoms of Saints George, Vitus, Lawrence, and Blaise – all popular patrons of domestic animals (Blaise in particular) and horses. On the frescoes in the right aisle there are well preserved images of St. Erasmus (d. 303), invoked against cattle epidemics, and St. Christopher, patron of warriors and travelers.[13]

No wonder that the Neudenau chapel presents a classical series of medieval patrons of horses, domestic animals, and peasant work: Saints Martin, Maurice, Anthony, Blaise, Urban, Wolfgang, George. This area, at least since the later Middle Ages (there are no sources on the earlier period), was known for perfect horses bred for sale. How did St. Gangulf come to be in this company? Dictionaries of Catholic saints do not mention St. Gangulf among the traditional and universally venerated patrons of such occupations as horse and cattle breeding. This is to say that even if the saint "exercized" this patronage it was not universally acknowledged. Nor does the legendary life of the saint explicitly provide grounds for such patronage. St. Gangulf is related to horses only as a warrior, as an equestrian, and his only known image as an equestrian is in Florennes (Belgium), where some of St. Gangulf's relics were kept in the later Middle Ages and where he is better known as a patron of the military aristocracy.

The Neudenau chapel is not the only one where St. Gangulf is represented in the company of warrior saints as well as patrons of horses and domestic animals. In this region they are St. Gangulf's permanent companions, and sometimes even co-patrons in all churches and chapels dedicated to him.

In the chapel in Heufelden on the Danube, apart from the late medieval image of the ordeal at the water-spring, there is a well preserved baroque statue of St. Gangulf as an antique warrior with a helmet, sword, and shield. Next to him are the statues of Saints Wendelin and Sebastian. St. Wendelin is an Irish monk who, even though he was son of a king, did not abhor tending the flocks in the Vosges mountains like a simple shepherd. St. Gangulf's only link to St. Sebastian, more famous for his patronage of the plague, is their both having served in the military. In Kleinanhausen, St. Gangulf is venerated together with Saints Wendelin and the patron of the weather, St. Donatus. In the church of nearby Steinach, on both sides of the altar displaying a baroque statue of St. Gangulf, one finds statues of St. Sebastian and St. Roch, patrons of the plague. Besides protecting from the plague, St. Roch (fourteenth century), particularly popular in Germany, was expected to help against murrain. In Dornstetten the

[13] In the eighteenth century, St. Wendelin, another patron of shepherds, was worshipped here. The absence of St. Leonard from this series of horse and cattle herders can be explained by the presence nearby of a pilgrim church dedicated to him.

same saints, along with the patrons of cattle and shepherds Saints Wendelin and Leonard, accompany St. Gangulf. In Wettstetten and Kößnach St. Gangulf shares patronage with St. Martin. In Wettstetten a chapel is dedicated to St. Gangulf alone. The altarpiece image therein is a triptych. St. Gangulf is in the center wearing armour, with a sword on his belt and a spear in his hand. To his left is St. Isidor, the patron of peasant labour and to his right is St. Leonard, the patron of cattle. In Milseburg, St. Gangulf is depicted together with Saints Wendelin, Lawrence, and George. In Wiesling, the co-patron of St. Gangulf is St. Urban, the patron of horse-dealers.[14]

* * *

The emphatic presence of saint patrons of horse and cattle breeding in the retinue of St. Gangulf distinguishes his churches (chapels) in this region from chapels on "the springs of St. Gangulf" and gives reason to believe that St. Gangulf himself is also, rather unexpectedly, venerated in Schwabia as a patron of this occupation. This supposition is confirmed by written sources, such as, for instance, extant documents from ecclesiastical archives of the Early Modern period, as well as by historians of the area reporting on folk rites related to the cult of St. Gangulf, especially the blessing of horses.[15]

More precise dating of this specific patronage of the saint is impossible. The oldest among the extant images point to the fourteenth century. It is quite possible that this cult had come into being even earlier, at the end of the High Middle Ages, when saints universally acquired patronage of specific occupations. What is certain, however, is that St. Gangulf's patronage of horses and cattle was of local significance, that it was here that it emerged and existed up to a very recent date.

In all the *patrocinia* mentioned earlier, up to the early decades of the twentieth century, the highest festival of the village fell on the commemoration date of St. Gangulf (May 11). It was celebrated with a procession (in Kößnach one can see a small baroque statue of the saint, represented as a warrior holding a lance, which was carried during processions). After the festive mass and a sermon delivered to "a great concourse of people," horses and cattle were blessed, and then races took place, "to honour St. Gangulf." In some parishes such races were also held on Easter Monday, while the church (i.e., of St. Gangulf) received donations of grain. In the middle of the twentieth century, when

[14] A detailed description of these images is found in the work of a parish priest from Neudenau; Mayer "Der heilige Gangolf," 103-126) and especially in the work by W. Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf an Donau und Lech," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 84 (1991): 7-44 (esp. 22-39) (hereafter Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf an Donau und Lech").

