

Kantorowicz, Ernst H.

p. 665

SEPARATING THE MAN AND THE OFFICE

ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ: *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology.* 568pp. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £4.

This large volume of 568 pages has its origin in a conversation between the author and the late Professor Max Radin, a conversation which turned to Maitland's famous studies of the Crown as a "Corporation sole," "to the curious legal fiction of the King's Two Bodies as developed in Elizabethan England, to Shakespeare's *Richard II*, and to certain medieval antecedents of the 'abstract king'". The conversation led to an essay, and the essay to the present book.

The necessity of distinguishing between a ruler as a human person and the office which he holds is one which very varied circumstances have forced upon men of all ages. Sometimes it is bound up with the desire that the ruler and his family should hold property which is separable from the property attached to the crown, sometimes it arises from the need to punish or prevent the misdeeds of an individual without bringing down the superstructure of society. The distinction is not a difficult one to make and is found at an early date in medieval society.

It would hardly be correct to say that Dr. Kantorowicz traces the development of the idea, though his book does in the main proceed chronologically. Rather he has given us a series of studies of variations upon the central theme. We see it developed in terms of theology, law, metaphysics, political theory. To read this book is to have fascinating experiences in unusual realms of thought. Most readers will emerge enriched in knowledge, but they may well wonder whether their journey has led them to any goal. The conclusion of the book appears to be, if the Epilogue is any guide, that the concept of the King's Two Bodies is "an offshoot of Christian theological thought, and consequently stands as a landmark of Christian political theology," but it may be questioned whether all the labour of the 500-odd pages was necessary to reach this conclusion, and whether much that is contained in

them is very directly related to it. One cannot avoid the feeling that this book was probably much more readable and intelligible when it was an essay than it is in its somewhat inflated form. Christology, the problem of time, ecclesiology, theories of taxation, patriotism, the development of coronation rites and their significance, the funeral customs of the later Middle Ages all pass before us in an impressive but somewhat bewildering procession. One puts the book down with something of the feeling one has after reading Professor Toynbee: admiration at the author's encyclopedic knowledge and a vague sense of disquiet about a good many of the details.

An example of the kind of discussion that raises doubts is to be found in the section called *Dignitas non moritur*. Here much is made of the late medieval custom at the funerals not only of kings but also of prelates and great secular lords of carrying on the coffin an effigy which represented the deceased in his state of earthly majesty. This custom is held to be connected with, and possibly the origin of, those tombs which have a double representation of the deceased, one in life and the other in the dissolution of death. On all this the author comments:

The decrepit and decaying body natural in the tomb, now separated from the awe-inspiring body politic above it, appears like an illustration of the doctrine expounded over and over again by mediaeval jurists: *Tenens dignitatem est corruptibilis, DIGNITAS tamen semper est, non moritur.*

Professor Kantorowicz seems to establish that the use of a funerary effigy was adopted in France under English influence at the time of the deaths of Henry V and Charles VI. He also traces in considerable detail the gruesome and typically French developments of the practice in the succeeding 200 years, and this development certainly seems to support the thesis quoted above. But is it right to assume that the symbolism of a developed practice in

France was also the symbolism of a more moderate funerary usage in England? A detail gives point to the doubt. Much is made of the monument of Archbishop Chichele in Canterbury Cathedral, and the author writes:

Hence, the sepulchral monument of Archbishop Chichele, showing the effigy on the top of the tomb and the corpse within the tomb, was the naturalistic reproduction of reality, rendering simply what was seen at the funerary procession: the effigy in regalia on top of the coffin which contained the almost naked corpse.

But have we any reason to think that the corpse was "almost naked"? It is true that the custom of burying the body in full pontificals seems to have ceased for a period, but if the burial of William Lyndwood, a contemporary of Chichele's, is any guide, the corpse was certainly not naked. It was in fact very well swathed and embalmed, and survived incorrupt until it was discovered in St. Stephen's Chapel after the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament in the nineteenth century. Moreover, there was placed in the coffin a pastoral staff, the most essential symbol of episcopal dignity. Incidentally, Lyndwood is incorrectly described elsewhere in the book as Bishop of Hereford. He was, at the end of his life, Bishop of St. David's. It seems much more probable that the symbolism of these monuments was simply *sic transit gloria mundi*.

