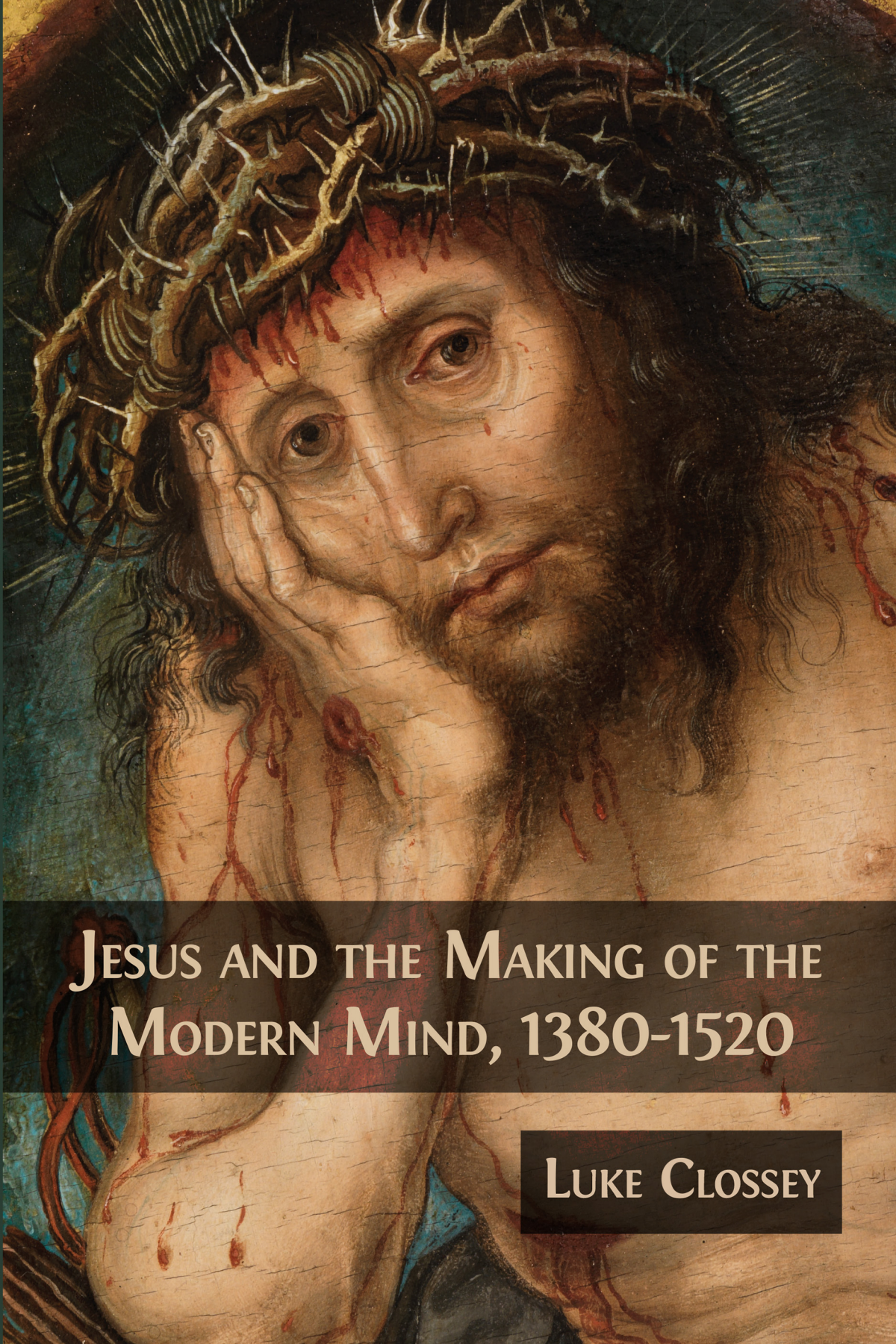

Jesus and the Making of the Modern Mind, 1380-1520

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17. Language and Power

Some of the upcoming paragraphs may feel digressive, and even transgressive. Parts of this chapter may read as though you are being led through the fifteenth century by a deranged and obsessive tour guide, pointing out *anything* bearing a Jesus-related name, and delighting in these namesakes' ubiquity and triviality, as well as in the series of anticlimaxes ("And on your left ... yet another Jesus!"). Readers might reasonably protest. The plain ken, after all, denies any real connection between Jesus and, say, a ship named Jesus. You might still find these excursions valuable as points of general interest, or as indications of the Jesus cult's superficial breadth and depth, or as opportunities to reflect on how fifteenth-century deep kens would have conceived these. An adventurous reader might even take up the deep ken when reading these passages: what if everything named Jesus really had some subtle, deep connection with Jesus himself?

The chapter begins with a general discussion of how the plain ken and the deep ken hear language. After looking at this analysis, applied to Jesus, we begin the tour of Jesus-named things, people, and places. The rest of the chapter considers the potential power of language in practice, which often depends on deep-ken connections. We first look at the cult that developed around the name "Jesus" and its IHS monogram, and finally zoom out to look out how people used language to supplicate Jesus through prayer and magic.

Plain Ken

Jesus's original, Hebrew name was something like ישוע Yeshua. From this, Syriac replicated it as ܝܫܘܥ Yeshua, and it appeared in Greek as Ἰησοῦς Iesous. From the latter, it entered Arabic as عِيسَى Isa, although some scholars hypothesize it arrived instead as a variation of the names Esau or Musa (Moses). In Spain, there appeared variants like *yasu* and *ĭça*, in Latin, *yce*.[1] Through this kind of

1 Pedro de Alcalá, "El Credo," in *Arte para ligeramẽte saber la lẽgua arauiga* (Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505), fol. 22v; L. P. Harvey, "A New Sacromonte

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spreading through time and space, different languages came to have different forms of "Jesus."

In 1400, there was great diversity even in English alone. As the letters I and J were still interchangeable, the most common name for him was Iesu or Jesu. Under the influence of Latin, sometimes—even a scholar like John Wycliffe (ca. 1328–84) was inconsistent—an S would be added when he was the subject of the sentence: Iesus, or Jesus, wept. In the sixteenth century, "Jesu" gave ground to "Jesus," but long afterwards, especially in verse, "Jesu" would still make appearances in sentences where he possessed something (genitive case) or was being directly addressed (vocative case).

This is a messy, plain-ken history and, in its chaos, "Jesus" and related words might even lose their relationship with Jesus. "Christen" originally referred to baptism and to the general christianizing process. In our period, it seems to have become partially liberated from the ritual and religious context, and could refer to naming in general, its primary meaning today. The paternoster was so iconic a prayer that to "pater" served as a generic verb for praying, as when Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1340s–1400) uses the phrase "patre and prey."[2] Jesus's reference to a sore-covered beggar named Lazarus (Lk 16:20) yielded the Italian *lazzaro*, the French *ladre*, and by the fourteenth century the English "lazar" or "laser," all meaning any poor, diseased man.[3] If an Italian in 1400 saw a *lazzaro* begging for alms, would he think of Jesus? Depending on the circumstances and his mood, he might, or might not.

The previous paragraphs are a plain-ken investigation of Jesus language. We can watch it spread geographically, and change through its users' preferences. Popular cartoon father Homer Simpson once mistakenly referred to "Jebus," which has now entered English slang.[4] If modern attempts to concretize language fail, Jesus-language fluidity could lead to future English speakers spelling his name, more phonetically and efficiently, as "Gzus." None of the various spellings, from ancient Hebrew to imagined future spellers, have any particular deep meaning—they are all plain-ken accidents of history.

For the plain ken, the relationship between a word and the thing it names is—with few exceptions—accidental. This relationship has no necessary or

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Text?: Critical Notes," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 201 (1984): 421–25; Jingyi Ji, *Encounters Between Chinese Culture and Christianity: A Hermeneutical Perspective* (Berlin: Hopf, 2007), 39; Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Algo más acerca de ʾĪsà, el nombre de Jesús en el Islam," *Meah Seccion Arabe-Islam* 47 (1998): 399–404 (400).

2 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Romaunt of the Rose*, ed. Charles Dahlberg (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 286 (line 6794).

3 Dan Michel, *Ayenbite of Inwyt, or Remorse of Conscience*, trans. Richard Morris, ed. Pamela Gradon (London: Oxford UP, 1866), 189.

4 "Missionary: Impossible," *The Simpsons*, season 11, episode 15 (20 February 2000).

powerful significance. If we decided to call books "cows" and cows "books," beyond the consequent confusion, neither the books nor the cows themselves would be damaged. Words are merely convenient labels. This attitude towards language is common. William Shakespeare (d. 1616) in the 1590s had Juliet being a good plain-ken thinker by doubting the relationship between the word "rose" and the rose flower, which "by any other name would smell as sweet." For Juliet, the flower existed before the accidental name.

Deep Ken

Juliet's rose echoed a question long debated in South Asia. Many scholars did think about Sanskrit in a deep-ken way, that its words were inherently, universally connected to the things that they described. The glorious mooing, milk-producing animal *gauḥ* गौः is necessarily called a *gauḥ* गौः, just as necessarily as 2+2=4. Whether it could also be referenced with a dialect word like *gāvya* गाव्य was problematic. To refer to a *gauḥ* गौः as a "cow" (an etymological cousin) would be like saying 2+2=4.1, or like children using made-up words understandable only to their parents—a rough approximation that might serve your needs, but is not technically correct. In seventeenth-century Varanasi, the grammarian Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa addressed this problem. If he knew the English word "cow"—his colleagues in India were debating whether the vernacular "Roman" language could bear meaning—he would have considered it at best a mere nickname. Kamalākara concluded that such slang terms lacked "the expressive power conferred by divine will, because these dialectal words have no stable form." That is, they were merely temporal and fluid accidents of history. He doubted that a vernacular language could have any meaning at all, beyond what you might hear in a bell's peal or a seashell's soft roar. In Kamalākara's teaching, real words—Sanskrit words—were "actually changeless and eternal." This represented a long and widely held stance.[5] Most philosophers in the Indic Core could have explained to Juliet that a "rose," in fact, stank in God's nose compared to the sweetness of the *pāṭalam puṣpam* पाटलं पुष्पम्.

