

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU

1995-1996



Central European University Department of Medieval Studies Budapest

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU 1995–1996

Edited by Renata Mikolajczyk and Marina Rossig—Miladinov



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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

It is obvious that this third volume of the *Annual* is slimmer than the preceding two have been. We changed the format of the yearbook by eliminating the M.A. thesis chapters or seminar papers. While their preparation for publication would have taken more time and energy than we could afford, we felt, more importantly, that those papers worth publishing would reach a wider readership if printed in professional journals or edited volumes. We encouraged our best students to submit their papers for publication there and several of them have done so already. This is the reason for our more succint yearbook, which will be the standard for future years.

On the other hand, we included abstracts of papers read at the workshops and conferences organized by the department during the academic year. As we intend to make the annual interdisciplinary workshop an on-going tradition and our research projects will usually be connected with workshops and conferences, such abstracts will become a regular feature of future *Annuals*.

Finally, as the years go on, our Alumni Directory will increase. The contents of the directory will also be enriched by listing the scholarly activities of our ex-students. We are grateful to all those alumni who kept us posted about their professional progress, and we request all former CEU medievalists to do the same in the future.

Part I.

Report of the Year

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MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND AT THE CEU

Gábor Klaniczay

Many of the heated, sometimes murderous, nationalist, political debates which divide Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the present have their origins in the Middle Ages. Without studying the ethnogenesis of the peoples inhabiting this region, and without assessing the medieval interactions between Latin Christianity, Orthodox Christianity, and the Muslim world, one can hardly understand the essence of, let alone find solutions to, the present crises. The significance of national pasts, be they real or legendary, for collective self-perception and self-consciousness in the region is proverbial.

This situation helps to explain both the ideological importance attributed to medieval studies and much of the manipulation and distortion exerted by various regimes on the discipline since the early 19th century, when nationalist ideologies became an important factor in the region. This is not the place to engage in a detailed discussion of these ideological contortions or those based on the Marxist methodology of historical analysis, which followed in the 20th century. But it is worth mentioning that while nationalism and Marxism each tended to produce biased historical analysis in general, their negative effect on medieval studies seems to have been particularly intense: it was here that some of the nationalist myths were expressed in the most absurd manner, here that a younger generation was furthest removed from historiography's most important starting point, the critical study of documentary evidence.

Medieval studies was also subjected to another kind of disadvantage beyond the ideological sphere. Mainly through neglect, archival resources and historical monuments tended to deteriorate under communism. Thus classical scholarship fared worse than it should have, its experts left marginalized and devoid of possibilities to educate a younger generation to assume their tasks. While a few outstanding older scholars continued working under these difficult conditions, another group converted to Marxism and confirmed their position by paying tribute to ideological commonplaces. But the essence of the situation remained the same: a disruption in the continuity of institutions, museums, academic traditions, intellectual schools, and scholarly craftsmanship. It is not always recognized that those representatives of the intelligentsia oriented toward the maintenance of classical culture suffered nearly as much as outright political dissidents. This may partly explain why some of the more prominent dissidents happened to come from the fields of classical and medieval studies.

A case in point is Bronisław Geremek's dual role as scholar and politician: even during his years of persecution as Lech Wałęsa's chief adviser, he regularly held a semi-legal seminar on marginals and outcasts in medieval society. Karol Modzelewski, another Solidarity leader, studied medieval "state serfdom" after having spent several years in communist prisons. In Moscow, the circle around Aron J. Gurevich was not expressly politicized, but represented an alternative scholarly orientation, a link with French and Anglo-Saxon intellectual life. In Czechoslovakia, post-1968 "normalization" pushed many leading intellectuals, with prominent medievalists among them, either into exile (František Graus), to the margins (František Šmahel), or into silence (Dušan Třeštík). The famous seminar on Plato held in Jan Patočka's apartment in Prague became a symbol for intellectual resistance to communism. Jenő Szűcs, Hungary's most prominent medieval historian in recent decades, became an important figure in the intellectual opposition through his contributions to the 1980 samizdat memorial volume dedicated to István Bibó. It was here that Szűcs's famous essay, "The Three Historical Regions of Europe," first saw the light of day. The piece is an attempt to probe the deficiencies of contemporary East-Central European civil society through an examination of the problem's medieval roots.

Regarding our own department, it is perhaps not too immodest to mention that János M. Bak was an active participant in the 1956 revolution, spent several decades in exile, and returned from Canada to join this new project. I myself also participated in the activities of the democratic opposition in Hungary.

With the establishment of the Medieval Studies Department at CEU Budapest in 1992, we hoped to transmit a new impetus to the field and to remedy some of these problems, according to our capacities. But first we had to make our case in an academic context which was not automatically sensitive to these issues. From the outset, CEU's envisaged role had three key components. First, the institution aims to promote regional collaboration by offering East-Central European students and intellectuals a common educational experience at an international standard. Second, CEU has undertaken important tasks in supporting the transition process by providing expertise in fields vital for the creation of new, open societies: constitutional law, privatizationoriented economics, "transitology"-oriented political science, European studies, and environmental science. Finally, the pursuit of these goals demanded a combination of teaching, research, and "doing." The idea was to build an unconventional private university which would multiply its impact by sponsoring projects and creating networks within post-communism's chaotic, emerging institutional structures.

A program in medieval studies was not an obvious addition to this initial agenda; its subject at first seemed too traditional. We argued, however, that transition should rely not only upon modernization and westernization, but also upon rediscovering the roots of a once existent European identity. Such a tradition was founded and first elaborated during the Latin Middle Ages, and the study of this period can still provide useful models for a return to such orientation. The revitalization of the field also promised to affiliate a different segment of the intelligentsia with the project of open society, one less active in the ideological sphere, but, at the same time, crucial to a renewed regional self-awareness. Finally, we tried to point out that medieval studies could also provide indispensable practical help in preserving or restoring an endangered historical legacy by saving precious artistic and cultural treasures. We could not know then just how acute the need for restoration expertise would soon become as the dreadful destructions in the former Yugoslavia began to take their toll.

Practical arguments also favored the project of this department. After a certain decline following World War II, medieval studies became a very lively field throughout the world. Interestingly, it has been medievalists who have pioneered the use of modern work tools such as computer-generated databases, CD-ROM editions, and visual archives. Valuable cultural treasures such as medieval manuscripts or stained glass windows could attract generous sponsorship for new projects. Neatly definable bodies of evidence, not too enormous for a synthetic view but still detailed enough for analysis in depth, offered themselves to precise, coordinated, and complex inquiry. Along these lines, medievalists developed an exemplary international network which also assisted other disciplines in accessing wider international contacts. Central Europe, for well-known reasons, missed out on much of this development.

How do we see all this after the first four years of our labor? First, the department has benefited immensely from a new era of scholarly cooperation between East and West. We have collaborated with a number of prestigious scholars whose work was crucial to the survival of medieval studies during the Soviet era, including Aleksander Gieysztor, Bronisław Geremek, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Urszula Borkowska, František Šmahel, Dušan Třeštik, Vladimir Vavřínek, Bernhard Töpfer, Aron Gurevich, Šima Čircović, and György Györffy. All were particularly active in the creation of this depart-

ment. We also found four noteworthy academics in western universities eager to become partners in our enterprise Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA), Evelyne Patlagean (Paris-X Nanterre), Ihor Ševčenko (Harvard) and Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey, Switzerland). These were joined by a number of leading Western medievalists interested in developing a new scholarly meeting point in Budapest, including Jacques Le Goff, André Vauchez, Peter Schreiner, Herwig Wolfram, Neithard Bulst, Robert Evans, Susan Reynolds, Janet Nelson, Ruth Mellinkoff, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Giles Constable, and Paul Szarmach.

Over the past few years, we have tried to build up a new scholarly network in Central and Eastern Europe. On recent trips around the region, we have met a number of younger colleagues overburdened by their duties as a result of the acute shortage of experts in the field. This is exactly what could be remedied by a new cohort of talented medievalists who will now be able to leave Budapest with an internationally recognized Ph.D. recently accredited by the Board of Regents of the State of New York. Some of our alumni are already busy organizing international conferences or helping to build new institutions for regional cooperation.

We hope that within a few years, medieval studies departments in the region will be refreshed with young scholars familiar with each other's work and willing to engage in a new kind of enterprise to understand our common past and formulate strategies to continue its important traditions.

(First published in CEU Gazette, Winter, 1995/96)

THE FOURTH YEAR OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT THE CEU

With 1995/96 the department arrived at a first "peak": with the accreditation of the Ph.D. program (in February 1996) the legal frame was set for what we intended to achieve, a four-year doctoral program, the first year of which leads to the M.A. degree. After three years of experimenting, we felt that we worked out manageable balances between coursework and individual research, basic training for research and specialized seminars, resident staff and visiting faculty. Without thinking that all of this is perfect, we now believe that the task for the future will be to consolidate these achievements, refine the curriculum, and strengthen our international contacts.

The incoming class of thirty-one students differed from the previous years insofar as there were more M.A. candidates from Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania than earlier, but fewer from Poland and the Czech Republic. Their medievalist interests were spread more or less in the usual way with historians prevailing (10), followed by students of hagiography (6), art historians and archaeologists (5), students of literature and philology (5), and philosophy (4). In 1995/96 we had the first musicologist with us, who had the good luck of being able to attend an international conference on Gregorian chant just a few days after his arrival in Budapest. The number of the Ph.D. candidates (until February 1996 only "prospective Ph.D. candidates") grew to 20, and a few of them were able to obtain CEU-sponsored scholarships abroad for their first year in the doctoral program. Dmitri Mishin and Stephan Nikolov spent the year in Oxford, Anneli Randla in Cambridge, and Kristine Mitalaité in Paris. While this year abroad was of great value to them and the program, now we are not encouraging this arrangement but expect Ph. D. candidates to spend their second (first doctoral) year at CEU in Budapest. Mr. Nikolov received a Ph.D. fellowship in Oxford and Ms. Randla in Cambridge, so they decided to continue their studies there. We see it as an honor for the program that its M.A. graduates are successful competitors in tight races for the not very numerous foreign students' scholarships at famous universities abroad.

The academic year started in the new premises of CEU, an early nineteenth-century palace of the Festetich family, designed by Mihály Pollack in neo-classical style, in the city center, renovated and augmented by a prizewinning modern addition of a Faculty Tower (designed by László Iványi) with all the technical advantages of the late twentieth century, to which we moved during the summer. The opening ceremony of the permanent home of CEU, in the presence of the founder, George Soros, marked a major stage in the development of the university. A site in walking distance to several major libraries, easily accessible to people from the city, with a fine auditorium and a library open to the scholarly public, gave CEU and its students a chance to become an integral part of the intellectual life of the capital. Faculty offices, lecture and seminar rooms, computer laboratories, and other facilities promised to make the new campus the most suitable academic surrounding in town, if not in the entire central European region. The obvious advantages apart, it nevertheless took us some time to get used to the steel-and-glass environment and "make it our home", after the simple, but "home-baked" premises in the Hűvösvölgy temporary campus.

Our traditional first excursion to western Hungary (between September 1-3, see program below, p. 25) easing the initial contacts between the students and faculty, was less marred by rain and cold than the previous year, but the short stay at Lake Balaton was suitable only for a good round of football, not for swimming.

Beginning with the preparatory trimester, we placed special emphasis on improving the English language proficiency of our students. It had become obvious that the required minimum in the Test of English as a Foreign Language is far too low for assuring fluency in speech and writing. Moreover, we often accepted students slightly below the score of 550, if their research proposals and professional background promised good work, and we rarely regretted this liberality. In other words, we decided that a person with good professional qualifications but not quite fluent English may become a better medievalist than a better English speaker without the requisite academic background. However, the general level of English among our incoming students demanded much more systematic language teaching, one that addressed both general fluency and academic style. After augmenting our department with a Senior Instructor in Academic Writing, Mary Beth Davis, who had just completed her Ph.D. in medieval English literature at Texas A&M University, we began to work out a specific curriculum for M.A. candidates. In retrospect this decision, and Ms. Davis's as well as our tutors' devotion to the task, bore fruit. The seminar papers and especially the theses submitted in the spring of 1996 were significantly better in terms of English and academic format than ever before. The entire university noticed our innovation, and in 1996/97 Academic Writing became a generally taught course at other departments of CEU as well.

In the first two terms we continued to experiment with a group of courses in Research Methods. These courses were designed to enhance our students' familiarity with the major reference works and source collections, often known to them only from references but not accessible in their home universities, and to give them hands-on experience with research tools. Clearly, to accomplish this, the three-week short courses proved to be insufficient and became somewhat crowded. The combination of familiarizing themselves with the books in situ (some of these classes were held in our CEU-ELTE Medieval Research Library) and at the same time evaluating and discussing their advantages and shortcomings placed too much burden on students and instructors alike. (In 1996/97 we restructured the course giving it more time and better textbook basis.)

As we realized that a short detour into Austria after our Spring field trip (as done in the preceding years) is not the best procedure as it made the excursion much too long and tiresome, we arranged for a tour to Vienna and surroundings in the Fall Term (November 3 to 5, see program below, p. 26). For many of our students this was the first visit to the West, which gave the trip a special flavor. Fortunately, border formalities were not as circumstantial as we feared (with all the strange passports the class presented). The highlights of this weekend were the reception at the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, preceded by a very valuable visit to the Nagyszentmiklós golden treasure in the Museum of Fine Arts, conducted by Professor Herwig Wolfram, and the visit to the Heiligenkreuz Cistercian monastery. That some of our students managed to hear (though only partly see) Massenet's *Hérodiade* with Placido Domingo at the Staatsoper was an unforeseen bonus.

Study during the first trimester was somewhat hampered by the fact that the new CEU Residence at Kerepesi út (in the eastern part of Budapest) became available only around Christmas, and our students had to stay for a few months in our "old home", the Garden Hotel (now, with the move of the university to the city center, no more within walking distance from the campus!) and for a few weeks in a hotel next to the Keleti railway station which was not better than such hotels usually are. In fact, only the beginning of the Winter Term brought about the kind of stability in living and working conditions needed for undisturbed study and research. The class of 1996 no doubt suffered from these moves, the oft-changed deadlines of relocation, and the need to get used to different places of housing. The issue of moving out of the residence and taking rental accommodation in town, which several students preferred, was not clarified for some time either. All these problems led, somewhat to our surprise, to rather explosive debates. For the first time in the life of our department we had to face students protest and try to resolve the conflict. On November 22 the meeting of our Academic Board took place. The agenda included a report by the Head of Department, the application for Ph.D. accreditation, the conferences planned for the following term, and the research projects. The most important issue was the Ph.D. accreditation and the development of the doctoral program thus colleagues from the Academic Board were asked to evaluate and suggest improvements to the proposal presented by János Bak.

Thanks to the special budget authorized for the department's Ph.D. program and CEU's Supplementary Grant Program, in 1995/6 the first group of Ph.D. candidates from the class that began in 1993 was able to spend three to six months at universities and research institutions abroad: Damir Karbić and Anna Kouznetsova in London, Maja Petrova in Leuven, Stanko Andrić in Paris, Adelina Angusheva and Margaret Dimitrova in Oxford and London, Zoran and Sofia Ladić in Los Angeles, and Ksenija Brigliević in Cambridge. We are grateful to our colleagues at the receiving universities and research institutions who helped them to find their places in the academic world of their temporary home, our young colleagues profited much from the sojourn. Ms. Brigliević was invited to continue her Ph.D. studies in Cambridge and decided to stay there.

During all three trimesters we continued to host a number of recurrent visiting professors as well as newly acquired friends. Among the latter were Dean Sergey Karpov and Professors Sergey Ivanov of Moscow State University, Alexey Lidov from the Center for Eastern Christian Culture, Moscow, Ian Blanchard from Edinburgh, Carlos Steel and Herman Braet from Leuven, Virgina Kaufmann from Princeton, Miri Rubin from Oxford, Hanna Zaremska from Warsaw, Christian Krötzl from Tampere, Ruth Mellinkoff from Los Angeles, and Hannah Kassis from the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Professor Blanchard proposed that a minor field in economic history be established in cooperation with Edinburgh, which is being pursued further. Professor Kassis's course on Christianity and Islam was not only one of the best attended and popular seminars, but also reminded us to include this third ring (besides the Latin and Greek world) of medieval civilization into our offering. Similarly, the course offered by Dr. Vladimír Kajlík from Mariánské Lázné (Czech Republic) on the Bible in the Middle Ages proved to be a very useful and necessary experiment to be followed up in the future.

Following a suggestion of the accreditation committee that visited our department in spring 1995 we requested funds to hire a Slavist linguistic-literary scholar. Dr. Ralph Cleminson of University of Portsmouth, UK, a Slavic manuscript scholar who has conducted extensive research on Slavic codices in the region joined the department in the 1996/97 academic year, thus strengthening the interdisciplinarity of our offerings and adding a native English speaker to the resident senior faculty.

A new type of course was introduced on an experimental basis during the second trimester: the Translation Seminar. The idea was that reading, discussing, and translating into English medieval texts from Latin, Greek, or a medieval vernacular in small groups would offer occasion to improve skills in medieval languages, in English, and in historical or literary problems of the text. In the Winter trimester István Perczel read Byzantine sources with his students, Vladimír Vavřínek the *Vita S. Venceslai*, Neven Budak Latin inscriptions from Dalmatia, Marianne Sághy the *Vitae patrum* of the Pauline Order, János Bak passages from the customary law book of Stephen Werbőczy, *Tripartitum* (1514), and Ferenc Zemplényi Middle German poems from the thirteenth century. Several visitors also joined the seminars for one or two occasions. The exercise proved to be so successful that more than one group of students wished to continue the seminar, even though it was not included in the formal curriculum for the Spring Term.

Two lecture series were organized to underline the department's special interest in the Byzantine-Western interaction during the Middle Ages. In November 1995 Professor Ihor Ševčenko of Harvard University, gave a series of lectures on "The Reception of Gregory of Nazianzus in Byzantium and Eastern Europe," and in February-March Professors Ivanov, Lidov, Kajlík, Karpov, Vavřínek, and Trombley (University of Wales) addressed the issue of "Encounters of East and West" in very well-attended public lecture series.

In 1996 Hungary celebrated the millecentennary of the arrival of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, traditionally dated for 896, and the millennium of the foundation of the first monastery in Hungary. In connection with these anniversaries, several scholarly meetings were held, and in April 1996 we commemorated the event with a conference devoted to the thousand-year history of Pannonhalma. The conference at the arch abbey, co-sponsored by the department, was also a part of our research project on monasticism in Medieval Central Europe. Eighteen scholars from Hungary and abroad, among them six students, faculty and alumni of the department, gave papers, and many of our students attended the three-day meeting. (See the abstracts of the contributions, below, pp. 111–128) The Curriculum Resource Center organized a visit of interested medievalists from the region, among them also alumni of ours, to Budapest and Pannonhalma that coincided with the conference.

The traditional spring field trip, May 17-22, covered more or less the same area as the year before: Southern Bohemia and Prague, with the addition of a short detour into Moravia and Slovakia (see program, p. 27). A few sites were visited now for the first time, and Professor John Klassen from Canada, a his-

torian of Hussite Bohemia, led us on a tour of Tabor. In Kutná Horá we managed to arrive in time for a visit of the old mines. The highlight of our visit to Prague was the tour of the triphorium of St. Vitus Cathedral, arranged and guided by Professor Hana Hlaváčková. The excursion booklet, put together by the students, reflected our growing experience in such undertakings, and we were also pleased to note that quite a few of our young colleagues did not shy away from giving an oral presentation *in situ* and guiding us through a monument they had studied in advance.

Among conferences we should mention our attendance at the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo. The trip started with a short stay in New York, where we had the opportunity to contemplate the beautiful fragment of the Angevin Legendary at the Pierpont Morgan Library. Then at Princeton University József Laszlovszky introduced his Visegrád excavations in a successful public lecture. The road to Kalamazoo then led through Chicago. In Kalamazoo we set up our own stand at the busy book-fair, quite successfully selling our freshly printed *Annual*. In addition to the session on medieval monasticism, where our Ph.D. students enjoyed well-earned success, our contingent also lectured on such other topics as digital images and theories of trance. And the medievalists ended the congress at the traditional last dance party with quite a real trance.

Partly in order to inform colleagues around the world about our program, not all of whom could be offerred the opportunity to teach a seminar, partly to give the year a scholarly éclat at its end, we started a "tradition" of a weeklong interdisciplinary workshop with guests from abroad. For June 1996, we chose the topic "The Year 1000 in Europe", in a way preempting the many millennial events that will be held in the next few years. We asked all speakers to send material for discussion-preferably primary sources-and hold a short introductory lecture followed by a seminar debate on the texts. The combination of lecture and seminar was solved in different ways by the individual lecturers, but all sessions were vivid and interesting. (For the abstracts of the papers, see below, pp. 131–149) The highlight of the event, no doubt, was the participation of Aron Gurevich, who also gave a well-attended public lecture on "The Origins of European Individualism." It was only sad to see that this great scholar, whose work had been appreciated in Budapest and central Europe many years before being accepted in Russia, could not see any more the sites of his visit and the faces of his audience. Since 1994 Aron Iakovlevich's eyesight has deteriorated to the point of virtually complete blindness.

We somewhat miscalculated the mood of our students and our own scheduling capabilitites, however. We set the dates of the workshop for the days after the submission of the M.A. theses, expecting that students would welcome this new and different event. As it turned out, however, most of them were exhausted by the last days' rush of typing and proofreading, and only too happy to have a rest. Thus relatively few of them attended the conference. Furthermore, members of the department had some 17 theses in their hands, which had to be read and adjudicated more or less simultaneously with the workshop, as the defenses followed immediately after. Thus, the faculty was overwhelmed with routine tasks, while trying both to attend the workshop and to be good hosts to our many guests. (We learned our lesson and in 1997 the workshop was scheduled for early April).

The department's research projects progressed according to plan during 1995/96. The "Women and Power" project was completed in the summer of 1996. The Visual Resources Project continued with its long-term undertakings, since 1996 was the last year of the first research grant (which was actually extended in 1997). The most spectacular of its enterprises was the CD-ROM Database of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary which could be introduced to an international group of experts in November 1995 in Rome, both at the École Française de Rome at its conference on the Angevins of Naples and at the Accademia d'Ungheria. Proudly clicking the mouse in front of the computer screen when presenting our digitalized version of the manuscript illustrations, we did not miss the opportunity to take in hand the precious original at the Vatican Library, after a discussion with the Prefect Leonard Boyle on our research. Besides the CD-ROM about to be distributed we have also progressed on other visual projects (such as the Guide to Photo Archives in Central Europe, Krems cooperation concerning KLEIO databases etc. (see detailed report on pp. 88–100). And, above all we were at last in the position to offer the acquired resources to the M.A. and Ph. D. students in our wellequipped Visual Lab which became the workplace of several young scholars from within and outside of the Department.

In the Spring of 1996 we submitted a new proposal for a comparative research project on noble society in Central and Eastern Europe. It was approved by the CEU Research Board, and planning began in July 1996. This project will bring together scholars from different countries of the region, among them alumni of ours, who work on subjects related to the social history of nobility.

At the June 15, 1996, deadline 17 theses were submitted and sent out to external readers. Improved in format over past years (English grammar and style, academic conventions, etc.) several theses made very strong contributions to scholarship.

After the public defenses, held on June 24-26, presided by our friends, Professors Patrick Geary (UCLA), Simon Forde and Joyce Hill (Leeds), and Herman Braet (Leuven), 15 candidates were awarded the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies on Commencement Day, June 27, six of them "with distinction." Two M.A. theses were accepted on condition that some revisions be made and the work presented to the supervising committee. (Abstracts of the theses can be read below, pp. 38–67) Eight M.A. candidates presented good reasons for extending their defenses till the end of the summer, at which time three of them earned the master's degree; one defended later in 1996/97, and some others are still working on their theses.

We have learned by now that for some of our students a year abroad in an international and interdisciplinary surrounding is of major value, even if they do not complete a master's thesis but return home with a Certificate of Attendance. Most students, however, are able to overcome the multiple cultural, linguistic, and professional challenges even in a short academic year of nine to ten months. It is a very satisfying experience to encounter genuine success stories here. Students whose English is at the beginning, even in midyear, alarmingly faulty, whose training from home is full of gaps and extremely old-fashioned, but who are able to assimilate new methods and approaches, then apply these skills to material in which they feel comfortable and present theses that deserve to be counted as a serious, however small, contribution to knowledge. In 1995/96 we had examples of both extremes as well as a good crop of fair and even outstanding scholarly achievement. It remains, of course, a challenge to formulate a curriculum and offer instruction and guidance for all types of M.A. candidates at the same time. Every year of our operation adds some insights into better ways and means of accomplishing this manifold task.

In the April competition for transfer into the Ph. D. program 17 students (14 from the M.A. class and three former graduates who had spent a year away from CEU) submitted their applications. The admissions committee, consisting of senior resident faculty and three members of the Academic Advisory Board, offered a place to 10 students, pending their successful defense of the M.A. thesis, which all of them accomplished.

With the admission of 29 students to the M.A. class of 1996/97 in July we prepared for the first full slate of one M.A. class and three years of Ph.D. candidates that was to be the "normal" constituency of the program.

It belongs to this 1995/96 Annual to report on the first Summer University course offered by the department. Supported by the OSI's Higher Education Support Program (HESP), this project is aimed at young professionals, especially junior faculty, in Central and Eastern Europe and introduces them in short two to four-week courses to the modern methods and skills in fields of CEU's competence. Our Department ran a month-long Summer University on *Computing in Medieval Studies* during July 1996. Its main organizer and director, Professor Gerhard Jaritz regularly teaches computing classes for

medievalists within the Department. Other instructors included Axel Bolvig (Copenhagen), Milena Dobreva (Sofia), Michael Greenhalgh (Australia), Kevin Kiernan (Kentucky), Seamus Ross (British Academy), and Manfred Thaller (Göttingen). The Summer University aimed at presenting the most recent international resources and developments in computer-supported methods of research to a public wider than the Medieval Studies students: teachers, researchers, junior university professors, and museologists from the region. Twenty applicants from seven countries of East-Central Europe took part in the Summer University course. The participants worked with the various CD-rom's available in the Department's Visual Laboratory (IMB, Cetedoc, In Principio), different image collections including the videodisk databases of the miniatures of the Vatican Library, the "Orbis" or the "REAL" databases and the "KLEIO" system of source-oriented data processing.