[15] Most of this information has been collected and published by Mayer, "Der heilige Gangolf," 113-120; 132-139.

horses had lost their importance as a means of transportation or draft power, cars and tractors started to be blessed in the same way.[16]

The appearance and dissemination of St. Gangulf's patronage of horses coincides in time with the spread of his patronage of healing springs. Some of the Schwabian churches mentioned above also have adjacent springs or show traces of their earlier existence. A rod in St. Gangulf's hand, which in some places replaced his usual attribute, the lance, unequivocally testifies to the fact that by the time these images were created these churches were already centers of local pilgrimage. There are, nevertheless, no indications that the pilgrims specifically sought healing.

For example, the church in Dornstetten was a pilgrimage site, as is clear both from the images, such as the statue of St. Gangulf clad in gilded armour with a sword and a rod in his hands (1468), and from the written sources documenting pilgrimage to this locality, at least from the late fifteenth century.[17] However, extant votive gifts – wax figures and images of oxen or steers – provide clear evidence as to the major concern of the pilgrims. St. Gangulf, therefore, must have been venerated here primarily as a patron of draught animals.

In only one church, in Steinach, on the polychrome paintings covering the central ceiling (1760, by Johannes Hartmann) can one see people with crutches and staffs sitting around the spring. However, in this settlement there were and are no "springs of St. Gangulf;" nor are there reports of Steinach's as a pilgrimage site, either. This scene is just one over many other illustrations of the legend depicted there: St. Gangulf and his wife before the ordeal at the spring; the purchase of the spring in Champaigne; Gangulf's wife rebuking him for the wrong buy; the servant with the vine opening a new spring at Gangulf's order – in all, all the scenes familiar from the chapel in Lautenbach or the church in Toul[18] and represented according to the canonic iconographic tradition accepted all over Europe.

The significance and the role of the "springs of St. Gangulf" in this region are best seen in the example of a small chapel over such a spring in Bettbrunn. The actual medieval name of the settlement – *Verbrunn*, or *Pfebrunn* (*Pferd* – horse, *Brunne* – spring, well), or, later, *Betbrunn* (*Betfahrt = Wallfahrt* – pilgrimage) signals the existence here of a pilgrimage site where domestic cattle

[16] *Ibid.,*114-117, 121.

[17] *Ibid.*, 115-116.

[18] In the tenth century most of St. Gangulf's relics were transferred from Varenne to Langres, and thence to Toul. About the year 976 this circumstance led to the construction of a church in Toul dedicated to St. Gangulf. Later this church was reconstructed many times, but it still exists. It houses the famous thirteenth-century stained glass windows illustrating the life of St. Gangulf (15 scenes) which are supposed to be the oldest monument of the saint's iconography. Unfortunately, the state of their preservation does not allow discerning any details; only descriptions of the scenes are available. See, for example, Pierret, *Saint Gengoux*, 118-119.

were brought to for a blessing with the spring water.[19] Perhaps this was the way in which the cult of holy springs, common in the later Middle Ages for the entirety of Western Europe, amalgamated here with St. Gangulf's local patronage of horses and the draft beasts. Why?

Images as *Memoria* of a Social Group

Unless prompted by the historical or legendary events from the life of a saint, the origins of the saint's specific patronages and the ways in which these patronages developed are quite difficult to explain. In most cases one fails to specify the precise date or the exact event that could have generated one or another patronage: its appearance is determined by a constellation of various, sometimes unexpected, events. Let me suggest that the local patronage of St. Gangulf over horses and cattle owes its existence to a fact which is not immediately related to religious beliefs, that is, to the parishioners' need to have an object of social (professional) self-identification. To provide grounds for this hypothesis, the iconography of St. Gangulf in the churches and chapels where the saint was venerated as a patron of horse and cattle breeders should be viewed not only as an expression of general medieval religious notions related to the cult of the saints, but as acts of *memoria* in its multiple manifestations.

Preserved images date back to the period between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries but, in order to trace the origins of patronage, let us turn to the history of St. Gangulf's cult. The peculiarity of this cult in the *patrocinia* under examination is that this cult existed there continuously from the moment of its appearance in the eighth century. From the very beginning the cultic, liturgical *memoria* co-existed here with *historical* and *social memoria*.