This small illustration shows the great problem which faces all who try to elucidate symbolism, whether in art, literature or ceremonial. How can we be sure that the subtleties which we discern were intended by those who constructed and used it? Professor Kantorowicz's book is typical of a certain kind of modern historical work, usually proceeding from Germanic sources. Undoubtedly we have much to learn from it, and it makes fascinating if somewhat difficult reading, but most historians are likely to approach it with a good deal of caution.

B i b l i o g r a p h y

- - - - -

1. Das Wesen der muslimischen Handwerkerverbände, Dissertation (typescript)
Heidelberg, 1921.
2. Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite (Berlin, 1927), 651 pp.
3. Review: Antonio de Stefano, L'Idée imperiale di Federico II (Florence,
1927), in: Historische Zeitschrift, CXL (1929), 449f.
4. "Mythenschau," Historische Zeitschrift, CXLI (1930), 457-471.
5. Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite: Ergänzungsband (Berlin, 1931), 336 pp.
6. Frederick the Second, trsl. by E.O.Lorimer (London, Constable, 1931)
7. "Deutsches Papsttum," Vom Schicksal des deutschen Geistes (Berlin,
Verlag Die Runde, 1935), 42-57; cf. Castrum Peregrini, (Amsterdam),
7-24.
8. "Petrus de Vineia in England," Mitteilungen des Osterreichischen
Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, LI (1937), 43-88
9. Die Wiederkehr gelehrter Anachorese im Mittelalter (Stuttgart, Kohl-
hammer, 1937), 13pp.
10. "The Este Portrait by Roger van der Weyden," Journal of the Warburg
and Courtauld Institutes, III (1939-40), 165-180

11. "A Norman Finale of the Exultete and the Rite of Sarum," Harvard Theological Review, XXXIV (1941), 129-143
12. "Plato in the Middle Ages," The Philosophical Review, LI (1942), 312-323, a Review of Raymund Klibansky, The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages (London, 1939)
13. Federico II di Svevia, trsl. by Maria Offergeld Merlo (Milano, Garzanti, 1939), 2 vols.
14. "Ivories and Litanies," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, V (1942), 56-81
15. "Anonymi 'Aurea Gemma'," Medievalia et Humanistica, I (1943), 41-57
16. "An 'Autobiography' of Guido Faba," Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, I (1943), 253-280
17. "A Diplomatic Mission of Francis Accursius and his Oration before Pope Nicholas III," English Historical Review, LVIII (1943), 424-447 (together with George L. Haskins)
18. "The Problem of Medieval World Unity," American Historical Association, Annual Report for 1942, III (Washington, 1944), 31-37
19. "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," Art Bulletin, XXVI (1944), 207-231

20. Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship (University of California Publications in History, XXXIII; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), 292 pp.
21. "Notes on the Christus vincit Legend on Coins," (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), an offprint of two chapters of No.20.
22. "How the Pre-Hitler German Universities were run," Western College Association (Fall Meeting, November 10, 1945, at Mills College, California), 3-7.
23. "The Quinity of Winchester," Art Bulletin, XXIX (1947), 73-85
24. Review: Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars (New York, 1947), in Classical Philology, XLIII (1948), 265f
25. "Christus-Fiscus," Synopsis: Festgabe für Alfred Weber (Heidelberg, 1948), 223-235.
26. Review: Reto R. Bezzola, Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident: 500-1200 (Paris, 1944), in Comparative Literature, I (1949), 84-87
27. Introduction to: Luis Weckmann, Las Bulas Alejandrinas de 1493 y la Teoría Política del Papado Medieval (Mexico, 1949), 7-11
28. The Fundamental Issue (San Francisco, 1950), 40pp.