In the deep ken, language itself has power. A modern philosopher explained what he called *Wortrealismus* [verbal-realism]: "the pronunciation of a word is equally the firing of a loaded pistol."[6] We can see this power in spells and in oaths. Some ordinary English verbs still possess that kind of power. Just by

5 Kamalākara, *Mīmāṃsākutūhalam*, quoted in *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations of the Intellectual History of India and Tibet*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2011), 32, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11cw6b7

6 Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Einführung in die Phänomenologie der Religion*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Gerd Mohn, 1961), 155–65.

saying "I promise to…" you will indeed promise to do something; what you said becomes true as you say it, unless you dispel the magic by manually signing quotation marks around "promise." We may see that power with Yahweh. The Hebrew Bible records verbal efficacy: "Then God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light" (Gen. 1:3) or "By the word of the LORD the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth" (Ps 33:6). It is the spoken word itself that carries this power. The Hebrew Bible explains, "my word that goes out from my mouth […] shall accomplish that which I purpose, and succeed in the thing for which I sent it" (Isaiah 55:11), and the Qur'an, more simply, "When He ordains a thing, He says only 'Be' and it is" (40:68). It may well be that Yahweh's power to create is precisely the ability to speak commands perfectly.

This deep-ken understanding of language developed over time. At least from the time of Augustine (354–430), theologians held that the words of scripture were not ambivalent, but referred unambiguously to certain things. It is in fact those things that carry the ambivalent meanings. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) wrote, "The author of Sacred Scripture is God, in whose power it is he prepares not only the word to signify (which a human can also do) but even the things themselves." The twelfth century saw a quickening of interest in the *similitudines* [likenesses] or *ordines* [relationships] between these things. Relationships bound meaning-bearing objects into a comprehensive system that could be "read" by the wise, much like scripture.[7]

If the superficial form of words holds significance along with their deep meaning, then wordplay has real consequence. In the York Mystery Plays, Pilate explains his name is a compound reflecting the name of his mother, Pila, and his father, Atus.[8] Like for the Sanskrit linguists, this play found significance even in syllables of words. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) noted that the six letters that make up the first word of the Torah (בְּרֵאשִׁית *bereshith*) can be used to make a Hebrew sentence, containing no letters beyond these six, that means "The father, in the Son and through the Son, the beginning and end or rest, created the head, the fire and the foundation of the great man with a good pact."[9] This suggested, perhaps even proved, a profound connection between

7 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I, q. 1, art. 10; q. 44, art. 3; q. 47, art. 3. See Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2001), 43–46; Dominique Poire, "Reading the Visible Universe: The Meaning of a Metaphor in the Work of Hugh of Saint-Victor," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 95 (2011): 363–82.

8 "The Dream of Pilate's Wife," in *York Mystery Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle and Pamela M. King (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 155.

9 Brian Ogren, "The Forty-Nine Gates of Wisdom as Forty-Nine Ways to Christ: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's Heptaplus and Nahmanidean Kabbalah," *Rinascimento* 49 (2009): 27–43 (41).

the Hebrew Bible and Christian christology. Wycliffe might not have just been being playfully anti-clerical when he decoded "cardinal" as an acronym for "Captain of the Apostates of the Realm of the Devil, Impudent and Nefarious Ally of Lucifer."[10]

In 1400, the plain ken might have attracted the interest of a few linguists, but what really mattered was the word "Jesus" understood with the deep ken. In that word itself lay the power to make oaths binding, and, we will see, to kill Ottomans. This is obviously not linked to the ethical teachings of the historical Jesus, who warned against taking oaths and killing. Any attempt to explain the killing power of "Jesus" in terms of deadly fear affecting fragile hearts reduces it to the plain-ken realm of human psychology. Instead, the deep ken saw power and meaning in the word "Jesus" itself, as it consonated with Jesus; the word and the god-man were connected, only an octave apart. Where the plain ken held the meaning of a word as accidental, the deep ken perceived its meaning hardwired into the fabric of the universe. We might also think of this as a kind of onomatopoeia, where sound and meaning converge.[11] One modern scholar describes language, understood thus, as "a creature from another world, but one with a literally monstrous influence on the world [...] not a mere tool, but a subject which could be mastered only by a chosen few, something objectively real that interacted with people as a magical entity."[12]

The Name beyond the Name Cult

We now shift from what Jesus was called to what was called Jesus. Jesus's name appeared in many other places, beyond the obvious confines of its cult. Not everything named Jesus was linked with an attempt to kill a Turk. These more ordinary instances of "Jesus" might have no apparent meaning, which could imply anything from superficial decoration to hidden depths. They might have once had special meaning or power, perhaps eroded through centuries of use into a flat ubiquity. Merchants could initial a document with the YHS abbreviation.[13] Was this routine, or spiritual insurance? In this section we will consider a number of instances of "Jesus," with some observations about the degree to which they likely participated in the deep-ken power described above.

10 Anthony Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 92.
11 Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Quran* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 13.
12 Navid Kermani, *God Is Beautiful: The Aesthetic Experience of the Quran* (Malden: Polity Press, 2014), 51–52.
13 Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2014), 191.

Unless you are a researcher conditioned over the last two decades to twitch whenever you read Jesus's name in a historical document, you might not realize that most references to him, and especially to "Christ," appear as a kind of decoration. A bishop might be described or addressed as "His Reverend Father in Christ." A judge might condemn a prisoner "in Christ's name," as Gilles de Rais (ca. 1405–40) was of heresy and sodomy.[14] "Salvation from Christ," "salvation in Christ," "farewell in Christ Jesus"—none of these expressions change meaning without "Jesus" or "Christ." In my elementary school we had to be friends with all our classmates, and so used "friends in Jesus's way" to achieve a minimal friendship with the unlikeable. The "in Jesus" in these fifteenth-century phrases neither added nor subtracted substantial meaning, although they might add intensification or nuance—at least, that is the appearance. Is it not more likely that a "friend in Christ" is not something less than a friend, as it was in my youth, but something more, a relationship supported by Jesus?

A special case of these potentially powerful references involve Jesus's "bowels," a word which in our period referred not specifically to the digestive tract, but to the body's insides, and metaphorically to the mercy that welled up from within.[15] The concept perhaps came from Philippians 1:8, where Paul longs for his audience in the innards (σπλαγχνοις) of Jesus. The Wycliffite Bible translated these as "bowels": "How I covet you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ." Drawing on this same verse, Jan Hus (ca. 1370–1415) could "exhort" his audience "by the bowels of Jesus Christ," or send a correspondent "greetings or whatever sweeter from bowels of Jesus Christ."[16] In July 1415, Henry V (1386–1422) wrote to Charles VI (1368–1422) one last time, from Southampton while watching his *Jesus* ship (see below) being built, to ask him "in the name of the merciful bowels of Jesus Christ to do us justice."[17] Soon "bowels" in such contexts would be replaced by the "heart," "bosom," or "breast" of Jesus, without clear change in meaning, although the old sense sometimes endured.[18]

14 Reginald Hyatte, ed., *Laughter for the Devil: The Trials of Gilles de Rais, Companion-in-arms of Joan of Arc (1440)* (Ontario: Associated University Presses, 1984), 42–43, 124–25.

15 Nicholas Love wrote that at Pentecost the disciples' "bowels filled with the holy ghost." See Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), 153.

16 Jan Hus, *The Letters of John Hus*, trans. Matthew Spinka (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1972), 178–79, 194, 213.

17 George Makepeace Towle, *The History of Henry the Fifth* (New York: Appleton, 1866), 290.

18 *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* 1 (London: J. Whittle, 1798), 328 proclaimed, "In the name of God then, I request you to shoot all Atheists; in the bowels of Jesus Christ I beseech you to run your bayonets in the guts of those monsters that deny the Lord who bought them…"

Names for Jesus

Jesus was also referred to by words or phrases beyond his personal name, words that had their own potential power to protect. We can capture part of this contemporary interest by looking at collections of titles. The fifteenth-century Varese Book of Hours included a list of titles of Jesus, below. Though extensive, even this was not a complete list, as other manuscripts from the same place and time had their own lists that only partially overlapped with this one. A late-fifteenth-century amulet roll from France had its own list, with fourteen unique names, and twenty-seven shared with the Varese Book of Hours, which had an additional forty-seven names unknown to the amulet. Such lists drew from traditions that went back centuries.[19] Carrying a list of Jesus's names as a protective device was common enough in early-fifteenth-century England to attract the disapproval of William Tyndale (ca. 1494–1536).[20]

The Varese list runs as follows:

NAME		**NAME**		**NAME**	
Trinitas	trinity	*mediator*	mediator	*rex*	king
hon	the one being	*agnus*	lamb	*flos*	flower
agios	holy	*ovis*	sheep	*sanctus*	holy
o theos	God	*vitulus*	cow	*inmortalis*	immoral
mesias	messiah	*aries*	ram	*Christus*	Christ
sabaoth	armies	*leo*	lion	*Ihesus*	Jesus
emanuel	God is with us	*serpens*	serpent	*pater*	father
adonay	lord	*geos*	earth	*filius*	son
athanatos	immortal	*os*	bone	*hominis*	man
theos	god	*vermis*	worm	*Spiritus*	holy
tetragrammaton	name of God	*verbum*	word	*Sanctus*	spirit
ysion	substance	*ymago*	image	*omnipotens*	all-powerful

19 Nadia Carrisi, "I nomi di cristo e di Maria in un libro d'ore quattrocentesco di Varese," *Aevum* 80 (2006): 529–50. See Rosanne Hebing, "'Allmygti god this lettyr sent': English Heavenly Letter Charms in Late Medieval Books and Rolls," *Studies in Philology* 114 (2017): 720–47 (740–45), https://doi.org/10.1353/sip.2017.0027; D. C. Skemer, "Amulet Rolls and Female Devotion in the late Middle Ages," *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 197–227. For more lists of names and titles, see Alphonse Aymar, "Le sachet accoucheur et ses mystères," *Annales du Midi* 38 (1926): 273–347 (325); BodL MS Bodl. 850, fol. 93v–94r.