Siegel was the first to point out that St. Gangulf is frequently depicted next to St. Martin.[20] In some cases St. Martin is a co-patron with St. Gangulf. In others, St. Gangulf is the patron of a church and St. Martin is his "companion," which, in turn, may signal that originally this church or chapel dedicated to St. Gangulf was formerly a priory of a St. Martin's church situated in a larger settlement nearby. In fact, the concentration of St. Martin's *patrocinia* in this region is still greater than that of St. Gangulf's. The fact that St. Martin is always present cannot be accidental; rather, it testifies to the historical roots of the local cult of this saint. In the Middle Ages, all settlements of this region with St. Gangulf's *patrocinia* attached to them belonged to various (up to five) dioceses. These settlements have only one thing in common: they all emerged as a result of the Early Carolingian political situation.

The power crisis under the last Merovingian kings at the end of the seventh century caused considerable reduction in the land possessions of the royal

[19] H. Dannenbauer, *Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Welt; Skizzen und Studien* (Stuttgart, 1958), vol. 3, 257; Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf an Donau und Lech," 35.
[20] *Ibid.*, 20.

house; the major sources of wealth and might were steadily taken over by ecclesiastical and secular magnates. Since the times of Charles Martell (714-741), and especially under his sons Pippin and Carlomann, numerous attempts were made to enlarge the royal domain through internal colonization and reorganization of land possessions. These royal possessions, including those of the imperial Church, constituted the basis of the material wealth of the Frankish state. It was important for the Carolingians to create a structure of fiscal possessions that would enable them to control the major communication lines in the state which, in turn, would considerably facilitate management of the lands, their protection, trade, and so forth. To this effect, footholds were created along the major communication lines: fortresses and settlements attached to them supplied all that was necessary for trade caravans, army detachments, and the royal court.

Settlements that appeared in the newly conquered (mid-eighth century) royal lands in Allemannia and northern Bavaria (Bavarian Schwabia)[21] and whose names or whose churches or chapels are related to the cult of St. Gangulf, belonged to this kind of establishment. Siegel's research showed that, by and large, these settlements emerged in the middle or the last decades of the eighth century, and that their importance as strongholds by or on the pivotal imperial roads (most of which had already lost their significance by the high Middle Ages) is limited to the Carolingian era.[22] Often these were auxiliary settlements, like those at ferries, with "auxiliary" churches and chapels – filial foundations by the churches dedicated to the royal saint Martin.[23] Let us view some examples.

Wettstetten is located in between two main roads dating back to the Romans. In the early Middle Ages this area was part of the so-called *der Weg der Nibelungen.* Six km eastwards from Wetstetten, in Kösching (Roman *Germanicum*), the two roads merge and thence lead to a ferry over the Danube in Pförring (*Celeusum*). Wetstetten, founded as a settlement of the king's servicemen, was a halting place where they could refill their reserves. The importance of this territory for the Carolingian state is testified to by the existence in the area of several more *patrocinia* of St. Martin at a distance of 4 to 6 km from each other.

Kleinanhausen*,* a traditional long-halt place for all travelers on the old Roman road leading from Ulm to Augsburg (a busy communication line throughout the Middle Ages) is only 7 km away from Günzburg, a large – by Carolingian standards – settlement with a parish of St. Martin.

---

[21] H. Büttner*, Schwaben und Schweiz im frühen und im hohen Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Sigmaringen, 1972), 32 ff.

[22] Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf an Donau und Lech."

[23] Siegel draws similar conclusions from the study of St. Gangulf's *patrocinia* in a different region – around Harz. See W. Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf im Raum um den Harz und die Zeit der Sachsenkriege Karls des Grossen," *Harz-Zeitschrift* (*Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*) 45/2 (1993): 46-47 (hereafter Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf im Raum um den Harz").

In Dornstetten on the Lech River, in the Middle Ages a shipping line of considerable importance was a wharf connected by a passageway to the old Roman *Via Claudia Augusta* leading to Italy. Up to the end of the eighth century Dornstetten was an important frontier military settlement.

Along the Lech, southeastwards from Augsburg, a road leading to the southern parts of Bavaria was built in the times of Pippin the Short, with a series of service settlements alongside it. Thus, Merching was a Carolingian royal residence for the court to halt during journeys around the country. Priories of Merching's church of St. Martin's embraced smaller parishes of the neighbourhood. One of them was St. Gangulf in Steinach (a placename typical of Carolingian state settlements), a service and defence settlement that emerged next to a bridge or ferry across the Steinach River. The present church is attached to a Romanesque chapel whose altar serves as a burial place for knights fallen in battles with the Huns.