In July, a group of our students and professors had the chance to participate in the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. Professor János Bak gave the first keynote lecture of the conference on "Medieval Studies in the New Millenium: Medieval Studies in Central Europe Close to the Year 2000." A number of Ph.D. students (Adelina Angusheva, Margaret Dimitrova, Rossina Kostova, Dimitri Mishin, Stefan Nikolov and Anneli Randla), professors (János Bak, József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy) and alumni (Irena Benyovsky and Kiril Petkov) presented papers in various sessions. We also offered four M.A. students (István Bugár, Ingrid de Pourcq, Anu Mänd, and Irma Karaulashvili) a longer stay through the Leeds Graduate Conference and Summer School.

ACTIVITIES/EVENTS IN 1995/96

1995

SEPTEMBER

- 1-3 Departmental excursion to Western Hungary: Veszprém, Sopron, Pannonhalma, Tihany, (for program, see below, p. 25)
- 4 Academic year begins (preparatory period through September)
- 19 Public lecture by Simon Forde, University of Leeds, on "International Medieval Bibliography"

OCTOBER

- 9 Public lecture by Tony O'Rourge, Chadwick-Healy Ltd., on "Patrologia Latina Database on CD-ROM"
- 13 Public lecture by Ruth Mellinkoff, Los Angeles, on "Titian's Pastoral Landscape"
- 19 Public lecture by Herwig Wolfram, Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Universität Wien, on "Narrative in Medieval Charters"

NOVEMBER

- **3-5** Academic excursion to Vienna and Heiligenkreuz (for program, see below, p. 26)
- 22 Academic Board Meeting
- 24 Public lecture by Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, Princeton University, on "The Magdeburg Rider and the Law"
- 26-28 Lecture series by Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard University, "Notes on the Reception of Gregory of Nazianzus in Byzantium and Eastern Europe"

Recruitment trips to Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia

DECEMBER

- **1** Public lecture by Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard University, on "Ernst H. Kantorowicz as Student of Late Antiquity and Byzantium"
- 8 Public lecture by Christian Krötzl, University of Tampere, on "Heilige, Menschen und Mirakel"

1996

FEBRUARY

- 20 Accreditation of the Ph.D. degree in Medieval Studies by the Board of Regents of the State of New York
- 21 "Encounters of East and West in Medieval Europe" public lecture series begins with Sergey Ivanov, Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, Moscow, on "The Saint in the Whore-house"
- 28 "Encounters" public lecture by Aleksei Lidov, Center for Eastern
 Christian Culture, Moscow, on "The Symbolism of Church Decoration in Byzantium and Medieval Rus"

MARCH

- **1** "Encounters" public lecture by Vladimír Kajlík, Mariánské Lazně, on "The Apocrypha in the East"
 - 5 Public lecture by Michael Gervers, University of Toronto, on "New Methods in the Dating of Medieval Charters"
 - 6 "Encounters" public lecture by Sergey Karpov, Moscow State University, on "Encounters of Civilizations in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries"
 - 11 Public lecture by Herman Braet, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, on "Guilhem IX the First Troubadour and the Origins of Poetry"
 - **11** Public lecture by Neithard Bulst, Universität Bielefeld, on "Medieval Religious and Social Attitudes to Plague"
 - 12 "Encounters" public lecture by Vladimír Vavřínek, Slavonic Institute, Prague, on "The Case of Great Moravia"
 - 13 Public lecture by Carlos Steel, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, on "The Exegesis of Augustine, Maximus Confessor, and John Scot Eriugena"
 - 21-23 International conference on "The Interactions of Monastic Cultures in Medieval Europe", Pannonhalma, Benedictine Abbey, Hungary (For complete program, see below, pp. 109–110)

APRIL

- **10** Public lecture by Frank Trombley, University of Wales, on "The Slavic *Landnahme* in Early Medieval Greece"
- 12 Public lecture by Miri Rubin, Pembroke College, Oxford, on "Violence, Image, and Memory in Late Medieval Europe"
- 17 Public lecture by Ralph Cleminson, University of Portsmouth, on "Isosyllabism in Old Slavonic Texts"
- 24 Public lecture by Karl Brunner, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems, on "Dealing with Miracles"
- 26 Public lecture by Ian Blanchard, University of Edinburgh, on "Europe's Age of Silver"

MAY

- 8-12 Participation in the 31st International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, Michigan
- 17-22 Academic excursion to Southern Bohemia, Prague, and Slovakia (for program, see below, pp. 27)
- 24 Public lecture by Walter Kahn, Yale University, on "The Leaning Tower of Pisa"

JUNE

- Approval of the departmental research program on Nobility in Medieval and Early Modern East-Central Europe
- **17-23** Interdisciplinary Workshop on "The Year 1000 in Europe" (For detailed program, see below, pp. 129–130)
- 24-26 Graduation week for the 1995/96 class and commencement

JULY

First Summer University of CEU, with a course on *Computing in Medieval Studies*

(for program, see below, pp. 106–107)

8-11 Participation in the 3rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Leeds; CEU-organized sessions: "Mendicant Orders in East-Central European Towns" and "Medieval Images of Balkan Slavs"

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ACADEMIC EXCURSIONS

FIRST EXCURSION, WESTERN HUNGARY September 1-3, 1995

September 1, Friday

Morning Visit to Öskü, Rotunda-Mosque Veszprém: walk in the city, visit to the cathedral, Gizella chapel, Castle Afternoon Pannonhalma, Benedictine abbey, visit to the monastery, library, and abbey church Fertőd Castle – accommodation

September 2, Saturday

Morning Departure from Fertőd to Sopron, en route Hidegség – Church frescoes *Afternoon* Sopron Accommodation at Sitke Castle

September 3, Sunday

Morning Visit to Szigliget Castle's excavations Afternoon Free time at Lake Balaton Tihany Benedictine abbey Arrive in Budapest in the evening

FALL EXCURSION, VIENNA November, 3-5, 1995

November 3, Friday

Afternoon Schatzkammer – János Bak and József Laszlovszky Kunsthistorisches Museum, presentation of the Nagyszentmiklós Treasury by Herwig Wolfram, then visit the Institute of History Evening Free program

November 4, Saturday

Morning

Österreichische Galerie/ Lower Belvedere – Medieval Panel Paintings and Sculptures

with Gerhard Jaritz and Béla Zsolt Szakács; other exhibitions of the museum *Afternoon*

Medieval Burghers' House – Neithart-frescos – Gerhard Jaritz Stephansdom, Schottenstift (Monastery of the Scots)

November 5, Sunday

Morning

Optional: Akademie der bildenden Künste, Hieronymus Bosch, "Last Judgement"

Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum for Applied Arts)

Afternoon

Departure from Vienna, visit the Heiligenkreuz Cistercian monastery with József Laszlovszky

SPRING EXCURSION, BOHEMIA May 17-22, 1996

May 17, Friday

Travel through Győr-Bratislava *Afternoon* Zdăr nad Sázavou–Cistercian exhibition, Green Hill St. John of Nepomuk Pilgrim Church Třebič–Monastery Church and Frescoes

May 18, Saturday

Departure from Telč to Jindřichùv Hradec–Visit to the Castle and the Minorite Church Zlatá Koruna–Cistercian Monastery and Church *Late Afternoon* Arrival to Český Krumlov

May 19, Sunday

Departure from Český Krumlov to Tabor Presentation of Professor John Klassen on the Hussite Movements in the Hussite Museum of Tabor; walk in the town *Afternoon* Kutná Hora–St. Barbara and St. James churches with Hana Hlaváčková, visit to the Museum of Mining, walk in the town *Evening* Arrival to Prague

May 20, Monday

Prague: Jewish Quarter, Vyšehrad, Emmaus Monastery, St. Agnes Monastery

May 21, Tuesday

Morning Prague: National Gallery, St. George Basilica, St. Vitus Church, Charles' Bridge Early afternoon Departure to Olomouc

May 22, Wednesday

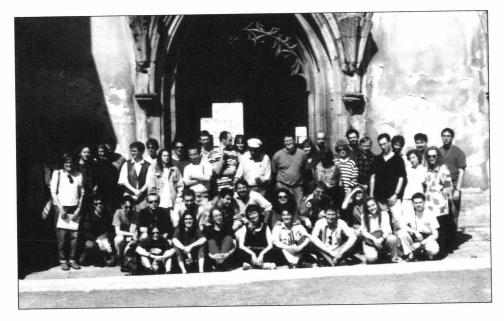
Morning Olomouc, visit to the Dominican Convent Přemyslid Palace and Cathedral Noon Departure to Trenčín (Slovakia) and visit to the Castle Arrive Budapest late evening





Visit to the mines in Kutná Hora

Explaining topography...



Zlatá Koruna

CALENDAR OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1995/96

FALL TRIMESTER, October 2 - December 15, 1995

M.A. THESIS SEMINAR (mandatory, no credit) Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, Henrik Birnbaum, József Laszlovszky, István Perczel

PH.D. SEMINAR (mandatory, 2 credits) Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, József Laszlovszky

ADVANCED ACADEMIC WRITING (mandatory, 2 credits) Mary Beth Davis

SEMINARS & READING COURSES (2 credits or 3 with research paper)

- Hagiography Gábor Klaniczay with Christian Krötzl
- Early Byzantine Monastic Traditions István Perczel with Ihor Ševčenko
- Monastic Archaeology József Laszlovszky
- Guelph Texts and Images Virginia Kaufmann
- Medieval Images of Outcasts and Biblical Women Ruth Mellinkoff
- Humanism in Central Europe Marianna Birnbaum
- Slavic for Medievalists: Language, Culture, History Henrik Birnbaum
- Law and Custom in the Middle Ages János Bak
- Computing for Medievalists I. Gerhard Jaritz

RESEARCH METHODS (1 credit)

- Palaeography and Diplomatics Henrik Birnbaum and László Veszprémy
- Medieval Philosophy György Geréby
- Literature Marianna Birnbaum
- Iconography Ruth Mellinkoff and Béla Zsolt Szakács
- Iconography Virginia Kaufmann and Béla Zsolt Szakács
- Literature Ferenc Zemplényi

CALENDAR OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1995/96

WINTER TRIMESTER, January 8 - March 14, 1996

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M.A. THESIS SEMINAR (mandatory, 2 credits) Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky, Marianne Sághy, István Perczel

PH.D. SEMINAR (mandatory, 2 credits)

Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky,

TRANSLATION SEMINARS (mandatory, 1 credit)

János Bak, István Perczel, Marianne Sághy, Vladimír Vavřínek, Neven Budak, Ferenc Zemplényi

ADVANCED ACADEMIC WRITING (mandatory, 1 credit)

SEMINARS and READING COURSES (2 credits or 3 with research paper)

- History of Everyday Life Gerhard Jaritz
- Medieval Platonism István Perczel with György Geréby, and Carlos Steel
- Funerary Architecture Lívia Varga and Hana Hlaváčková
- Byzantine East and Latin West Vladimír Vavřínek and Aleksey Lidov
- Social History of Early Christianity Marianne Sághy
- Public and Private Space in Medieval Towns Neven Budak
- Courtly Culture and Literature Ferenc Zemplényi and Herman Braet
- Computing for Medievalists II Gerhard Jaritz

RESEARCH METHODS (1 credit)

- Historical Anthropology Gábor Klaniczay
- Gothic Art and Architecture Lívia Varga
- The Bible in the Middle Ages Vladimír Kajlík
- Historical Demography Tamás Faragó
- Prosopography Neithard Bulst

CALENDAR OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1995/96

SPRING TRIMESTER, April 8 - May 16, 1996

M.A. THESIS SEMINAR (mandatory, 2 credits)

Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky, Marianne Sághy, István Perczel

PH.D. SEMINAR (mandatory, 2 credits) Gábor Klaniczay, János Bak, Gerhard Jaritz, József Laszlovszky

TRANSLATION SEMINARS (1 credit)

János Bak, István Perczel, Marianne Sághy, Ferenc Zemplényi

SEMINARS and READING COURSES (2 credits or 3 with research paper)

- From Courtly to Popular Culture Ferenc Zemplényi
- Crime, State and Public Order in Medieval Europe Hanna Zaremska
- "Magic" in the Middle Ages Gábor Klaniczay with Miri Rubin
- Muslim Christian Relations in the Middle Ages Hanna Kassis
- Text Edition János Bak and Marianne Sághy
- Genealogy as Social Science Szabolcs de Vajay

RESEARCH METHODS (1 credit)

- Archaeology József Laszlovszky
- Economic History Balázs Nagy with Ian Blanchard

ACADEMIC EXCURSION, May 16 - 21

Southern Bohemia, Prague

M.A. THESIS WRITING WORKSHOPS, May 22 - June 14

(all resident and visiting faculty)

Interdisciplinary Workshop "The Year 1000 in Europe," June 17 - June 23 Aron I. Gurevich, Richard Landes, Patrick Geary, Šima Čirković, Hanna Kassis, Pierre Riché, Evelyne Patlagean, Lech Leciejewicz, Paul Freedman, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, Knut Görich

DEFENSE OF M.A. THESES, June 24-June 26

COMMENCEMENT, June 27

M.A. CLASS OF 1996

The following list provides information on our graduate students in the following order:

name, country, undergraduate university, title of M.A. thesis, TD=**thesis di**rector, EE=external examiner, thesis result.

ATANASSOVA, DESSISLAVA (Bulgaria)

Sofia University, 1985-1990

Saint Wenceslas' Hagiography in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries TD: Gábor Klaniczay EE: Dušan Třeštík, Institute of History, AV ČR Prague

accepted, September 1996

BARA, ADRIAN (Romania)

University of Bucharest, 1990-1994

The Brâncovenești (Vécs) Castle: An Architectural Study

TD: József Laszlovszky EE: Tibor Koppány, Institute of Archaeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest *accepted*

BLOKH, VALENTINA (Russia)

Moscow State University, 1989-1994

Comparative Analysis of Poetic Forms in Old Hungarian, Polish, and Croatian Poetry

TD: Ferenc Zemplényi and Iván Hortváth, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

EE: László Szörényi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest accepted September 1996

BUGÁR, ISTVÁN (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1987-1994

The Formation of a Christian Cult with Images: A Critical Survey of the Literary Evidence from Constantine to Justinian

TD: István Perczel

EE: Evelyne Patlagean, Université Paris-X, Nanterre *accepted*

CHUMBURIDZE, LELA (Georgia)

Tbilisi State University, 1986-1991

Greek Sources of the Georgian Translation of St. Clement's Martyrdom

TD: István Perczel thesis not yet submitted

DE POURCQ, INGRID (Belgium)

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1988-1994

Short Narrative Genres in Medieval French Literature: Aims, Transmission, Reception

TD: Ferenc Zemplényi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest EE: Herman Braet, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven accepted

DIMITROV, DIMITAR (Bulgaria)

University of Veliko Târnovo, 1987-1992

The Westerners Through the Eyes of the Byzantine Intellectuals

TD: István Perczel EE: Evelyne Patlagean, Université Paris-X, Nanterre accepted after revisions

GOLEMAN, WOJCIECH (Poland)

Catholic University of Lublin, 1991-1995

Political Ideas in the Historiographical Works of Italian Humanists in Poland and Hungary in the Late Fifteenth Century

TD: János Bak thesis not yet submitted

HOMZA, MARTIN (Slovakia)

Komensky University of Bratislava, 1985-1990 **The Image of Saint Ludmila in Bohemian Hagiography** TD: János Bak and Gábor Klaniczay EE: Vladimir Vavřínek, Slavonic Institute, Prague accepted after revisions

HUNYADI, ZSOLT (Hungary)

József Attila University, Szeged, 1991-1996 The Central Convent of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Hungary as a Place of Authentication up to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century TD: János Bak and József Laszlovszky EE: Iván Borsa, Hungarian National Archive, Budapest

accepted

JANČOVSKI, TIHOMIR (Macedonia)

University of Skopje, 1987-1991

The Existing Medieval Monasteries in the Region of Skopje

TD: Gerhard Jaritz and József Laszlovszky *thesis not yet submitted*

JUHÁSZ, ÁGNES (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1987-1992

Bartholomeus Frankfordinus Pannonius

TD: Ferenc Zemplényi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest EE: Marianna Birnbaum, UCLA *submitted and accepted January* 1997

KANANOVICH, VLADZIMIR (Belorussia)

Grodno State University, 1986-1991

The Making of International Agreements in the Late Medieval Grand Duchy of Lithuania

TD: János Bak EE: Aleksander Gieysztor, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw accepted

KARAULASHVILI, IRMA (Georgia)

Tbilisi State University, 1987-1992

Armenian Versions of the Abgar Legend

TD: István Perczel

EE: Alain Desreumaux, École Pratiques des Hautes Études, Paris accepted

KLAVINS, KASPAR (Latvia)

University of Latvia, 1986-1992

The Medieval History of Latvia as an Example for Historical Evaluation and Interpretation from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

TD: János Bak thesis not yet submitted

LA SALVIA, VASCO (Italy)

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Università degli studi "La Sapienza" di Roma

Archaeometallurgy of Lombard Swords

TD: József Laszlovszky EE: István Bóna, Institute of Archeology, Budapest accepted with distinction LEKOVA, SVETLANA (Bulgaria) Sofia University, 1985-1991 "Others" in the Medieval Bulgarian Kingdom between the Twelfth and **Fourteenth Centuries** TD: Gerhard Jaritz thesis submitted to be defended June 1997 LOTMENTSEV, ANDREI (Russia) Moscow State University, 1991-1995 A Social and Economic History of Zagreb between 1350-1450 TD: Neven Budak thesis not yet submitted MAJOROSSY, JUDIT (Hungary) Janus Pannonius University, Pécs, 1988-1994 Irish Monastic Presence in Late Medieval Europe TD: Gerhard Jaritz and Gábor Klaniczay EE: Karl Brunner, Institut für Realienkunde, Krems accepted with distinction MÄND, ANU (Estonia) Tartu University, 1986-1992 Liturgical Vessels in Medieval Livonia TD: Gerhard Jaritz EE: Lívia Varga, University of Toronto accepted with distinction MATULA, JOZEF (Slovakia) Palacky University, Olomouc, 1991-1994 Imagination in Thomas Aquinas TD: György Geréby thesis not yet submitted MUZUR, AMIR (Croatia) University of Rijeka, 1988-1993 Miraculous Healings in the Late Middle Ages TD: Gábor Klaniczay EE: Patrick Geary, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA accepted

NIKOLOV, ALEXANDER (Bulgaria)

University of Sofia, 1990-1995

The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century and its Consequences

TD: József Laszlovszky and István Perczel EE: István Vásáry, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest accepted

PANCHOVSKY, ILYIA (Bulgaria)

University of Sofia, 1990-1995

The Analytical Classification of Sciences in the Context of the Restoration through Education in the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of Saint Victor

TD: György Geréby thesis not yet submitted

PETROFF, VALERY (Russia)

Institute of Philosophy, Moscow, 1991-1995

Aulae Siderae: The World by Eriugena

TD: György Geréby EE: Pierre Riché, Paris *accepted*

ROSSIG, MARINA (Croatia)

University of Zagreb, 1989-1993

Heroic Narrative Patterns in the Early Lives of St. Guthlac

TD: Gábor Klaniczay and Katalin Halácsy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest EE: Joyce Hill, University of Leeds

accepted with distinction

SILLASOO, ÜLLE (Estonia)

University of Tartu, 1984-1989

Daily Food and Meal Traditions in Late Medieval Tartu, Estonia (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)

TD: József Laszlovszky and Gerhard Jaritz EE: Ulrich Willerding, University of Göttingen *accepted*

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SZABADOS, IMRE (Hungary)

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1989-1994

The Letter of Prester John in the *Nagyenyed Manuscript* and its Broader Cultural Context

TD: Ferenc Zemplényi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest and Gábor Klaniczay *thesis not yet submitted*

TÂNÂSA, ZVETLANA-MIHAELA (Romania)

University of Iasi, 1987-1995

ELTE Codex Graecus 2 and Some Problems of Editing a Chrysostomian Text TD: István Perczel

EE: Ihor Ševèenko, Harvard University accepted September 1996

TSERETELI, CONSTANTIN (Georgia)

Tbilisi State University, 1989-1994

The Georgian Translation of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite

TD: István Perczel thesis not yet submitted

VILIMAS, JONAS (Lithuania)

Lithuanian Academy of Music, 1985-1992

Gregorian Sanctorale in the Archdiocese of Gniezno in the Late Middle Ages: A Case of Four Saints

TD: László Dobszay, Institute of Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

EE: Nancy van Deusen, The Claremont Graduate School *accepted with distinction*

ABSTRACTS OF THE M.A. THESES

SAINT WENCESLAS' HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Dessislava Atanassova (Bulgaria)

The thesis aimed at comparing the legends written up to the mid-eleventh century with the lives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The comparison was done according to the peculiarities of the content. The main two questions were, first, what kind of changes appeared, and second, how did the notion of Wenceslas' sanctity and his image as a saint change?

In later lives of Wenceslas, three types of changes were established: the appearance of narrative elements completely unknown in the earlier tradition, created by hagiographers or drawn from the chronicle tradition; structural transposition of elements known by the earlier lives, but rearranged and reinterpreted; and third, a modification, transformation, and elaboration of certain purely hagiographic themes and motifs, which were known by the earlier lives, but which acquired functions and emphases different from the previous. Regarding these changes, two main tendencies can be traced. The image of Wenceslas as a saint was affected by the state-political interpretations and the growing popularity of his cult; also, his image was modified in accordance with the evolution of criteria for Christian perfection.

Regarding the three types of changes, I observed the following:

1. The main change in the content of the lives consists in the appearance of narrative elements completely unknown in the earlier tradition. Concerning the *vita*, there are two such changes, namely the story about his *miraculous* appearance in the court of the Emperor, and the story about the forester. In turn, miracula appear to be quantitatively much more affected by changes. The appearance of the story in the Court of the Emperor and the new miracles about the vision of the Danish King Eric and about the German who was struck dumb (both taken not from hagiographic, but from historical sources), could be interpreted as a sign of the popularity and spread of St. Wenceslas' cult.

2. The structural transposition of the Kouřim episode from *miracula* to *vita* indicates considerable change in its interpretation. On the one hand, the episode appears to be a manifestation of Wenceslas as a zealous propagator of

Christianity, which in the later lives became the dominant perspective of his sanctity. On the other hand, the transposition of the Kouřim motif, in association with the victorious battles of the king, appears to introduce a new function of Wenceslas as a helper in battles and the national patron of Bohemia.

3. The theme of Wenceslas as an ascetic saint underwent an evolution and some of the motifs, as for example, the motif of the Eucharist prepared by him, acquired a new meaning, demonstrating his humility. At the same time, new emphasis is given to the motifs of Wenceslas' compassion, mercy, and charity. Thus, St. Wenceslas acquired the dimensions of the image of an ideal ruler and became *Rex christianissimus*, *Doctor*, and *Apostolus noster*. All of these changes correspond to the modern ideal of sainthood.

THE BRÂNCOVENEȘTI (VÉCS) CASTLE AN ARCHITECTURAL STUDY

Adrian Octavian Bara (Romania)

My interest in castles and architectural preservation determined as the subject of the present research a less well-known monument, the study of the Brâncoveneşti castle, which I want to integrate in to the field of art history.

In the present work I gathered unpublished sources without which the architectural study of the castle could not be carried out, such as: a detailed architectural description of the present-day castle, to which the plans of the building were added; the transliteration *in extenso* from old Hungarian of the 1648 inventory of the castle; a complete catalogue of the carved stones preserved within the monument; the plans of the castle designed by the architect István Möller around 1900. The visual material consists of previously unpublished photos from the turn of the century and photos of the carved stones made personally. Unfortunately there is no archaeological data available.

At this stage of the research the main purpose was to appraise the sources collected in order to provide a foundation for further research. The material permitted me to focus on the stages of construction of the castle by applying a comparative method. The Gothic and Renaissance carved stones do not sustain a dating earlier than the fifteenth century. The building was completed between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century on an additive principle, the very first stage consisting in a courtyard and the east wing. In 1648 inventory the first storey is completed and the second one used for defense. In the eighteenth century the second story was built up.

Concerning further research I intend to pursue on this monument, I want to develop the architectural analyses and to relate the castle with the development of military history; to find the most relevant stylistic analogues for the carved stones; to add a collection of charters in which the castle is mentioned in order to establish the relationship between the terms by which the castle is named and the type of building these terms designate at a certain time; to establish the state of the monument in the thirteenth century and to relate it with the problem of the square-shape castles.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POETIC FORMS IN OLD HUNGARIAN, POLISH, AND CROATIAN POETRY

Valentina Blokh (Russia)

The purpose of my work was to establish mutual affinities in strophic structures of old Hungarian, Polish, and Croatian poetry and to find the differences between them through studying the rhyme schemes. I started my research equipped with the knowledge of the main characteristics of typical Western European (Provençal, French, Italian, and German) strophes. One of these features is the potential of the strophe to be subdivided on several levels; my special attention was drawn by the characteristic division of the Western strophe into parts called the *frons* and the *cauda*. As shown by Hungarian scholar Csaba Szigeti, the strophe possessing *frons/cauda* division can be recognized by its necessarily beginning with rhymes ab and the appearance of the rhyme *c* in the middle of the strophe. Since I intended to discover to what extent an average Central European strophe is similar to the Western, my major task was to establish the significance of the strophes possessing *frons/cauda* divisions in old Hungarian, Polish, and Croatian poetry.

I used two methods. First, I analysed large stocks of Polish and Croatian (Dalmatian) poetry by searching for these poems and comparing them with the percentage of poems with other types of rhyming. I had at my disposal the metric repertoire of the Hungarian poetry of the sixteenth century, and I used it for my conclusions concerning the peculiarities of Hungarian strophics. Second, I searched for the examples of such forms, as well as the sonnet, the octave, and the sextain, in analysed poems because, as it was stressed by Szigeti, the appearance of these forms indicates that the *frons/cauda* division is attaining more significance in that particular type of strophics. In the framework of this problem, I also resorted to references in monographs on the history of Polish and Croatian literature and metrics, to the information on Hungarian strophics provided by Csaba Szigeti and Iván Horváth, and the history of European systems of versification by Mihail L. Gasparov.