20 William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, ed. Henry Walter (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1850), 61.

eli	my god	*lux*	light	*misericors*	merciful
leison	have mercy	*splendor*	splendour	*caritas*	love
salvator	saviour	*panis*	bread	*eternus*	eternal
primogenitus	first born	*mons*	mountain	*creator*	creator
principium	beginning	*vitis*	vine	*redemptor*	redemptor
finis	end	*lapis*	stone	*primus*	first
via	way	*petra*	rock	*novisimus*	newest
veritas	truth	*angelus*	angel	*bonitas*	goodness
vita	life	*sponsus*	groom	*summum bonum*	greatest good
sapientia	wisdom	*pater*	father	*eli*	my god
virtus	virtue	*saderdos*	priest	*alleluya*	praise god
paraclitus	paraclete, advocate	*propheta*	prophet	*alpha*	alpha
ego sum qui sum	I am who I am	*ianua*	gate		

Table 17.1 Jesus Names in the Varese Book of Hours.

The terms in this list are impressive for their diversity. They come from three languages, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. Two dozen come from the Old Testament, and about half as many from the New. That so many predate Jesus's human birth demonstrates a deep-ken, out of time, understanding. Over a dozen come from the liturgy. Some have no obvious origin. This is not an academic list listed for the joy of listing. After each word comes the sign of the cross, indicating that the supplicant should physically make that sign between or during words, or perhaps as an additional empowerment of the written text itself. Some phrases are broken up: "Spiritus Sanctus" is two items, and "via, veritas, vita" is three, which again implies that the words themselves are as important as their meaning. The list concludes, "Have mercy on me, a sinner, because you have suffered for me."

Jesus Namesakes

The most awesome Jesus namesakes of the period were powerful indeed. The largest "Jesus" shot iron darts. This was the two-masted, 1,000-tun ship *Jesus of the Tower*, which Henry V, ca. 1415, watched being built at the Southampton shipyard; only one contemporary English vessel was larger. A single anchor of this *Jesus* weighed 2,224 lbs. This was a mighty warship intended to defy the Genoese ships hired by France. In fact, the *Jesus* rushed not into battle, but into retirement. In 1420, its crew refused to serve as part of the coastal defence, and,

by 1432, she was indefinitely docked in the Southampton mudflats, without rigging, maintenance, or hope. A tender-follower of the big *Jesus* was called the *Little Jesus*, still active into the 1430s. This was a ship named not after the person "Jesus" and then cut in half with the "little," but rather after the powerful ship named after Jesus himself. A similar retirement had previously overtaken the English galley *Jesus Maria*, sold in 1417, and eventually left to rot, as the new balingers and barges rendered galleys obsolete for coastal defence.[21] The pairing of the powerful Jesus name with the physically powerful huge tonnage and dart-shooting indicates that the name could indeed have been meant for the deep ken.

Context, not weapons, is a clue for a deep-ken orientation in the case of Vasco da Gama's (ca. 1469–1524) flagship, the *São Gabriel*. The angel Gabriel had announced news of the Incarnation of Jesus to Mary, just as the *São Gabriel*, sailing for King Manuel, announced the same news fifteen centuries later to South Asia as part of the Christian missionary expansion.[22]

Following those vessels beyond the horizon, we also find "Jesus" attached to several religious orders with wide geographical visions. In 1319, the pope and the Portuguese king collaborated to establish the Ordem dos Cavaleiros de Cristo [Order of the Knights of Christ] on the remains of the Portugal branch of the Knights Templar, dissolved seven years earlier. Two African diplomats, Don Pedro de Sousa of Kongo and Giacomo of Ethiopia, both became knights in this Order of Christ in the 1510s.[23] In 1366, Philippe de Mézières (ca. 1327–1405), the Chancellor of Cyprus and tutor to French king Charles VI, drew up a plan for the Order of the Passion of Jesus Christ. Its rule emphasized a constant meditation on the Passion, on suffering and love, which inspired a desire to take back Jerusalem: "Our holy Knighthood's penance will thus be to keep compassionate memory of our Lord's Passion fresh in its heart."[24] Its banner featured a gold

21 Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000–1500* (London: Routledge, 2005), 70, 86, 88; B. Carpenter-Turner, "The 'Little Jesus of the Tower,' a Bursledon Ship of the Early Fifteenth Century," *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society* 17 (1951): 173–78; *The Navy of the Lancastrian Kings: Accounts and Inventories of William Soper*, ed. Susan Rose (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 102–05, 120–30.

22 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon* (London: Paul Holberton, 2015), 96.

23 Kate Lowe, "'Representing' Africa: Ambassadors and Princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal: 1402–1608," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (2007): 101–28.

24 Philippe de Mézières, "La sustance de la Passion de Jhesus Crist" (ca. 1390), in BodL MS Ashmole 813, fol. 7r. See Margaret Burland, David LaGuardia and Andrea Tarnowski, ed., *Meaning and Its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006); Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade*

lamb on a red cross on a black field. Both of these Jesus-namesake orders connected to worldly power: the first was an important tool for diplomacy, and the latter for crusade. Even in the latter case the focus on suffering and love was transformed through fourteenth-century logic into a support for war.

Deep-ken resonance is less likely when a religious order's name was not chosen, but imposed by outsiders. In 1360, at Siena, Giovanni Colombini (ca. 1304–67) established the Apostolic Clerics of Saint Jerome. As those clerics habitually bookended their sermons with screams of "Jesus," their audiences, and perhaps suspicious critics, dubbed them the Jesuati or Gesuati. In 1367, they received papal approval. Their colloquial name endured even after their official title was confirmed in 1499. Their sister order was the Poor Jesuatesses of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (In the sixteenth century, the more famous Company of Jesus ("Jesuits") formed, and the Gesuati dissolved in 1668, but the Jesuatesses endured throughout our period.) In 1419, the Canonici Regolari S. Salvatoris [Canons Regular of the Holy Saviour] were re-established in Bologna.[25] Neither the Canonici Regolari nor the Jesuatesses were named directly after Jesus; the former was named after the Santissimo Salvatore Church in Bologna, and the latter after the Jesuati. The additional step between their names and Jesus perhaps makes the deep ken less likely.

Muslims Named Jesus

As our period opens, the Balkans and Anatolia in particular swarmed with prominent, and sometimes powerful, men named Jesus. Let us survey the situation as the fourteenth century concluded, between the conquests of Emir Timur (1336–1405) and of the Ottomans.

"Jesus," in the form "Isa," was popular as a name for Muslim rulers. Isa Bey I (rl. 1360–90) ruled Aydin, until it fell in 1390 to the Ottomans under Sultan Bayezid I (ca. 1360–1403), who would marry Isa Bey's daughter Hafsa. The mosque Isa Bey built in 1375, using columns from the ruins of Ephesus, preserved the fame of his name long after his death.[26]

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of Nicopolis (London: Methuen, 1934), 26–27, 123, with the charter at 136–38; J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377–99* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 186; Andrea Tarnowski, "Material Examples: Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion," *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 163–67.

25 Francis X. Blouin, *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 7.7.2, 7.7.10, 7.7.10.1.

26 Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2010); Paul Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches zur 'La geste d'Umur Pacha* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957); Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*

When Bayezid conquered Aydin, his own son "Jesus" (Isa) was only ten years old. At the 1402 Battle of Ankara, Timur captured, and perhaps caged, Bayezid, but Jesus and his brothers escaped. After the Timurid tide withdrew, Jesus established himself at Bursa as a ruler of Greece and western Anatolia. The 1404 death of Bayezid brought misfortune to Jesus. Attended by only a handful of light cavalry, he was being hunted down by the forces of his brother Moses. Muhammad, the youngest brother, invaded, and Jesus fled west to ally with a third brother, Solomon, who had set himself up at Adrianople. That refuge was short lived, for Moses, who had been sent by Muhammad, bested Solomon in 1410. Jesus, probably sharing the downfall, disappeared from the historical record. Moses's victory gave him Bulgaria, and Muhammad had to defeat him in turn, thus ending the war between the prophets' namesakes.[27]

Bayezid's star general Evrenos Bey (d. 1417), who fought at Kosovo and Nicopolis, was both the son and the father of an Isa. The Ottoman general Isa Bey Ishaković (fl. 1439–70), founder of Sarajevo, governed Bosnia in the 1450s and 1460s, where the Gazi Isa-Bey Madrasa was built and named after him. He left memorial funds to build the mosque that bears his name in Skopje (1475–76).[28] Yet another Isa Bey governed the Morea in the 1460s.

To the east of the Ottomans, the Artuqid Sultan Majd al-Din Isa al-Zahir (1376–1406) ruled Mardin, before Timur took it in 1394. There, too, a madrasa

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(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2012), 9; Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Die Isa Bey Moschee in Ephesus," *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17 (1950): 115–31; Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 1983).

27 Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2010), 37–78. Some scholars have suggested that Isa's name is a deviation from Islam towards Christianity. There is no evidence for this: Isa is central to Islam, although the sultan's Christian wife Olivera Despina may well have moderated his policies.