Kößnach, with a church dedicated to Sts. Martin and Gangulf, appeared at the parting of a major road through the fiscal lands between the Danube and the Bavarian Wood. In the immediate neighbourhood there are four more St. Martin's churches, one of which possessed the Kößnach church as a priory (most likely, this was St. Martin's chapel in the royal residence in Alburg).

Heufelden also lay on an imperial road. Toponymic research has demonstrated that the name of this settlement is related to the names of other fortified Carolingian settlements (as indicated by the presence of *-feld*) whose medieval parishes, no longer extant, were also dedicated to St. Gangulf (Hollfeld, Ridfeld, Windfeld).[24]

* * *

It is easy to notice that the emergence of the new fortified settlements in this region coincided in time with the first wave of the cult of St. Gangulf. A reasonable question arises: why did this little known new saint come to be venerated so far away from his original home in dozens of little fortresses, a century and a half before the reformed Benedictine monasticism turned St. Gangulf into an example for imitation by pious knights, defenders of the Christian faith, whence the cult started to spread all across Western Europe?

As a rule, in the early Middle Ages the dedication of a church was not the parishioners' choice: a patron saint was selected by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the role played therein by subjective factors, such as social status priorities or personal preferences, was not insignificant. Since the times of Fulrad (d. 784), abbot of Saint-Denis and royal chaplain, the functions of a "minister" of ecclesiastical affairs at the Carolingian court were carried out by representatives of the highest military aristocracy. While supervising royal churches and monasteries

[24] Topographic and toponymc information comes from Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf an Donau und Lech," 23-39.

they made sure to promote saints of their own social order. The best known "warrior" in the early medieval pantheon of saints was St. Martin of Tours. It was to him, along with Saints Denis, Remigius, and John the Baptist, that churches and chapels founded by the Frankish kings on fiscal lands were dedicated most often.[25] St. Martin was also the chief saint of the royal courtly chapel – a "courtly" saint. His cloak (*capa*), deemed to be the major relic of the state, indispensable on war expeditions or in the performance of homage to the king, always followed the royal court on its constant travels. The keeper of the *capa,* the chaplain, was traditionally the most influential councilor of the king on ecclesiastical issues. It was the chaplain who supervised all the churches and chapels on fiscal lands.

It comes as no surprise, then, that St. Gangulf, who during his lifetime had belonged to the higher military aristocracy and been part of the king's retinue, after his death entered the "retinue" of St. Martin. From 784 to 791 Fulrad's successor, Angilram from the family of Roberting, archbishop of Metz, held the position of arch-chaplain of the royal chapel of St. Martin and, accordingly, the management of ecclesiastical affairs. Angilram first promoted the cult of St. Gangulf. Siegel, who researched the early medieval cult of St. Gangulf in this area, has put forth a bold, though not unbelievable, hypothesis. According to him, Angilram and his companions, who could have been personally acquainted with Count Gangulf during his lifetime (or, to be more cautious, who had a fresh memory of the oral tradition about the saint), deliberately promoted his cult at the beginning, before the composition of the legendary *vita* at the turn of the ninth century.[26] It can hardly be an accident, continues Siegel, that the veneration of St. Gangulf is well-attested in Angilram's sphere of influence: the archbishopric of Metz and the two monasteries, Sens and St. Truiden, where Angilram was an acting abbot. Neither was it accidental that no new *patrocinia* of St. Martin and St. Gangulf came into being after Angilram's death.[27]

In this way, the earliest dissemination (if not implantation) of the cult of St. Gangulf away from his homeland may be treated as an act of *memoria* of the Frankish military aristocracy occupying the highest ecclesiastical positions – *memoria* of the social group the saint had belonged to himself. Historical *memoria* (whose function is rather limited – to preserve historical memory), which in this period was hardly separable from the chief medieval form of memory – li-

[25] For details see J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige* (Stuttgart, 1959), vol. 1.

[26] Siegel, *Der heilige Gangolf am Donau und Lech*, 20-21, 33-34. Among such persons Siegel names Angilram's distant kinsman Hankor (d. 764) who is supposed to have founded St. Gangulf's chapel in Sternbach. Another possible contemporary of St. Gangulf is the former bishop of Langres Hariulf. In 775-78 he founded the abbey of Ellwangen in Bavarian Schwabia (where St. Gangulf could well have been venerated, even though the evidence to that effect is no longer extant); around the abbey (perhaps under the abbey's priorate?) there were a number of *patrocinia* of St. Gangulf.