29. "Pro patria mori in Medieval Political Thought," American Historical Review, LVI (1951), 472-492
30. Review: Leonardo Olschki, The Myth of Felt (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), in: Romance Philology, IV (1951), 281-284
31. "Dante's 'Two Suns'," Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, XI; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 217-231
32. Review: Eudes de Deuil, La Croisade de Louis VII, Roi de France, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1949), in: Romance Philology, V (1952), 321f
33. "Der Gastfreund," Albrecht Bernstorff zum Gedächtnis (Munich, 1952), 53ff
34. Review: Martini episcopi Bracarenensis opera omnia, ed. Claude W. Barlow (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, XII; New Haven, 1950), in American Journal of Archaeology, LVI (1952), 229f.
35. "Kaiser Friedrich II. und das Königsbild des Hellenismus," Varia Variorum: Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt (Münster-Köln, 1952), 169-193
36. "Deus per naturam, deus per gratiam: A Note on Mediaeval Political Theology," Harvard Theological Review, XLV (1952), 253-277
37. "CYNΘPONOC ΔΙΚΗΙ," American Journal of Archaeology, LVII (1953), 65-70
38. "Inalienability: A Note on Canonical Practice and the English Coronation Oath in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum, XXIX (1954), 488-502

39. "Mysteries of State: An Absolutist Concept and its Late Mediaeval Origins,"
Harvard Theological Review, XLVIII (1955), 65-91
40. "Invocatio Nominis Imperatoris: On vv.21-25 of Cielo d'Alcamo's Contrasto,"
Bollettino del Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici Siciliani, III
(1955), 35-50
41. Co-editor Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias
Friend, Jr., ed. by Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955)
42. "The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura," Late
Classical and Mediaeval Studies (see No.41), 287-300
43. Review: Johan Huizinga, Geschichte und Kultur: Gesammelte Aufsätze, ed.
by Kurt Köster (Stuttgart, 1954), in: American Historical Review, LX
(1955), 853-855
44. "The Baptism of the Apostles," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, IX-X (1956),
204-251.
45. "Feudalism in the Byzantine Empire," Feudalism in History, ed. by Rushton
Coulborn (Princeton, 1956), 151-166
46. "Zu den Rechtsgrundlagen der Kaisersage," Deutsches Archiv, XIII (1957),
115-150
47. "The Prologue to Fleta and the School of Petrus de Vineia," Speculum,
XXXII (1957), 231-249

48. "On Transformations of Apolline Ethics," CHARITES: Studien zur Altertums-
wissenschaft [Festschrift Ernst Langlotz], ed. by Konrad Schauenburg (Bonn,
1957), 265-274
49. The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology (Princeton,
1957), 568pp.
50. Review: Charles Till Davis, Dante and the Idea of Rome (Oxford, 1957),
in Speculum, XXXIV (1959), 103-109
51. "Secretos de Estado," Revista de Estudios Politicos, Fasc. CIV (Madrid,
1959), 37-70
52. "The Archer in the Ruthwell Cross," Art Bulletin, XLII (1960), 57-59
53. "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton
Oaks Collection," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XIV (1960), 2-16
54. "Kingship under the Impact of Scientific Jurisprudence," Twelfth-
Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society, ed. M. Claggett,
G. Post, and R. Reynolds (Madison, Wisconsin, 1961), 89-111
55. "The Sovereignty of the Artist: A Note on Legal Maxims and Renaissance
Theories of Art," De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin
Panofsky, ed. by Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), 267-279.
56. "Gods in Uniform," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,
CV (1961), 368-393

57. "Puer exoriens: On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore,"
Festschrift Thomas Michels (Münster, 1963)

58. "Oriens Augusti - Lever du Roi," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XVII (1963)

59. "Constantinus Strator: Marginalien zum Constitutum Constantini," Festschrift Theodor Klauser (Supplementband zum Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum; Münster, 1964)

60. "Justinian's Toga picta," Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm

61. Review: Walter Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (New York, 1961), in Speculum, XXXVIII (1963)

Kantorowicz

January 11, 1967

Mr. David P. Gardner
Assistant to the Chancellor
University of California
Santa Barbara, California 93106

Dear Mr. Gardner:

I have recently started work in this office and have discovered that in the change of administration and of secretaries your letter of October 25 was misplaced and not answered. I am indeed sorry and hope it may still be of some help to you to know that the Executor of the estate of Professor Kantorowicz is J. Seymour Montgomery, Attorney, 22 Chambers Street, Princeton, N.J. 08540. The only other person who might be of assistance that I can suggest is Dr. Ralph E. Giesey who I believe is presently at the University of Iowa, Iowa City.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. P. T. Bortell, Jr.
Secretary to the Director

is name of estate

W. Giesey

Betty -

would the answer to this be Giesey?

pls. return.