28 Vasilis Demetriades, "The Tomb of Ghāzī Evrenos Bey at Yenitsa and Its Inscription," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 328–32 (332), https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x00050023; Ahmed Kulanić, "Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sufi Orders in," in *Oxford Islamic Studies Online* (2022), https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780197669419.001.0001/acref-9780197669419-e-53?rskey=Vl3fsZ&result=1; Ali Nihat Kundak, "The Architectural Development of Skopje (Uskup) and the Decoration of Monuments during the Ottoman Era," in *Turkey, Looking Behind and Before*, ed. William H. Taylor (London: AGP, 2016), 100–01; Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), 61, https://doi.org/10.1353/book4635; I. Mélikoff, "Evrenos Oghullari," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, II 2nd ed., 12 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), II, 720; Mehmed Mujezinović, "Musafirhana i tekija Isa-bega Ishakovića u Sarajevu," *Naše starine* 3 (1966): 245–52.

was named after him, and thus bore Jesus's name as well. The last Artuqis' archenemy, the Aq Qoyunlu leader Qara Usman (1356–1435) had a great-grandson Uzun Hasan (1423–78) whose brother-in-law was an Isa, son of the Dowlat Shah of the Kurdish Bulduqani. Uzun Hasan's own son Ya'qub (d. ca. 1490) relied on the *qadi* (judge) Isa Savaji (d. 1491) to implement his centralizing land-reform policies. The 1390s had also seen a *qadi* named Sharaf al-Din Isa, the chief Shafi'ite judge in Jerusalem.[29]

That these Isa names held real meaning, and were not merely superficial names, can be seen in the case of the Ottoman poet Isa of Prishtina (d. ca. 1512). Of Albanian background, as a young man he moved to Istanbul, and soon acquired a reputation as a calligrapher and as secretary to the grand vizier. His verse was illustrative of contemporary court poetry, pointing towards wine, potable or metaphorical, as a way to transcend the material world (see Chapter 20). The penname he adopted as a poet followed logically from his given name, and suggests its importance to him: "Mesihi," the messiah. This Jesus identity only compounded after his death. The later poet Aşık Çelebi (d. 1571) proclaimed that the actual messiah, Jesus, had sent the poet messiah, Isa, to use his healing Messiah-breath to rejuvenate poetry.[30]

Christians Named Jesus

On the Christian side, in contrast, we see no one named Jesus as such. We are still centuries away from Jesús being a popular Spanish name.[31] Instead, we

29 Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2008), 327–28, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474464475; V. Minorsky, "The Aq-Qoyunlu and Land Reforms," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17 (1955): 451–58; John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1999), 45–57, 105, 200–01.

30 Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâirü'ş- Şuarâ*, in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Süleymaniye No. 268, fol. 166a–67b. See Mine Mengi, "The Fifteenth Century Ottoman Poet Mesîhî and his Work," *Erdem* 5 (1986): 357–72 (357).

31 Contemporary Spanish Jesus-related names were Cristobal, Manuel, and Salvator. For example, see María Jesús Sanz Serrano, *El gremio de plateros sevillano: 1344–1867* (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1991); Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias Durante los Siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII*, 3 vols. (Seville: Imprenta de la Gavidia, 1946), III; Câmara Municipal, *Livro do lançamento e serviço que a Cidade de Lisboa fez a ed Rei Nosso Senhor no ano de 1565; documentos para a historia da Cidade de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal, 1947–48); Luis Romera Iruela and Maria del Carmen Galbis Díez, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias, Siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII* (Seville: Archivo General de Indias, 1980); Louis Coronas Tejada, *Conversos and Inquisition in Jaén*, trans. Stephanie Nakache (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1988); Antonio de la Torre and E. A. de la Torre, ed., *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza Tesorero de Isabel*

mostly find Manuels. The Bible explains the name: Isaiah 7 includes a prophecy to King Ahaz during the eighth-century-BC Syro-Ephraimite War that a virgin would bear a son named Emmanuel. Mt 1:23 applies this prophecy to Jesus: "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us."

Who were these Manuels nominally linked to Jesus? We find many in the rump state of the Roman Empire, renamed Byzantium by modern historians. At this time, the Roman Empire was essentially reduced to its beleaguered capital Constantinople, the nearby north coast of the Mamora Sea, the second city Thessalonica, and least precariously the Morea in the Peloponnese.

Manuel was a common name among the middling, and, perhaps, lower classes of Byzantine society, so most of them likely eluded the historical record. A handful of Manuels were at the highest social ranks.

The most important Manuel was the emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos (1350–1425). At the beginning of his reign, he might be excused for thinking his realm existed only for his humiliation. In 1390, Manuel joined Bayezid fighting against Philadelphia/Alaşehir, the last city in Anatolia to fall to the Ottomans. To fund his defence, Manuel II reached out to Venice in 1395 for a new loan, offering Jesus's clothing as collateral. That Serene Republic declined the offer, presumably unimpressed by the likelihood of repayment, but explicitly pointing to the potential for popular outrage at the loss of the holy relic.[32]

Soon after taking Philadelphia for the Ottomans, Manuel became Emperor. Three months after his ascension to the throne, he accepted Bayezid's bidding to go on campaign again. He passed the winter of 1391–92 in Ankara, discussing theology with a Muslim expert, who praised Muhammad as a happy-medium

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la Catolica (Madrid: Biblioteca Reyes Catolicos, 1956); Sara L. Uckelman, "Late-Period Spanish Men's Names from Seville" (2006), http://www.ellipsis.cx/~liana/names/spanish/silversmiths.html; Aryanhwy merch Catmael (Sara L. Uckelman), "Portuguese Masculine Names from Lisbon, 1565," (2004), http://www.ellipsis.cx/~liana/names/portuguese/masc1565.html; Elsbeth Anne Roth (Kathy Van Stone), "16th Century Spanish Names," (2002), http://www.cs.cmu.edu/~kvs/heraldry/spanish16/; Sara L. Uckelman, "Spanish Names from Jaén, 1495," (2006), http://www.ellipsis.cx/~liana/names/spanish/jaen1495.html; Juliana de Luna (Julia Smith), "Spanish Names from the Late 15th Century," (1999–2000), https://www.s-gabriel.org/names/juliana/isabella/MensGivenFreq.html

32 Manuel II Palaiologos, "Letter of Feb. 17, 1396," in "Official Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus," trans. George Dennis, *Byzantion* 41 (1971): 45–58 (46–47); Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 3 vols. (Paris; La Haye: Mouton, 1958), I, 210 (no. 892, 896). See Enrico Cornet, *Le guerre dei Veneti nell'Asia 1470–1474* (Vienna: Tendler, 1856), 17; Nicolae Iorga, "Originea legăturilor cu Ştefan cel Mare şi mediul politic al desvoltării lor," in *Veneţia in Marea Neagră*, Analele Academiei Romane 37, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Academia Romana, 1914), III, 3.

lawgiver between strict Moses and easy-going Jesus, and explained that just as the Jews had suffered for rejecting Jesus, so too the Christians were then suffering for rejecting Muhammad. The Emperor sniffed that Jesus had promised his followers that suffering, which thus had no additional significance.[33]

The Emperor was not the only Manuel. His uncle Manuel Kantakouzenos (ca. 1326–80) had been Despot of the Morea. His first cousin once removed, Manuel III Megas Komnenos (1364–1417) was Emperor of Trebizond, and gave a piece of the True Cross to the Soumela Monastery. The Emperor also had a wealthy cousin named Manuel Philanthropenos, father-in-law to the Manuel ruling Trebizond. Manuel Deblitzenos and his wife Maria of the landowning elite in Thessalonica had their estate occupied by the Serbs, and around 1376 recovered it from them. Serbian and Ottoman aggression on either side made it as difficult to farm as it was to fob off on new buyers. Manuel ended up selling his lands to a monastery on Mount Athos in exchange for three annuities, which were sometimes paid. The monastery was able to manage the lands in relative peace throughout the Ottoman rule. Vamek Dadiani (d. 1396), the Prince of Samegrelo, invited a painter named Manuel Eugenicos from Constantinople to do the murals at Tsalenjikha in Georgia.[34]

Jesus appeared more directly in Ethiopian names. Sarwe Iyasus ሣርዌ ኢየሱስ [Army of Jesus] ruled Ethiopia in 1433. His brother Amda Iyasus ዐምደ ኢየሱስ [Pillar of Jesus] succeed him and ruled into 1434. The former was also called ሥርዌ ኢየሱስ, meaning "Root" or "Dynasty" of Jesus. Later in the century, officials such as Mahari Krestos መርሃ ክርስቶስ [Plan of Christ] and Gabra Iyasus ገብረ ኢየሱስ [Servant of Jesus] fought to defend the dynasty.[35]

Other places in the Far West had men of more modest backgrounds that bore Jesus-related names. The Dutch painter Petrus Christus (ca. 1415–76) and his father, also Petrus Christus, shared a last name that the deep ken might

33 Stephen W. Reinert, "Manuel II Palaeologos and his Müderris," in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Political, Spiritual, and Cultural Life in Byzantium during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2019), 39–51, https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691198040-009; C. J. G. Turner, "Pages from the Late Byzantine Philosophy of History," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964): 346–73 (349–50).

34 Инга Лордкипанидзе, *Роспись в Цаленджиха* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1992); Alicia Bank, "L'art byzantin dans les collections de l'Union Soviétique," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 20 (1977): 301–06 (306); Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2009), 57–58, 92, 178.

35 *Les chroniques de Zar'a Yâ'eqôb et de Ba'eda Mâryâm*, ed. Jules Perruchon (Paris: Bouillon, 1893), xx, xxv, 206; Alberto Elli, *Storia della Chiesa Ortodossa Tawāḥedo d'Etiopia*, 2 vols. (Milan: Terra Santa, 2017), I, 375.

have connected to their fame as painters of Jesus.[36] At least two Gaels around 1450 bore the name Giolla Críost, meaning the man or servant of Christ. There was a Giolla Críost Táilliúr as well as a bard named Giolla Críost Brúilingeach.[37] "Táilliúr" suggests a professional tailor, and "Brúilingeach" could mean "crucified," "bridegroom," or "brutal," or refer to the loose, courtly meter or poetic tradition known as "brúilingeacht." In Italy, we find another group with Jesus-related names, the Galileo family. Galileo Bonaiuti (ca. 1370–1450) was a doctor, professor, and civic leader in Florence. Links between Galileo and Galilee, the region in northern Israel where Jesus spent most of his earthly life, were re-emphasized when he fashionably took his given name as a new surname, becoming Galileo Galilei ("Galilaeus de Galilaeis"). His great-great-great-great-grandnephew was the celebrated astronomer.[38]

These names were chosen purposefully, usually given by a member of one generation to a member of the next. They thus create genealogies of Jesus names. A given Jesus, or Manuel, might associate his name in part with a family member he was named after, to a lesser degree with a family member after whom *that* family member had been named, and to an unknown degree with Jesus himself. Circumstances were more likely than names to bring meekness to a Byzantine Manuel, or greatness to an Ottoman Isa.