[27] Siegel, "Der heilige Gangolf an Donau und Lech," 20; *idem,* "Der heilige Gangolf im Raum um den Harz," 48.

turgical *memoria* – acquired the form of a cult, wherein the churches dedicated in honour of St. Gangulf served as monumental testimonies. To a degree, this was also facilitated by a certain tension that had developed since the times of St. Boniface (d. 754), archbishop and papal legate to the Western Frankish Church, between the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish clergy. To reinforce the positions of the latter, a new saint from among the Franks was more than suitable. Even though the cult of St. Gangulf was first promoted by the Carolingian court and, as an object of the group *memoria* of the military aristocracy, was inculcated "from above," the saint also turned out to be a suitable patron for commoners – the population of the Carolingian fortified settlements in the newly conquered areas of Allemannia and northern Bavaria.

Having received St. Gangulf as their patron (*patronus*), having become "the people of St. Gangulf," parish members thereby took upon themselves the obligations of *memoria* of the saint. Liturgical commemoration and expectation of a "reciprocal gift" were not the only grounds for their sense of "indivisible communion" with "their" saint. Early medieval *patrocinia* of St. Gangulf appeared in the fiscal settlements functioning as military fortifications. The persons who belonged to these parishes were bound together not only by the territory where they lived, but also by the same social status and by the proximity of their jobs. These were the king's servicemen charged with participation in war expeditions, responsible for defending communication lines or frontiers of the state, for keeping roads and ferries in order, for breeding horses and supplying provisions to the army, to the men on duty, tradesmen, and the royal court. For them, St. Gangulf was "an insider," a pious warrior, equestrian, and hunter, patron of springs and wells, which were the chief *sine-qua-non* of every roadside settlement or travelers' halting place. That is why these people not only united around St. Gangulf as parishioners, but identified with him as members of the same "professional" group.[28]

However, in many places Carolingian fiscal and military organization began to weaken as early as the end of the eighth century, and by the tenth century it was gone. Some of the roads and the roadside settlements, with their limited functions as fortified halting points, lost their significance. Accordingly, the population of these settlements also underwent considerable change. Those who were formerly the king's men either became freemen or passed into ownership of the Church or large landowners. In many places they voluntarily entered dependence so as to escape conscription, and steadily turned into peaceful peasants. The chief carriers of the cult of St. Gangulf thereby lost their "identity" with the image of the saint warrior and hunter. What consequences did this change have for his cult?

The situation was no rarity when the cult of a saint in an area ceased to respond to the needs of parishioners and, having lost its relevance, disappeared. An unpopular patron saint was usually replaced by a new one, for one or another

[28] Apparently, the homogeneity of such a group remains questionable.

reason more popular with the parishioners, all the more so since by the tenth century the parish community had been granted more liberty in choosing a patron, no longer appointed by the ecclesiastical administration. This was the case with a number of churches and chapels once dedicated to St. Gangulf in big cities such as Mainz, Bonn, Cologne, and Magdeburg. In the later Middle Ages, in the context of a changing "religious climate" and new political situation within the Church, the saint's cult (meaning its second wave) lost its "cultural medium" and died out almost completely.

Why did St. Gangulf's *patrocinia* survive along the historical communication lines, with a few exceptions, up to the present? Why did the saint's cult not vanish with the disappearance of the social group of its bearers? Moreover, one can state with certainty that throughout its history this cult was quite active, since, as was noted earlier, it generated multiple folk rites, legends, songs, new prayers, and blessings.

To a certain extent, this may be explained by the absence of "external" prompts to change the cult; or, even if there were any such promptings, they left no historical trace behind. It is clear why the cult of St. Gangulf died out in the big cities where episcopal sees were involved in ecclesiastical politics, where the changing public mood was most perceptible, where there was always some wealthy donor(s) ready to invest in a complete refurbishing of a church, and where the name of the saint patron could stand for a certain political or ideological tendency (as was the case with dedicating churches and chapels to St. Gangulf in the territories of dioceses joining the Cluniac reform movement). In small villages, however, where the traditional arrangements and organization of everyday life were passed without alteration from generation to generation, new ideological winds and intrigues of more distant politics were of no consequence, and no one would invest in a new church in honour of a popular saint. Parish communities just kept up the existing churches, enlarged or reconstructed them, and commissioned new frescoes or statues of the patron saints, some of which survived until present days – images depicting St. Gangulf and his companions as patrons of horses, cattle, and peasant labours.