Having accomplished this work, I found that, in terms of their strophics, the three types of poetry analysed show more affinities to each other than to Western poetry, since in old Hungarian, Polish, and Croatian poetry the predominant strophic structure is the simple monorhymed strophe, not the strophe with the *frons/cauda* division. However, the Western strophe played a more significant role in Polish than in Croatian and Hungarian poetry. This strophe comprises about 10% for the period from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. In addition, I found many examples of the sonnet, the octave, and also the sextain in Polish poetry of this period. In fifteenth-sixteenth century Dalmatian poetry, strophes with the frons/cauda division, including sonnets and octaves, are missing. However, the conception of the complex strophe obtained partial realization in frequently-used strophes with the ab beginning and in the strophes with refrain and anaphoric parallelism. In Hungarian poetry of the sixteenth century neither *frons/cauda* strophes nor ab strophes were widespread, possibly due to linguistic peculiarities of the agglutinative Hungarian language.

I refrained from drawing any other conclusions, considering my research as focusing on the technical study of rhyme schemes. This does not exclude wide-range possibilities of treating my results in different fields of scholarly interest. For example, the theory of John Lotz concerning the decisive character of geographic position in the similarities of systems of versification is supported by my results. Furthermore, the scanty presence of Western strophes in Central European literature can be explained by the fact that, in this region, courtly literature in its Western form was missing.

The Formation of a Christian Cult with Images: A Critical Survey of the Literary Evidence from Constantine to Justinian

István Bugár (Hungary)

One of the most exciting questions of church history is how Christianity appropriated the use of religious images. The tensions between the principles of the old dispensation and the new attitude towards images finally culminated in the Iconoclastic Controversy. Thus, the study of the development of the cult of images at their birth, that is to say to survey icons before iconoclasm, can claim the interest of religious and cultural historians, scholars of art, and theologians simultaneously.

The period that presents the greatest number of open questions and has

not yet received a systematic treatment is that of the fourth and the fifth centuries, from the Peace of the Church until Justinian's ascension to the throne, whose reign is a boundary mark in history in many ways. This thesis aims at a detailed study of the literary evidence for the cult of icons in this epoch.

It is no wonder that the Peace of the Church gave rise to the rapid development not only of theology, but also of the art of the Church. Christianity was open to new influences to an incomparably greater extent than before. In order to filter and to assimilate these new influences a long struggle was necessary. This thesis draws attention to the fact that the most critical period, as far as images are concerned, was the period I undertook to investigate.

First, I draw into the discussion texts that were completely ignored by the scholarly literature (besides several minor passages the most important *nova* are two sections from the treatise of Zacchaeus (408/10) and the *Itinerary* of Egeria) and exploit the already known evidence (especially that of Eusebius) better. Secondly, I point out how unique and crucial the position of the iconoclastic fragments attributed to Epiphanius is. Indeed, for a study dealing with this period, the most critical point is to decide whether these writings are really by the respected Church Father or not, since they contain far the richest data concerning the epoch studied. In spite of the unanimous consensus in the scholarly literature after World War II, in the chapter dealing with the Epiphanian writings, I have shown that it is less plausible to decide for their authenticity.

THE CENTRAL CONVENT OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN HUNGARY AS A PLACE OF AUTHENTICATION UP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Zsolt Hunyadi (Hungary)

This project aimed to provide a close investigation of the Székesfehérvár convent of the Knights of St. John as a place of authentication. A brief presentation of the international and Hungarian history of the Order served as a general introduction to the analysis of the establishment of this institution as one of trustworthiness, as well as to the early chronicle of the house itself.

This scrutiny was based on the surviving charters which were issued by the convent between 1243 and 1353. Nearly one hundred charters were investigated according to their external and internal features and their contents. The evaluation and analysis of the compiled typologies determined the place of the Székesfehérvár convent in the context of other similar establishments. Hence, it can be stated that the work of the convent's *scriptorium* entirely corresponded to that of the other Hungarian places of authentication as it did not assume foreign (e.g., French) patterns, but adopted elements which had evolved within their own institutional system. The convent's activity was very important from the point of view of the prestige of the convent and, at the same time, of the Order as a whole.

Besides the palaeographical and diplomatical features, this thesis investigated and presented the use of seals in the convent and redefined the *terminus ante quem* of the memorial seal. In addition, up to the present, the most complete list of the convent's personnel has been reconstructed, including both the known dignitaries and the subordinate members. Regarding the territorial sphere of authority of the convent, the results of the investigation proved that there is no ground to assume "national" jurisdiction of the Székesfehérvár convent as a place of authentication before the middle of the fourteenth century. This paper has also filled one of the gaps in the general history of these institutions since many have not yet been studied.

Beyond the direct results of this analysis, the indirect purpose of such research is to contribute to further studies concerning the history of this central convent of the Knights of St. John. Since current national scholaschip lacks the basis which is necessary for an overall history of the Hungarian-Slavonic Priory of the Order, my initial work could be a starting point for future investigations.

SHORT NARRATIVE GENRES IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE: AIMS, TRANSMISSION, RECEPTION

Ingrid De Pourcq (Belgium)

This thesis completes the results of a previous study I made of the formal aspects of the short narrative genres in Old French literature between 1150 and 1350, by focusing on the question of how each of them functioned in twelfth-century society. The investigation was to reveal whether there are any similarities or differences from one genre to another, in this case between collected proverbs, fables, and any other didactic tales.

My analyses of the aim, transmission, and reception, respectively, of each of these genres have made clear that slight differences can be found only concerning the aim of a genre. In the transmission and reception there appears rather an historical evolution than a synchronic differentiation between the genres. Actually, results are only significant when talking about a single work, or even a text variant in a manuscript, and about its primary aim and destination. The multiplication and diffusion of a work obscures any insight into its "function" in medieval society. Once the contact with the original is lost – and we rarely possess the autograph of a work – intention, transmission, and reception vary according to the circumstances of each copy and not according to conventions which would be inherent to the genre. In the case of works belonging to different genres, these conditions become very similar, for several genres are assembled in one manuscript.

Consequently it is convenient to question the possibility of a classification of the short narrative genres and rethink the concept of genre as such by putting the emphasis on the individual works that comprise it. Instead of defining a genre as an historical group or family of works, I would refer to genre as a "cluster" or works and to works as a cluster of texts, with certain common characteristics on the formal, thematical, and functional levels. Such a "textual" conception of genre entitles us to account for the gradual development of the genre, which is altered by the creation of each new work joining it. The field of genres thus consists of clusters of works and texts concentrated around an aggregate of characteristics which could be considered as "pivots". By the addition of new works in history, the configuration of these pivots and their clusters constantly changes. (Works that are generally labelled as hybrid or unclassifiable can now be placed in the space which separates the clusters from each other, at equal distance between two or more pivots.) Contemporary computer technologies should make possible in the future to visualise this milky way of genres, works, and texts, suns, planets, and moons.

THE WESTERNERS THROUGH THE EYES OF THE BYZANTINE INTELLECTUALS

Dimitar Dimitrov (Bulgaria)

My task in this thesis was to investigate the image of the Western people created by the representatives of the Byzantine intellectual élite from the eleventh century until the beginning of the thirteenth century. The systematization of views, attitudes and prejudices is made in the context of a comparative study of some historical works and polemical treatises from the period.

The first chapter examines historical works and books of instruction written in the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. It is to be noted that in the histories and books of instruction written in the 1060s, 1070s and 1080s, namely the works of Michael Psellos, Kekaumenos, and Attaleiates, there is relatively little interest in the West and Westerners. In the case of Anna Komnena, the notions of confirming self identity are clearly expressed due to the fact that the princess was a witness to the events connected with the First Crusade, and she was also well acquainted with the policy of her father Alexios.

The historical works of John Kinnamos, Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niketas Choniates are taken into consideration in the second chapter. The tendency towards a growing awareness of the collision between the two halves of Christendom is remarkable. In the works of Eustathios and Choniates, the negativism against the Westerners is balanced by a severe criticism of their own society as well.

The third chapter deals with polemical works, treatises and pamphlets, which were produced in abundance in the period under consideration. In these works we can notice a trend to move from a conciliatory tone (Niketas Stethatos and Theophylaktos of Bulgaria) towards clear distrust and animosity (Konstantinos Stilbes), somehow in contrast with the inclinations in the historical writings. The question which remains to be answered is whether the tendency of growing animosity in the polemical works was due to the characteristics of the genre, or rather to the influence of popular views prone to blend the cultural differences with theological issues.

THE IMAGE OF SAINT LUDMILA IN BOHEMIAN HAGIOGRAPHY

Martin Homza (Slovakia)

As a hagiographical figure, Saint Ludmila stands on the margin of the modern Czech and European historiographical investigations. However, her importance both as a representative of a certain type of sainthood and as a female figure require further research. Another reason for writing this thesis was the position of Ludmila among the other saintly women in East-Central Europe such as Saint Olga, the Czech-Polish Doubravka, the Bavarian-Hungarian Gisela, and the Croatian Jelena (Helen).

Regarding the question of time, Ludmila was not only the first saintly woman among the women saints of the given area, but also, due to the position of Bohemia in the tenth-thirteenth centuries, probably the model saint for other women in this part of Europe. This is especially true in case of Saint Olga from Rus'. In the development of her cult, Saint Ludmila served as the model saint just as much her grandson, Saint Wenceslas influenced the development of the cult of Boris and Gleb and later of Saint Vladimir. Therefore a complex analysis of the hagiographical figure of Ludmila in the written sources no later than the reign of Charles IV was the first step to specify the kind of sainthood which Saint Ludmila represented.

According to the place of Saint Ludmila in early Czech legends, the sources were divided into three main groups: the Saint Ludmila cycle, the Saint Wenceslas cycle and a special division including only one hagiographical monument, the Homily Factum est. Each group includes several images. These were identified and then defined. The first stage of the development of her image in the Saint Ludmila cycle, was the embodiment of christian virtues, and the image of an educated woman, if the theory of the early origin of the *Menaion* version of the *First Church* Slavonic Life of Saint Wenceslas is accepted, and not least in significance, that of a martyr. However, the turning point for the development of the Saint Ludmila image was the Legenda Christiani. In this source, for the first time Saint Ludmila appears with her saint grandson and this source already incorporates all of her basic images, which in clear form only appeared as derivations in the Saint Wenceslas cycle. An example of this is the dream of young Wenceslas and his own interpretation of it, in the sense that the death of Ludmila can be understood as synonymous with the expulsion of the clergymen from Bohemia. The Saint Wenceslas legends did not focus much attention on the Ludmila image, but considered her as a side figure whose main role was merely that of an auxiliary to the figure of Saint Wenceslas. In spite of this, there were several images of Saint Ludmila included in these legends which can be formulated as follows: Ludmila as a well-educated woman (in relatively later legends as Oriente iam sole and Ut Annuncietur), Ludmila as a symbol of the Bohemian Christianity as a whole in the conflict against paganism (conflict between her and her daughter-in-law Drahomir).

These images and others were enriched by the author of *Factum est*, the Homily devoted to the glory of Saint Ludmila. In this literary monument, Ludmila was considered to be the first Christian (morning star) in Bohemia. In general, Ludmila in this source acts in the first place as a Mother, then as the Patroness of the Czech people, the Czech clerics and Czech Church; and finally she is considered as the Intercessor of the Czechs in Heaven. All these functions of the Ludmila figure in the Homily were considered as functions which are significant for the Virgin Mary. Which suggest that she herself was taken as a model for this literary work.

The image of Empress Helen is not demonstrated clearly enough in the Ludmila sources. However, it was suggested that she could have been used as a model for the Ludmila figure as well. There was a visible tendency towards following such a model not only in tenth-century Bohemia, but also in Rus' (Olga), and supposedly in Croatia (Jelena). There were various saintly women in East-Gentral Europe, such as Doubravka and Gisela who played similar roles, in a variety of shapes and forms, in the conversion of their countries to Christianity. Therefore, Labunka's term, *mulieres suadentes* (persuading women), was used as an expression to describe this kind of women.

However, this image, along with several others which deal with Saint Ludmila, remains a mystery, and there are several questions which need to be answered, if they are to be solved. What are the features which are characteristic for this type, and what are the differences with contemporary Western women? What are the connections between the new set of saintly women in East-Central Europe from the twelfth, thirteenth century and this first set? For a better understanding of this complex character of medieval hagiography, answers to these questions must be found. There is a need to fill the gap which has appeared in the study of the life and image of Saint Ludmila, and my research will provide the foundation for future work on this topic.

The Making of International Agreements In the Late Medieval Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Vladzimir Kananovich (Belorussia)

In my research I made an attempt to reconstruct the procedure and ritual of making international agreements in the late medieval (ca. 1390 - ca. 1550) Grand Duchy of Lithuania [GDL]. The ceremony of ratification and symbology of the rituals received particular attention. My study suggests that these procedures passed through two periods. First, under Vitovt (1392 - 1430), the ruler himself negotiated, concluded, and ratified international agreements. Unfortunately, the available fragmentary pieces of information are not sufficient to reconstruct diplomatic practice in that early period. It is clear, however, that Vitovt preferred to negotiate and to conclude agreements with his neighbors on the border between the states involved. In the subsequent period the grand dukes of Lithuania found it more convenient to entrust envoys to represent them in the international arena and to make treaties. Nevertheless, the ruler retained for himself the right of ratification of covenants.

An inquiry into the classification of the types of international agreements as well as the terminology, which denoted various aspects of international relations, suggested that the terminology reflected the position of the grand duke of Lithuania in the hierarchy of European rulers and the changes in this position.

My findings in the area of ratification of international agreements suggest that the ceremony of ratification represented a symbolic action with simultaneously legal and religious characters. The ceremonies in relations with Muslim potentates did not differ considerably from those concluded with Christian rulers. Both Christians and Muslims ratified agreements according to their own customs. The sequence of the ceremony of ratification often reflected the state of relations and balance of power between countries. The fact that from the end of the fifteenth century onwards Muscovite-Lithuanian bilateral negotiations always started in Moscow testified to the weakening of the international position of the GDL.

Study of the rituals and ceremonies of contracting agreements and affirming them allowed insights into the international relations of the GDL that may add to the traditional picture based only on the written agreements.

Armenian Versions of the Abgar Legend

Irma Karaulashvili (Georgia)

The *Abgar Legend* is one of the most widespread apocrypha within the entire Armenian literature. It is included in various national historical accounts and in different ecclesiastical and literary collections. The great number of the accounts about King Abgar makes general investigation of the *Legend* very difficult. The versions presented in this thesis, although they are not the only ones preserved in the Armenian tradition, are sufficient for the main task of my thesis, that is, for the demonstration of the process of nationalisation of the *Legend*. I would summarize my main observations in the following:

- 1. The Armenian translations of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea and of the *Doctrine of Addai* gave birth to the national adaptation of the *Legend*.
- 2. The presentation of the *Legend* as part of the national history starts with the *History of Armenia* by Movses Khorenatsi. The content of this account, as well as those of the later historians, follow the Syriac pattern of the *Legend*, based on the story of the correspondence between Abgar and Christ. The motif of the *Edessan Image* common for the Byzantine versions of the *Legend* did not became popular within the Armenian historical tradition.
- 3. The main emphasis in the accounts preserved into the ecclesiastical collections, called *Haismavurk*, is laid mainly on the story of the *Mandylion*, together with the allusion to the Seamless Tunic, a precondition to the further development of the *Legend*. They are influenced by the later, that is to say, Byzantine, pattern of the *Legend*.

- 4. The account of Pseudo-John Chrysostom is a peculiar version, known only from the Armenian literature. It ignores the archaic tradition, that is, the motif of the correspondence, completely, and does not concentrate even on the motif of the *Edessan Image*, but creates a new legend within the *Legend* that of the Seamless Tunic together with that of the 30 silver pieces of Judas.
- 5. The purpose of the nationalization of the Legend seems to be an attempt on the part of the Armenian clergy to prove the old and apostolic origin of the Armenian church. Another reason for the adaptation of the Abgar story was the power and influence of the Armenians in the city of Edessa from Late Antiquity down to the Middle Ages.
- 6. The inclusion of the story of the *Edessan Image* of Christ in the Armenian versions of the *Legend* is the work of the Western Armenian clergy whose main aim was to establish the veneration of the icons in Eastern Armenia. It is this tendency which is reflected in the changes within the main body of the *Abgar Legend*, as well as in the establishment of the feast day of the image in the Armenian ecclesiastical calendar.

As is evident from all these investigations, the Armenian versions of the *Abgar Legend* rank among the most peculiar in the entire tradition of the text. The development of the Abgar story in Armenia was caused not simply by a kind of literary evolution but also by the particular needs of the Armenian clergy. More precisely, during the centuries, the *Legend* was used as a major proof of the ancient origin of the Armenian church. The main aim of my thesis was to show the general development of the *Legend*. Each entry discussed within the main body of the thesis could be a topic for independent research.

Archaeometallurgy of Lombard Swords

Vasco La Salvia (Italy)

The main goal of the present work was an attempt to contribute to this particular field of archaeometallurgy. In the context of the evaluation of Lombard material culture according to István Bóna, archaeometrical information about ironmaking is still lacking. Actually, although the archaeological excavations have yielded evidence of abundant exquisitely-wrought iron implements from graves of the Roman period and cemeteries of both the Lombards and the Gepids, details on the craft of iron-working in the Danube region are not yet available. Since ironworking is connected with and directly influences the development of agriculture, weaponry, and all other branches of craftmanship, it is difficult to consider an evaluation of the material culture complete when it does not cover this crucial field of human activity.

However, when one examines some of the archaeometallurgical data from the Lombard necropolis of Hegykő, that is, swords #65.43.1 and #65.59.1, more information can be gained about the knowledge of the Lombard blacksmiths (referring above all, to the words of Paulus Diaconus: *Arma quoque precipua sub eo* - King Alboin - *fabricata fuisse...*) The evidence yielded from the metallographic analyses indicates a clear trend of continuity in the methods used for swordmaking. The composition of the core of the blade mastered by welding together various metal sheets with different carbon content and the addition of the edges by hammering are the basic common features. Moreover, the edges were apparently worked separately as semiproducts with completely different structural and, therefore, functional qualities. In fact, these were the very parts in which the enhancement of the carbon content was crucial. Nonetheless, such an increase would have been useless without a uniform distribution of the carbon inside the structure.

A comparison between the Pannonian materials and the results of the analyses performed on the sword of the Lombard necropolis of Benevento (Italy) could help to elucidate whether or not the Lombard migration of 568 AD should be regarded as a gap or as a continuity in the developing process of metallurgical technology. This migration was a movement of an entire people and, therefore, can be considered as a way of transmitting technical knowledge through the migration of the craftsmen. Thus, it would also be possible to study the impact of the Lombard migration into Italy, with respect to ironworking, as a relevant key for understanding the further developments in Italian early medieval iron production.

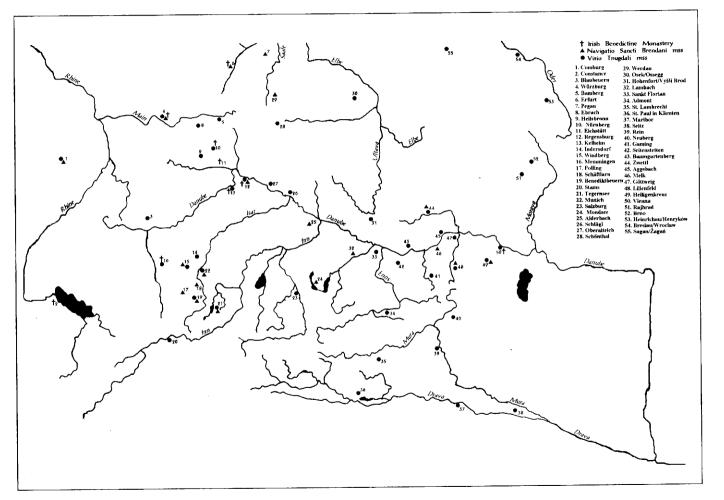
IRISH MONASTIC AND LITERARY PRESENCE IN LATE MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE

Judit Majorossy (Hungary)

The aim of this thesis was to combine the monastic history of the Irish Benedictines in Central Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with an analysis of the spread of literary manuscripts, the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* and the *Visio Tnugdali*, and hagiographical collections, namely, the *Magnum* Legendarium Austriacum, which emerged in the region during the same period. The intention behind the research was to show that it is worthwhile to examine both phenomena at the same time in order to identify other centres of Irish impact, such as Heiligenkreuz, Zwettl, Lilienfeld, Melk, Klosterneuburg, Lambach, Rein, Windberg, Gaming, Tegernsee, Benediktbeuern and Comburg, along with the Irish monasteries usually investigated separately: Regensburg, Würzburg, Nürnberg, Constance, Vienna, Memmingen, Eichstätt, Erfurt, Kelheim. Throughout the thesis I sought to establish the characteristics and position of the Irish monasteries and texts in the monastic cultural life of the Central European region.

During the period of the Irish Benedictines, the Irish ideals conformed well to the reformatory movements of Benedictine monasticism, which paved the way for a revival of continental Irish monastic life. The specific texts which I examined represented the same spirituality, due to which this Irish monastic movement gained its fame, and interacted with the reformatory monasticism of the age, thus paving the way for an indirect Irish impact. The spiritual ideals which were present in Irish Benedictine spirituality and in the texts investigated, namely the severe monastic rule, the importance of asceticism and penance as well as the Irish attitude towards pilgrimage, were more appealing to the monastic world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

My research has thus far concentrated mainly on the German speaking areas of Central Europe (Bavaria, Austria). However, what concerns me foremost now are the questions and issues regarding the regions which lie farther east (Hungary, Poland, Bohemia) and where the traces of Irish influence can only be detected in fragmentary form. In order to study these scattered sources, it was necessary to outline first the character and the evolution of the Irish impact in the territories where it was more evident. My study indicates the possibility of further research into liturgical sources which may yield information about the spread of the cult of Irish saints in Hungary or Poland as well. In general, the scholarship has paid attention to the Irish saints but has largely ignored the problem of their Irish origin. In the future I intend to continue my work along the lines traced above, attempting to provide a more adequate answer to the question of any possible Irish impact in this region: what were the ways the Irish impact penetrated the areas of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia and to what extent did it preserve its Irish character?



ABSTRACTS OF THE M.A. THESES

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LITURGICAL VESSELS IN MEDIEVAL LIVONIA

Anu Mänd (Estonia)

This thesis examines vessels and instruments used in the Roman Catholic liturgy in the Middle Ages. The geographical area chosen is Old Livonia, approximately modern-day Estonia and Latvia, which until now has lacked a study of these vessels as a special group of items. The present study, integrating both historical and art-historical methods, is based to a great extent on the investigation of original objects, which I have attempted to systematize, analyze, connect with medieval written evidence, and compare with the liturgical vessels from other countries.

The first chapter of the thesis examines the written sources from Livonia (church inventories, visitation protocols, account books, testaments, etc.). It can be claimed that almost all types of liturgical vessels used in the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages were also known in Livonia, despite its distant geographical position and relatively late Christianization (thirteenth century). Even the types of objects which, in general, were rarely in use in the late medieval period, or the function of which was modified during the centuries, occasionally occur in the inventories of the major churches of Livonia, a fact that demonstrates the close cultural connections of this area to other parts of medieval Europe. However, as typical of medieval inventories, those from Livonia also listed only such objects that were considered valuable enough to be recorded, i.e., the vessels of greater liturgical importance and of costly and appropriate materials.

The next chapter deals with the goldsmiths in medieval Livonia, with a special focus on their background and the development of the marking system of their works, since these two aspects are most helpful in solving the problems of artistic influences and the possible place of origin of the extant vessels.

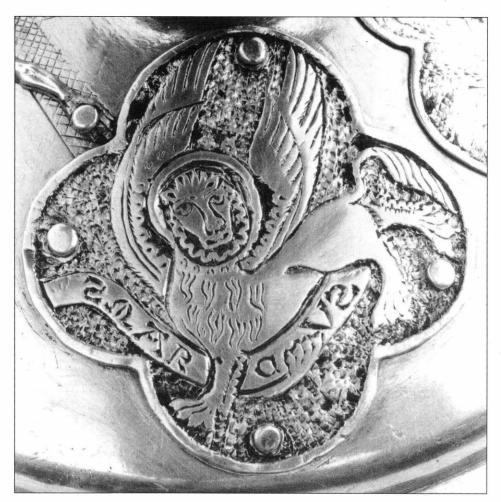
The second part of the thesis is dedicated to the art historical study of the original objects. In many cases, the critical analysis of the characteristics of the vessels' form and decoration as well as the comparison with the works of art from other countries enabled me to correct the dating of the Livonian liturgical vessels and to raise interesting stylistic and iconographical questions.

The third part compares information from the written sources with the results of the study of the original objects. The major focus is on the possibilities of identifying the vessels mentioned in the sources, determining the probable place of origin of the extant objects, and explaining the artistic influences reflected in their form and decoration. Due to the lack of hallmarks on most of the vessels and the insufficiency of historical data, the names of the gold-



Chalice from the Chathedral of Haapsalu, Estonia. End of 15 th century

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Chalice in the Kaltene Church, Latvia. Medallion on the food with the symbol of St. Mark 14th century



Chalicein the Kaltene Churc, Latria. Medallion on the food with the symbol of St. Matthew 14th century

smiths known from Livonia can rarely be connected with the surviving objects. The stylistic comparison between the marked and unmarked vessels suggests a few of the latter to have also been produced in Livonia, whereas in some cases the problem of a possible place of origin of the vessel must remain unsolved. The combination of the analysis of the characteristic features of the original objects and the historical data, including the background of the craftsmen and the economic connections of Livonia, points to the spread of artistic influences primarily from Germany (especially North Germany and Westphalia), and to a lesser extent from the Low Countries, Scandinavia, Poland, and Prussia. Hence, the further investigation of liturgical vessels from Livonia would be most fruitful within the comparative context of the works of art in the regions surrounding the Baltic Sea and connected to the Hanseatic trade.

MIRACULOUS HEALINGS IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Amir Muzur (Croatia)

Miraculous healings represent the most widespread type of miracle accounts known. The idea of connecting the basis of their considerable corpus to human auto-suggestion potentials and effects, as propagated by this study, is not a new one. However, an analysis which would apply recent knowledge of psychoneuro-immunological interactions to historical descriptions of miracles has not yet been done. The present study attempts to shape a logical explanation for the miraculous-healing phenomenon by using an interdisciplinary approach and by comparing evidence from other cultures.

Following the introductory essay ("From a Simple Man to a Complex Miracle"), which attempts to justify medieval man's way of thinking and his need to create the institution of miracles, an overview of the most important concepts of miracle and miracle classifications is provided ("Miracles: On Types"). The theoretical part ("Miracles: On Mechanisms") exposes the psychological and physiological basis of suggestion, analysing in detail the suggestion-conducive factors used by healers. A special section is devoted to "hysteria," investigating the history and phenomenology of converse disorders and connecting them with the pathology of the medieval miraculous-healing clients. In order to present a more specified analysis and to test the hypotheses exposed in the previous chapters, St. Bernardino of Siena's miracle collections are used as a case study.