One asymmetry stretches across the subcults. Muslims were named "Jesus," specifically, but no Christians. This reflects in part Christian caution about misuse of his name, as in the concern opponents showed for the audacity of the Jesus name cult. It also reflects an asymmetry in the two subcults' texts, for the Bible is both longer and more densely filled with attractive names than is the Qur'an. Even Jesus-proximate names like Salvador and Manuel were rarer in Spanish in 1400 than Isa was in Arabic. Islam also had the tradition, explained, for example, by Ibn Arabi (1165–1240), that saints were inspired by specific prophets, so that one could describe a saint as "Jesus-y" (*'Isawi*).[39] Some Christian saints imitated Jesus (see Chapter 19) but no one called them Jesus-y.

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36 Joel Morgan Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1990), 8; W. H. J. Weale, "Peintres bourgeois: les Christus, c.1412–1530," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 59 (1909): 100.

37 Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, "'Ag Cor Cuarta': Leabhar Dhéan Leasa Móir, Clann Diarmada agus Filí Albanacha in Íochtar Chonnacht," *Léann: Iris Chumann Léann na Litríochta* 5 (2019): 105–33; Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland, c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 94–95, 104, 155, 166.

38 Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Le opere di Galileo Galilei*, 15 vols. (Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1856), XV, 386.

39 Ibn Arabi noted that this adjective applied in particular to the disciples of this historical Jesus, who through miraculous longevity were contemporaries with the

Jesus-Named Places

Places also bore the name of Jesus or of places associated with him. In England, Jerusalem was a hamlet in Lincolnshire. Montabaur was a German town just east of Koblenz named after Mount Tabor (the hill where Jesus's Transfiguration took place) by a thirteenth-century Archbishop of Trier, returning from the Holy Land, who saw a resemblance between a local hill and the original. The Archbishop hoped that the name would secure a more reliable protection than could be achieved by funding a military force. The Windesheim congregation named its new house in Ghent after the sea prominent in the gospels, Galilee. Camaldolese monks inhabited the abbey on the island of Monte Cristo off the coast of Tuscany. The Tuscan town of Borgo Santo Sepolcro was so named because, centuries earlier, pilgrims had brought to it relics from the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem.[40]

A number of Bethlehems also sprung up, although often these were explicitly linked not directly to Jesus, but to his mother. On the outskirts of Lisbon, the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), Governor of the Order of Christ, built a church (1459) for Mary of Bethlehem. Henry's grandnephew Manuel I (1469–1521) later renovated the church into a monastery and built a defensive tower nearby. Although officially named for Saint Vincent, the tower popularly kept the Bethlehem name, and it and its environs are still called Belém, or Bethlehem, today.

What would become the most famous Bethlehem was founded in the thirteenth century as a London charity for collecting donations for a crusader church in the original Bethlehem. In the 1370s, it was seized by the English Crown, beginning a secularizing process. By 1403, it had become a hospital at least partly intended for the mentally ill, and the staff and doctors no longer wore the Star of Bethlehem emblem that had linked their predecessors with

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last prophet. Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī* (Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 75–82; D. Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618–94)," *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 139–65, http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1596215

40 Agostino Cesaretti, *Istoria del principato di Piombino e osservazioni intorno ai diritti della corona di Toscana* (Florence: Stamperia Della Rosa, 1788), 100–04; Enzo Mattesini, ed., *Vie di pellegrinaggio medievale attraverso l'Alta Valle del Tevere* (Città di Castello: Petruzzi, 1998), 46–7. See Karl Meister, *Geschichte der Stadt und Burg Montabaur* (Montabaur: Sauerborn, 1876), 92–93; John Van Engen, "A World Astir: Europe and Religion in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Europe after Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck II and Michael van Dussen (New York: Fordham, 2017), 11–45 (26).

the Bethlehemite order. In time, it became known as Bedlam, and entered the English vernacular to mean a place of chaos.[41]

The most important Bethlehem in the fifteenth century, in terms of imperial politics and the history of religion, was in Prague. In 1402, Jan Hus was chosen to be the new preacher at a chapel called Bethlehem. "Bethlehem" was shorthand for the Chapel of the Holy Innocents, so consecrated in honour of the children massacred by Herod in anticipation of Jesus's birth. A merchant had donated a Holy Innocent's bones to be interred within its foundations. Hus even founded a poor-student hospice behind the chapel, calling it Nazareth. The chapel's name "Bethlehem," literally in Hebrew "House of Bread," reached into the geography of the New Testament while also suggesting a sense of the metaphorical bread being fed to the preacher's audience.[42]

A variety of other buildings bore Jesus's name, or a Jesus association. By 1400, two Jesus-linked colleges at Cambridge were already a half century old: first, Trinity Hall and, second, Corpus Christi—more formally "The College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary," founded by two guilds then recently united. In 1450, St. Salvator's College was established at St. Andrews. In 1496, a Benedictine nunnery at Cambridge, bearing the reputation of "a spiritual community of harlots," was dissolved by its bishop, and became converted into the new Jesus College.[43] In these, the links to Jesus, as when a college is named after a guild named after the body of Jesus, were more tenuous. Perhaps reformers in Prague would have renamed a brothel with "Jesus" as a nod to his association with sex workers; in Cambridge, that was less likely.

As an imperial capital, Constantinople had a high concentration of Jesus place names. The Galata Tower, built by the Genoese merchant colony in the middle of the fourteenth century, was called the "tower of Christ." The Chalke "Bronze" Gate to the Great Palace gave its name to a Jesus icon, which in turn gave *its* name to the tenth-century chapel, next to the gate, that housed it. The succession of names broke: the icon was lost in the ninth century, and the gate destroyed around the thirteenth, but the chapel and its name still endured. It was in use in the early fifteenth century, but later the Ottomans converted

41 Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Honest Whore, Part I* (London: John Hodges, 1604), IV.iii, V.ii. See Nicholas Vincent, "Goffredo de Prefetti and the Church of Bethlehem in England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1998): 213–35 (232), https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022046998006319

42 Michael Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979), 40, 48; Frank Welsh, *The Battle for Christendom: The Council of Constance, 1415, and the Struggle to Unite Against Islam* (London: Constable, 2008), 108.

43 Society of Gentlemen, *The Biographical Dictionary, or, Complete Historical Library* (London: Newbery, 1780), 30–31.

the chapel into a stable for lions and elephants.[44] Some seventy metres to the northwest of the southernmost "Marble" tower of the Theodosian city wall, which runs from the Sea of Marmara north to the Golden Horn, was the Gate of Christ, with a nearby inscription "IC XC N[I]KA" ("Jesus Christ conquers") decorating a cross.[45] Another tower on the Theodosian walls, between the Gate of Rhesios and the Fourth Military Gate, had the inscription, "O Christ, God, preserve Thy city undisturbed, and free from war. Conquer the wrath of the enemies."[46] Jesus also appeared indirectly here, as the walls' inscriptions describe some emperors as "emperor in Christ." The Prepontius sea wall had two Jesus inscriptions on its northeast flank: a chi-rho monogram, and a cross near another "IC XC NIKA." Scholars have argued that the existence of a sixteenth-century "Jesus Gate" madrasa (Isa Kapı Mescidi) may have been named after another, now lost, Gate of Christ in the inner Constantinian Walls.[47]

Assessing any given name for deep-ken power is difficult. The Constantinople use of the name on defensive architecture implies a military intent, compounded by the explicit invocation that Jesus "preserve Thy city undisturbed." Even that Trier Archbishop's explicit use of a Jesus name for defensive purposes is not necessarily conclusive, because his praise of the name as a superior alternative to traditional military forces might have just been a way to insult those traditional military forces.

We see another use of toponyms in the early-fifteenth-century devotional handbook *Giardino de oratione fructuoso* [Garden of Fruitful Prayer], but probably written by a Venetian canon regular. This *Garden of Fruitful Prayer* advises you to imprint the Jesus story in your mind by choosing a city very familiar to you (*la quale ti sia bene practica*), and locating parts of Jerusalem in that chosen city. The Garden similarly invites you to let people you know well

44 In the seventeenth century you could stand in the stable and still see some of the old chapel's art. It was demolished around 1804. Alan Mikhail, *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014); Suraiya Faroqhi, "Exotic Animals at the Sultans' Court," in *Another Mirror for Princes: The Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and its Reception*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008), 93–94.

45 David Hendrix, "Theodosian Walls," *The Byzantine Legacy Project* (2016), https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/theodosian-walls

46 "ΧΡΙCΤΕ Ω ΘΕΟC ΑΤΑΡΑΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ COY ΝΙΚΑ ΤΟ ΜΕΝΟC ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ." See Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: John Murray, 1899), 100. The location is 41°00′57.8″N 28°55′21.3″E.

47 C. A. Mango, "The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55.1 (1951): 52–66 (56); Hilary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul: A Guide to the City* (New York: I. B. Taurus, 2010), 326.

(*lequale tu habbi pratiche*) represent the principal people in Jesus's life.[48] If your city already had Jesus-related place names, this projection of Jerusalem onto it became all the easier.

Cult of the Name

The best way to fathom the deep-ken power of "Jesus" is to watch the cult develop around the name itself. Breastfeeding her children, Dorothea of Montau (d. 1394) kept Jesus's name "in the heart and in the mouth," so that they consumed his sweet name within her milk.[49] In 1381, the beatification was completed of the German mystic Henry Suso (1295–1366), who had used a knife to carve the name into his chest. This kind of enthusiasm made the name cult controversial, as did its association with Joan of Arc (ca. 1412–31), who may have been influenced by Suso's teachings.[50] She empowered her letters by writing "Jesus" and "Mary" before the salutation. At one point, Joan explained that her secretaries wrote the names on her letters because it was *decebat* [fitting]. Her ring had the same names inscribed. Her battle standard, which she considered "forty times" better than her sword, had the names Jesus and Mary ("Jhesus Maria") embroidered with silk amid fleurs-de-lys. Her other banners featured the Crucifixion or Jesus in Judgment. During her execution she requested a crucifix to gaze upon as she passed, which a Dominican friar held for her. Her last word was "Jesus," repeated until she died. Sometimes the motivation was more worldly: Joan could use holy names as codes instructing a trusted reader not to obey her orders as written, which might have prompted her to laugh when the English made her sign her statement of abjuration with a

48 *Giardino deoratione fructuoso* (Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 1496), fol. 60r, 69r–v. See Stanislao da Campagnola, "'Giardino di orazione' e altri scritti di un anonimo del quattrocento. Un'errata attribuzione a Niccolò da Osimo," *Collectanea Fransciscana* 41 (1971): 55–59.