Thanks,

Verna

yes - Ralph E. Giesey is now at Iowa City, as you no doubt know XX_B

J. Seymour Montgomery

22 Chambers St.

that Seymour Montgomery

altho' I know

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO



SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

CLARK KERR
President of the University

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93106

VERNON I. CHEADLE
Chancellor at Santa Barbara

October 25, 1966

Institute for Advanced Studies
Office of the Director
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

In my manuscript on the University of California loyalty oath controversy accepted by the University of California Press for publication as a book next spring, I quote from a letter written by one of the non-signers of the oath who later was to associate with the Institute for Advanced Studies: Ernst Kantorowicz. Professor Kantorowicz, on August 25, 1950, was dismissed by the Regents of the University of California for not signing the loyalty oath; and either shortly before or after that date, he joined your staff.

I understand from friends of his, still at Berkeley, that he was not married and to their knowledge had no heirs. I'm quite anxious to receive permission to quote from the letter in question from whomever holds the literary rights to Kantorowicz's works. It may very well be that there is no such person. I feel compelled, nevertheless, to assure myself that there are no heirs or others whose permission would be required.

For whatever help you are able to be in giving me some direction, I shall remain very grateful indeed.

Sincerely,

David P. Gardner
Assistant to the Chancellor

Missy - husband of Cynthia

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1901

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.PA280

P.LLW409 NL PD=WUX PHILADELPHIA PENN 28=

DR ROBT OPPENHEIMER=

CARE S D LEIDESDORF 125 PARK AVE NYK=

REGRET EXCEEDINGLY THAT IMPORTANT BUSINESS AFFAIRS PREVENT
MY ATTENDING MEETING HAVE READ PAMPHLET WITH UTMOST CARE
AND I TRONGLY URGE THAT THE APPOINTMENT BE RATIFIED IF
YOU WISH TO REACH ME PLEASE CALL ME AT OGONTZ 0466 AND I
WILL GIVE FURTHER DETAILS IF REQUIRED MY APOLOGIES REGARDS
HAPPY NEW YEAR=

LESSING J ROSENWALD=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1421 Euclid Avenue
Berkeley 8, California
January 4, 1951

7
Kantorowicz

Dear Professor Oppenheimer:

I would hardly know how to express adequately my thanks to you and my feelings of gratitude to the Faculty and the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study for asking me to join your most distinguished community as a Professor in the School of Historical Studies. Your letter of December 29th has certainly lit up the otherwise so gloomy outlook for 1951, at least within the purely personal sphere, and after the low of the paralyzing "Year of the Oath" this invitation fills my spirits again with new buoyancy and gives my desire to work a new impetus.

In fact, I am looking forward impatiently to settling down peacefully in Princeton. The terms you have outlined to me open up a new perspective of my life as a scholar, and it seems almost unbelievable to me that in future no classwork or semester routine shall compel me to break off my own work in the midst of a sentence and that instead I shall be able to finish all my unfinished studies and sail, once more, freely and like a young adventurer on that vast ocean of historical problems. I am most grateful to you and the Faculty for giving me that unique chance, and I sincerely hope that I shall not disappoint you and my future colleagues. I may assure you that I shall gladly invest my energies not only to live up to all justified expectations but also to fulfil all the duties which life in an academic family naturally demands of its members.

Although this letter may imply very distinctly my intention to accept the position intended for me, not to mention the great honor bestowed upon me, it is yet for some technical reasons (which, no doubt, you will understand and appreciate) that I shall have to postpone formal acceptance for a few weeks, that is, until the court has decided the, at present very hopeful, cause of our small group of non-signers. My formal acceptance at the present moment would entail my withdrawal from that important lawsuit, since we are asking for reinstatement; it would weaken the small group of "Tolman et al." and perhaps influence unfavorably the whole cause. I shall therefore

- 2 -

mention to my chairman and others merely the fact that I have received your generous offer, but I shall refrain for the time being from any comment as to whether or not I intend to accept it. The same information, I think, should be given to the press, since publicity is in this case rather important. The news of your offer will be a hard blow to Mr. Neylan and his group of regents - another happy aspect of your invitation for which not only our little fighting group will be most grateful, but probably also the academic world at large.