The results of the present work not only offer a medico-historical analysis

of a selection of late-medieval miracle accounts, but also suggest a pattern of time-conditioned development of illnesses and specify the suggestion-conducive factors which could and should be used in modern medical treatment as well.

The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century and its Consequences

Aleksander Nikolov (Bulgaria)

This thesis is an attempt to trace the process of Cumanic settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in order to find the similarities and the differences between the two countries in connection with this historical event. The comparison was made mainly on the basis of written sources, because at this stage of the research, they are the only comparable material. Thus, this thesis summarizes results from previous research in order to determine possible links and trends for further comparative analyses which could be based on other sources, such as archaeology and linguistics. In my opinion, the settlement process includes three relatively similar chronological periods which themselves can be compared. They are the following:

- 1. The first period, including the second half of the eleventh and the twelfth century, was in way a "preparatory stage" for the settlement of the Cumans in both countries. The basic difference between both countries in my opinion is the fact of earlier penetration into Bulgarian lands of North Turkic, including Cumanic, settlers, who created a mixed population with the local inhabitants, known in the Byzantine sources as "mixobarbarians." This mixed population, dominated by the Bulgarian majority, was very active in the renovation of the Second Bulgarian Empire at the end of the period. In Hungary the North Turkic settlers were simply mercenaries or captives, who did not play a significant role in the development of the country. The early settlement of Cumanic groups in Hungary seems to be rather uncertain.
- 2. The second period includes the first half of the thirteenth century, when the Cumans became an important factor in the area of the Lower Danube. They were loyal allies of Bulgaria at this time and made major contributions to its military and political success during the period. On the other hand, they were neighbors of Hungary and it consequently became the

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object of the Árpáds to convert them and incorporate at least part of their territory into Hungary.

3. In the third period, basically the second half of the thirteenth century, the Cumans influenced the development of Bulgaria and Hungary to a great extent, after a more or less mass settlement in both countries.

The basic similarities between Bulgaria and Hungary are connected with the significant presence of the Cumans in both countries during the given period. They took part in the renovation of the Second Bulgarian Empire, during which representatives of their clan aristocracy founded at least two royal dynasties in Bulgaria. In Hungary, the Cumans did not play such an important role, although in a certain period, especially after the Mongol invasion, their presence in the political life of the country was remarkable. Both groups of Cumans were finally integrated into Bulgarian and Hungarian society, respectively, with the difference that in Hungary there were considerable conflicts connected with this process. The Cumans in Hungary constituted a special group of settlers and their integration had to follow certain patterns, which are described in the Cumanian Law. There is no trace of such a development in Bulgaria, although there is no doubt about the presence and importance of the Cumans in the political life of the country during the given period. In my opinion, the future development of special Cumanic studies in Bulgaria can provide more information equally useful for further comparative studies on this subject.

Aulae Siderae: the World by Eriugena

Valery Petroff (Russia)

Before my analysis of Eriugena's poem, a detailed investigation of the role played by image in Platonists' writings was undertaken. The premise that the Platonic paradigm as such is open to the use of image and myth was accepted. Thus, it has been shown that for John Scotus, composing poems was not merely playing with words, but was a special, more profound way to represent reality.

The examination of John Scotus' sources resulted in new findings. First, a probable dependence of the *Aulae Siderae* on Lucretius' *De rerum natura* has been uncovered. For the first time, the history of the *dei genetrix* formula has been traced in both Christian and classical contexts. Eusebius' description of

an octagonal imperial church has been indicated to be one of the earliest parallels to the description in *Aulae Siderae*.

The *De templo* of Bede was found to be the direct and influential source of John Scotus. The revealed similarity between the initial verses of the *Aulae Siderae* and Synesius of Cyrene's poems suggests an unexpected acquaintance of the Carolingians with the writings of Synesius. *Aldhelmus'* Aenigmata is pointed out as a source for the rare expression: *Titania lampas.* The analysis of the multiple meaning of such words as *tetragonus, articulae, octava,* and *tropea* elucidates the complex structure of the world represented in the *Aulae Siderae*.

For the first time, two references to Aachen's palace chapel of Charlemagne are found in Eriugena's works. Both belong roughly to the same time period, the second half of the 860s. These findings reaffirm the suggestion that John Scotus died ten years earlier than the commonly accepted date and serve as a strong argument for the theory that there were two altars in Aix-la-Chapelle, one placed above the other on two levels.

In the course of my research I discovered that the anonymous glosses on Bede's *De rerum natura* published in PL 90, 187ff. depend heavily on Eriugena's Periphyseon (Appendix I). Significant identical phrasing was found and helped to prove the authorship of Remigius of Auxerre for these anonymous glosses and the glosses on the *Categoriae Decem* (MS *Paris BN lat. 12949*). The conclusion drawn after detailed discussion is that all Remigian excerpts from these two sets of anonymous glosses are in fact notes from John Scotus' lectures on the *Categoriae Decem* and Bede's *De rerum natura*.

Thus, the cultural and historical context of the *Aulae Siderae* has been illuminated here for the first time, along with the new evidence of the acquaintance of Carolingian intellectuals with Greek sources.

HEROIC NARRATIVE PATTERNS IN THE EARLY LIVES OF ST. GUTHLAC

Marina Rossig-Miladinov (Croatia)

The aim of my M.A. thesis was the literary analysis of the early lives of St Guthlac. I have examined the eighth-century *Vita Guthlaci* by Felix of Crowland, and the Old English verse *lives Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B* (anonymous), dated varyingly from the late eighth to the late tenth century. The purpose of this literary analysis was to examine two questions:

First, what was the social and literary context in which the lives of St Guthlac were written (in so far as it is possible to make any conclusions about

it), and which were the possible sources for the development of the type of hermit-hero such as Guthlac? I have briefly viewed the development of the eremitic ideal from the *Vita Antonii* through the monastic asceticism of Gaul and Ireland, which I consider to have been the two roads by which the ideal reached England, to the eighth-century *Vita Guthlaci*, in which the ideal is already firmly established in the Anglo-Saxon Christian world view. Since the vernacular *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B* are in great part based on the *Vita Guthlaci* and the dating is so uncertain that it is difficult to define their precise social and literary context, I have in connection with them summarized some of the basic conclusions which the scholars have reached regarding the beginnings of vernacular hagiography. For my purpose I treated all the three sources as roughly contemporary.

Second, on the basis of the analysis of the heroic narrative patterns in my sources (which I have defined as recurring expressions of heroic values, deeply embedded in the structure of the society and thus carrying implications and connotations which are shared by the author and the audience), I attempted to oppose those literary scholars, who judge the heroism of a particular type of literature on the basis of the classical Greek or pagan Germanic ideals, in the light of which a whole range of Christian heroes (e.g. saintly rulers, bishops, missionaries, and others) is denied this title. In my thesis I hoped to prove that the basis for this judgement should be modified, and that the Christian hero, as long as the basic requirements for his admiration and emulation are fulfilled, deserves his own criteria of evaluation.

Therefore, I have analyzed one by one the heroic patterns which I have detected in my main sources, as well as in those which might have greatly influenced them, or were together with my sources influenced by other important pieces of hagiography. Since secular sources from the period are rare, and the saints' lives I have examined were probably also influenced by them (for the reasons I have discussed in my second chapter), I have included several parallels from those few still extant, with a remark that it is a small contribution in comparison with what might have been the situation in the eighth and ninth centuries.

I have supplied the patterns with tentative marks of worldliness and spirituality (W, S), in the hope of helping the reader follow with greater ease the various elements which formed my hero and the different social spheres and traditions in which these elements originated. In most cases the differences blend, and it led me to the conclusion that the hero in question was considered as such in both social spheres (lay and monastic) and that his story must have been enjoyed by a wide audience.

Further, I have observed that, although the Old English *Guthlac A* and *B* belong to the group of religious poems which are usually considered to con-

tain a considerable number of Germanic warrior-like elements of narration (such as *Andreas, Elene,* and *Juliana*), the analysis has demonstrated that the Latin *Vita Guthlaci* is much more heroic, in the sense that it contains a lesser degree of stylization and presents the saint as more active both in his spiritual warfare and in worldly affairs, a man of *fortitudo* and *sapientia*.

DAILY FOOD AND MEAL TRADITIONS IN LATE MEDIEVAL TARTU, ESTONIA (FOURTEETH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

Ülle Sillasoo (Estonia)

In this thesis an attempt was made to reconstruct daily food and meal traditions in late medieval Tartu with the help of archaeobotanical data, comparing them with two late medieval German cookbooks. These cookbooks were chosen for comparison due to the necessity of a contemporary background and because there was deficiency of local sources. The largest dissimilarities in the comparison appeared in groups of wild fruit, spices, oil plants, and vegetables. The archaeological material did not provide much information on spices and vegetables, excluding wild vegetables. The written sources did not provide much information about wild fruit and oil plants. The detailed comparison revealed more particularities. In the group of cultivated fruit, two fruits, apple and black currant, were outstanding in late medieval Tartu. They are both native Estonian flora, which made the cultivation of the plants easier than the cultivation of introduced cherries and plums, and in turn influenced their consumption. Similar tendencies appeared in the group of nuts. The manifold and abundant representativeness of wild fruits demonstrates that the inhabitants of the plots were still considerably dependent on natural resources which provided more possibilities for consumption than the resources available in local gardens.

The archaeobotanical material from Tartu revealed evidence of the consumption of imported fruit. This is very natural for a town with good trade connections. One of the species which completely corresponded with the cook books as well as with the records in the town council protocols was hemp, probably cultivated in the local gardens, was used in cooking, and was reported to have been traded in the town market. Poppy and flax were basically represented in the archaeological material and thus were used in cooking in Tartu. The analysis of herbs revealed that they could be used not only for flavoring food, but also as remedies. According to the cook books,

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leaves were most frequently used, but not seeds. Dill probably held a slightly prominent position. The fact that the seeds were also found in medieval Novgorod, where they were interpreted as having been used in pickling cucumbers, demonstrates that eating habits in late medieval Tartu could have experienced Russian influences. Moreover, the town council protocols contain several entries on the trade in foodstuffs carried out by Russians. The groups of legumes and cereals found reflect a wider local background of the consumption and cultivation of the plants. Wheat, however, was possibly introduced by trade, as well as millet, the latter probably being an indicator of Slavonic influences. Information about vegetables was available in the town council protocols, where the trade in cabbage, onions, horseradish, garlic, and several seeds is reported. The archaeological material confirms the cultivation of them in the town and the vicinities. The plant remains did not reveal characteristics of upper-class food. With the exception of a few imported foodstuffs, consumption was closely related to local natural resources.

ELTE CODEX GRAECUS 2 AND SOME PROBLEMS OF EDITING A CHRYSOSTOMIAN TEXT Zvetlana-Mihaela Tânâsa (Romania)

This MA thesis is intended to be a methodological proposal for solving some editorial problems in view of a possible critical edition of St. John Chrysostom's homilies on the Book of Genesis. My suggestions in this respect are based on the comparative internal analysis of a portion of these texts as present in manuscript form in the *ELTE Codex Graecus 2* and in Montfaucon's edition taken along by the *Patrologia Graeca*.

The study begins with a codicological and palaeographical analysis of the relatively unknown *Codex Graecus 2*, an eleventh-century manuscript preserved in the Eötvös Loránd University Library in Budapest, which intends to justify that this manuscript is valuable enough to be taken into consideration for a possible critical edition.

Following this, the collation of the *Codex Graecus 2* manuscript text with the *Patrologia Graeca* edition reveals a great number of variant readings which can be ascribed to one major reason: the inappropriate editorial policy of Montfaucon's text, the result of which is a stylistically composite, inconsistent, and many times obscure, received text.

Then, along with other such notifications by scholars, who proposed a double redaction of Chrysostomian texts, my analysis added arguments fur-

thering a double redaction theory by proving the composite homogenized character of the *Patrologia Graeca* text and the consequent effects on the received understanding.

With regard to this theory, the *Codex Graecus 2* text displays a stylistic simplicity and coherence. Its clarity of meaning could represent the oral stylistic pattern of the preached homily (first redaction), as it was possibly written down by stenographers. In contrast, the *Patrologia Graeca* edited text reveals an enhanced stylistic complexity and a shift of focus from moral to theological intention, as proper to an exegetical commentary, and could witness to the emended, secondary redaction. The stylistic inconsistency and obscurity of some passages in this latter text as well as its witnessing a "worked upon" redaction is due to the century-long editorial rule of noting the longest variant without paying too much attention to internal coherence of style and clarity of meaning.

Hence, the comparative stylistic analysis of the two series of variants which I make in this thesis not only stands as a proof of the postulated double redaction of the Chrysostomian texts but also proposes corrections which would clarify the edited text according to the variants offered by *Codex Graecus 2*. Some *lectiones difficiliores* of the *Patrologia Graeca* text emendated by later scribes and obscure passages can be provided a solution by their gradual correction with better readings from the manuscript.

Once arguments in favor of a double redaction are defined, I propose a shift in editorial policy: a critical edition of the homilies should result in a two-fold text, edited in two columns, each with its own apparatus and variant readings. The manuscripts used should, therefore, be selected and divided according to principles of stylistic coherence and clarity of meaning as witnesses of one or the other of the two redactions. Any homogenized version of the text should be excluded.

Following this suggested editorial policy *Codex Graecus* 2, the study of which has led me to these conclusions, bears the qualities of a manuscript useful for an eventual critical edition.

GREGORIAN SANCTORALE IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF GNIEZNO IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES: A CASE OF FOUR SAINTS

Jonas Vilimas (Lithuania)

The object of this study is the corpus of chants from the *Proprium* and *Commune Sanctorum*, with special attention to the Proper of Saints, as an expression of the liturgical veneration of saints in the archdiocese of Gniezno.

The main question that arises is whether one can speak about one *Sanctorale* in such a vast territory as that of this archdiocese or whether one must look at several *Sanctorales* of the individual bishoprics. In other words, the issue of liturgical unity and uniformity within this particular ecclesiastical province emerges. Which alternative prevailed: diocesan autonomy with the potentially greater liturgical dissemination and variety within the province or a unity and uniformity stemming from the highest church authorities of the arch-bishopric?

The principal method for this investigation was a simple comparative one: collecting, comparing, and contrasting the liturgical songs that are possibly of the same or of different provenance among the dioceses within the archbishopric of Gniezno. Before that, however, the calendaric system and the typology of feasts, such as those used in the four bishoprics - Gniezno itself, Cracow, Płock, and Wrocław - are examined. Because of the great immensity of the material, the principle investigation is focused on the liturgical offices of the four Polish saints: St. Adalbert, St. Stanislas, St. Hedwig, and St. Wenceslas. The office of every saint is discussed separately on the basis of the comparison of the sources, breviaries and antiphoners, focusing on the structural and musical aspects of the offices, including the analysis of several characteristic chants from the office of every saint.

After this procedure, the major question of the study, the extent of unity and uniformity, was answered as follows: to some extent it is possible to speak about the unity of the *Sanctorale* in the archdiocese of Gniezno, but the notion of uniformity remains doubtful. Unity may be seen in the corpus of feasts since the differences between various diocesan calendars did not appear to be essential. Essential unity could be seen in a more or less unanimous corpus of offices of the four saints studied in detail. The case of St. Stanislas, with the same office in all four dioceses, proves the strength of his liturgical cult throughout the whole archdiocese. The liturgical offices of the remaining three saints demonstrates much more differentiation than unity.

The musical analysis of the songs revealed a rather contradictory picture. The special offices of the saints demonstrate quite a large diversity of variants within the metropolis of Gniezno, in some cases even within the same bishopric. This fact could, be regarded as an indicator that some rules and processes characteristic for oral transmission were still at work. In fact, the diversity of musical-liturgical sources speaks more in favour of diocesan autonomy than for unity, uniformity, or command, from one centre. One of the main reasons for this could be the historical and cultural reality in late medieval Poland. The strongest and richest cultural, ecclesiastical, and musical life flourished in Cracow. A rather high level of uniformity within the examined plainchant sources from there manifest the strength of local plainchant tradition. Cracow was also the major producer of liturgical books. These could be considered as the key factors in forming the national plainchant tradition. But Cracow lacked authoritative power in ecclesiastical matters, which belonged to the archbishop of Gniezno as *primas* of Poland. Therefore, because of the lack of such power, Cracow could influence the plainchant culture in the other bishoprics, but it could not impose its own tradition on them. Gniezno, meanwhile, could not make the tradition uniform throughout the archbishopric due to the lack of a powerful cultural background that was in the possession of Cracow. Therefore, the authorities of the metropolis tried to improve the situation, rather ineffectively, with administrative means, for instance, by the decisions of a synod.

For future investigation a larger repertoire of *Sanctorales* should be recovered, including the offices of the other popular saints, their origins and variants established. Special attention should be also paid to the repertoire of the Common of Saints.







Medieval Studies Graduation Party

THE PH.D. PROGRAM

In the Spring of 1995, fifteen students from the M.A. class applied for admission (transfer) into the Ph.D. program, or, precisely, into the program-in-spe, as it stood at that point. The admission committee, consisting of members of the Academic Advisory Board and senior faculty, offered places in the program to ten students. Thus in the academic year 1995/96 we had a considerable group of doctoral candidates from two generations, already. Some of them had already received one-year scholarships abroad, and we agreed that they could make use of those while remaining registered in the Ph.D. program at our department. (As mentioned above, we have now, after the formal approval of the program, discontinued this practice and expect "probationary doctoral candidates" to be in residence during their second year at CEU.)

THIRD-YEAR STUDENTS

All members of the Ph.D. class of '97 (the first group of prospective doctoriandi/ae) continued their work on their proposed dissertation topics (see *Annual* 1994/95, pp. 73-9). A dissertation committee, consisting of two members beside the CEU supervisor was established for all of them, and they have also passed the Field Examination (some of them only during an extended period, due to their absence from Budapest) in three fields of medieval studies and the prescribed medieval and modern languages.

Stanko Andrić concentrated on the Roman manuscripts of the Miracles of St. John of Capistrano and in the Spring term spent some months in Paris at the Université de Nanterre, where he participated in the DEA seminar of Professor Jean-Michel Sallmann. *Adelina Angusheva* spent the entire year as a visiting "occasional student" at the Warburg Institute, London, where Dr. Will Ryan guided her research. She was able to extend her catalogue of prognostical books to 312 items. *Ksenija Brigljević* was offered a scholarship at Cambridge and finally decided to complete her Ph.D. there. *Margaret Dimitrova* combined her research with some teaching in Bulgaria and spent two months in Oxford, where she had a chance to work in the Bodleian Library and consult with Dr. Catherine M. MacRobert of Lady Margaret Hall.

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Damir Karbić spent the Fall Term in London, at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, and gave a paper there in the seminar of Professor Janet Nelson, his external supervisor. Anna Kouznetsova was for six months in London, also at the IHR, read a paper in Professor Nelson's seminar, gave a lecture at Portsmouth University, and participated at several conferences held at the Institute. She also visited Moscow twice during the year in order to work on her Cand. Sc. Hist. thesis there and consult her supervisor. Zoran and Sofija Ladić were guests of the UCLA Center for Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies for six months during the Spring term. They were in close contact with their supervisors, and Zoran completed a survey of the literature on medieval Croatia in American libraries. Svetlana Nikitina, who returned to the Ph.D. program after completing an academic year at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London, continued her research on Medieval Hungarian towns. Maja Petrova worked partly in Bulgaria and in Vienna on hagiographic manuscripts and related texts, partly (for more than three months) at the Catholic University of Leuven, where she worked with Professors Jan Scharpé and Jacques Nore. While in Belgium, she also had a chance to inspect manuscripts in the Bollandists' library and see the original copy of the Bdinski Zbornik in Ghent. Erik Somelar became a doctoral student at Clare College, Cambridge, and in the course of the year chose to continue his studies there. Other scholarly activities and publications of these doctoral candidates are listed in the Alumni Directory.

SECOND-YEAR STUDENTS

The Ph.D. research proposals accepted in July 1995 were the following:

Artistic Consciousness and Subjectivity in Courtly Poetry

Augustijn Callewaert (Belgium)

My study proposes to investigate the position of the author in the three principal courtly traditions from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries: the Occitan and the Catalan troubadours, and the German *Minnesänger*. My basic question is whether it is true, as the followers of "formal criticism" have taught, that courtly poetry is wholly determined by convention, and that any form of subjectivity has been "swallowed up" by the tradition? Or, on the

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contrary, are we allowed to see behind the first-person singular the expression of the courtly poets' artistic self-awareness and individuality? In other words, what were the aspirations and, moreover, what were the possibilities of the courtly singers to present themselves as individual, unique artists, and to conceive their poetry as their personal, inalienable creation?

In the first part of my research, I intend to present a "view-from-within." Starting from a critical reading of the poems, I want to determine the place and the function of the authorial interventions: how do the poets themselves comment on the production and the transmission of their lyrics? And, more importantly, what is the relationship they maintain with their audiences? In the second part I want to adopt a different perspective, namely a "view-fromwithout." What literary success did certain courtly poets enjoy in later periods? Who are the troubadours recorded by Dante and Petrarch and why did they make that particular selection? Who are the poets recorded in the late thirteenth century *vidas* and in the treatises on poetry? And for what purpose are they recorded? Finally, I want to set these questions in the broader framework of the medieval *marché des biens culturels:* literary canonization, manuscript tradition, poetic models, the balance between imitation and originality, artistic perfection, the relation between poet and juggler.

For example, it is worth noticing that both Peire Vidal and Peter Suchenwirt seem to have been in contact with the Hungarian court. Although there remain many questions concerning the visit of both poets (chronology, identification of the poems written in honor of the Hungarian hosts, allusions to certain events and persons), it is not my aim to re-examine the historical evidence of their sojourn in Buda. I am rather interested in the reception of Occitan and German courtly lyrics in a different context than the usual one. Is it possible to determine the image courtly poets enjoyed when they performed abroad, that is, at a court which was not familiar with their particular style?

This question may ultimately lead me to another problem: the perception of courtly poetry from the fourteenth century on, that is, the period when troubadour lyrics were no longer genuinely understood, when new "genres" were created to guarantee the reception of courtly literature (*vida* and *razo*), when later mainly Italian humanists started reading troubadour love lyrics. This "post-troubadour" reception may finally prove to be a fruitful approach to my investigation of artistic self-perception in medieval courtly literature.

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TRANSITION ON THE PERIPHERIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Gábor Cseh (Hungary)

The objective of my project is to investigate similarities in the process of transition in two distant edges of the Roman West. Traditionally, both Western and Eastern historiography tended to assume that the Eastern provinces of the Western Empire witnessed a sequence of changes fundamentally dissimilar to that of the Western provinces. This was mostly explained by the fact that the Eastern provinces saw much more conquest and warfare than Western ones during the two hundred years following the collapse of Roman rule. In my M.A. thesis, I attempted to question this theory in respect to Pannonia and Britannia, the latter being the Western province that witnessed the least amount of warfare, and the former being one that witnessed renewed conquest with abundance. The doctoral project is based on the assumption that the depth of change, that is the level of Roman continuity, is largely independent from the fifth-sixth century political history of a given territory.

The underlying hypothesis is that there are similarities between the phenomena that some peripheral territories of the Roman Empire witnessed at the beginning of the fifth century regardless of their geographical positions. The ultimate objective of the investigation would be to reveal what the common points are and to set up, if possible, some patterns of transition that are different from the ones characteristic of Italy and Southern Gaul, where both the diocesan structure and the language survives into the Middle Ages.

The investigation will cover the provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, and Raetia in the East, and Britannia, Hispania, and Belgica in the West, and demand the simultaneous use of the material and literary evidence drawn from these large areas. In regard to the literary evidence the range is even farther reaching, as writers from as far as Constantinople should be consulted to find information about the abovementioned Western provinces.

The method of the study would be to compare the references for the different provinces and set up models of transition. The textual comparison would be based on the philological analysis of the relevant passages to show the extent to which coincidence is a result of textual borrowing or the intentions of the authors and similarities in the information they had at their disposal. The models would then be refined with the use of archaeological evidence, so that particular urban, rural, and possibly ecclesiastical as well as burial sites will be chosen to be searched for parallel evidence, such as dark soil, wooden structures in urban sites, reuse of Roman material out of original context, etc. This would then be checked against some other evidence that is mostly considered marginal, that is, a survey of place names in every single area under investigation.

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PATRONAGE AND ARTISTIC PRODUCTION IN TRANSYLVANIA: THE APAFI FAMILY AND MĂLÂNCRAV (ALMAKERÉK, MALMKROG- SIBIU DISTRICT- ROMANIA) FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Anca Gogâltan (Romania)

The focus of this research will be the fresco paintings, altar, and tombstones from the church of Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog), situated in the present Sibiu District in Transylvania, in connection with the Apafi family, the owners of the land and patrons of the church.

The church of Mălâncrav is one of the most interesting medieval churches of Transylvania and among the few in which are preserved an almost intact interior decoration. From an architectural point of view, the church can be included in a series of Gothic basilicas built in the fourteenth century (with a tower on the western side of the central nave), typical for the villages situated in the region near the river Târnava Mare (Nagy Kükülö). The church is situated in the Saxon region, but it belonged to the Alba (Fehér) county. The Saxon inhabitants from Mălâncrav did not benefit from the privileges stipulated by the Diploma given by King Andrew II in 1224 in favour of the *hospites*. Documents issued at the beginning of the fourteenth century state that the village belonged to the Apafi family, one of the families which played a significant role in the political history of Transylvania. We can assume that the church from Mălâncrav was a family church, and its decorative elements can be connected to at least three different generations of the Apafis.

In spite of the rich literature dealing with the monument itself, its frescos, altar, tombstones, and other elements of interior decoration (such as the stone relief above the tabernacle, the sculpted choir stalls, the chalices for divine service), a complete analysis of the monument in connection with the patron family is still missing. The stylistic analysis of the frescos in the choir and a graffito from 1405 indicated that they were realized at the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth century. Several iconographical elements, especially those situated on the south wall in the choir and on the altar, can be linked with the donators and their family traditions. The representation of Saint Dominic and Francis situated on the south wall of the choir and the presence of Saint Clare of Assisi in behind the female donator (on the central panel of the altar) can indicate a special request of the donators and perheps shows the preference of the family members toward the mendicant orders. On the south wall of the choir (on the top row) as well as on two of the panels of the altarpiece appear two knightly saints, George and Michael, possibly as an allusion to the warrior tradition of this family which had as a coat of arms the helmet crowned by grapes and pierced by a sword. It

is also important to mention that these two names appear many times in the genealogical tree of the family.