49 *Das Leben der heiligen Dorothea von Johannes Marienwerder*, ed. Max Töppen (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1863), 220.

50 George H. Tavard, "Jeanne and the Clergy," in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, ed. Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 129–46 (136), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-06954-2_7

cross.[51] A preacher in Spain suggested that Christians sew the Jesus name onto their clothes, simply to make it obvious that they were not Jews.[52]

The most successful promoter of the Jesus name was Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), one of the great preachers in an age of great preachers. His understudy, John of Capistrano (1386–1456), said that Bernardino would preach for four or five hours at a time. Citing the last chapter of Mark's Gospel (16:17), "In my name you will cast out demons," Bernardino explained that Jesus's name was *santo e terribile* [holy and terrible]: "Holy for saints and good people, terrible for demons and wicked people and bedeviled men," for "demons flee the name of Jesus like snakes flee the odour of vines' fragrant flowers." Bernardino expanded the name's power beyond the demonological, touting its protection against pestilence, war, and shipwreck.[53]

A master marketer, Bernardino designed his own logo: the IHS monogram in Gothic letters, in front of a beaming sun on a blue background. The IHS triplet of letters, a Latinization of the abbreviation of Jesus's Greek name, the first three letters of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, had long been in use. Bernardino kept handy an oversized tablet bearing this symbol as he preached, and at the fifth hour's rhetorical peak he would elevate the IHS to receive the audience's devotions. On one occasion, an eyewitness at Siena in 1425 reported that the mere sight of this symbol exorcised possessed people of "unclean spirits."[54]

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51 Régine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc By Herself and Her Witnesses*, trans. Edward Hyams (Lanham: Scarborough House, 1994), 60–62, 177, 186, 217, 231–34; Jules-Étienne-Joseph Quicherat, ed., *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle*, 5 vols. (Paris: Renouard, 1841–45), I, 78–83, 183–85, III, 104; Willard Trask, ed., *Joan of Arc in Her Own Words* (New York: Turtle Point, 1996), 26–28, 47, 52.

52 John Edwards, "Bishop Juan Arias Dávila of Segovia: 'Judaizer' or Reformer?," in *Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492*, ed. John Edwards (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), X.71–86 (78). See Denis Renevey, *Devotion to the Name of Jesus in Medieval English Literature, c. 1100–c. 1530* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192894083.001.0001

53 Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari*, ed. Ciro Cannarozzi, 2 vols. (Pistoia: Pacinotti, 1934), II, 198–202. See Katherine Jansen, "The Word and Its Diffusion," in *Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, Cambridge History of Christianity 4 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2009), 114–32 (129); Loman McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena," *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969): 37–65; Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 104.

54 Daniel Arasse, "Iconographie et évolution spirituelle: la tablette de saint Bernardin de Sienne," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 50 (1974): 433–56; Ephrem Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de *Jésus*," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 28 (1935): 443–76; 29 (1936): 142–68, 443–77; 30 (1937): 170–92; Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 88, 104; Vincenzo Pacelli, "Il 'Monogramma' bernardiniano," *La Croce* 3 (2007): 407–35.

Enthusiasm for using the "Jesus" name surged. An apparently friendly spirit had moved in with a family near Mantua, conversing, dancing, singing, and sleeping with the family's daughter—until Bernardino warned them of the potential scandal and prescribed the Holy Name to exorcise it. Babies in Florence received IHS amulets at their baptisms. A 1415 municipal law in that city declared that blaspheming the name of Jesus would result in a hundred-lire fine, which, unpaid, would upgrade to being flogged, naked, in the streets. In Florence, by the end of the century, audiences at executions would cry out Jesus's name.[55]

Bernardino's promotion of the Holy Name of Jesus was controversial, not least for its novelty. This was new and threatening to the authorities. Theologians accused him of destroying devotion for established things, like the mass and the cross. One of his critics worried that this new deep-ken use of "Jesus" might encourage the same for "devil." The scholar Andrea Biglia (ca. 1395–1435) was alarmed by Bernardino's obsession with demons, for "the name of the devil is heard no less than the name of Jesus in your sermons from your mouth." A housewife in Bologna shared Biglia's alarm, and would spit on the ground each time Bernardino mentioned the devil's name, in an attempt to negate the power of "devil." Unruffled, Bernardino jabbed back, denouncing her spitting as a sign of her body's being full of "thousands of devils."[56]

Was Bernardino the Antichrist, an idolater, or a magician? Some charged that the IHS was a Jewish component in Bernardino's spells. His opponent Biglia saw in Bernardino's use of the holy name nothing more than wizards' use of magical letters. "Why," Biglia asked rhetorically, "do we blame and condemn magi, fortunetellers, and conjurors, except that having used their faith they summon the response and help of demons through certain letters? And all of this is a kind of sacrilege, to esteem forms for objects."[57] Biglia here does not doubt the efficacy of the name, but protests against the deep-ken collapse of names into named, and against the powers thus made available.

55 Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari*, II, 199–200; Michel Klutch, *Statuta populi et communis Florentiae: publica auctoritate, collecta, castigata et praeposita anno salutis MCCCCXV* (Freiburg: Firenze Stamperia Bonducciana, ca. 1778), book 1, 256–57. See Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for the Soul of Renaissance Florence* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 276; Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 281.

56 Andrea Biglia, "Liber de institutis, discipulis et doctrina fratris Bernardini Orinis Minorum," in Baudouin de Gaiffier, "La mémoire d'André Biglia sur la prédication de Saint Bernardin de Sienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935): 303–58 (349–50). See Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 20.

57 Biglia, "Liber de institutis," 318. See Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 10, 88.

Other critics took a more plain-ken angle, and found problems in Bernardino's psychological motivation. Poggio Bracciolini's (1380–1459) 1429 *De avaritia* [On Avarice] dismissed the name cult as an expression of Bernadino's need for attention. The pomp of Bernardino's arrival in Spoleto in 1426 vexed its bishop: "Christ does not come to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday with such honour and clamour and voices, as when this beast," Bernardino, "comes."[58]

Such opposition could be dangerous. One man said his brother was murdered for criticizing the name cult, with the cultists celebrating the murder as miracle "in the name of good Jesus."[59]

Finally, in 1426, Rome ordered Bernardino to the papal court to be tried for heresy. Preaching at Viterbo when the summons reached him, Bernardino explained to his followers that "I am going to Rome to be cremated by fire and you, enjoying peace and tranquility, will remain behind. They are calling me a heretic and the word circulating in Rome is that I must be burned at the stake." He was acquitted, and again, in 1432, Pope Eugene IV (1388–1447) confirmed his innocence and his status as "a most acute and rigorous eradicator of heresy." Even then, Bernardino was investigated, again in vain, at the Council of Basel (1438).[60]

Suspicion toward the cult of the Holy Name persisted until the 1530s, but that shadow did not retard its growth, even beyond Italy. The Benedictine André Dias de Escobar (1348–1448), titular Bishop of Megara, in 1432 compiled a list of thirty-three miracles linked to the Holy Name. In response to an outbreak of plague in Lisbon he established a local Holy Name cult, supported by an altar and a confraternity, in the Dominican priory. There, a carpenter fell off his horse and broke a leg. Afterward, he drank water "in" Jesus's name, and overnight was so healed that he could go to work the next morning.[61] Jesus saved Dubrovnik from an earthquake that began on Ascension Day, 1520, and lasted twenty months, for it was not truly an earthquake, but a whipping from God (*flagelo di Dio*). In

58 Riccardo Fubini, "Poggio Bracciolini and San Bernardino: The Themes and Motives of a Polemic," in *Humanism and Secularization from Petrarch to Valla*, trans. Martha King (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2002), 66–88; Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de *Jésus*," 29: 452.

59 Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de *Jésus*," 29: 260–61.

60 Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 89.

61 Mário Martins, *Laudes e cantigas espirituais de Mestre André Dias* (Lisbon: Negrelos 1951), 291; Iona McCleery, "Christ More Powerful Than Galen?: The Relationship Between Medicine and Miracles," in *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500: New Historical Approaches*, ed. M. M. Mesley and L. E. Wilson, Medium Aevum Monographs (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014), 127–54 (150–54), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv23khnzg.8; María Eugenia Los Diaz Tena, "Milagros do Bom Jesus de las Laudes e Cantigas de André Dias," *Via Spiritus* 22 (2015): 71–95; António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Mestre André Dias de Escobar, figura ecuménica do século XV* (Rome: n.p., 1967).

thanks, the city completed a church of the Holy Saviour by 1528, its first in the Renaissance architectural style. The IHS initials were gratefully carved into its lintel, under which worshippers would enter the church. That symbol became commonly seen on building facades throughout Italy and other parts of western Europe.[62] Each appearance testified to a successful miracle; their continuing presence advertised and confirmed the efficacy of the cult.