An image, whether it is a king's portrait or a statue of a saint in a countryside chapel, does not appear by itself. It is commissioned and paid for, so it would be sensible to inquire after the explicit and implicit, perhaps, even unconscious, notions, interests, and stances of a commissioner that played a role in the history of the image.

Churches, as places of the "earthly presence" of a saintly patron, often received donations from laymen. Donation has a complex symbolic nature with multiple meanings. This is not a simple act of piety: this is a care of one's soul, an address to the heavenly benefactor to express gratitude for a benefice already granted or "in advance," in the hope of a future benefice. Donations themselves – iconographic images or other objects such as reliquaries, candle holders, or votive candles – also had a function reaching far beyond their immediate purpose of cult objects. The inseparability of the religious and, as I would call it,

"representative" functions of the items of religious equipment is apparent. That is also why the size, the amount of material required to produce such objects, and the costs of production were all important. They were, to a certain extent, markers meant to add not only to the glory of God, of a saint, of a church (and the Church), but also to enable the donor(s) (pilgrim, community or its individual members) to assert themselves, their social and material status, in other words, their place in the structure of the society.[29]

The content of these images is important nonetheless. Who is depicted in frescoes and in sculpture? Certainly, those saints who were closest to the donors and whose benevolence was most essential to them. In our case these were saints who provided multiple animal yields, favourable weather, a rich forage crop, who protected flocks and herds, defended animals from predators, injuries, ailments, and murrain, and who helped to find generous customers. The steady filling of St. Gangulf's churches with new characters[30] – images of saintly patrons of horse- and cattle-breeders – provides an unequivocal testimony of the new economic specialization of the region. Through these images the small world of a parish community comprised of peasants, horse- and cattle-breeders was projected onto the church space, filled it with the heavenly representatives of this profession wherein Gangulf himself and his companions were perceived as a mirror reflection or heavenly archetype of the social group of their earthly worshippers. In this context iconographic images should not be viewed as simple testimonies of the religious practice of the cult of the saints but rather as social *actions* through which the consolidation of a social (professional) group was manifested.[31]

After the populace of the former Carolingian-period settlements lost their "professional" identity with their parish patron saint, in other words, after a certain social group of bearers of St. Gangulf's cult had left the stage of history, a new group took its place. The new group was perhaps less homogenous, a

---

[29] On the "representative" side of church donations see, e.g., J.-C. Schmitt, "La question des images dans les débats entre juifs et chrétiens au XII s.," in *Spannungen und Widersprüche. Gedenkschrift f. F. Graus*, ed. S. Burghartz, H.-J. Gilomen et al. (Sigmaringen, 1992), 245-254.

[30] The company of the saints "specialized" in the sphere of husbandry grew in the course of time. If Saints Martin, Maurice, and George were venerated as early as the early Middle Ages, the cult of St. Egidius (d. 720) only spread from the eleventh century onwards; at the end of the same century St. Wolfgang (924-994) entered the ranks of the patrons of animals; St. Roch was the last to join – in the fourteenth century.

[31] There are, of course, more representative examples of a social order's self-identification through an image. A. von Hülsen-Esch, in her study "Zur Konstituierung des Juristenstandes durch Memoria," demonstrates how tombstone depictions illustrate consolidation of a group of Italian lawyers in the fourteenth century, how they indicate the appearance of differentiated perception and bring order to the notions of social groups. Nevertheless, the "cultural mechanics" that engenders memorial images of lawyers in splendid Bologna and those of horse-breeders in provincial Bavarian Schwabia is undoubtedly identical. In both cases pictorial or visual *memoria* manifest professional status and constitute the professional qualities of a group.

group whose members were bound together by a common profession or at least by a common economic specialization. Naturally, consolidation of this group took a long while; perhaps centuries. As the natural and climatic factors and the historical tradition formed the economic specialization of the region – horse- and cattle-breeding – the population of St. Gangulf's *patrocinia* started to realize their professional unity.

In the Middle Ages, groups not bound by consanguinity most often consolidated around a patron saint. Regular liturgical commemoration, prayers, and requests for intercession – in other words, continuous communication with "their" patron – in itself had a consolidating effect on the members of the group. Apart from the cultic expression, such behavior had the general social character of a means of self-expression for the *community* of those praying, and as a *donation* of some members of the community to the others. The beginnings of the group's history were related to the saintly figure who "sacralized" the group's existence and legitimized its place in the divine world order; notions and interests of the group were projected onto the person of the saint. In other words, the patron saint became a means of social self-identification for the members of the group.