Your letter has covered, I believe, all practical questions that might arise at this time. However, on my way to Dumbarton Oaks, where I shall stay during the Spring Semester, I may stop in Princeton to thank you personally once more and to renew on that occasion the very casual acquaintance we once made, at the beginning of the oath controversy, in the house of our unforgettable friend Max Radin.

Yours very sincerely

Ernst H. Kantorowicz

Ernst H. Kantorowicz

Professor Robert Oppenheimer
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N.J.

Remarks on "The Fundamental Issue"

Since our meeting I have read the Kantorowicz pamphlet and find it much more interesting than I had expected. The basic question with which it deals is very closely related to the document which led directly to the founding of our Institute, namely Dr. Flexner's book in which he compared European and American universities very much to the disadvantage of the latter. I remember Flexner's book as being concerned more with the symptoms than with the causes of the disease. Kantorowicz' pamphlet deals with a particular set of symptoms, but it does bring out very clearly the fact that a European university is, by its origin and history, a corporation of scholars which has a very high degree of autonomy. In Germany, in the period before Hitler, for example, the only control exercised by anyone outside the faculty was the rather mild influence of the Minister of Education. In the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge outside control was even milder. It was only Parliament that could intervene and Parliament could intervene only as it could in the case of any other semi-public corporation. In practice such intervention did not occur more than perhaps two or three times in a century.

Simultaneously with the growth of universities in Europe there developed an academic tradition, a set of ideas about obligations, behavior, and privilege, some of them formally stated and others tacitly, but nonetheless firmly held -- a kind of academic mystique.

In the process of transplanting to the United States, the university and the academic tradition has undergone a number of changes which show themselves in the symptoms described by Dr. Flexner but which are due, I think, to the important role played by business and pecuniary power in our society. At any rate our universities normally have trustees or boards of

- 2 -

regents who are drawn from the group of administrators who dominate our financial and other public institutions. In the course of time there has developed a trustee tradition and a trustee mystique.

The troubles at the University of California which in the beginning had quite different and, I am told, rather complicated origins, developed eventually into a conflict between the academic and the trustee mystique. In its latest phase the trustees simply took the ground that the professors' dismissals are "a matter of discipline."

All of this comes out rather clearly, it seems to me, in Kantorowicz' pamphlet, and is illustrated with a variety of details which are probably tiresome and distasteful to anyone who is not interested in this affair as a case history. In particular, Kantorowicz brings out the fact that he owes his position on the faculty to a Mr. Ehrmann who is one of the men who are sustaining most vehemently the trustee mystique. Thus, from Ehrmann's point of view, Kantorowicz is "biting the hand that fed him." Kantorowicz does not make the retort which might be made, namely that Ehrmann is among those who are trying to force Kantorowicz to give up his principles on pain of losing his livelihood. Instead, he freely and fully acknowledges his indebtedness, while continuing to uphold the principles of his calling as he understands them.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

December 29, 1950

Dear Professor Kantorowicz:

It is with great pleasure that I write this letter to you, asking you to join the Faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study as a Professor in the School of Historical Studies. I do this on unanimous recommendation of the Faculty of the Institute, and with the unanimous concurrence of its Board of Trustees.

The terms of the appointment are simple. The appointment runs from July 1, 1951 to June 30th of the year of your retirement--by present Institute rules, the fiscal year in which you have reached your 65th birthday. The salary has been fixed at \$18,000 a year; and the Institute is prepared to make a contribution of 5% of this salary to the purchase of a retirement policy, and asks that you make a similar contribution yourself. } X

As you know, a Professorship at this Institute implies no fixed duties of instruction, and its principal purpose is to permit you, alone or in consort with your colleagues, to pursue studies of your own interest. We do hope that you will be in residence during the academic terms, which occupy some 25 weeks between October and April. We do hope that you will participate with your colleagues in determining the modest questions of academic policy for the Institute and in helping to select the Members who work and study here. These duties have not proved burdensome.

There will be many questions that you may wish to put to us, and I can anticipate only a few. We make provision for an assistantship for each Professor; we have at the Institute a seminar library, which you will no doubt find at least initially quite inadequate for your purposes, but which we shall be glad to try to enrich; we have of course the complete use of the University library, which is reasonably adequate.