A thorough investigation of the whole iconography of the frescos, as well as of the altarpiece and of the seventeenth century sarcophagi made for George Apafi by the famous sculptor Elias Nicolai in connection with the history of the Apafi family, may increase the information about the family piety and the way it was manifested. On the other hand, interesting observations can be carried out when studying the frescos as a part of the artistic production of the region and comparing them with the other regions of influence in order to understand if the frescos from Mălâncrav belonged to the main artistic stream or constituted a provincial phenomenon. Therefore, this approach tends to reinterpret this monument of Mălâncrav from a social point of view, focusing more on the donator's role and activity, trying to understand, with the help of this particular case, the importance of the family traditions (over a longer period of time) as an element in the general picture of **Transylvanian** society.

The Fate of the Croatian Lower Nobility during the Ottoman Invasion

Ivan Jurković (Croatia)

My Ph.D. project is a continuation of the research I did for my M.A. thesis, with an important change from the methodological point of view, which is turning to prosopography. During the research, ten to fifteen noble families will be examined. The fate of each family will be followed through three generations. The starting point will be the generation who left their native area in search for a safer place. The ways of assuring their existence in new surrounding (military service, ecclesiastical careers, administration) will be discussed in each case.

The aim of the study will be to show the process of acculturation of migrants in the new areas, as well as the ways of preserving cultural links with their former homeland. Parallel to the prosopographical study, quantitative research will be conducted with the help of the KLEIO software. The aim of that part will be to provide more exact data about the extent of migrations connected with the perils of war (including such indirect consequences of war as famine and epidemics). Emphasis will be also put on the geographical distribution of migrants and on changes of their social position in connection with their migration.

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Monks and Monasteries in Bulgaria from the Second Half of the Ninth to the Eleventh Century: A Case Study

Rossina Kostova (Bulgaria)

My research experience as an archaeologist and my teaching activity as an assistant-professor in Medieval Archaeology confronted me with the lack of a comprehensive and reliable survey on early medieval monasticism in Bulgaria. This opportunity for extensive investigation motivated me to propose the following subject of my prospective Ph.D. dissertation: *Monks and Monasteries in Bulgaria from the Second Half of the Ninth to the Eleventh Century: A Case Study.*

The project has two main purposes. The first is to reconstruct the world of early medieval monasticism in Bulgaria by integrating the fragmentary data from written sources with the results of monastic archaeology. This interdisciplinary approach will be combined with a comparative analysis based mainly on Byzantine source material, for early monasticism in Bulgaria appears to be a reflection of "Byzantinization" of the Balkans. The second purpose of my project is to prepare a complete catalogue (both written and computer database) of the monasteries on the territory of medieval Bulgaria between the ninth and the eleventh century.

My study will consist in three main parts which embody the three main elements of the phenomenon of medieval monasticism: ascetic practice, monasteries, and monks. The first part will establish the models for monastic practices in Bulgaria between the ninth and the eleventh century by tracing the impact of Latin and Byzantine missions and the usage of Byzantine monastic *typika* in the first Bulgarian monasteries. Special attention will be paid to the relevance of the hagiographic data provided by the lives of the first Bulgarian hermits St. John of Rila, St. Gavrail of Lesnovo and St. Prochor of Pèina.

The second part will constitute the core of the dissertation. It will discuss the monasteries known from written sources and attested though archaeological excavations and investigations in several aspects. Perhaps the archaeological interpretation of both building and cave monastic complexes from the point of view of their localization, identification, description, and architectural analysis will be of the greatest concern. In addition, through examination of patronage, monastic property, the educational and literary activity of some communities, and pilgrimage will be revealed the historical and social context in which the monasteries existed.

The last part of the study will be focused on the ninth-eleventh century image of Bulgarian monks. Both written and archaeological evidence will be

involved in the reconstruction of the daily life of monastic communities and hermits. The variety of the social status of the monks (e.g. monks of royal status, in ecclesiastical office, intellectuals saints) will be considered a basis for investigation of the relationship between society and those who followed the "angelic life."

MEDICAL RESPONSES TO PLAGUE IN MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE

Renata Mikolajczyk (Poland)

My research is intended to concentrate on medieval medical texts produced or preserved at the earliest universities of Central Europe: Prague, Cracow, and Vienna. A number of these sources are the so called "plague treatises," works of various legth discussing the symptoms and the treatment of pestilence. My study should start with a reading and close analysis of these manuscript texts revealing their general structure as well as identifying unique features in order to establish their provenance and intellectual background.

At this early stage of the research the project points to two more general questions. The first being the history of plague in Central Europe, a topic somewhat neglected due to the scarcity of the sources and the general understanding that the plague had a lesser impact on this part of the world. The study of the plague treatises from the region may reveal if not a historical reconstruction of the course of plague in this area, at least the way in which the plague was perceived and interpreted by the medical intellectual elite in Central Europe and their readers.

On the other hand an investigation of the context in which these texts were written and studied should contribute to the reconstruction of the history of university medicine in Central Europe. So far the faculties of medicine in Cracow, Prague, and Vienna have been studied mainly in the framework of the general histories of universities concentrating primarily on biographical data regarding famous professors of medicine or the curricula of the courses and the reconstruction of the chronology of the respective medical faculties. The intellectual output and the state of medical knowledge concerning a specific problem, in this case the plague, would be a new way of looking at the general activity of university doctors and their students in the Late Medieval Central Europe.

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THE SAQÂLIBA(T) SLAVES IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Dmitri Mishin (Russia)

The subject of the research is the history of the slaves described in the Oriental sources as $Saq\hat{a}liba(t)$ in the Islamic world in the Early Middle Ages. The research aims at a complex study of the history of the $Saq\hat{a}liba(t)$ slaves from the moment they were enslaved to their life in different parts of the Islamic world. To a large extent this subject is new for historiography for, although many specialists mention the $Saq\hat{a}liba(t)$ slaves in their writings, there are only a few works specially dedicated to the $Saq\hat{a}liba(t)$'s history.

The main problems to be examined are as follows:

- 1. Definition of the meaning of the name Saqâliba(t) in Islamic literature. The meaning of that name is under discussion, and it is still not clear whether it denotes Slavs or Europeans of different origins. The goal of the research in this field is to ascertain how correct the Islamic writers' ideas were about the Slavs and to what extent saqlabî corresponds to "Slav". The research is to be based on references to the Saqâliba(t) in Islamic sources, which I am planning to divide into three groups: 1) accounts of the representatives of the Islamic world who had direct contacts with the Slavs, 2) ideas about the Slavs in geographical compilations, 3) falsified information on the Slavs. Each group will be studied separately, which will allow to ascertain, whom the representatives of the Islamic world who had direct contacts with the Slavs denoted with the name Saqâliba(t) and how the initial meaning of the term Saqâliba(t) was changed in later compilations.
- 2. *Medieval slave trade*. Research in this field proposes to show how the Slavs were enslaved and brought to Islamic lands. It will be based mainly on European sources (chronicles, lives of saints, documents etc.), which contain information on the slave trade as well.
- 3. *History of the Saqâliba(t) slaves in the Islamic world.* This is intended to be the main part of the project. The extant information on the *Saqâliba(t)* slaves in Islamic Spain, Northern Africa and the Near East is to be examined in this part of the research. Some observations will be made on the ethnicity of the *Saqâliba(t)* slaves on the basis of references to the slaves' origins in the Oriental sources. On separating the *Saqâliba(t)* slaves from other slaves in the Islamic world I will be able to pass to the history of the *Saqâliba(t)* in Islamic countries including:

- chronology (to which period the information about the Saqâliba(t) slaves in the Islamic world goes back, when the Saqâliba(t) slaves were particularly numerous),
- geographical distribution (which regions *Saqâliba(t)* slaves can be found in, how this is connected to the history of the slave-trade),
- life of Saqâliba(t) slaves in the Islamic world (employment of the Saqâliba(t) at the ruler's court and by private individuals, duties performed by Saqâliba(t),
- social and political positions of the *Saqâliba(t)* in the Islamic world (this mainly refers to the *Saqâliba(t)* slaves who had important positions in different Islamic countries due to a successful career at the court; the *Saqâliba(t)*'s attitude to major political events, such as the "Cordovan revolution" of 1009-1010 is also to be examined),
- culture of the Saqâliba(t) in the Islamic world (to what extent the Saqâliba(t) adopted the Islamic culture, what they could keep from their own languages and cultures).

In terms of methodology, the research will be based on in-depth study of both Oriental and European sources. A comparative analysis of the evidence provided by both groups will be made, which will allow to approach the history of the $Saq\hat{a}liba(t)$ slaves in the Islamic world from several parts. The study of the $Saq\hat{a}liba(t)$ slaves' history in the Islamic world is important for both Oriental and Slavic history, for it is dedicated to people to whom historians usually pay little or no attention at all.

The goal of my work is to generalize the information about this subject contained in the historical sources and to proceed then to a complex study of the history of the contacts between the Slavs and the Islamic world in the Early Middle Ages. One of the aims consists also in giving a new interpretation of some data of the Oriental sources about the Slavs. The main domains of the work are: political and military contacts between the Slavs and the Muslims (Balkans, Asia Minor, Chazaria); trade contacts between the Slavs and the Islamic world; history of the Slavs in the Islamic world (Muslim Spain, Africa, Egypt, Near East); and the Slavs in the Islamic literature: geographical, historical, and other aspects.

The history of the contacts between the Slavs and the Moslems includes such fields as war (many times the Slavs and the Arabs met on the battlefield), trade (Moslems' trade in Europe), and religion (for example, attempts of spreading Islam in Russia in the Early Middle Ages). The history of Slavic regions which were under the Moslem rule is another very interesting question; in this field I will concentrate on the history of Russia under the Golden Horde. In the Middle Ages, Slavs can be found in many Islamic countries, and in some cases (for example, in Islamic Spain at the end of the tenth century) they had a considerable influence on the life of the country. I am especially interested in exploring to what extent the Slavs who found themselves far from their motherland preserved their identity, language, and culture, and to what extent they felt themselves belonging to a united community. I also intend to address the notion of the "image of the other," in terms of the Slavs in Islamic sources also beyond the geographical writings discussed in my M.A. thesis.

The result of my work would be a thesis on the whole complex or relations between the Slavs and the Islamic world. The second volume of the "Collection of Ancient Written Information about the Slavs" is presently under preparation in Russia. I hope to be able to contribute to that project as well.

Theology in the Writings of Abbot Suger

Kristina Mitalaité (Lithuania)

The project will include investigation of the theological ideas in the writings of Abbot Suger. In my M.A. thesis, I was mainly concerned with the possible influence of Hugh of St. Victor's Pseudo-Dionysian tradition and that of Eriugena on the theology of light in Suger's writings. The first part of my project will include further search for other possible sources of interpretation of Suger's theological ideas (one of the most important will be the investigation on the Abbot's theory of contemplation and his interpretation of *Rom.* 1:20) among the other theological monastic writings and other influential theological sources in the first half of the twelfth century. This part of the project will deal also with the analysis of the possible influence of liturgy and the Scripture.

My preliminary investigation showed that Suger's writings were mainly influenced by Eriugena's theology, especially by his poem *Aulae Siderae*. The possibility of the influence of the Eriugenian theology, with the exception of the *Commentaries on Celestial Hierarchy*, on Suger's writings, has been neglected by scholars.

In the second part of my project, I will investigate further the possibility of the influence of the Eriugenian theology on Suger's texts. My investigation will focus also on the possible influence of the *Codex Aureus* of Saint Emmeram and its *tituli* on Sugerian writings. The studies of E. Jeauneau and E. Dutton showed that the *tituli* were written not by Alcuin but by John

Scotus. The investigation of this question is important, since it is possible to find some interesting parallels between the iconography of the *Codex Aureus* and the one of the western portal of Saint Denis, as well as anagogical window created during the abbacy of Suger. I hope that the results of this investigation will help to eliminate a number of unclear elements in the interpretation of the iconography of the western portal and the anagogical window of Saint Denis created during Suger's abbacy.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS IN URBAN CONTEXT

Anneli Randla (Estonia)

The study is aimed to analyze:

- 1. the location and position of mendicant friaries in towns;
- 2. the architecture of the friaries in a given urban setting;
- 3. the validity of the term "mendicant architecture";
- 4. the typology of the architecture, if it can be constructed.

The area under study will be Central Europe (Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland) and it will be compared to Northern Europe (England and Scandinavia).

To certain extent the region under research forms a unity in the Middle Ages because of its closely connected history. The art and architecture of this area is also closely related, several schools and masters were active in different parts of the region, outside the borders of a single kingdom.

The mendicant orders formed a distinctive group in the towns and played an important role in the courts. They also had a particular building style, related to their idea of poverty. Thus, they could be a suitable group, whose architecture could be analyzed regionwide.

The architecture of the mendicant orders have been researched only regionally (by modern states or smaller regions) and in the local context. Therefore, it would be interesting to gather and analyze the data of the whole region.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AWARDS IN 1995/96

JÁNOS M. BAK

Professor, Dr. Phil., Göttingen. History of ideas and institutions, medieval rulership, social history of nobility. e-mail: bakjan@ceu.hu

Publications

- with L. S. Domonkos and Paul B. Hervey, Jr. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary/Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae, vol. 3 (1458-1490). Los Angeles: Schlacks, 1996.
- ed. and trans., with L. H. Legters; co-author, Gy. Litván, ed. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956: Reform—Revolt—Repression, 1953-1963. London: Longmans, 1996.
- "Historical Problems in Establishing a Consensus of Terms." In *The Social History of Poverty in Central Europe: Working Papers.* 219-236. Budapest: MWA, 1995.
- "Géza" and "Gisela" in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. Freiburg: Herder, 1995. 4, 635 and 658.

Papers and lectures

- "Ezredfordulók" [Millennia], Evening Seminar of Bolyai Collegium, Budapest, March 1996.
- "Die Pauliner im Kontext der mitteleuropäischen Geschichte." In Die Pauliner: Kultur aus Ungarn, Conference of the Diocese Stuttgart, Weingarten, May, 1996.

NEVEN BUDAK

Associate professor, Dr. Phil., Zagreb Early medieval history, Christianization, ethnogenesis, urban history. e-mail: budakn@ceu.hu

Publications

- "Tumačenje podrijetla i najstarije povijesti Hrvata u djelima srednjovjekovnih pisaca." [The origins and oldest Croatian history in the works of medieval writers] In *Etnogeneza Hrvata*. ed. Neven Budak, 73-78. Zagreb, 1996.
- "Kako je hrvatski rob mogao postati mletački patricij ili neke vijesti o ranim hrvatsko-mletačkim trgovačkim i drugim vezama (11. do 13. st.)." [How could a Croatian slave become a Venetian patrician or about the earliest Croatian-Venetian mercantile and other relations, 11th-13th century] In Spomenica Ljube Bobana. 73-84. Zagreb, 1996.
- with Karolina Kani aj and Svjetlana Vorel, "Kolonije stranaca na Gradecu u 14. stoljeću." [Colonies of foreigners in fourteenth-century Gradec /Zagreb/] In Arheološka istra ivanja u Zagrebu i zagrebačkoj regiji i Arheologija i obnova. Zagreb: Izdanja Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva 17, 1996.
- "Dubrovnik: Storia di un'armonia." In *Tesori di argento e d'oro di Dubrovnik.* Exhibition catalogue, Lugano, 1996. (Also in German, "Une Geschichte voller Harmonie.")
- "Pokrštavanje Hrvata." [Christianization of the Croats] In Raðanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaza [Birth of the first Croatian cultural landscape] ed. M. Jurković and T. Lukšić, 127-136. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1997.
- "Hrvatska društva u 11. stoljeću." [Croatian societies in the eleventh century] In Zvonimir, kralj hrvatski [Zvonimir, King of Croatia], ed. I. Goldstein, 207-217. Zagreb: HAZU, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, 1997.
- ed., Etnogeneza Hrvata. [The Ethnogeny of Croats] Zagreb, 1996.

Papers and lectures

- "Public and Private Space in Dalmatian Medieval Towns," Urban History Congress. Budapest, 1996.
- "Croatia in the Tenth Century," Europe in the Time of the Hungarian Conquest. Budapest, 1996.
- "The Resistance of the Croatian Nobility to the Habsburg Absolutism," 325 Years of the Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy. Cakovec, 1996.

- "The Town of Križevci in the Late Middle Ages," 600 Years of the Bloody Assembly in Križevci. Križevci, 1997.
- "Sacred Spaces in Dalmatian/Croatian Medieval Towns," La spatialisation du sacré dans le Moyen âge occidental (IVe - XIIIe siècles). Budapest, 1997.
- "Urban Elites in Dalmatia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," The Cities of the Adriatic and their Relationship at the End of the Middle Ages. Padova, 1997.
- Prof. Budak has recently finished a three-year project on *Croats in Vienna* 1790-1918 for the Austrian Ministery of Science and Research. He is currently preparing a new edition of his book on the Croatian early Middle Ages.

GERHARD JARITZ

Professor, Dr. Phil., Graz

History of everyday life and material culture of the Middle Ages, computing in medieval studies.

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Publications

- ◆ ed., *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*. 32-36, Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1996/97.
- ed., Pictura quasi fictura. Die Rolle des Bildes in der Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der fr
 ühen Neuzeit. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.
- "Geld in der spätmittelalterlichen Kunst." In Die Friesacher Münze im Alpen-Adria Raum, ed. R. Härtel, 463-490. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1996.
- "Everyday Life in the Middle Ages and Digital Image Analysis." In Computers & the History of Art: Teaching, Images, Internet, ed. M. Greenhalgh, (http://rubens.anu.edu.au/chart/): http://rubens.anu.edu .au/chart/jaritz.html, or http://vandyck.anu.edu.au/chart/jaritz.html
- "Bound Images: Encoding and Analysis." In Reconnecting Science and Humanities. Digital Libraries: Symposium Sponsored by the University of Kentucky and the British Library, 19-21 October 1995, ed. K. Kiernan (http://www.uky.edu/~kiernan/DL/symp.html): http://www.uky.edu/~kiernan/DL/jaritz.html
- "Zum Alltag im 14. Jahrhundert." In Schatz und Schicksal. Steirische Landesausstellung 1996, ed. Otto Fraydenegg-Monzello, 131-136. Graz: Steiermärkische Landesregierung, 1996.

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- "Schnabelschuh und Hörnerhaube oder: Bild, Sachkultur und Kontextualisierung." In 8. Österreichischer Kunsthistorikertag. Vergangenheit in der Gegenwart – Gegenwart in der Kunstgeschichte? 8-12. Vienna, 1996.
- with Verena Winiwarter, "On the Perception of Nature in a Renaissance Society." In Nature and Society in Historical Context, eds. M. Teich, R. Porter and B. Gustafsson, 91-111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- with W. Brauneder and Chr. Neschwara, Die Wiener Stadtbücher 1395-1430, 2.Teil: 1401-1405. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, forthcoming.

Papers and lectures

- "Imagines Fictae Digital Image Archives in Historical Research," Digital Image Processing in History Workshop of the Department of History, University of Southampton, Southampton, April 1996.
- "Transeuntes ad alium ordinem: The Position of Cistercians and Carthusians in the Middle Ages," Interaction of Monastic Cultures in Medieval Europe, Conference organized by the Department of Medieval Studies of CEU, Pannonhalma, April 1996.
- "Image (Processing) and the Medieval Language of Signs," 31st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1996.
- "Die Muster der Bilder," Institut für interdisziplinäre Forschung und Fortbildung, Vienna, 30 May, 1996.
- "Inventories: Text and Images. The Various Links Between Different Types of (Digitalized) Information," Artists' Inventories, Conference of the Getty Institute and the Art Historical Institute, University of The Hague, The Hague, June 1996.
- "The Image of the Medieval Drinker," International Medieval Congress Leeds, Leeds, July 1996.
- "The Old Image: Organizing Medieval Image Archives," International Conference of the Association of History & Computing, Moscow, August 1996.

GÁBOR KLANICZAY

Professor, Head of Department, Dr. Phil. ELTE, Budapest

Comparative study of sainthood in medieval Central and Western Europe, rulership and charisma, popular religion, witchcraft, historical anthropology. e-mail: klanicz@ceu.hu

Publications

- Szent Margit legendái és stigmái [Legends and stigmata of Saint Margaret] (in collaboration with Tibor Klaniczay) Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek, 135, Budapest: Argumentum, 1995.
- "I modelli di santità femminile tra i secoli XIII e XIV in Europa centrale e in Italia." In Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura ungherese del basso medioevo. ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli, 75-110. Firenze: Olschki, 1995.
- "Wstêp do ksi¹¿ki Jenő Szűcsa o trzech historycznych regionach Europy." In Trzy Europy, Jenő Szűcs, 13-23. Lublin: Instytut Europy Œrodkowo Wschodniej, 1995.
- "La Hongrie." (en collaboration avec Edit Madas) In Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550. Corpus Christianorum, sous la direction de Guy Philippart, II: 102-160. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.
- Svetsi, vesici, vampiri. (Saints, witches, vampires) Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Lik," 1996.

Papers and lectures

- "Aristocratic 'Stifts' and (Holy) Queens in the High and Later Middle Ages," Women in the Christian Tradition from the Late Antiquity to the Age of Reform, Mont Sainte Odile, 6-11 October 1995.
- "Late medieval Central European Universities. Problems of their Comparative History", Nemzetközi Egyetemtörténeti Konferencia. Az Óbudai Egyetem megalapításának 600. Évfordulója alkalmából, Budapest, 24-25 October 1995.
- "Présentation du CD-ROM du Légendier angevin de Hongrie," L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle. Rome-Naples, 7-11 November 1995.
- "Il CD-ROM del Leggendario Angioino", Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, Rome, 13 November, 1995.
- "Jenő Szűcs e le regioni d'Europa," Quante regioni ha l'Europa? Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, Rome, 26 March, 1996.
- "Trance, Apparition and Scepticism in Johannes Nider Formicarius," 31st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 9-12, 1966.

Fellowships, awards

• 1996 July-August, Resident Scholar at the Bellagio Conference and Study Centre of the Rockefeller Foundation

JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY

Associate professor, Dr. Phil. ELTE, Budapest Medieval archaeology, monastic architecture, history of material culture. e-mail: laszlovj@ceu.hu

Publications

- "Frühstädtische Siedlungsentwicklung in Ungarn." In Burg Burgstadt Stadt. Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa, ed. Hansjürgen Brachmann, 307-316. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995.
- Medieval Visegrád (Royal Castle, Palace, Town and Franciscan Friary), ed. J. Laszlovszky. Dissertationes Pannonicae Ser. 3, Vol. 4. Budapest, 1995.
- with G. Buzás, Sz. Papp, Gy. Szekér, and M. Szőke, "The Franciscan Friary of Visegrád: History, Archaeological Remains, the Results of the 1990-93 Campaigns." In *Medieval Visegrád*. Budapest, 1995: 26-33.
- with Patrice Beck, "L'après Bibracte: le Couvent des Cordeliers." in Centre Archéologique Européen du Mont Beuvray. Document final de synthése. Rapport triennal, 1993-95. Vol.1. Glux-en-Glenne, 1996.
- with Patrice Beck, "L'occupation médievale et moderne: Le couvent des cordeliers et ses annexes (XVe-XVIIIe siecles)." Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est 46/2 (1996): 288-93.
- "Castles in Medieval Hungary." Multimedia program with computer aided three-dimensional reconstructions for the permanent exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, 1996.

Papers and lectures

- "Hungarian University peregrinatio in Western Europe and the Intellectual Contacts in the 12-13th Centuries," Nemzetközi egyetemtörténeti konferencia az Óbudai egyetem alapításának 600. évfordulója alkalmából [International conference on the universities, celebrating the 600th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Óbuda], Budapest, October 1995.
- "Interactions of Medieval Monastic Cultures. Introduction: Methodological and Theoretical Problems of the Research," *Heremitae*, *monachi, fratres.* International conference in Pannonhalma, March 1996.
- "Monasticism in Central Europe and the Balkans: Introductory Remarks," 31st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1996.

- "Recent Archaeological Discoveries at Royal Visegrad," Lecture in the Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Princeton University, May 1996.
- "Mendicants under the Influences of Royal Residences and Urban Centres," 3rd International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 8-11, 1996.

Field projects

- Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Visegrád (co-directing with Gergely Buzás).
- Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, France (European Center of Archaeology, Bibracte: Co-directing with Patrice Beck, Tours).
- Field survey project in the Upper-Tisza region (co-directing with John Chapman, Newcastle).
- Rescue excavation project of the deserted medieval market place site at Muhi, Hungary (co-directing with Tamás Pusztai, Budapest).

ISTVÁN PERCZEL

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Church Fathers and Byzantine ecclesiastical writers, Neoplatonic philosophy, history of Byzantine monasticism, comparative history of spirituality. e-mail: perczeli@ceu.hu

Publications

 "Denys l'Aréopagite et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien." In: La postérité de Denys l'Aréopagite en Orient et en Occident. Actes du colloque international de Paris, 29 Septembre-3 Octobre, 1994, Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1997.

Papers and lectures

- "The Letters of Saint Anthony the Great and His Life by Saint Athanasius," *Interactions of Monastic Cultures*. Pannonhalma, March 21-23, 1996.
- "Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022) and the Philosophy of the Divine Substance" and "The Theological Position of Pachomius' Monastic Community (4th Century)," St. John of Rila and Monasticism, conference organized by Sofia University and the CEU Medieval Department, Sofia, October 1996.

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Grants and awards

1996 Summer, Dumbarton Oaks Summer Fellow (July 1-August 10).

MARIANNE SÁGHY

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Publications

- "Arózsák háborúja." [The Wars of the Roses], Rubicon (1995/9), 7-10.
- "A templomosok pere." [The trial of the Templars], *Rubicon* (1995/6-7), 11-2.
- Ötven nagyon fontos év [Fifty important years: four historical essays on the years 854, 1054, 1077, and 1356] Budapest: Lord könyvkiadó, 1995.
- "Conversio Animae", Augustinian Studies 26-2 (1995): 81-108.

Translations

Alexis Carrell, *Utazás Lourdes-ba* [Voyage a Lourdes], Budapest: Ecclesia, 1995.