For the fact that parishes populated with horse- and cattle-breeders remained under the patronage of St. Gangulf,[32] that is, began to identify with him as a patron of their profession, I have only one explanation: the expressed memorial character of his cult in this region. The permanent presence of St. Gangulf's "companions" – saints from the "military order" (Martin, Maurice, George) – and the fact that St. Gangulf himself was always depicted as a warrior with martial attributes suggest the continuous significance of historical *memoria* in St. Gangulf's *patrocinia*, located beside historical communication routes of Carolingian origin on lands with former royal liberties. Even though the rigidity of traditional canons is not typical of Catholic iconography and deviations from the "exemplar" are acceptable, nowhere in the region did commissioners of St. Gangulf's images require the saint to have some new attribute that would explicitly signal his patronage of horses and the draft animals. Yet, this patronage did have a place, as is proven by the extant late medieval sources reporting on various ritual practices related to the cult of the saint.

We are facing a fairly rare case when a study of the cult of a saint as *social* and *historical memoria* helps to explain the origin of the local patronage of this saint of a certain occupation and a professional group. It was historical

[32] The only "attempt" attested in this region at replacing St. Gangulf with a more popular saint took place in Kleinanhausen. There, the cult of St. Gangulf intermingled with that of St. Wolfgang, patron of horses and St. Wolfgang was eventually considered to be the actual patron of the local church. The late medieval placename was *St. Wolf*, while one of the maps renders it as *Gangwolf* (1566). On St. Gangulf's day (May 11) the locals would put the cattle out to pasture, while on the feast of St. Wolfgang (October 31) they would hold races. However, in the seventeenth century the original dedication to St. Gangulf was restored through the efforts of the local priest. See Mayer, "Der heilige Gangolf," 116-117.

memoria that served as a consolidating element in turning a parish community into a professional group that identified with its parish patron as a patron of their profession; not because he originally *was* a patron of this occupation but because he had to *become* one in the course of the time. As a result of the inevitable – at a certain stage of the group's formation – the need of its members to realize their place in the structure of society, the collective mind forged such an image of the patron saint as would correspond to their notions and expectations as a patron of horses and draught animals. Nowhere did St. Gangulf become a patron of warriors (later, soldiers), like Saints George or Maurice did, or of hunters, as did his contemporary St. Aegidius, even though traditional iconography depicted St. Gangulf as a warrior or hunter and his legendary life provided plausible grounds for such patronage. This may be seen as one more argument in favour of the supposition that a patronage is conditioned by various social factors which cannot be reduced to a religious need or religious texts (*vita*) alone.

* * *

An iconographic image can be viewed as a *social action whose functions are not limited to the (religious) cult.* This is certainly a historical monument but, as was well noted by A. von Hülsen-Esch, a monument not only in the art historical sense. This is a monument understood as *monumentum* or *memoria* (individual and collective) in all its social and cultural dimensions.[33]

Examined in this way, an image becomes an important document for a historian. Where there are no extant written sources on the history of a parish and the people thereof, iconographic images remain the only witnesses of the past. Leastwise, they may give a researcher a clue in which direction to look and what goals to pursue, while the study of images in the context of various aspects of their emergence and history sheds light on the spectrum of their social functions.

Analysis of the social functions of iconographic images in the churches dedicated to St. Gangulf in the study region demonstrated that the memorial tradition here has never discontinued. Images not only elucidate one of the stages of the history of this tradition, but also help to establish the historical origins of the cult of the saint, its further transformations, and the appearance of local idiosyncratic patronage.

In the earliest stages the veneration of St. Gangulf, as an expression of group *memoria* by the representatives of the Carolingian military aristocracy holding the highest ecclesiastical positions, found its monumental manifestation in the chapels and churches dedicated to the new saint in the newly conquered lands of Allemannia and northern Bavaria. An image of a saintly aristocrat undoubtedly glorified the entire social order; at the same time, this was not yet a proper cult in its "traditional medieval" understanding, with indispensable ele-

[33] von Hülsen-Esch, "Zur Konstituierung des Juristenstandes durch Memoria."

ments of mystic adoration; rather, it was a group's *memoria* of its late member, of an outstanding representative of the order. This explicit memorial (human, rather than mystic) component of St. Gangulf's cult must have remained perceptible for a long while, which allow it to be categorized as a historical *memoria.*