- 2 -

You must feel free to write to me of any questions, an answer to which would be helpful. Your colleagues here extend a warm welcome to you, and hope very much that you will want to join our community. I speak not only for the members of the Institute, but for many of our friends in the University as well. If you come to Princeton, you will find a deep appreciation of the work that you have done in the past and a great hope for the work that you may do in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor Ernst H. Kantorowicz
1121 Euclid Avenue
Berkeley 8, California

List of books and articles published by Ernst Kantorowicz:

Das Wesen der muslimischen Handwerkerverbände, philosoph. Dissertat.,
Heidelberg, 1921

Kaiser Friedrich II., vol. I, 1927 (English translation by E. O. Lorimer,
1931; Italian translation by M. O. Merlo, 1939).

Kaiser Friedrich II., Ergänzungsband: Quellennachweise und Exkurse, 1931.

Die Wiederkehr der gelehrten Anachorese im Mittelalter, 1937.

'Petrus de Vinea in England', in Mitteilungen des österreichischen
Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, vol. LI.

'The Este portrait by Roger van der Weyden', in Journal of the Warburg
and Courtauld Institutes, vol. III.

'A Norman Finale of the Exultet and the rite of Sarum', in Harvard Theo-
logical Review, vol. XXXIV.

'Plato in the Middle Ages', in The Philosophical Review, vol. LI.

'Anonymi 'Aurea Gemma'', in Medievalia et Humanistica, vol. I.

'Ivories and Litanies', in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,
vol. V.

'An 'autobiography' of Guido Faba', in Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies,
vol. I.

(in collaboration with G. L. Haskins:) "A diplomatic mission of Francis
Accursius and his oration before Pope Nicholas III", in English
Historical Review, vol. LVIII.

"The 'King's Advent' and the enigmatic panels in the doors of S. Sabina,"
in Art Bulletin, vol. XXVI.

Laudes Regiae; a study in liturgical acclamations and medieval ruler
worship, 1946.

Notes on the Christus vincit legend on coins, 1946.

'The Quinity of Winchester', in Art Bulletin, vol. XXIX.

'Christus - Fiscus', in Synopsis: Festgabe für Alfred Weber, 1948.

Kantorowicz is working on a book dealing with problems of medieval politi-
cal theology, both in the Western world and in the Byzantine Empire; the
first volume entitled The King's Two Bodies, is ready for publication; two
chapters of the second volume of this work were read as papers by K. at a
Symposium of Byzantine scholars in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., in
Spring 1950.

*Circulated to Board of
Inmates -
before 12/1/50 meeting
of Exec. Com.*

ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ

The creation of the School of Historical Studies last year by the combination of the School of Humanistic Studies and the School of Economics and Politics had as one of its purposes the closer integration of the non-mathematical and non-physical activities of the Institute. At the same time, the loss of all three professors of economics has emphasized the need of producing greater internal cohesiveness in the activities of the School and has provided the opportunity through new professorial appointments not only to expand and reinforce our work in Modern History but to bridge the gap that exists between this field of our interest and our work in Hellenic civilization and the History of Art.

Theoretically there are many directions in which it would be possible to expand and by expansion to achieve the desired integration; but practically the solution is restricted by the existence and availability of men whose scholarship and interests are both profound enough and broad enough to make them desirable for themselves as well as for the formal area of their activity. With an open mind the School considered such avowedly synoptic disciplines as philosophy, psychology, anthropology, and sociology but found in these fields no-one whose candidacy it could support with confidence and enthusiasm. In the field of Mediaeval History, however, a field of study which of itself is clearly pertinent to the work of the School and which now is a painful vacuum between the fields which we cultivate, there suggested itself almost immediately the name of a man who by the eminence of his attainments, the solid excellence of his scholarship, and the breadth and intensity of his interests would, we feel sure, contribute to a maximum degree that new strength which we desire for the School, the Institute, and the scholarly community of Princeton.

This man is Ernst H. Kantorowicz. He was born in Posen on May 3, 1895, was Professor of History in the University of Frankfurt from 1930 to 1934, in 1934 was Visiting Professor in Oxford, and in 1939 became Professor of History at the University of California in Berkeley where he has remained until the present time.