Papers and lectures

- "Le baptème de Saint Étienne de Hongrie," International Conference on the "Baptème de Clovis" Reims, France, September 1996
- "Aspects of the Christianization of Hungary," International Conference on Christianity in East-Central Europe and Its Relations with the East and with the West, Lublin, Poland, September 1996
- "La christianisation de la Hongrie," International Conference on Gerbert d'Aurillac, Aurillac, France, June 1996
- session on "Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe," International Medieval Congress, Leeds, England, July 1995

REPORTS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECTS

1. VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács

This project was launched by the Department in 1994 and came to an end in 1996. During its three-year operation it achieved the following important results:

- Preparation and (forthcoming) edition of the *Guide to the Visual Resources* of *Medieval East-Central Europe*. This book, a catalogue of some sixty photoarchives, offers a general overview of the relevant photographic materials of the region (Poland, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary). The catalogue has been prepared under supervision of the Department's professors (Hana Hlaváčková et al.) and with the cooperation of our students (Ksenija Brigljević, Anca Gogâltan, Adrian Bara).
- The CD-ROM edition of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, a fourteenthcentury illuminated manuscript whose pages are kept in several collections. Thus the CD-ROM is a virtual reconstruction of an eminent source of medieval iconography. The CD contains all the images, as well as comments, written sources, and a complete iconographic database using two internationally accepted index systems (*ICONCLASS and Thésaurus des images médiévales*). The description of the CD-ROM as well as the iconographic systems applied can be found below. Students of the Department have also contributed to the preparation of the CD.
- Simultaneously, we have started to build up a greater image database of visual resources of medieval Hungary. First, the time of King Louis the Great (1342-1382) is documented with the help of the photo archive of the Institute for Art History of the Hungarian Adacemy of Sciences. This project is to be continued in the next period. Two students of our Department, Zsolt Hunyadi and Judit Majorossy, have contributed to the preparation of this database.
- Professional photo campaigns have been organized in cooperation of the Krems *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters* of the Austrian Academy of

Sciences, and our Department, for documenting the medieval heritage of painting and material culture (frescoes, panel paintings, and minor arts) of Hungary and the neighbouring countries. Research assistants and students from the relevant countries (Béla Zsolt Szakács, Anca Gogâltan, Zsombor Jékely) have assisted the Austrian personnel in the preparation and process of these campaigns. The digitized images and their documentation written in KLEIO database have also been installed in the Department's Visual Laboratory. This project is also to be continued in the proposed project.

- Database of medieval Hungarian monasteries built by Beatrix Romhányi (Budapest, ELTE University, Department of Archaeology). The database was presented at the Summer University of 1996.
- Establishment of a departmental Visual Laboratory, an extraordinarily well equipped scholarly center for creating and using text and image databases (see below). A detailed description of the work of the Laboratory, its equipment, and materials accessible to a large public (students as well as external researchers) can be read in the regularly updated *Handbook of the Visual Laboratory*, available at the Department.
- The Visual Laboratory has also functioned as a center of technical assistance for the museums and other collections supported by the Orbis Foundation (see the above mentioned *Handbook*). These collections have used the equipment and other facilities (assistance of experts, parallel databases) of the Laboratory for building the electronic catalogue of their own collections. In exchange, they leave a copy of all their materials processed at the Department for use of education and research. The publication of these CD-catalogues is foreseen by 1998.

In 1997 the Department obtained support for a three-year prolongation of the project. Based on the experiences of the previous project period, we plan to organize the new phase in the form of external pilot projects, coordinated by a "core project," located in the Visual Lab. The participating pilot projects are the following:

- Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Medieval Studies Department and Krems, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit): Photodocumentation of Medieval Central European Fresco and Panel Painting
- Béla Zsolt Szakács (Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Catholic University and CEU, Medieval Studies Department): Visual Resources of Medieval Hungary, 14-15th Centuries
- Beatrix Romhányi (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd University, Department for

VISUAL RESOURCES

Medieval and Postmedieval Archaeology and CEU, Medieval Studies Department): Computer-aided Photodocumentation and 3D Reconstruction of Medieval Monasteries in Hungary and Central Europe

- Sergey Sazonov (Rostov, Kremlin Museum Preserve): Iconography of Russian Saints in the Medieval Principality of Rostov
- Edit Szentesi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Art History Institute): Photo Archive of Ják Abbey Church

The Visual Laboratory

The Visual Lab of the Medieval Studies Department serves as a research center for the students of our university as well as for scholars working in different fields related to visual resources. The technical equipment as well as the printed and digitized databases were established during the first period of the *Visual Resources of Medieval East Central Europe* project between 1994 and 1996, with the idea to enhance historical studies and enable scholars from East-Central Europe to have access to the important visual resources previously not available to them. The aim was to build a consciously organized collection of visual materials, both with copies of documentations from great European and American collections and with materials collected and processed by East-Central European institutions supported by the Medieval Studies Department.

The Visual Lab is something like a mix of an electronic bibliography, an image-processing laboratory, and a hypermodern auditorium. All our materials are available for consultation, together with a small library of handbooks of art history and iconography. For image processing, we are equipped with two good-quality scanners and a CD-writer for storing the rapidly growing scanned images. Computer presentations are facilitated, apart from traditional equipments like slide and overhead-projectors, by a large-resolution LCD projector.

Two research assistants, Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács, as well as technical assistants recruited from among the Ph.D. students, are at the disposal of the students and researchers every day during the working hours of the Lab. In addition, regular introductory courses are held for students on the methods and applications of computing in medieval studies as well as in the use of the laboratory's equipment and collections. The Medieval Studies department also supports its students and staff in launching projects for building image databases of their own, occasionally with scanned images.

Apart from computers, printers, and network, the following special hardware for image processing is available in the Visual Lab:

VISUALRESOURCES

- HP Scan Jet 3c flat-bed scanner, for scanning printed images and diapositive photos with special equipment for slide scanning;
- Nikon Cool Scanner, a high-resolution (3000 x 2000 dpi) slide scanner, primarily for small (24 x 36 mm) color dias and black and white negative films;
- Micronix large-capacity CD-writer, for storing scanned images on CD;
- Sony VPL 351Q high-resolution (800 x 600) LCD-projector, for the projection of scanned images and computer programs in conferences;
- Canon Microprinter 60 microfiche reader and printer;
- slide and overhead projectors, equipment for photographic reproduction, and other accessories.

The Project "Visual Resources of Medieval Central Europe"

The project aims at preparing a catalogue of visual resources available in the region. Its results are soon to be published by the Medieval Studies Department of Central European University (Budapest). The purpose of the catalogue is to help Western and local scholars to find relevant visual materials for medieval subjects in East-Central Europe. It is intended, on one hand, to be a practical guide to the different types of archives, and on the other, it offers the possibility to examine methodical problems of visual documentation in the region.

Geographically, the catalogue focuses on the collections of the East-Central European area, including the Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. As the frontiers are more elastic in this region, materials concerning neighboring territories can also be found in the described archives. In the appendix of the catalogue some important Western collections holding relevant East-Central European materials are also described. Above all, we are interested in medieval materials, though the documents owned by these collections are not limited by period; therefore not only medievalists could find the catalogue useful.

The archives described in the guide belong to different institutions such as museums, institutes for the protection of historical monuments, universities, research institutions, libraries, private collections, photographic companies, etc. These archives are usually photographic collections, but sometimes drawings, plans, and watercolor copies can be found there, too. Although it was not possible to describe all the photographic collections in a single book, we tried to demonstrate the variety of the materials and the institutions. According to our knowledge, all the most important collections are included in the catalogue and some less important but typical ones as *pars pro toto*. The *items* of the catalogue contain the present and the former names of the institution in English and in the original languages, the address and the accessibility of the collection, its purpose and history, the geographical area and historical period covered, the quantity and quality of the photographs, and the index systems, as well as a bibliography for the collection, published photographs and the names of important photographers and art historians who were active there. Each item ends with practical comments which facilitate the use of the collection. General notes on the tradition and specialities of each region are included in the *introductions* for each country. The catalogue will be followed by *indexes* of subjects, institutions (with earlier names), place names (in different languages), names of persons, and titles of publications.

CD-ROMs and image collections of the Visual Lab

A pride of the Department is its continuously growing collection of CDs kept in the Visual Lab. Our collection focuses on both text and image databases relating not only to the Middle Ages, but also to other periods, like classical antiquity or the Renaissance. Thus we intend to fill the much bemoaned lack of a public collection of historical CDs in Hungary.

We have seriously relied on our students and instructors in completing our collection. If you know about a CD (or other electronic material, be it a database or software) that you believe might be of good use for our Lab, please inform us about it.

All our CDs, whether for DOS or Windows, can be run with the appropriate icon created in the 'CD' Windows icon group of the Visual Lab's computers. However, we plan to upload as many databases onto the CEU network as permitted by the capacity of the central server and the technical characteristics of the CDs themselves. At the moment there are two databases uploaded: the *Aureae Latinitatis Bibliotheca* and the *Library of Christian Latin Texts* (see below).

Textual databases

1. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, 4th ed. University of California, Irvine, 1994. Greek, with English system.)

A complete collection of the texts of Ancient Greek literature, from the first fragments up to the 10th century A.D. The material is enlarged in chronological order from edition to edition. Texts can be retrieved by authors or by words.

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2. POESIS. Texts of Latin Poetry. Zanichelli Editore, 1995. Latin, with English & Italian system.)

A complete collection of Latin literary production in verses, from the first fragments of Ennius up to Venantius Fortunatus and Eugenius de Toledo (7th c. A.D.), containing ca 300.000 verses. You can search for words, authors and works, and you can also read and print the full context of the texts retrieved.

3. Aureae Latinitatis Bibliotheca. Zanichelli Editore, 1991. Latin, with Italian system.)

The full texts of the most important Latin authors from the republican and early imperial periods: *Apicius, Apuleius, Augustus, Avianus, Bebius, Calpurnius Siculus, Cato, Catullus, Caesar, Cicero, Columella, Cornelius Nepos, Cornificius, Curtius Rufus, Ennius, Phaedrus, Florus, Frontinus, Fronto, Gellius, Germanicus, Gratius Faliscus, Hadrianus, Horatius, Juvenalis, Livius, Lucanus, Lucilius, Lucretius, Manilius, Martialis, Namatianus, Nemesianus, Nevius, Ovidius, Persius, Quintilianus, Reposianus, Sallustius, Seneca (the elder and the younger), Silius Italicus, Statius, Sulpitia, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terentius, Tiberianus, Tibullus, Valerius Flaccus, Varro, Virgilius, Vitruvius.* However, being the very first, almost experimental piece of the famous Zanichelli series, it contains several mistypings and its screen is not really user-friendly.

 CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts. Database for the Western Latin Tradition, 2nd ed. CLCLT-2. Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis Lovanii Novi – Brepols, 1994. Latin, with English, French, German & Italian system.

Full texts of patristic and medieval authors taken mostly from the following editions: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* and *Continuatio Mediaeualis* (Brepols), *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* (Brepols), *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Hoelder etc.), *Sources Chrétiennes* (Cerf), *S. Bernardi opera omnia* (Edizioni Cistercensi), *Vulgata* (Württembergische Bibelanstalt). The CD, which has been periodically updated, intends to be – as its source, the Corpus Christianorum itself – a new, revised edition of the *Patrologia Latina*. This 2d edition already contains all the works of the major authors – *Ambrosius, Augustinus, Beda Venerabilis, Bernardus*, the major latin translations of *Dionysius Areopagita, Gregory the Great, Isidor, Jerome, Prudentius, Raimundus Lullus, Tertullianus* etc. – as well as those of several minor writers and commentators. The complete list of authors and works can be found only in the manual of the CD.

 International Medieval Bibliography, International Medieval Institute, University of Leeds – Brepols, 1995. English.
 A bibliography of the European Middle Ages (c. 450-1500), which has been published since 1968 in printed form. The entries – over 220,000 medieval articles, review articles etc. – are drawn from the regular coverage of over 4,000 periodicals. An unique network of over 50 contributors and teams throughout the world – amongs them our Department – ensures the regular coverage of articles. The CD contains all data for the years 1984-1993. It is updated each year, and the most recent issues are offered in combination with several older issues.

6. Soncino Midrash – Talmud – Zohar – The Judaic Classics, 4 CDs. Davka Corporation, 1991-1995. Hebrew, Aramaic & English, with English system.

The fundamental texts of Rabbinic scholarship, in Hebrew and in English, with all the important commentaries in Hebrew and Aramaic. For the complete list of texts cf. the manual of the CDs.

- 7. Letteratura Italiana, 2d ed. Zanichelli Editore, 1995. Italian. The full text of all the Italian language works of the 110 most significant Italian authors, from the 13th to the 20th c., 234 works in all (including Jacopone da Todi, Marco Polo, Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Lorenzo de' Medici, Ariosto, Machiavelli, Tasso, Vasari, Galilei, Campanella, Vico, Metastasio, Goldoni, Manzoni, Leopardi, Pirandello, D'Annunzio). For the complete list of texts and editions cf. the manual of the CD. A major drawback of the CD is that its retrieval system – operating only in Italian! – is one of the most complicated programs ever fabricated. Its rationalization is promised for the next edition, together with hundreds of new texts.
- 8. The *Vite* of Vasari, 1550 & 1568. Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 1996. Italian. The full text database of the fundamental work of Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori*, in the first two editions of 1550 (Torrentiniana) and 1568 (Giuntina). The text is that of the most authoritative critical edition of Paola Barocchi e Rosanna Bettarini (Florence 1966-1987). Single and comparative searches can be made in the whole text, in only one edition or in a selected biography.

Image databases

- Uffizi. Masterpieces of the most ancient museum in the world. Florence: Opera Multimedia, 1995. Italian Multimedia presentation of the building and all the exhibited images (ca. 500 paintings) of the Uffizi, Florence.
- Le Louvre. The palace & its paintings. Paris: Montparnasse Multimedia Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994. English A hundred paintings from the Louvre, amongst the museum's most

important works, illustrating the history of the major European schools (French, Italian, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish and English), from the very early artists (primitives) up until the 19th century masters.

- Art Gallery. The Collection of the National Gallery, London. Microsoft Corporation, 1993. English.
 A complete image catalogue of the National Gallery, with rich background material: lives of artists, geographic and chronological documentation and a surprisingly rich and useful glossary of art history. The very first computer catalogue of a museum!
- The Hermitage. Intersoft Inc., Moscow, 1995. English & Russian. (Gift of Elena Sinitsyna) A rich image catalogue of the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, a special blend of original ideas and oldtime solutions.
- 5. Medieval Realms. Britain 1066-1500. London: The British Library, 1994. English

(Gift of the British Library)

A good and rich presentation of British Middle Ages: historical documents, manuscripts, music etc.

6. The Image of the World. An interactive exploration of ten historic world maps. London: The British Library, 1994. English. (Gift of the British Library)

Presentation of ten historical map from the British Library's collection (c. 1250, 1482, c.1490, 1530, 1550, 1668, 1787, 1822, 1886, 1994). Maps are presented by continuous audio and written commentaries, as well as by short 'click and see' commentaries linked to important points of the map.

- 7. Il Seicento (The Seventeenth Century), published by Umberto Eco, Rome: Opera Multimedia, 1995. Italian. A perfect multimedia CD, presenting the totality of the Seicento (history, literature, philosophy, art etc.) in the form of a labyrintheous library. Apart from the data included, which is sometimes poor, erroneous and superficial, the way Eco organizes them makes the CD a perfect example of how to build up a multimedia database.
- The Hungarian Crown and Regalia. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 1996. Hungarian & English. History, documentation, and very rich illustrations (850 photos, 12 minutes of video) of the Hungarian coronation ensigns: the crown, the sceptre, the orb, the coronation sword, the coronation mantle and the cross of oath.
- 9. Kirchenburgen der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen Monasteries in Romania (2 CD-ROMs). Bucharest: D.O.R. Kunsthandel GmbH, Olsberg - Noi S.R.L., Bucuresti, 1996. No text.

The simplest image databases possible, with no database at all. The two CDs contain 154 and 172 color pictures respectively. A short list of the places represented can be found on the external cover of the CDs.

10. Emblem Manuscripts 1630-1685. Affixiones of the Brussels Jesuit College in the Royal Library of Belgium. IDC Publishers, 1996. In English.

The Marburger Index - Microfiche Collection & CD-ROM

The Marburger Index is a microfiche collection documenting the art and architecture of Germany with 1.120.000 photographs on more than 11.000 fiches. There is no *time-limit* of the collection. Best documented are Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque and Art of the nineteentth Century. Topographically it covers the territory of the German State in 1937, i.e. today the German Republic and western parts of Poland (Pomerania, Silesia). The edition is based on the photo *collection* of Bildarchiv Photo Marburg, founded by the art historian Richard Hamann in 1913. Later other archives were involved in the project, as those of museums, offices for protecting historical monuments, etc. Recently the Dresdner Bildbibliothek has joined the project.

Minor collections:

- 1. Italian Index
- 2. Index photographique de l'art en France
- 3. Schweizer Index
- 4. Österreich Index

The ICONCLASS - System, Browser & Bibliography

ICONCLASS is an iconographic classification system developed in the last fifty years by the Iconclass Development and Research Group (IDRG) of the Universities of Leiden (Department of Art History) and Utrecht (Department of Computer and Humanities). In recent years, various applications used around the world have made it the most widely accepted classification system for visual documents. Individual iconographers and public institutions alike rely on Iconclass.

The 17-volume printed edition of the system (ICONCLASS. An Iconographic Classification System. Amsterdam, 1973-1985) can be found in the Szépművészeti Múzeum/Museum of Fine Arts Library, Budapest. Up-to-

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date information about the system is provided in the Internet page of the IDRG: http://iconclass.let.ruu.nl

The Vatican Library Videodisk Collection

The Vatican Library Videodisks contain databases of codices with images and iconographic indexes. The databases were prepared by the Ecole Française de Rome. At the moment there are three videodisks edited: *Reginenses latini, Urbinates latini* and *Vaticani latini-1*.

- 1. The basic collection of Latin manuscripts in the Vatican Library dates from the time of Nicholas V, the founder of the library in 1450-1451, and goes by the name *Vaticani latini*. The collection today numbers 15289 manuscript. The present videodisk covers the first 2000 manuscripts.
- 2. The *Urbinates* was appropriated in 1657 by pope Alexander VII. The major part was formed at Urbino by duke Federico da Montefeltro (d. 1482) and his son Guidobaldo. Today the Latin Urbinates number 1779 manuscripts
- 3. Some 2327 manuscripts of the Vatican Library (2122 Latin, 205 Greek) go by the names *Reginenses*, since most of them (about 1800) come from the library of Christina (1626-1689) the former Queen of Sweden which was bought by the Vatican Library in 1690.

The three videodisks cover any and every illustration in the above collections from simple marginal sketches to extravagant miniatures with detailed iconographic indexing. Although the software runs in French and English, the database is in French.

The iconographic index system - Thésaurus des images médiévales

The iconographic classification and retrieval system used in the videodiscs was developed by the Group Images of the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. All the terms and expressions are in French. The index system is a tool for document research and not an analysis of the image, nor is it a true description of the image. The key words are classified according to the fields described below. The structure is basically not hierarchical. The number of the key words are limited (there are c. 1200 key words). Therefore it is not too detailed. On the other hand, there are useful general terms that are missing from ICONCLASS (e.g. miracle), and the system was developed especially for medieval images.

The ORBIS - Database Manager Program

ORBIS is an easy-to-use database software for managing structured data, full texts and images. You can use it to put in order your biblio cards and notefiles, to analyze a group of historical sources, to build a glossary or a biographical lexicon, or to catalogue your slides, all in a very flexible way, to your own design. We use it in the Visual Lab for composing and presenting medieval text and image databases (see below).

Orbis is named after *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, the first European picture dictionary, published in 1658. The dictionary was written in the North Hungarian Sárospatak College by Johannes Amos Comenius (1592-1670), the recognized Czech scholar who taught in Hungary and Poland. The software was drawn up in 1992, on the 400th anniversary of Comenius's birth, by a group of Hungarian museums and scholarly institutions in order to catalogue their collections and to offer an effective tool for researchers in the arts and humanities. It is widely used in Hungarian, as well as some other European and American museums and universities. Some of these databases can be also consulted in the Visual Lab.

In Orbis, you can design the structure of the database yourself. It is easy to restructure and it is compatible with all well-known databases.

All data (words, expressions, file names etc.) can easily be retrieved without any effort, i.e. without the use of key words. You can link your records to each other, thus creating a hypertext-like web within your database. Images can be linked to records, and can be visualized either as single images or in rows of minimized icons. The software runs in English, French, and Hungarian, but prospective users are encouraged to translate its menu commands and messages into their own language, thus preparing its national versions. English help is built in the software, and an English translation of its detailed manual is available in the Lab.

Use of Orbis is free for students and fellow researchers of the Medieval Studies Department. They are also encouraged to recommend it to the attention of their colleagues and home institutions who can obtain the right to its use in exchange for a test report. For further details, consult the research assistants. Up-to-date informations on the Orbis system and its users are provided via Internet at the following address: http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/or/ orbis.html

ORBIS databases available in the Visual Lab:

1) The Hungarian Angevin Legendary Database

This fourteenth-century codex, to which the pages, now kept in several collections, once belonged, consists of illustrations of evangelical scenes and legends of the apostles and the saints.

The manuscript contains only illuminations with *tituli*, without full texts of the legends. The pictures were always painted on the flesh-side of the pergamen folios, and in the codex two painted folios are followed with two non-painted ones. Each page is divided into four pictures in a field of cca 210 x 160 mm. The illustrations are presumably based on the text of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Legenda aurea*. Pictures related to East Central European saints are based on other, local legends. Today 142 pages and 549 pictures of the codex remain, representing 58 legends.

The early history of the manuscript is not clear. It was ordered by Charles I, king of Hungary (1307-1342) perhaps for his son Andrew educated in Naples, or for his own library. The illuminations are stylistically associated with the style of Pseudo-Niccolò, leading Hungarian art historians to base, originally, the codex in his atelier in Bologna. On the other hand, Tuscan, South-Italian, and unidentified features are also present in its style, and its iconography shows deep Hungarian influences, thus the location may be modified to Hungary. Dating of the codex is based on these hypotheses and can be put between 1328 and 1345.

The codex arrived in Poland, probably through Hungary, in the 14th century, and was given to Giovanni Battista Saluzzo by king John Casimir in 1630. The new owner gave some of the pages to his brother. The greater part became the property of Pope Benedict XIV and later of the Vatican Library. Other pages were bought from art dealers by their present owners:

- Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 8541
- New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MLMS. 360, 360c-d
- St. Petersburg, Ermitage, Nr. 16930-16934
- Berkeley, Bancroft Library of the University of California, f. 2MS2A2M2 1300-37
- New York, private collection
- Metropolitan Museum, Paris

The database contains:

- processed photos of the pictures;
- the original Latin tituli with their English translation;
- biographies of the represented saints in hypertext format;
- legends in Latin which served as a basis for the representation;

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- full-text English *description* of the pictures, with as brief *interpretation* of the divergence between represented actions and narrative;
- *iconography* of the representations indexed with the keywords of two iconographical description systems: the Dutch ICONCLASS and the French *Thésaurus des Images Médiévales* (see above);
- place for *further remarks* made by the users.
- 2) Catalogue of the CEU ELTE Medieval Library

In order to enable the readers to consult our library's catalogue outside of the university network, we periodically convert the CEU catalogue cards of our departmental material, kept in TINLIB system, into Orbis. This material is also continuously completed by the ELTE Medieval History Department's Library with the description of the materials kept there.

3) Early Church Fathers

A major undertaking of the Department, started in the last academic year, has been the processing of the text and notes of the 38-volumes of the *Early Church Fathers* (ed. Donaldson, Eerdmans), the only complete English translation of the works of the great Christian authors of the first six centuries A.D. By now, the texts of all the volumes have been scanned and corrected, and the first volume has been converted into Orbis, completed with footnotes. This database contains the works of the following authors:

- Apostolic Fathers (Clement, Mathetes, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, Papias)
- Justin Martyr (Apologies, Dialogue, Discourses, On the Government of God, Fragments, Martyrdom)
- Irenaeus (Against Heresies, Fragments)

The database as well as the plain texts of the other volume are available in the Visual Lab.

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2. "Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe" Research Project

Marianne Sághy

The End of a Project: Past and Future

The work of the "Women and Power in Medieval East-Central Europe" project ended in July 1995 at the Second International Medieval Congress in Leeds.

The two years of the "Women and Power" research project (1993-1995) was a period of intense learning for all of us. It was the first time that the Central European University's Department of Medieval Studies launched an international research project. Looking back to the beginnings, we can say that we made a "jump in the dark" in the summer of 1993. At that time, we started to build up a new type of university, a new center for post-graduate study in the region. In retrospect, the "Women and Power" project stands as a symbol of the enthusiasm and energy that fuels our work. It is with this project that we began to establish a network of communication, information, and exchange among East European scholars. The fact that we succeeded in bringing together people and we were able to foster a meaningful scholarly discourse was in itself an important result, for it proved that there was a very real need for a more active personal communication and relation among scholars in the age of computers and of the Internet. We were eager to "get connected," to "get in touch" with each other, even though this often revealed our "otherness." Organizers, fellows, and participants all came from different backrounds and with different cultural baggage, yet this reinforced, rather than weakened our interest in each other and the learning process in which we engaged.

Our talks, conferences, and workshops, as Nancy Partner pointed out in her introduction, revealed also differences in historical and in theoretical approach. This may serve as an incentive for further reflection and research. Scholars in Eastern Europe do not yet easily employ the methods and the language of sophisticated gender analysis in their work. They are interested in the "history of women" rather than in gender studies proper. Rethinking the history of women, however, is a necessary first step toward working out a more elaborate framework in which to examine their social functions and their historical roles. The "Women and Power" research project provided a congenial scholarly atmosphere for confronting and discussing various views and opinions about women in history. We hope that the discussions will go on and that our project contributed to the future of women's history that is going to be written in East-Central Europe.