As the generation closest to St. Gangulf left the stage of history, those who might have known him in person or who kept in memory what they had heard about him from their seniors, personally promoted the cult of St. Gangulf. The group *memoria* of the military aristocracy was discontinued in places remote from the homeland of the saint, only to resume a century and a half later in other regions in a more suitable ideological climate. However, this time the cult was furthered by a different social group who now identified itself with St. Gangulf as a patron of military settlers – a saintly warrior, hunter, and patron of springs and wells. When this group, too, ceased to exist, contrary to usual practice the cult of St. Gangulf did not disappear along with it. In the absence of external influence, the memorial tradition, the historical memory of the saint, must have been strong enough to survive even then. As the military settlers became peaceful peasants and traditional horse- and cattle-breeding started to dominate and finally prevailed as a regional economic specialization, the bearers of St. Gangulf's cult started to consolidate on the basis of common professional interests. Those who had once grouped around St. Gangulf as a parish (i.e., territorial) patron, steadily turned him into a patron of their professional group and, even more broadly, a patron of their profession. Thus a new patronage of St. Gangulf of horse- and cattle-breeding came to being even though it had only a local impact.

Images in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

(Approaches in Russian Historical Research)

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XIII

Images in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

(Approaches in Russian Historical Research)

Edited by

Gerhard Jaritz, Svetlana I. Luchitskaya and Judith Rasson

Translated from Russian by

Elena Lemeneva

Krems 2003

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN
LANDESREGIERUNG

niederösterreich kultur

– ISBN 3-90 1094 16 4

Herausgeber: Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, Körnermarkt 13, 3500 Krems, Österreich. (http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/maq)

Druck: Grafisches Zentrum an der Technischen Universität Wien, Wiedner Hauptstraße 8-10, 1040 Wien

Table of Contents

Preface

In recent years, many historians have recognized their special interest in visual sources. The 'iconic turn' has also become vital for the historical disciplines.[1]

Images were a constitutive part of medieval and early modern daily life – with regard to their function and usage as well as their contents, 'language' and perception. Communication with the help of and via pictures played an important role for all strata of society. Therefore, research into the visual system and culture of these periods has become a basic constituent of (social) historical research.[2]

We would like to thank the authors of this volume, Svetlana I. Luchitskaya and Aron Ya. Gurevich in particular, for their interest and readiness to have their approaches towards images, which they had presented at a Moscow conference and in the 2002 special volume of the journal *Одиссей. Человек в истории*: "Слово и образ в средневековой кулмуре" ("Mot et image dans la culture médiévale"), translated into English and published as a 'Sonderband' of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*. These investigations of the visual culture of the past by Russian historical researchers are an important contribution to the international trends and efforts to include images as parts of medieval and early modern culture and sources for today's (social) historians. The articles offer a wide spectrum: from the history of gestures to various aspects and functions of images in *memoria*, political and religious life. The relevant roles that visual

[1] Concerning the 'iconic' or 'pictorial turn' see, e. g., W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, 1994); *idem*,. "Der Pictorial Turn," in *Privileg Blick. Kritik der visuellen Kultur*, ed. Christian Kravagna (Berlin, 1997), 15-40; Jan Baetens, "Reading Vision? What Contexts for the Pictorial Turn?", *Semiotica* 126 (1999), 203-218.

[2] See, e. g., Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images. Art and the Representation of the Past* (New Haven and London, 1993); Jérôme Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1996); Gerhard Jaritz (ed.), *Pictura quasi fictura. Die Rolle des Bildes in der Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna, 1996); Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.), *Der Blick auf die Bilder. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch* (Göttingen, 1997); Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, 2001) ; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002); Andrea von Hülsen-Esch and Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Die Methodik der Bildinterpretation. Les méthodes de l'interprétation de l'image. Deitsch-französische Kolloquien 1998-2000*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 2002); Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (ed.), *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology* (Turnhout, 2003).

culture played in the Middle Ages and the early modern period are convincingly presented and underlined. Transdisciplinarity and the necessity of contextualization and dialogue are proved to be indispensable.

We do hope that this special volume of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* will help to intensify and strengthen the international contacts and cooperation among 'image-historians'. An increasing variety of approaches towards visual sources may, on the one hand, contribute to better understanding specific and individual matters of communication in medieval and early modern society. On the other hand, such approaches will open up possibilities for recognizing general patterns of image usage and perception – patterns of intention as well as patterns of response.[3] Analyses of micro- and macro-levels will add to each other. Their structures, contexts and networks will become clearer.

Gerhard Jaritz

[3] See, e. g., some contributions of leading representatives of the social history of art already in the eighties of the twentieth century, as: Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, 1986); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989). See also the important remarks by Keith Moxey, "Reading the 'Reality Effect'," in *Pictura quasi fictura. Die Rolle des Bildes in der Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna, 1996), 15-22.