In the formal academic sense Professor Kantorowicz may be classified as a mediaeval historian; in fact, to quote a letter from Professor Felix Gilbert, he is "the best mediaeval historian now active." His work and interests, however, transcend the field of mediaeval history as commonly defined in time and space and in subject-matter and method. In time they range from the later phases of classical antiquity to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in space they embrace both western Europe and the Byzantine and Islamic East; in subject-matter and method they treat complicated problems of many facets by viewing them from all the various angles from which his familiarity with widely different specialties and techniques enables him to illumine all of them. It is significant that even in his doctoral dissertation, "On the Nature of Moslem Artisans' Corporations" (Heidelberg, 1921), Kantorowicz had already focused his

- 2 -

attention upon the intersection of the two cultural spheres, the interaction of which was an important factor in determining the course of mediaeval history. So also the central figure of the book which brought him at the early age of thirty-two fame and criticism--both justified--, Frederick II, belongs to the East as well as to the West, to paganism as well as to Christianity, to the Middle Ages and yet to classical antiquity and the Renaissance also.

Being aware of the indissoluble connection that exists among overtly disparate sets of historical phenomena, Kantorowicz developed an admirable method of combining the study of texts and documents with that of sculpture, painting, book illumination, and coins in such a manner that the visual material is not merely adduced as supplementary evidence but is treated as subject matter sui iuris. This requires a command of various techniques and of different fields of knowledge which are ordinarily at the disposal only of different specialists but over which Kantorowicz has achieved a combined mastery with the result that his studies are no less important to the Early Christian and Byzantine archaeologist, the historian of art, and the numismatist than they are to the political and social historian, the historian of philosophy, and the theologian. We should like to give one example from among Kantorowicz's numerous essays, an example which will show the fruitfulness of his method and the scope of its results. The subject of a well-known portrait by Roger van der Weyden, which is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, is designated as a member of the Este family by heraldic devices and had always been identified with Lionello d'Este, a famous patron of the arts and letters known to have been a client of Roger. Since Lionello died in October, 1450 and had never left Italy, the portrait was thus held to have been executed at Ferrara on the occasion of Roger's supposed pilgrimage to Italy in that year and was considered not only as proof of this pilgrimage but also as a cornerstone of the painter's chronology. On the basis of a hitherto neglected inscription, Kantorowicz formed the hypothesis that the real sitter was not Lionello d'Este but his illegitimate son, Francesco, who was educated at the Court of Burgundy, and that the picture was painted in the Netherlands about 1460 rather than in Ferrara in 1450. Converting this hypothesis into a certainty by a minute investigation of documents and other portraits, he thus constrained the art-historians to revise their ideas about one of the greatest painters while at the same time he provided the students of cultural and political relations between the Italy of the Renaissance and the "Gothick North" with a vivid new insight into these relations.

Recently Kantorowicz has devoted much of his time to a comprehensive study of the idea of Kingship in Byzantium and Western Europe. Since these reporters do not feel competent in this field, they take the liberty of quoting Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., Director of Research at the Institute of Dumbarton Oaks which is especially devoted to Byzantine studies (and, incidentally, has extended an invitation to Kantorowicz for the current academic year).

- 3 -

"From this (scil. Frederick II) Kantorowicz went on to further studies in the theories of kingship and authority. In more recent years his Ivories and Litanies in the Journal of the Warburg Institute (1942) and his longer study Laudes Regiae (1946) have given a new orientation to the history of art, of liturgy and of music along the fundamental line of the imperial and royal expressions of authority and power.

"For today, when the conceptions of power are so mistaken or so little understood, the exact studies of Kantorowicz, so clearly and interestingly thought out, have a continuing value. They very forcefully illustrate the real place of mediaeval studies in our own time."

Mr. Friend concludes his letter with the statement, "Among living mediaeval historians it would be difficult for me to name a greater than Ernst H. Kantorowicz."

Besides the professional ability so fully attested by his accomplishments, Ernest Kantorowicz recommends himself to us by the quality of mind, easier to sense than to define, which enlivens whatever it touches. It is therefore with real urgency that the School of Historical Studies requests the Faculty to endorse his nomination for a professorship in the Institute for Advanced Study.