Editing Women and Power

In 1996, we edited the papers of the "Women and Power" project for the American historical journal East Central Europe. The following papers were selected for publication: Joanna R. Chodor, Queens in Early Medieval Chronicles Zdenka Janeković-Romer, Noble Women in Fifteenth-Century Ragusa Gábor Klaniczay, The Cinderella-Effect: Late Medieval Sainthood in Central Europe and in Italy John M. Klassen, Queenship in Late Medieval Bohemia Marianne Sághy, Aspects of Female Rulership in Late Medieval Literature: The Queens' Reign in Angevin Hungary James Ross Sweeney, The Tricky Queen and Her Clever Lady-in-Waiting: Stealing the Crown to Secure Succession, Visegrad, 1440

We also included in the volume a paper based on a CEU M.A. thesis: Anna Brzezińska, Accusations of Love-Magic in the Renaissance Courtly Culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Additional essays widening the scope of the research project on urban women and on questions on "Women and Power" in modern Hungary were also included. These papers were read at conferences organized by the István Hajnal Society of Social Historians and by the Society of Urban History:

Katalin G. Szende, The Other Half of the Town

József Hudi, Ein Scheidungsprozess aus der Stadt Papa zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts

József Vonyó, Women in Hungary in the 1930s: The Role of Women in the Party of National Unity

This volume of East Central Europe will appear in the Summer of 1997.

3. DECRETA REGNI MEDIAEVALIS HUNGARIAE

János M. Bak

This project, brought to CEU by Professors Bak and Sweeney who had been working on it for several years, is proceeding – as the saying goes – slowly but steadily. The third volume of *DRMH*, covering the laws issued by King Matthias I (Corvinus) between 1458-1490, was published in 1996 with the

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support of the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington, D.C.) and the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA).

Already during the final stages of preparation of *DRMH*3, work has started on both the fourth and fifth volume, the laws of 1490-1526 and the customary law code of Stephan Werbőczy, the *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incliti regni Hungariae* (1514), respectively. In all likelihood, the fifth volume will precede the fourth, as it seems useful to complete work and annotation on the law code before deciding about the necessary selection of the decrees of the Jagiellonian kings of Hungary. The legislation of the diets from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is so extensive – and so repetitive – that a complete printing does not make sense, and would be too cumbersome (and expensive). Therefore, these laws will be printed in selection. Omissions will be decided above all with a view to those parts (mainly of procedural law) which finally found their way into Werbőczy's book.

In this sense, translation and annotation of the *Tripartitum* is now our first priority and may be completed by 1998. Parallel to this, we are planning to issue a revised, second edition of *DRMH* 1 (1000-1301), originally published in 1989, for that volume came out in a rather faulty format due to the lack of funds – and experience – of some ten years ago. Support from OTKA is still available for the project and there is some hope that NEH, although its Translations Project has been discontinued, will join in with at least a modest grant.

4. MEDIEVAL EASTERN EUROPE: AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA

János M. Bak

Because of "personal union" it is perhaps not inappropriate to report here about the faltering of a research project, similarly inherited by CEU from a team that worked on it for many years – Professors Bak, John Klassen (Trinity Western), and Paul Knoll (USC) – the *Medieval Eastern Europe: An Encyclopaedia*. After many years of preparation and international cooperation, only a fraction of the volume was ready when the publisher, Garland of New York, informed us that they are not intending to continue their series of medieval encyclopedias. We hope to be able to utilise the material gathered so far – if for no other purpose but for academic teaching at CEU – and hope that there will be a chance to put together such a reference work which, we are convinced, would be of great value. Maybe it will be the task of our alumni a few years hence to take up this enterprise, as they are versed both in English writing and in new approaches to the Middle Ages without the traditional limitations of national historiographies.

SUMMER UNIVERSITY, JULY 1 - 26, 1996

COMPUTING IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES. CD-ROMS, INTERNET, DIGITAL LIBRARIES, SOURCE-ORIENTED DATA PROCESSING OF TEXTS AND IMAGES

Gerhard Jaritz

A number of recent methodological developments in Medieval Studies have increased the relevance of the application of computer-supported methods. For that reason, the Department of Medieval Studies organized an international Summer University dealing with *Computing in Medieval Studies: CD-Roms, Internet, Digital Libraries, Source-Oriented Data Processing of Texts and Images,* for researchers, junior university professors, museologists, organizers of exhibitions, postgraduate students, etc. The aim of the courses was to make the students familiar with today's state of the art of computing in medieval studies, and to provide possibilities for them to apply and test them practically, also by using their own material. We could gain internationally recognized experts from Europe, the United States and Australia as professors.

The presentation, usage, and methodological discussion of the various commercially available CD-Roms for medievalists, an introduction into the advantages for historians to use the Internet and the World Wide Web, and a discussion about digital libraries represented introductory parts of the course.

Nowadays it has become very easy to reproduce pictorial sources as well as manuscript material on computer screens in qualities rivaling professional photography. At the same time, it is now possible to distribute such collections easily and cheaply via sets of CD-ROMs, as well as over computer networks. Using both techniques, it is currently possible within relatively small projects to create digital editions or digital archives of up to 50.000 or 100.000 digital objects (manuscript pages, photographs etc.) without an overly-large effort. An introduction into those possibilities was given by Manfred Thaller (Max-Planck Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen) in his *Images and Manuscripts as Objects of Digital Systems*. He also dealt with the very relevant problems and possibilities of source-oriented data-processing of verbal texts and digitized images, particularly with the help of KLEIO, a database management system for historians that has been developed at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte at Göttingen (Germany). Methodological discussions and practical applications by the participants especially concentrated on the analysis of medieval source material in a context-sensitive way.

Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Budapest and Institut für Realienkunde, Krems/Austria) concentrated on *Digital Image Analysis and the History of Medieval Everyday Life.* He showed how to obtain direct access to every described detail of digitized images, the possibilities to create and administrate digital image archives, to collect and to compare larger numbers of individual image segment information on different levels in the course of comparative analysis, the integration of background knowledge, and the combination of images or their parts during the research process.

Axel Bolvig (University of Copenhagen) also presented various possibilities of Visualizing History with the help of a nearly complete digitalized collection of Danish medieval murals.

Michael Greenhalgh (Australian National University, Canberra). *Image Processing and the World Wide Web* spoke about. He surveyed the techniques involved in imaging, from the various ways of getting images into digital format, to their storage and display on computers, and their provision from various media over the Internet. An important theme throughout these classes were the costs and benefits of serving images across the Web, both of which were illustrated by the setup of his operation at the Australian National University, where over 16,000 images are available world-wide through the Internet, together with a variety of important texts, and illustrated on-line tutorials.

Another part of the Summer University showed the results of specific projects, as there is the *Electronic Beowulf Project* of the British Library and the University of Kentucky (Seamus Ross, British Academy, London), the *Orbis*-Central European image database of the department of Medieval Studies (Tamás Sájo, CEU, Budapest) or *Monastic sites in space and time*, a multimedia application about Hungarian monastic culture (Beatrix Romhányi, ELTE, Budapest)

The participants obtained the necessary knowledge to create databases of texts and images, how to structure them in an economical, purpose-determined way, how to treat them in database management systems, how to link hypertexts and images, etc. They became acquainted with the basic conventions and tools of iconographic decoding and the description of images: the description systems, available encyclopaedias and handbooks, and methods of description.

Moreover, the students were introduced into developing and managing electronic journals and data services (Seamus Ross), and they got an introduc-

tion into the encoding of Slavic manuscripts (Milena Dobreva, Institute of Mathematics and Informatics, Sofia).

The thirty participants of this part of CEU's Summer University mainly came from institutions in Central and Eastern European countries, where the need to apply computer-supported methods in historical research at universities, libraries, museums and cultural institutions is certainly following the international trends. The course offered a change for increased communication, discussion, and testing of various new methods and possibilities. As in other countries, medieval studies again have shown its position on the cutting edge of the application of those new methods, tools, and technologies.

PROGRAM

July 1/2-4

Tamás Sajó (CEU): Medieval Computing Resources at the CEU

July 5-9

Seamus Ross (British Academy, London): Developing and Managing an Electronic Journal, Data Services, Intelligent Agents, and Knowledge Representation The Electronic Beowulf Project

July 10

László Veszprémy (ELTE, Budapest): *Abbreviationes* Beatrix Romhányi (ELTE, Budapest): *Monastic sites in space time (a multimedia program of monastic culture)*

July 11-12

Milena Dobreva (Institute of Mathematics and Informatics, Sofia): *Encoding Slavic Manuscripts*

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July 15-19

Manfred Thaller (Max-Planck Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen): Images and Manuscripts as Objects of Digital Systems

July 18 and 19

Gerhard Jaritz (CEU and Institut für Realienkunde, Krems/Austria): *Digital Image Analysis and the History of Medieval Everyday Life*

July 22-26

Axel Bolvig (University of Copenhagen): *Visualizing History*

Michael Greenhalgh (Australian National University, Canberra): Image Processing and the World Wide Web

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Heremitae, Monachi, Fraters The Interaction of Monastic Cultures in Medieval Europe

Conference organized by Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma, and Hungarian Medievalists' Society, March 21-23, 1996

Monastic culture was the most universal phenomenon of medieval Europe. Monastic communities could be found in every country and region, and they shared a remarkable uniformity in their material and spiritual culture. Former historical, art historical, and archaeological studies point out that the community life, the liturgy, the architecture, and the material culture of monastic orders show very strong similarities in the Western and Eastern parts of Europe. In this context, some of the orders can be regarded as the most international organisations of medieval Europe. On the other hand, different monastic trends emerged during the Middle Ages, and their interactions show very different features and patterns. Eremitic, cenobitic, and mendicant traditions influenced each other, but they were often in opposition as well. The aim of the conference was to discuss these aspects of monastic cultures with the help of a wide range of methods and viewpoints. Theological, art historical, historical, and archaeological aspects were addressed, as well as liturgical and architectural influences of the various monastic cultures.

The Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma celebrated the thousandth anniversary of its foundation in 1996. Important guests attended the celebrations, and the abbot of the monastery strongly supported the idea of an international conference held in the monastery itself. With the conference on medieval monastic culture we contributed to the events of the millecentennial celebrations in Hungary.

PROGRAM

Pannonhalma, 22-23 March 1996

22 March, Friday

"The Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma in the Middle Ages"

Introduction József Laszlovszky (CEU) Monastic Interactions: Methods and Problems

Csaba László (National Board of Historical Monuments, Budapest) Neueste archäologische Forschungen in der Benediktiner Abtei zu Pannonhalma

Szilárd Papp (National Gallery, Budapest) Spätgotische Architektur und ihre Beziehungen in Pannonhalma

"The Collections and Treasures of Benedictine Abbey, Pannonhalma"

Szilveszter Solymos OSB (Pannonhalma) Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke und historische Reliquien in der Abtei von Pannonhalma (Führung)

Ilona Ásványi (Pannonhalma) Die Bibliothek von Pannonhalma und ihre Schätze (Führung)

Gáspár Csóka OSB (Pannonhalma) Das Abteiarchiv und seine mittelalterlichen Urkunden (Führung)

"Interactions in Medieval Monastic Culture – Monasticism and Philosophy"

György Heidl (JPTE, Pécs) *The Letters of St. Anthony the Great and the Young Augustine*

István Perczel (CEU) The Letters of Saint Anthony the Great and his Life by Athanasius

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

23 March, Saturday

"Interactions in Medieval Monastic Culture – Art and Architecture"

Rossina Kostova (CEU) The Monastery of Ravna and the Surrounding Hermitages

Beatrix Romhányi (ELTE, Budapest) Mission and Monasticism in Central Europe

Miklós Takács (Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest) Ornamentale Beziehungen der Steinmetzkunst zwischen Ungarn und Dalmatien im 11. Jh.

Béla Zsolt Szakács (CEU) The Spatial Organization of "Westwerk" of Benedictine and Other Conventual Monastic Churches

"Interactions in Medieval Monastic Culture – Hermits, Monks and Friars"

Tore Nyberg (Odense Universitet) Benedictines, Austin Canons, Cistercians, and Hospitallers in Scandinavia until the Arrival of Mendicants

James Hogg (Universität Salzburg) Carthusians in the Middle Ages

Simon Tugwell OP (Pontificia Università S. Tommaso, Roma) The First Steps towards a Dominican Presence in Hungary

"Interactions in Medieval Monastic Culture - Hermits, Monks and Friars"

Mladen Ančić (Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, Zadar) Cistercians in Croatia in the 13th century

Gerhard Jaritz (CEU) Transeuntes ad alium ordinem. *The Position of Cistercians and Carthusians in the Middle Ages*

Kaspar Elm (Freie Universität, Berlin) Conclusion: History of Orders or History of the Institution of Orders?

Gregorian Chants Concert by Schola Hungarica at the CE

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INTERACTIONS OF MEDIEVAL MONASTIC CULTURES METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

József Laszlovszky (CEU)

Medieval monastic cultures have been studied by various scholars (historians, art historians, church historians, archaeologists, etc.), but these studies usually represent two main research directions. One of them is based on the classical history of the order according to the medieval traditions. The foundation of the given order, the emergence of new monastic ideas, and the spiritual and material culture of the monastic community are discussed in a chronological framework.

It has been argued that the history of an order can provide very important data and historical conclusions for one type of monastic tradition, but that the interactions of monastic cultures are hardly represented in this research direction. The other problematic question is the interpretation of the historical processes seen from the point of view of one single monastic movement. The development of one order can be studied in different frameworks: the emergence, development, or decline can be connected with very different meanings in the context of the history of monastic cultures, in European history or in the order's history in a given country.

The history of monasticism is representing the other main research direction, and development, or evolution, plays a significant role in this framework. Emergence and decline are crucial features of monastic movements, but the history of a given order is only one layer of the universal history of monasticism. Eremitic tradition and monastic or mendicant orders are usually discussed in one period and their interactions are in focus only in some particular historical periods. The emergence of the Cistercian order, or the effect of the ideas of St. Bernard on other monastic traditions are often discussed in this type of monastic studies, but Benedictine and Cistercian interactions of the later periods are rarely studied.

On the other hand, medieval monastic interactions have been discussed very often within some of the fields of medieval studies. Monastic building workshops were, and to some extent still are, very frequently mentioned as

explanations for architectural or stylistic similarities of monastic building complexes. According to these studies, workshops of Cistercian monks or of the Order of St. John left the signs of their architectural activities on various buildings, but the interpretation of these features remained a very problematic question. Can we speak about monastic workshops, or rather of workshops hired by different monastic orders?

These questions can be studied from different viewpoints, but art history, archaeology, economic history, and any other fields of medieval studies should cooperate in the research of the interactions of monastic cultures.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT PANNONHALMA

Csaba László (National Board of Historical Monuments, Budapest)

In 1996, the Benedictines of Pannonhalma celebrated the millennium of the foundation of their monastery. In the framework of the renovation works connected with this event, we had the opportunity to organise excavations and architectural research. It has not yet been completed, but we consider it important to publish some of the results.

The known remnants from an early period, possibly dating from the eleventh century, belonged to a wooden building with a terrazzo floor, consisting of at least three parts. We have no archaeological data about the corresponding church.

The excavations revealed the basis of the church built around the half of the twelfth century, under Abbot David. The wall of the northern apse still stands several meters high. This church is a three-nave, non-vaulted building of the same width as today's church, supplied with an sub-church. The rebuilding of the church was started at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The earlier northern side-choir was retained and kept in use, and, after the plans were changed twice, a three-nave, vaulted, late-Romanesque church was built, enlarged through a sub-church and supplied with a rectangular choir. The inner space was divided into three parts: above the sub-church was the main choir, which could be approached from a staircase cut into the wall from the northern side-nave. The choir for the monks was situated in front of the main choir, in the central part of the church. It was separated from the western part of the church by a choir-screen, adorned with red marble and arcade-shaped ornaments. The only entrance to the church was located in this part.

The choirs were newly vaulted in 1486. Later, at the beginning of the six-

teenth century, chapels were attached to the side-choirs. The renovations of the eighteenth century did not substantially change the medieval outlook of the church. The building of the classicist tower at the beginning of the nineteenth century caused, however, the destruction of the western part and the gallery of the medieval building. Further damage was inflicted at the end of the last century through the restoration activities by Ferenc Storno. After several renovations, the late-Romanesque monastery was built in the last decades of the thirteenth century. In this complex – which is square-shaped, characteristic for monasteries - there was, contrary to previous presumptions, no so-called "conversus-cloister" (a Cistercian influence). In the middle of the courtyard, there was a walled cistern, and a well was located in the south-western corner. After the destruction of the late-Romanesque wings and the cloister, a two-storied open gothic cloister was erected in 1486, the walls of which were, compared to the previous situation, shifted toward the East for one width of the cloisterwalk, and they have been preserved until today to the height of the first floor. The medieval residence wing at the southern and western parts were destroyed in the building activities of the eighteenth century.

LATE GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF PANNONHALMA

Szilárd Papp (National Gallery, Budapest)

The second half of the fifteenth century was not a flourishing period for the convent of Pannonhalma, but significant rebuildings and architectural changes were made during this time. This can be connected to the fact that the King Matthias was the *commendator* of the abbey at that time. The building activity can be dated with an inscription of the year 1486. The naves of the abbey church were covered with new vaults and a new cloister was built on the sothern side, while a new sacristy and the chapel of St. Benedict were erected on the northern side.

Former studies on the stylistic parallels of these new parts argued that late gothic influences from Saxony can be observed. The new architectural elements must have appeared in the royal court of Buda around 1470. The features of the same architectural style can be detected mainly in other royal centres (Székesfehérvár, Visegrád), till the end of the fifteenth century. It was generally used in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Elements of this style also appeared in Pannonhalma, perhaps the vault

and the gate of the new chapel can mirror this process. However, the corbels of the cloister vault present a mixed picture where the features of the new style appear together with other late gothic forms. The latter must have been present already before the seventies. Special types of polygonal corbels appeared in various places after the building activity of Hans von Burghausen in Landshut, and similar features can be found on the Cathedral of Veszprém and St. Elisabeth's church at Košice.

The emergence of this style in Pannonhalma is an open question, but it can be argued that the former interpretation of the late gothic architecture at the abbey should be replaced with a more complex structure. The former monocausal stylistic explanation is questionable, and an earlier influence (perhaps from Southern Germany) should also be taken into consideration.

The Archive of the Benedictine Abbey at Pannonhalma

Gáspár Csóka OSB (Pannonhalma Benedictine Abbey)

The Pannonhalma abbey, founded in 996 by Géza, received its first deed in 1002 from King Stephen. Since that time, it has been a central question for the abbey to document the legal and estate procedures in charters. The number of papal, royal, and private charters (c. 35 documents) was significantly raised by the abbot Uros in the first half of the thirteenth century (more than 150 charters).

From the early thirteenth century, the convent has been regarded as a place of authentication (a special Hungarian system which is not to be found in other European countries). The first attempt to list the written documents was made in the fourteenth century. The Mongol invasion did not destroy the abbey, and the archive was moved to Győr and later to Vienna during the Turkish occupation of Hungary. Therefore, the medieval documents survived in the archive in a larger number than in other medieval convents. Monastic life ceased to exist in the abbey at the end of the sixteenth century, and its function as a place of authentication disappeared.

During the reorganization of monastic life at Pannonhalma in the seventeenth century, the archives of other convents (Bakonybél, Tihany, Dömölk) were also incorporated into the Pannonhalma collection. The reorganised convent of Zalavár (at Zalaapáti) joined the Benedictine Congregation only at the end of the nineteenth century; therefore, only the relevant material of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries can be found in the Pannonhalma archive.

The most important written documents in the collection of subordinated

abbeys can be found in the archive of Tihany convent. Among these, the most famous are the foundation charter of 1055 (with the first written Hungarian words and sentence) and the list of monastic estates of 1211.

The reorganisation of the written documents started in the eighteenth century, and the *capsa* and *littera* signs of that period are still in use. Catalogues and indices were also made at this time. During the dissolution of the Order by Joseph II, the archive was moved to Buda, and the abbey received back its collection in the nineteenth century. After this event, the archivists continued the reorganisation of the collection and study-aids were also edited.

The Historical Collection of the abbey (up to 1802) was expanded with documents written in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. The collection interest of the archive covers the documents of the office of the abbot, the high school of the order, the secondary schools and convents, and the financial offices of the order, the diocese, and the local parishes. The archives of the Guary, Somogyi, Chernel, Kende, and Erdődy families can also be found in the abbey collection. These materials were either donated to the monastery or kept there in safe-custody. Personal documents of Princess Stephanie (Belgium) and her husband, Prince Elemér Lónyai, form a special part of the abbey archive.

The archive collection contains 192 meters of documents. The most important publication of the archive is the edition of written sources: László Erdélyi - Pongrác Sörös (eds.), *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története* [The History of the Benedictine Order at Pannonhalma], vol. 1-13, Budapest, 1902-1916. The most recent critical edition of the Arpadian Age charters is György Györffy, *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, Budapest, 1992.

ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE LETTERS OF ST. ANTHONY THE GREAT

György Heidl (Janus Pannonius University, Pécs)

My main purpose was to show two parallels between the letters of St. Anthony and the works, or more precisely, the teachings of the young Augustine.

The first parallel concerns Anthony's *First Letter* and the preface of the *De* beata vita.

Anthony says that there are three kinds of calling which souls receive in order to turn to God, and Augustine speaks about three groups of sailors who are sailing towards the port of true philosophy. Anthony says to his brethren that there are souls, like Abraham, who are called by the law implanted in them and who obey the word of God without any delay. In my opinion, this group of souls corresponds to the first group of Augustinian sailors who can withdraw easily and quickly to the tranquility of the port, as soon as they reach the age when they can use their reason.

The second calling corresponds to the third group of sailors placed by Augustine between the first and the second group. We can read in the letter that there are people who are called by the intermediary of the written Law, who warns them of the torments that are awaiting the wicked, but also encourages them with the promises of the reward prepared for the saints. Accordingly, Augustine talks about the third group as formed by those who, catching a glimpse of certain signs, find the way leading to the port.

The third Anthonian group consists of "souls which at first were hard of heart and persisted in the works of sin" and God punished them in order that they "come in their senses, and be converted." Augustine says that the second group of sailors consists of people who were swept far away from the port, and arrived to the depths of misery. They need a great storm and a sort of headwind - a pedagogical punishment - to turn back and finally reach the port.

Moreover, there is another parallel between the two authors which I find most interesting. According to Anthony, it is not only in the first group of souls that an original law has been implanted; the entire human and angelic nature received the law of love at its first creation, i.e. when God created an intellectual unity which is common to all rational creatures. This is a spiritual and intellectual unity from which we have become alienated through the original sin, but to which we have still the possibility to return through Christ and through our mutual love for each other. In other words, if we love our common intellectual substance, our charity unites us again. This is an Origenist doctrine, and I would argue that this interpretation of the order of love can also be found in the early works of Augustine.

Finally, I have considered the question of whether there is a direct or indirect relationship between Anthony's letters and Augustine's works. Treating this question, naturally, I could not avoid touching upon the problem of Augustine's conversion.

The Letters of Saint Anthony and his Life by Saint Athanasius

István Perczel (CEU)

One of the important recent scholarly achievements which had an incalculable bearing on patristic studies is the authentication of the *Seven Letters*, attributed by ancient traditions to Saint Anthony the Great. Given that these *Letters* contain unambiguous Origenist doctrines (the preexistence of the souls in a spiritual, non-individualised state, original fall resulting in putting on the heavy body, etc.), we have now to face the challenge that one of the greatest saints of the Christian Church, the symbolic founder of monasticism, professed views that were later condemned as a pernicious heresy. For explaining this paradox, it has been argued that Anthony was in fact "less staunchly orthodox" than it had been believed before, his standard image having been created only later, by Saint Athanasius, his biographer.

In my paper I present the problem in a different light. I try to show that a thorough re-reading of the *Life of Anthony* proves that the image of Anthony presented by Athanasius conforms perfectly to what we learn from the *Letters*. Athanasius is fully aware of what we now call the "Origenist" teaching of Anthony; he does not try to hide it, and even approves it. Only an erroneous traditional reading of some important passages of the *Life* made us blind to this fact. Moreover, a comparison with other writings of Saint Athanasius, most of all the *De incarnatione*, shows that Athanasius himself professed some "Origenist" teachings.

In the closing section of my paper I try to give a new tentative explanation of these facts. I argue that instead of expanding the accusation of "Origenism" to Athanasius we should rather be careful in using this term. In fact, it seems that some views labelled later as "Origenist" formed an integral part of what was considered as orthodoxy in the fourth century. Moreover, a comparison of Anthony's and Athanasius' views with that of Evagrius of Pontus shows that there is a great difference between the "orthodox Origenism" of the fourth century and the "heretical Origenism" condemned in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

A LOOK TOWARDS MONASTIC PRACTICE IN TENTH-CENTURY BULGARIA: THE MONASTERY OF RAVNA AND THE SURROUNDING HERMITAGES

Rossina Kostova (CEU)

Both the written sources and archaeological excavations prove the coexistence of coenobitism and eremitism in Bulgaria in the tenth century. For instance, the most famous Bulgarian hermit, St John of Rila, recommends in his Testament (A.D. 941) the common life which "in many cases is much more useful for the monks than solitude, because solitude is not appropriate to many, but to a few who were perfect in all monks' virtues." In the same time, the student of tenth-century monasticism confronts the ambiguous attitude towards the variety of ascetic practices in Bulgaria, expressed by the highranking cleric Kosmas the Priest in his "Treatise against the Bogomils" (ca. A.D. 970). Although he respects the real hermits for their humility, he condemns the increasing popularity of different anchorite practices and treats their followers (e.g. monks-prisoners) as degenerated monks and breakers of the communal rules.

Indeed, the development of monastic archaeology in Bulgaria in the last twenty years illustrate the expansion of both coenobitic houses and cave complexes of hermitages during the tenth century. Moreover, the archaeological excavations encourages the study of the physical environment in which the interaction of the two models of the "true life for God" may have occurred. An appropriate example for such an undertaking is the monastery of Ravna. Similar to most of the other early Bulgarian monasteries, it is not mentioned in the sources and only became known through archaeological excavations carried out between 1979 and 1990. This monastery is located about 25 km south-east of the medieval capital Pliska and 18 km west of the present-day town of Provadija and is founded in A.D. 889. What is more important for our study, however, is that a considerable number of the caves are situated up to 5 km en circle the Ravna monastery. Thus, the present inquiry is concentrated on one main aspect: the date of the cave complexes surrounding Ravna and the possible communication between them and the monastery. The archaeological environment of the monastic site as well as the comparison to similar cases in Byzantium and Central Europe (e.g. the foundation of the orthodox monastery in Visegrád, Hungary, in the eleventh century) lead me to the following hypothesis: the cave complexes near Nevša and Nenovo were inhabited already by monks in the second half of the ninth century and in fact, preceded the construction of the Ravna monastery. Probably, whether for the remarkable concentration (sixty-five cells!), or the increasing fate of these monks, or for the personal relations of some of them with the court in Pliska,

the royal attention was drawn to the monastic colony in the defile of the Provadjiska River. In addition, the official policy to support the activity of the Cyrillo-Methodian disciples, finally enabled the emergence, at the end of 880's, of a monastery with a fancy composed plan and stylish architecture in such a deserted place.