At the end of Bernardino's life, his assistant, John of Capistrano, expanded the Name tour into central Europe, Saxony and Poland, preaching against the Hussites. His posse included interpreters to translate his Latin into the audiences' German and Polish. Coordinating with John Hunyadi (ca. 1406–56), the voivode of Transylvania, John organized a crusader army of peasants who managed to lift Sultan Mehmed II's (1432–81) siege of Belgrade (1456). His crusaders used Jesus's name as a weapon, for uttering it could kill an Ottoman outright. The Ottomans might well have understood their potential danger—the name of Jesus was also powerful in Islam. In one hadith tradition, Muhammad advised that reciting the *shahada* confession of faith with Jesus's name added to it guaranteed the reciter Paradise. The peasant-crusaders credited the name of Jesus with their victory, but upon hearing that nobles were approaching to assume leadership after the battle, the peasants set fire to the booty they had won. They could not stop the lords from stealing the credit away from Jesus, but could deny them the spoils.[63]

Supplications

Some invocations of the Jesus name come with details or context that make clear their deep ken. A variety of people used a variety of words to make changes in the universe. Contemporaries carefully divided these into different categories, depending especially on whether the intent was pious or diabolical, but there

62 Paola Albini, "A Survey of the Past Earthquakes in the Eastern Adriatic (14th to Early 19th Century)," *Annals of Geophysics* 47 (2004): 675–703 (688, 694–95), https://doi.org/10.4401/ag-3331; Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 44, 88, 258; Speratus Nodilo, ed., *Annales Ragusini Anonymi* (Zagreb: Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum et Artium ex Officina Societatis Typographicae, 1883), 98–99, 277.

63 Nicholas of Fara, "Vita clarissimi viri fratris Joannis de Capistrano," in *Acta Sanctorum Octobris*, ed. Josepho van Hecke, Benjamino Bossue, Victore de Buck, and Eduardo Carpentier, 68 vols. (Paris: Victor Palmè, 1869), X, 471–72; Michael Bihl, "Duae epistolae S. Iohannis a Capistrano, altera ad Ladislaum Regem, altera de victoria Belgradensi (an. 1453 et 1456)," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 19 (1926): 63–75. See Norman Housley, *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 105–08; Jansen, "The Word and Its Diffusion," 125; Suleiman A. Mourad, "Jesus," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef Meri, 2 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2006), I, 415.

is value in treating them all as variations on a single tool. In some cases, people made requests of Jesus, sometimes invoking him explicitly by name. We might think of supplications as extended forms of the Jesus name, and ones relatively easy to understand. Naming a ship Jesus might or might not imply an expectation that the name brought power with it, but these supplications usually specified an objective.

To get a sense of what these supplications looked like, we can examine references to Jesus in runic inscriptions in Scandinavia. An inscription asking for an "Our Father for" souls, or that "Jesus be gracious to" souls, was common in this genre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as in "May Jesus Christ be gracious to Auðreifr of Snægrindr's soul."[64] In the middle and later fifteenth century, we also see Jesus associated with more mundane supplications. Runes carved into one stick read, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. May God's Five Wounds be [my] medicine. May my medicine be Holy Cross and Christ's passion. He who moulded and washed me with Holy Blood. May he expel the fever which strives to torment me."[65] The names of the evangelists appear in another invocation, next to Jesus and Mary, whose name repeats, in this type of source, twice as frequently as her son's.[66] Another runic stick, from sometime before 1393, notes that "Mary bore Christ, Elisabeth bore John the Baptist" before ordering an unborn baby to "receive redemption in veneration of them." That invocation continues, with the supplicant's voice merging consonantly with God's: "Go out, hairless one. The Lord calls you into the light."[67] Even a single work might illustrate the range

64 Sven B.F. Jansson, Elias Wessen, and Elisabeth Svärdström, *Gotlands runinskrifter*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1978), II, 81–82 (G 168); "Runeinnskrifter fra Gotland," https://www.arild-hauge.com/se-runeinnskrifter-gotland.htm; Runic inscription G 168 in Scandinavian Runic-text Database 2020, Department of Scandinavian Languages, Uppsala University, http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/296b3d1b-f553-4cb5-9ecd-76b5b05f6181

65 Runic inscription N 632 in Scandinavian Runic-text Database 2020, http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/2f97c401-14fa-4f48-aeb0-a6cf98ba0525; "Nummerrekkefølge," https://www.arild-hauge.com/innskrifter-etter_nummer.htm; James E. Knirk, *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer*, 6 vols. (Oslo: I kommisjon hos J. Dybwad, 1941), VI, 55 (N 632).

66 Runic inscription N 638 in Scandinavian Runic-text Database 2020, http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/2771cce5-ae78-440f-812e-337398aa62d2; "Nummerrekkefølge," https://www.arild-hauge.com/innskrifter-etter_nummer.htm

67 Runic inscription N 631 in Scandinavian Runic-text Database 2020, http://kulturarvsdata.se/uu/srdb/d5bbc1fd-7c95-435c-b45d-fd4260daf614; "Nummerrekkefølge," https://www.arild-hauge.com/innskrifter-etter_nummer.htm. This is currently exhibited at the Bryggen Museum in Bergen (BRM0/13894). See Doesjka Tilkin, *Ave Maria och Jesus Kristus Nazarenus: Latin i skandinaviska runinristningar* (MA thesis, University of Ghent, 2015); Kristel Zilmer, "Runic

of possible supplication requests: in the poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, "Christ" or his cross is invoked to commend people, to thank people, to ask that generosity be repaid, to propose retreat, to pledge loyalty, to protect a house, and to "bring all men to His bliss!"[68]

Verbal supplication had many forms, everything from formal prayers and liturgical formula, to language nonsensical in our time if not in theirs. Location and frequency of the deployment of the name mattered. A deep-ken exploitation of mathematics recurred. One mid-fifteenth-century English text for devotion to the Passion was called the *Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters*. Consider one woodcut of the Crucifixion, splattered with blood-like red paint, and a poem affixed to a prayer collection box. Someone had penned onto the woodcut, "It is read that Christ received ~~5,440~~ 5,460 wounds for our redemption. Whoever therefore completes each day of the year fifteen paternosters and the same number of Ave Marias should know that he has uttered one paternoster and one angelic greeting for each wound."[69] Mathematically, 5,460 is achieved through 15 prayers said over 364 days. Perhaps some editor thought the mathematics outweighed whatever tradition had produced 5,440, and made the correction. Similarly, one fifteenth-century Irish manuscript references Jesus's 6,666 wounds.[70] Other fifteenth-century calculations reach 547,500.[71] Efficacy lay in those numbers.

In some traditions the number of wounds was revealed by Jesus himself. These seem to date back to a ca. 1339 Book of Hours which included a poem "Van den Clusenaere" [From the Cloistered]. Here Jesus gave the number 5,565 to an inquiring male recluse, and prescribed him to pray fifteen paternosters and fifteen Ave Marias each day.[72] Ludolph of Saxony's (ca. 1295–1378) *Life of Christ*

Sticks and other Inscribed Objects from Medieval Bergen," *Maal og Minne* 112 (2020): 65–100.

68 Marie Boroff, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: An Authoritative Translation, Context, Criticism* (London: W.W. Norton and Co., 2010), lines 595, 839, 1064, 1135, 1307, 1949, 1982, 2071, 2120, 2472, 2527.

69 BSB Clm 20122, fol. 88. See David S. Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 211–38; Peter Schmidt and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 181–82.

70 Andrew Breeze, "The Charter of Christ in Medieval English, Welsh and Irish," *Celtica* 19 (1987): 111–20 (119). See Andrew Breeze, "The Number of Christ's Wounds," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 32 (1985): 84–91.

71 Edward Stillingfleet, *An Answer to Several Late Treatises* (London: Mortlock, 1673), 482.

72 The poem is reproduced in P. Leendertz, Jr., "Het Zutfensch-Groningsche Handschrift," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 15 (1896): 277–83.

includes a similar account, although the gender of the recluse is there female, and the number dropped to 5,490.[73]

Frequency of prayer, even without powerful, deep-ken target numbers, was also important. A Dominican nun named Elisabeth had a baseline prayer routine, itself performed repeatedly, including 36,000 paternosters, in addition to 209,000 other prayers, and an unspecified additional number "which I must leave out for the sake of brevity."[74] My personal best speed—almost beyond intelligibility—for a paternoster is eight seconds. If Elisabeth matched my speed—and her ideal may well have slowed into meaningfulness—it would take her eighty hours of continuous prayer to work through the paternosters alone.

Supplicants sought the help of a variety of beings. One Danish hymn-prayer to Mary, a loose translation of the Stabat Mater, requested salvation by appealing to the Madonna's relationship with Jesus: "O maiden mild, go to your child / with motherly prayer when death is near / and save my soul from peril." The choice of Mary made sense, given the appeal to her motherhood. Similarly, Sister Clara of Ostren (d. 1447) wanted to sing in the choir, but lacked the voice. She prayed to Mary, citing Jesus's "jubilant" and "sweet voice" which he used after Easter to tell her "that all pain had been taken from him and no pain would ever touch him again." Mary granted the request, and Clara received the voice she sought.[75]

Another prayer turned to the Christ Child for protection from his anger: "O door unlocked; O torch of six flames; O dear child of Bethlehem, repress thy wrath and save me. O arm unsurpassed in strength, bind this foolish heart that I may willingly take up my cross after thee."[76] Our own association of the Baby Jesus with sweetness finds little purchase here.

A supplication could appeal to multiple authorities. A French conjuror (ca. 1430s) could, "by the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost," summon Satan.[77] In Córdoba, if your spouse was missing, you might hire Inés Alonso, who would trace a circle around a cross before appealing to both Jesus and the devil

73 Ludolphus of Saxony, *Vita Christi* (1374), chapter 58. See Arthur L-F. Askins, "Notes on Three Prayers in Late 15th. Century Portuguese," *Península* 4 (2007): 235–66 (242–43); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, ca. 1400–ca. 1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1992), 248–56.

74 Johannes Meyer, *Women's History in the Age of Reformation: Johannes Meyer's Chronicle of the Dominican Observance*, trans. Claire Taylor Jones (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2019), 120.

75 Meyer, *Women's History*, 98–99. See David W. Colbert, "The Middle Ages," in *History of Danish Literature*, ed. Sven Rossel (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 1–70 (39).

76 Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn, *Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn*, ed. Lambert McKenna (Dublin: Talbot, 1931), 192.