From for Kantorowicz,
Greek vases left to
Institute
(our folder)

26 April 1966

Dear Miss Frantz:

Today I have from Homer Thompson the set of photographs which you made of the four Greek vases that were bequeathed to us by Professor Kantorowicz. I want to thank you very much for taking these splendid pictures, and for making them available to colleagues. We will keep a set in the Institute files.

With warm good wishes,

Robert Oppenheimer

Miss Alison Frantz
27 Haslet Avenue
Princeton, New Jersey

Copy to Professor Thompson

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

April 20, 1966

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Dr Robert Oppenheimer
I. A. S.

Dear Robert:

Herewith is a set of photographs of the four Greek vases left to the Institute by E. Kantorowicz: a black figured band cup, an early red figured cup, a red figured lekythos and a Corinthian skyphos. You will find a full series of Leica negatives together with prints of the principal views.

Prints of the red figured cup have been given to Henri Seyrig who is preparing to publish this piece, and of the Corinthian skyphos to Jack Benson who took an interest in this vase when he was with us last year.

The photographs were made by my old Athenian colleague and your neighbor, Miss Alison Frantz of 27 Haslet Avenue, Princeton, who presents them to the Institute with her compliments. I have thanked her informally; I'm sure she would appreciate a note from you.

I assume that this material will simply be kept on file so that photos can be supplied when requested.

Yours ever,



Homer A. Thompson

Enclosures

ON LOAN

2 prints of the red-figured cup
with the boy looking into a
pithos have been loaned to
Professor Larissa Bonfante
Dept of Classics
New York University
Washington Square

March 1, 1978

Fae Kantorowicz

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF PRINCETON

PRINCETON, N.J.

TRUST DEPARTMENT

December 2, 1963

Mr. Minot C. Morgan, Jr.
General Manager
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Morgan: Re: Estate Ernst H. Kantorowicz, deceased

We understand that J. Seymour Montgomery, Esq., attorney for the above estate, has forwarded to you Refunding Bond and Release, in duplicate, to be executed and returned to us with respect to the Greek Vases.

The appraiser described these objects as follows:

A 6-5th century B. C. Greek black-figured cup (cylix) with high stem. The outer rim has a painted band of small figures.

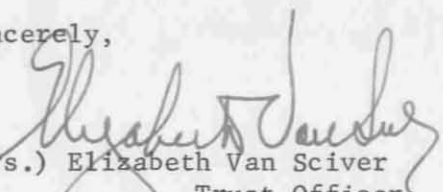
A 5th century B. C. Greek red-figured cup (cylix) containing a drawing on the inside surface of a nude figure head-first in a jar.

A 5th century B.C. Greek red-figured pouring jar (lecythos) with a drawing of a seated figure wrapped in a cloak on the outer surface

An ancient Greek cup (a kotyle) of light colored clay decorated with motifs characteristic of the late Corinthian Vase-painting style.

We shall be glad to deliver these vases at any time ~~that~~ someone from the Institute finds it convenient to call. If we could be notified a few minutes in advance, we could arrange to have them out of the vault.

Sincerely,


(Mrs.) Elizabeth Van Sciver
Trust Officer

EVS:leh

*Probably for now in a case in the Board Room -
Would like to see them again - P.O*

BLACK-FIGURED BAND CUP

On either side a stag grazes between panthers.
The vase was mended in antiquity.

Athens. 550-525 B.C. Bequest of Ernst H. Kantorowicz

RED-FIGURED CUP

Glaukos, son of King Minos, falls into a jar of honey. In the field: Ο ΠΑΙΣ =
"the boy".

Athens. Early 5th Century B.C. Bequest of Ernst H. Kantorowicz

RED-FIGURED OIL FLASK

A seated woman; an alabastron hangs from the wall.

Athens. About 450 B.C. Bequest of Ernst H. Kantorowicz

CORINTHIAN DRINKING CUP

Panther, boar and water bird.

Corinth. Early 6th Century B.C. Bequest of Ernst H. Kantorowicz

D.M.

ERNESTI H. KANTOROVICZ

Magistorum magistri

Discipulorum discipuli

Amicorum amici

Vitam amavit mortem non timuit