77 Hyatte, ed., *Laughter for the Devil*, 70.

while using the beginning of the paternoster as a spell (1524).[78] One might also supplicate living humans to supplicate more ethereal powers: Swedish inscriptions preceded the request for prayers with a cross, the year ("Anno Domini"), and the nearest feast day to the time of death. One example from Visby Domkyrka runs, "In the year of our Lord 1431 on the Holy Virgin Agatha's Day Johannes Reberch died. Pray for him."[79] Before being executed, by hanging and subsequent burning, Gilles de Rais asked the parents "whose children he had murdered that, for the love of the Passion of Our Lord, they pray to God for him and forgive him in good heart."[80]

A variety of physical objects might improve the efficiency of the supplication. The stylized Alekseevsky cross (ca. 1380s), with each of the four arms widening at the end, was installed in the cathedral church in Novgorod. An inscription acknowledged the patronage of Archbishop Alexy (d. 1390) and asked God to grant long life and salvation to him, to his children, and to everyone.[81] One Danish leechbook, from before 1400, describes a potion for curing licentiousness: in "the name of our lord Jesus Christ and saint Christopher," dilute gladiola juice with wine or water while reading the paternoster.[82]

Sometimes the verbal supplication was written down on paper or parchment, which then itself became a tool to make the request more persuasive. In these cases, perhaps it no longer needed to be voiced at all; the physical existence of its written form might suffice as a kind of permanent, silent supplication. None of these had to be legible to humans to work, and perhaps that illegibility increased their power. Latin Jesus prayers written down may have done more than merely convey information. A mid-fifteenth-century parchment had the Latin Jn 1:1–14 on one side, and on the other a shorter text, about a sixth of the

78 Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, *Los procesos de hechicerías en la Inquisición de Castilla la Nueva* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942), 115–16.

79 Jan Wilhelm Hamner, *Visby Domkyrkas Gravstenar* (Stockholm: Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Stockholm Wahlström, 1933), 45–46. See Joseph M. Gonzalez, "Sleeping Bodies, Jubilant Souls: The Fate of the Dead in Sweden 1400–1700," *Canadian Journal of History* 40 (2005): 199–228, http://dx.doi.org/10.3138/cjh.40.2.199

80 Hyatte, ed., *Laughter for the Devil*, 156.

81 Т. Ю. Царевская, *Собор Святой Софии в Великом Новгороде* (Novgorod: Novgorod Diocese, 2008), 51–53; Макарий, *Археологическое описание церковныхъ древностей въ Новгородѣ и его окрестностяхъ* (Moscow: n.p., 1860), part 1, 52–53; И. И. Срезневский, *Древніе памятники русскаго письма и языка* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy, 1882), col. 217.

82 "Det Arnamagnæanske håndskrift," Institut for Nordiske Studier og Sprogvidenskab, University of Copenhagen, Nr. 187, fol. 28rv. Stephen A. Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 226 suggests the "Devils arrows" refer to elfshot or to "wantonness and adultery."

gospel passage's length: *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth pleni sunt celus et terra gloria tua osanna excelsis agyos ys*[*ter*]*os tetragramaton. Jesus Nazarenus rex Judeorum. benio. Bi*^{o} *bu*^{o} *bi*^{o}. The first fifteen of these words are text from the Sanctus, a component of the mass, after which follows a reference to the "holy womb," the name of God, and "Jesus of Nazarus King of the Jews," which was the title placed over Jesus at the Crucifixion according to Jn 19. The circles drawn on the *sanctus* side, alongside the way the writing has been physically worn, implies its use as an amulet (see Chapter 8).[83]

The effects sought by supplications were no less varied than their methods. There could be a consonance among the supplication text, the identity of the authority, and the miracle sought. For example, one 1403–04 poem, from the life of the Serbian King Stefan Dečanski (ca. 1276–1331), had St. Nicholas comforting a newly blinded Stefan: "Do not you grieve / for the pupils of your eyes are in my hands." The king's pupils miraculously appeared. Later, Nicholas returned to Stefan, explaining that Jesus was able to repeat the miracles performed in the gospels for Stefan: "Jesus Christ, Our Lord / who gave sight to men born blind / gives now your eyes their primal ray of light."[84] Giolla Críost Táilliúr wrote a verse wishing rabies and cancer on wolves before praying, "Every wolf [...] who hunt by waiting on their haunches, / may Christ send destruction on you all [...] may God's Son with new purpose / lop away that misshapen brood."[85] Here the poet-supplicant may have intended consonance between wolves and thieves, as a way to achieve protection from robbery by humans.

One modern scholar has commented that "devout medieval people collected prayers the way twentieth-century cooks collect recipes."[86] This simile helps us integrate the so-called "religious" into daily life, for it restores the practicality that prayers and spells enjoyed before modernity narrowed our awareness. Just as a cook culls recipes to remove the ones that do not work, so too the medieval

83 C. R. Unger and H. J. Huitfeldt, ed., *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 22 vols. (Christiania: P. T. Mallings, 1869), VII, 440–41, no. 441. See Richard Ettinghausen, "Arabic Epigraphy: Communication or Symbolic Affirmation," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. Dickran K. Kouymjian (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), 297–317; Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 48–49.

84 Milne Holton and Vasa D. Mihailovich, *Serbian Poetry from the Beginnings to the Present* (New Haven, CT: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1988), 28–29.

85 Giolla Críost Táilliúr, "Beannuigh do Theaghlach, a Thríonóid," in *Duanaire Na Sracaire: Anthology of Medieval Gaelic Poetry*, ed. Wilson McLeod and Meg Bateman (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007), 234–39 (their translation).

86 Virginia Reinburg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours," in *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Weick (New York: George Braziller, 1988), 39–44 (40).

devout optimized prayer collecting for maximum efficacy. Moreover, for cooks like me, using a recipe is no guarantee of achieving the intended result. It is important to remember how pragmatic and empirical these supplicant-scientists were, even when they proceeded in ways that we discount today. Even contemporary humour took advantage of the clean cause-and-effect efficiency of medical remedies. One commentator proposed reforming the Church in the form of a cure for the "stomach of Saint Peter": "Take twenty-four cardinals, one hundred archbishops and prelates, of any nation, and as many priests as you have. They are to be plunged into the Rhine's water, and held submersed for three days,"[87] a subversive echo of Jesus's three days in the tomb.

These supplications could be controversial, especially on the Muslim side. The Naqshbandi Sufi order did not approve of the earlier wonder-working Sufis: for such wonders were not performed by prophets, and so were not proper "miracles." One early-fifteenth-century Naqshbandi, Maulana Ya'qub Charkhi (1360–1447), described these unauthorized wonders as "the menstrual discharge of men."[88] Baha' al-Din Naqshband Bukhari (1318–89) pointedly asserted that, instead, the greatest miracle is orthodoxy itself. This attitude had precedents: Muhammad's single great miracle (the low quantity implied a high quality) was the Qur'an, and the Buddha considered true teachings to be one of three categories of the miraculous.

The most refined supplication was no supplication at all, but a vocal—or even silent—invocation of the divine presence. *Dhikr* is the saying of the divine names or attributes, sometimes synchronized with bodily movements, perhaps even entire dances. The early-fourteenth-century manual by Ibn 'Ata Allah al-Iskandari (1259–1310) defined *dhikr* as "liberation from ignorance and forgetfulness through the permanent presence of the heart with the Truth." In practice, *dhikr* was "the repetition of the Name Invoked by the heart and the tongue."[89] Abu Nasr al-Sarraj (d. 988) compared baby Jesus to the mystic's heart, and *dhikr* to the milk Jesus drank from his mother.[90] Scholars debated whether *dhikr* should be done vocally or silently; both methods traced their origins back to the Muhammad. Silent *dhikr*, less linked to bodily movements, was especially

87 Pierre d'Ailly, "Canones Reformationis Ecclesiae in Concilio Constantiensi," in *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, ed. Hermann von der Hardt, 6 vols. (Frankfurt: Genschii, 1696), I, part 8, 499.

88 Quoted in Hamid Algar, "Silent and Vocal Dhikr in the Naqshbandi Order," in *Akten des VII Konggresses fur Arabistik und Islamwissenchaft* (Gottingen: Vandenhoek and Ruprecht, 1976), 43.

89 Ibn-'Aṭā'allāh al-Iskandarī, *The Key to Salvation* (Cambridge, UK: Islamic Texts Society, 1996), 45.

90 Quoted in Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 168.

promoted by the Naqshbandiya; its goal was the tranquility referenced in Qur'an 9:40. Baha' al-Din, who had established the order, also affirmed the principle of exclusively silent *dhikr*: when even his teacher vocalized *dhikr*, Baha' al-Din would simply walk away. The Naqshbandi 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (1414–92) cautioned that if the person next to you knew you were doing *dhikr*, then you were doing it wrong. Vocal *dhikr* was too ostentatious.[91] No deep-ken significance was lost in silence; for some, silence even heightened it.

Envoi

As an inherently plain-ken historian, even one sympathetic to the deep ken, I tend not to understand the special, deep-ken meaning of words. During our travels looking for images of Jesus, my assistants and I quickly developed a shorthand in which a search became a "hunt" and the images of Jesus became "jesuses." There is historical precedent, from our period, for the latter: the first known use in English of calling something "a" Jesus in a generic sense lies in a 1487 will which lists among the estate "my Jħus of gold."[92] During our research, both "jesuses" and "hunts" for them proved controversial in some circles. In Bosnia, our hosts frowned on "hunting" jesus, not because it made Jesus sound like a deer, but because it made Him sound like a war criminal. Sensitive readers of early drafts of this manuscript warned against references to "jesuses," even when clearly meaning "images of Jesus." Similarly, some object to "Xmas" as an abbreviation for "Christmas," regardless of historical precedent and the X's origins in the Greek letter for the "Ch" sound (uppercase X, lowercase χ), the first letter in "Christ." Still, prudence is prudent. Thus "Jesus" maintains some of its deep-ken power today.

91 Algar, "Silent and Vocal Dhikr," 43–44; Louis Gardet, "Un problème de mystique comparée: la mention du nom Divin (DHIKR) dans la mystique Musulmane," *Revue Thomiste* 52 (1952): 642–79.

92 "The Will of Richard Laurence," 27 November 1487, Kew, National Archives, PROB 11/8/108, fol. 40r.