Therefore, in spite of certain speculations, the present attempt at the casestudy of Ravna can be considered a demonstration of a new understanding of the establishment of monasticism in Bulgaria. Hence, in our point of view, this was a complicated process in which the governmental policy of Christianization, the royal commitment in monasticism, and the personal experience of certain monks, in fact followed and indicated the perpetual interaction between eremitism and cenobitism.

MONASTICISM AND MISSION: THE ROLE OF THE BENEDICTINE MONKS IN EARLY HUNGARIAN CHRISTIANITY

Beatrix Romhányi (ELTE)

The first missionaries coming to Hungary from the West were Benedictine monks, as St. Bruno of St. Gallen or St. Wolfgangus of Einsiedeln. The Benedictine influence continued in the eleventh century as well, and several of the first bishops were either members of the Order or had narrow contacts to it. Among them we can mention St. Gerhardus, Astricus-Anastasius, and Maurus, the Bishop of Pécs.

However, the monastic tradition was not only present on the highest level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. According to the often discussed part of the Legend of St. Gerhardus, the first cathedral chapter of Csanád consisted of Benedictine monks, and in fact, the only episcopal centre where Benedictine abbeys existed, was Csanád. Further, we have some foundation charters of the eleventh century which mention the right of the abbeys to found chapels on their estates. The false charter of Bakonybél of the twelfth century emphasises this right even more than the earlier ones. The archaeological excavations demonstrated that there is almost always a lay cemetery around the abbey church. From the thirteenth century a number of documents speak about the parish churches possessed by the different Benedictine abbeys. Usually, we find a little church near the abbey church, as it is the case in Ják, Boldva, Zselicszentjakab, Vértesszentkereszt and many others. The question is only whether the monks administered these chapels themselves, or they employed a secular priest charged with the pastoral care of the village people.

Although, there is no written evidence concerning the problem in Hungary, we cannot exclude the first possibility, since there is a great number of parallels in the Western Church from the sixth till the mid-twelfth century. The Austrian analogies are especially important from the point of view of the Hungarian situation.

Speaking about the Csanád diocese we must not forget that a Greek Orthodox missionary centre existed there before the arrival of St. Gerhardus. Thus, we have to count with a certain Orthodox influence as well. But this does not mean that Orthodox monasteries existed in Hungary in great numbers. The participation of the Benedictine monks in the pastoral care marked the early time of Hungarian Christianity. It has taken an end slowly, from the mid-twelfth century, but the very end of the process was some time at the end of the thirteenth century. The reason for this change was mainly the Gregorian reform which obliged the monastic communities to live a more contemplative life, following the Spirit of the Rule of St. Benedict.

CORRESPONDENCE IN ORNAMENTATION IN STONE-CARVING BETWEEN HUNGARY AND DALMATIA IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Miklós Takács (Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

The starting point of the paper was the discovery made by Ernő Marosi, who recognised the predecessors of the early-Romanesque palmleaf-capitals of Esztergom in the so-called Popponian building of the cathedral of Aquileia. According to the author of this study, however, this type of capital is not to be related directly to that of Aquileia. One should take into consideration the existence of an intermediary, the pre- and early-Romanesque architecture of Northern Dalmatia. There we can find a whole range of three-nave basilicas with palmleaf capitals (Sv. Marija od Zdravlja/S. Maria della Salute in Krk/Veglia; Sv. Marija/S. Maria in Nin/Nona; Sv. Barbara in Privlaka; in two churches of Zadar/Zara: Sv. Marija/S. Maria and Sv. Marija Velika/S. Maria Maggiore; and in four (!) churches in Rab/Arbe: Sv. Justina/S. Iustina, Sv. Ivan Krstitelj/S. Giovanni Battista, Sv. Andrija/S. Andrea, and the Cathedral dedicated to Virgin Mary (Sv. Marija/S. Maria)), the ornaments of which are very closely related to those of Aquileia, as well as Hungary. The argument for this relationship is not only the same type of stylisation of the palm-stalk, or the appearance of thorns at the leaf-ends, but also the most important fea-

ture: the holes which separate small leaves from one another. On the basis of these concordances, the author has concluded that the ornaments of the palmleaf-capitals of the Esztergom cathedral derive from the workshop of the Cathedral of Rab/Arbe.

In the conclusion, I have built a hypothesis about the historical conditions of the above-described architectural relations.

THE SPACIAL ORGANIZATION OF WESTWORKS IN BENEDICTINE AND OTHER CONVENTUAL CHURCHES

Béla Zsolt Szakács (CEU)

The western complexes in pre-Romanesque and Romanesque churches have been the subject of debates for a long time. However, the interpretations seem to be unsatisfactory because of the complexity of the question and the large number of the monuments involved. It is clear, that the appearance (or lack) of such a western complex is not independent from the space and time of the building, the donators and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In order to understand this problem better, we could turn to some Benedictine monasteries. We have chosen two territories where characteristic examples can be found. In the region of the Upper Rhine (Suevia) and in medieval Hungary, we find typical changes in this question (in other regions, such as Lotharingia, the arrangement of western parts is more constant).

It is well known that, in the Carolingian empire, the architectural type of westwork appeared in great Benedictine monasteries such as Centula or Corvey. On the other hand, similar western complexes were built for cathedrals as well (e.g., Reims). The Ottonian architecture continued this tradition, for which the monastery of Reichenau is a good example. However, just in this region and time we can find new tendencies. As a reduction of the classical westworks, the two-tower facade appeared in this region. The arrangement of the Strasbourg cathedral is debated, but at Schönenwerd the towers are unquestionable. The Benedictine monasteries of Schaffhausen I and St. Aurelius in Hirsau had similar western parts.

Surprisingly, completely new buildings were started in both monasteries during the 1080s, characteristically different from the previous ones. At Schaffhausen II we find no western towers, only a small entrance hall. At St Peter and Paul in Hirsau, the towers had first no connection with the church, and the entrance hall was built later between them. Both places are the centres of the Benedictine reform movement. This is just the time and place where the

political and ecclesiastical positions were in close connection with personal devotion. The complex western parts of the previous period were foreign to the Benedictine reformers who created a controlled, clear space instead. Similar tendencies can also be found in Burgundy (the towers belonging to an entrance hall, not directly to the church), and a more radical solution is typical for the Cistercians, who prohibited the building of towers at all.

In Hungary, the same development can be recognised. The most important buildings of the early eleventh century usually had a westwork (Székesfehérvár, Kalocsa, Pécs – Pannonhalma is in connection with another tradition). In the middle third of the century, instead of longitudinal buildings, new central or complex arrangements were applied, but the western emphasis had a continuos tradition (Veszprém, Zselicszentjakab). Later, coincidentally with new stylistic influences of Romanesque art, the longitudinal arrangement returned and the two-tower facade appeared with it (Garamszentbenedek, Somogyvár).

The influence of the reform movement can be felt under king Coloman. The cathedrals built in his time (Győr, Eger), royal Benedictine monasteries (Pásztó), and clan monasteries from this period (Csoltmonostor II, Pusztaszer 5), were built without western complexes. The inheritance of this tradition can be found in the second half of the twelfth century (Boldva, first plans of Ákos and Harina).

However, in the late twelfth century, the two-tower facade returned to Hungarian Romanesque architecture. Ákos and Harina were finally built with western towers, and in Csoltmonostor and Pusztaszer, new buildings were created around 1200 instead of the previous ones. The classical examples of this type are from the first half of the thirteenth century (Lébény, Ják). It is clear by this time that the founders had strong ambitions to possess a monastery of this type. While the Benedictine order had a leading role in the reform movement, and the most characteristic buildings without towers are reform monasteries, in this late flowering of the two-tower-facade the Benedictines were only one of the orders serving the donators (Premonstratensians built similar monuments, such as Zsámbék and Türje). By this time the order had lost its initiative role and shared the fortune of other monastic orders.

BENEDICTINES, AUSTIN CANONS, CISTERCIANS, AND HOSPITALLERS IN SCANDINAVIA UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE MENDICANTS

Tore Nyberg (Odense University)

Monastic life did not take root in the three Scandinavian kingdoms immediately after their conversion, but only hesitatingly toward the end of the eleventh century. There is indirect evidence that a number of Benedictine abbeys in Denmark and Norway, which are known from later date, were in fact established between c. 1080-1100. Two, perhaps three, monasteries for men and two for women in Norway belong to this early period; in Jutland the mainland of Denmark - one convent of nuns and four abbeys, two of which are later mentioned as double monasteries. The two Danish islands of Funen and Zealand had each one abbey at an early date, and in Lund, which was the metropolitan see since 1104, one abbey and one nuns' convent flourished. Iceland got an early Benedictine abbey; and perhaps even Sweden, which had received a few Cluniac missionaries in the mid-eleventh century, got its share of Benedictine monasticism around 1100, which, however, could not survive due to the stronger impact of pre-Christian religion.

Canonical life according to the Rule of St. Augustine entered Denmark and Norway during the first half of the twelfth century, and Benedictine monasticism received significant royal protection on Funen before 1117, and on Zealand in 1135. But shortly afterwards, the first Cistercians were helped by powerful prelates like Archbishop Eskil to establish themselves - 1143 in Sweden, 1144 in Denmark, and 1146 in Norway – spreading rapidly to other regions in all the three kingdoms. Their co-existence with the black Benedictines was not peaceful, and the foundation stories they left behind witness to their feeling of superiority towards the black Benedictines, whom they sometimes replaced and robbed of their old sites. Reform movements among the Austin Canons, which came from Paris under Abbot William of Ebelholt (d. 1203), supported this process. Less conflict followed the arrival of the Canons of Prémontré in the mid-twelfth century, which stabilised canonical life alongside the old Benedictine monasticism and the new Cistercian type. In consequence of this development, three of Denmark's eight cathedral chapters followed a monastic rule. Finally, in the latter half of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers of St. John received one house in each of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and they are known to have gone out for itinerant preaching tours, thereby causing disturbances by making heavy use of their papal exemption from episcopal authority. On the whole, Scandinavian monasticism until c. 1220 was dependent upon kings and bishops and seldom able to make its own independent decisions for the benefit of monastic life.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY: CARTHUSIAN FOUNDATIONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

James Hogg (Universität Salzburg)

My intention was to show the originality of Carthusian architecture in the Middle Ages as seen against the architecture of monasteries of other Orders at this period. I attempted to clarify the role of the Carthusian General Chapter, which met annually at the Grande Chartreuse and which all the priors were obliged to attend – or at least be represented by the Provincial Visitors (who had to be provided with the necessary information from those priors in the distant provinces who were excused personal attendance except in leap years). At the same time, I wanted to indicate how the actual construction of the individual houses was influenced by local sites and building traditions. I have outlined the part played by the provincial visitors and the rectors of new foundations, as well as the stipulations of the Statutes regarding the acceptance of new foundations.

I have also investigated the liturgical uses of the Order, so as to demonstrate that the Carthusian liturgy - unlike that of the Brigittine Order - was not dictated by Christ in special revelations, but cautiously selected from liturgies available in the area of the Grande Chartreuse, allowing for the temporary infiltration of certain local liturgical usages.

Finally, I have briefly referred to the unexpected role of some Carthusian priors in the reform movements of other Orders or as papal diplomats in the medieval period.

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS A DOMINICAN PRESENCE IN HUNGARY

Simon Tugwell OP (pontificia Universitá S. Tommaso)

This paper re-examined two questions: when and why did the Dominicans first go to Hungary?

For the first question two documents are crucial, both dating from about 1260: Suipert's report on the Hungarian province, and the so-called Historia OP in Dania. According to the latter, Solomon of Aarhus, who joined the order in Verona at Easter 1260, was persuaded by an otherwise unidentified Paul, who was a prior somewhere in Hungary, to accompany him to Hungary. This Paul (not necessarily a Dominican), had presumably been authorized by St. Dominic to recruit Dominicans. However, Solomon got no further than Friesach, and the document leaves entirely open the question whether there

were already Dominicans in Hungary and whether Paul recruited anyone other than Solomon to accompany him. Suipert relates how Master Paul of Hungary was sent to Hungary by St Dominic in 1221, but his language implies that there was already at least one convent already there, a point highlighted by Scheeben and not refuted since. But Suipert is very vague on the foundation of houses in Hungary, and his language might be misleading. The question of whether Master Paul's mission in 1221 was the first to be sent to Hungary by the Dominicans, thus remains unanswered.

It has often been asserted that Dominic was obsessed for years with the desire to preach to the Cumans, and that this was why he sent Master Paul to Hungary in 1221. But a detailed study of the evidence shows that Dominic wanted to convert pagans, but had no consistant choice of particular pagans. He was certainly talking about the Cumans in 1219, but in 1221 it was the Livonian mission which he envisaged. The mission to Hungary in 1221 must be seen essentially as part of the general expansion of the order which was on the agenda for the Chapter in 1221. It was not any specific command or request of Dominic's which led the Hungarian Dominicans to launch a mission to the Cumans, but their recollection of the interest he had shown some years before.

CISTERCIANS IN CROATIA IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Mladen Ančić (Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, Zadar)

The Cistercian monks were brought to Croatia by the incentive of the Hungaro-Croatian king Andrew II in 1205. He built the first monastery in Topusko, on the royal estate that comprised the whole county of Gora. The first monks came to the monastery from Clairvaux, so that the Topusko monastery became the seventy-sixth daughter of that mother-house. The monastery, or rather the buildings for the monks, was finished before 1211, while the church, a huge gothic structure, was still in the process of being built even at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Being royal, the monastery enjoyed a fully privileged status and was exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Zagreb, as well as from that of the royal officials and from taxation.

Apart from some difficulties with neighbours that the monks experienced in the first years after foundation, the Topusko monastery flourished throughout the thirteenth century. It became the mother institution for the Cistercian monasteries of St. Nicholas "*de Erchy*" in Hungary (after the 1242) and St. Jacob "*de insula Egidif*" on the Sava river near Zagreb (1255). This monastery was transferred into the city itself in the beginning of fourteenth century, contrary to the typical practice of Cistercian monks. In 1268, Pope Clement IV even attempted (unsuccessfully) to reform the old Benedictine monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damianus on the isle of Pašman near Zadar, and to put it under the motherly jurisdiction of the Topusko monastery. Besides those daughter institutions, the monks from Topusko have had their houses in the coastal city of Senj, a small fortress and an estate in Bihać on the Una river, and numerous granges scattered across the large estate donated by the king Andrew II. The Cistercians have had their monastery also in Kutjevo (*Gotho* of the medieval documents), near Požega in Slavonia in the bishopric of Pécs, whose mother institution was the abbey of Bököny. The monastery was already existing and had its lay-brethren (*conversi*) in 1234 when it was first mentioned in a papal letter: however, besides its existence, little can be said about the life of this monastery.

The problems experienced by the monks in Topusko during the first decade of the existence of the monastery can be ascribed to the inability of the somewhat backward society of the old royal estate to fulfil, readily and easily, the expectations of monks coming from different social background. The crisis was resolved after repeated interventions of the royal authority, and from that point on the monastery, its daughter monastery near Zagreb, and the houses scattered from the Adriatic up to the Sava river were able to thoroughly and continuously influence the whole society of central and northern parts of Croatia. The charisma of Cistercian monks and the royal monastery attracted petty local feudal lords who then were affiliated to the monastery, as well as the members of some of the most influential families from those parts of Croatia - among them notably members of the Babonići family. They promoted the Cistercian model of monasticism by donations and readily assumed the protection of the Topusko monastery when the royal authority began to crumble in the second half of the thirteenth century. All this points to the important role that the Cistercians played in the restructuring of the society of the central and northern Croatia in the thirteenth century.

Transeuntes ad Alium Ordinem. The Position of Cistercians and Carthusians in the Middle Ages

Gerhard Jaritz (CEU)

Monks and nuns, who – deliberately or forced – wandered around in the secular world (like the *gyrovagi*) and/or moved from one monastery to another, have been seen as a particular problem, especially in the fifteenth century. We

can find them, for example, in connection with the Hussite wars, when many had to move from one community to another, were rejected there, moved onwards to a third monastery, were rejected again, moved on to the fourth community, and so on.

Another problem with regard to ignoring, or having to ignore, monastic stabilitas were those monks or nuns who changed their order. This could certainly be judged rather differently, depending on whether they joined one's own order, or the opposite. Concerning those who came, a development can be seen that leads from their very positive connotation in the early period, soon after the foundation of the orders, towards scepticism in the later one. Those who left were seen as suspicious and dangerous, and the Cistercian and Carthusian General Chapters regularly dealt with them, be it generally or concerning specific cases. Again, the fifteenth century was the period in which most of those cases and difficulties obviously occurred. In the statutes, we are, on the one hand, confronted with the necessity to keep up the position of one's own order against the others. That could lead to rather severe norms, such as, for example, to treat those who had changed from the Cistercians to the Mendicants as *fugitivi* (1223); or to excommunicate those who had gone to the Benedictines (1251). On the other hand, we regularly find compromises, either initiated by various supporters of individual monks and nuns who wanted to change the order, or out of the wish of the General Chapter of the order to keep connections to other orders in a positive state without major disturbances.

The paper tried to show the importance, the developments and the changes of these problems, with particular references to the position of Cistercians and Carthusians.

CONCLUSION: HISTORY OF ORDERS OR HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION OF ORDERS?

Kaspar Elm (Freie Universität Berlin)

The research on monastic orders, which has in the past decades become more intense, is characterised by the fact that it no longer presents itself as concerning particular orders and their members. It does not limit itself any more to the history of single monastic communities, congregations, monasteries, foundations, and convents. The interest of the history of orders now lies no more exclusively with the spiritual functions of these institutions; it gives the same attention to their social, political, and economical aspect. It concentrates

increasingly upon the order as such, that is, its appearance, development, character, and functions; and this direction presents a considerable progress. The history of orders does not employ predominantly historical and theological arguments, but works with methods and paradigms of social sciences in order to understand the phenomenon of "monastic order." My intention was to discuss the new possibilities for the research on monastic orders, which arise from these tendencies.

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FIRST INTERDISCIPLINARY WORKSHOP OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES "THE YEAR 1000 IN EUROPE"

PROGRAM

June 17, Monday "Millenia in West and East"

Richard Landes (Boston University)

Terrors and Hopes of the Year 1000: Social Dynamics of Apocalyptic Expectations during the Millenial Generation (1000-1033)

Hanna Kassis (UBC, Vancouver) Awaiting "His Return" and the "End of Time" in Medieval Muslim Thought

Šima Čirković (University of Belgrade)

The "Second Century" in Orthodox Thought: Speculation about A.M. 7000 (A.D. 1492)

June 18, Tuesday "Church, Spirituality, and Learning"

Berhard Schimmelpfennig (Universität Augsburg) *Reform Before "The Reform"*

Pierre Riché (Paris) Gerbert d'Aurillac, the Pope of the Year 1000

June 19, Wednesday "The Debate on Continuity and Change"

Patrick Geary (UCLA) The Year 1000: Mutations and Continuities

Paul Freedman (Vanderbilt University, Nashville) From Slavery to Serfdom in Eleventh-Century Catalonia Evelyne Patlagean (Paris X-Nanterre)

Byzantine Aristocracy and Empire on the Eve of the Year 1000: The Crisis in Asia Minor

June 20, Thursday "Renovatio Imperii"

Aleksander Gieysztor (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw) On the Meeting in Gniezno

Lech Leciejewicz (University of Wrocław) On the Meeting in Gniezno: Poland Around 1000 in the Light of Archaeology

Knut Görich (Universität Tübingen) The Opening of Chralemagne's Tomb in Aachen: Some Reflections on Otto III and the Renovatio Imperii

June 21, Friday **"1000 A.D. in Europe"**

Aron Gurevich (Institute for History, Russian Academy of Sciences) The Year 1000 in Scandinavia

Neven Budak (University of Zagreb/CEU) Urban Development in Dalmatia After 1000

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APOCALYPTIC EXPECTATIONS AROUND THE YEAR 1000

Richard Landes (Boston University)

For over a century the approach of medieval historians to the question of *les terreurs de l'an mil* has been dominated by the position that the image of a whole generation filled with apocalyptic expectation at the approach of the year 1000 was the creation of the Romantic historians of the mid-nineteenth century and had nothing to do with the reality of late tenth or early eleventh century European society. As a result, none of the last century's ample discussion of the dramatic changes that mark this period – recently referred to as *la mutation de l'an mil* – have even considered the possibility of a role for apocalyptic thought in the social and cultural dynamics of the period. And yet, this argument dismissing the presence of any significant apocalyptic agitation around the year 1000 is flawed both factually and conceptually. On the contrary, looked at with an understanding of both the dynamics of apocalyptic beliefs and the dynamics of cultural memory, the period around 1000 may well mark one of the high water marks of such beliefs in European – or any – civilization.

The "anti-Terrors" school's argument rests on five main points:

- 1. People did not even know the date peasants had no notion of chronological time, elites used a variety of systems and even those using A.D. disagreed.
- 2. There are no theological reasons for 1000 to have eschatological significance.
- 3. There is almost no surviving evidence of any apocalyptic terrors from the period.
- 4. The little that survives is not directly related to 1000, but to dates such as 968, 1010 and 1033.
- 5. Therefore, we should not be surprised to find 1000 was a "year like any other" in which the normal train of medieval life wars, councils, ploughing, and praying went on in uninterrupted flow. The utter absence of documentation attesting to apocalyptic beliefs and movements is the decisive proof.

Let us take the points one by one:

- 1. The use of A.D. was widespread throughout Carolingian Europe; not a monastery or church of any significance did not have Bedan Easter Tables in which the point of entry (i.e., the already known information) is the year Anno Domini. As for peasants knowing the date, that depends on whether they wanted to know it or not; to posit ignorance is to posit indifference among commoners to the date of the End, a position for which there is little support at any point in Christian history.
- 2. There is a Christian tradition, especially strong in the Latin Church that dates back to the second century C.E. at the latest, that anticipates the End (however conceived) to the end of the current millennium (variously dated Annus Mundi); this tradition has a distinctly popular dimension to which Bede referred when he complained about rustici who want to know how many more years remained in the millennium. When both millennial dates Annus Mundi (6000 AM = 500 and then 801 C.E.) had passed, the next "target date" became 1000, a date with an Augustinian pedigree.
- 3. Apocalyptic expectation is a profound mixture of the most extravagant fears and hopes; those who reduce it to a paralyzing fear for which they find no evidence (Plaine, Lot, Riché,) not only fail to understand the ways in which the phenomenon can present itself (hope engenders actions like pilgrimage and peace councils), but also the dynamics of redating: those who fear feel relief at the passing of a date; those who hope feel disappointment and redate.
- 4. So just as one cannot restrict the evidence of apocalyptic belief to signs of fear, so one cannot restrict the role of an apocalyptic 1000 to the year itself: all great "dates" effect the period before and after, when apocalyptic hopefuls either jump the gun or "redate" after prophecy fails. Glaber openly alludes to this tendency when he points out how many expected the same extraordinary events around the millennium of the Passion as that of the Incarnation. Historians who argue in favor of an apocalyptic year 1000 point out that there are really two generations steeped in an apocalyptic Zeitgeist (Hugenholtz, Verhelst, Fried, Callahan, Landes).
- 5. The period *tam ante quam post, circa tamen annum Christi Domini millesimum* (Glaber) was one of immense ferment and change, not only evident to modern historians (*l'école mutationiste*), but also to contemporary observers like Glaber, Ademar of Chabannes, Theitmar of Meerseburg, etc.). To claim, as does Lot, that the peace councils that intensify in the decade before each millennial date (990-1000; 1023-1033), are just business as usual, is to mistake the radically extraordinary nature of the phenomenon. Quite the contrary, the Peace of God movement may be one of the most powerful and consequential chiliastic movements in the history of the West.

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The question remains, however: If so much went on, why do the texts not tell the story more clearly? Why is the vast bulk of this mountain of belief and activity submerged below the waterline of the documentation. To understand, we must consider the dynamics of apocalyptic rhetoric and the impact it has on the documentary record. There are two, fundamentally opposed stances about the nearness of the Apocalypse in any religion with a strong eschatological tradition like Christianity - roosters and owls. Roosters crow the dawn is imminent, owls that the night is still young. In periods of rising apocalyptic expectation, the roosters crow in chorus, rousing and disturbing listeners sympathetic and hostile alike; the hoots of the owls are straw in the wind. After the failure of the apocalyptic expectations (historically one of the constants of apocalyptic moments - they have all failed), the roosters are either soup or silent, and the owls dominate the discourse. Given the last laugh, the owls also dominate the documents and the archives, and in a religion whose elite is profoundly shaped by so towering an owl as Augustine, this translates into a documentary record - particularly in periods of little writing and imperfect preservation - into a paltry record of apocalyptic expectation. But rather than become the victims of the owls' trompe-l'oeuil, in which we read the documentation, as does Ferdinand Lot, as transparent on reality (few mentions, few instances), we need to read the surviving mentions of millennial apocalyptic (especially Rodulfus Glaber) as the tip of an iceberg. So rather than push aside the passages about apocalyptic expectation and the year 1000 as so much useless flotsam and jetsam, we should examine these texts closely: they offer us precious insights into that largely invisible body below the waterline of documentation, the commoners of Europe.

Approached as a complex, dynamic, and highly protean phenomenon with the power to arouse the energies and imaginations of the normally passive mass of the population, the apocalyptic year 1000 offers important insights into the transformations of the period around the turn of the millennium. It is time that social historians began to take this aspect of popular Christian theology seriously in their analyses of the cultural and social mutation de *l'an mil* and the extraordinarily active and surprisingly autonomous population of commoners who, in succeeding generations will transform the rural, urban, and cultural landscape of western Europe.

Thoughts that result from the workshops papers: Is there an important difference between the impact of apocalyptic expectation in Eastern and Western Europe ca. 1000? In the West, especially France, where central authority was in disarray, the impact of apocalyptic beliefs tended to work from the bottom up, triggering large demonstrations of collective piety – public penitential processions, mass pilgrimages, peace assemblies with huge crowds of peasants; in Central Europe, however, with the extraordinary, if

short-lived Ottonian dominance of both imperial and papal thrones, apocalyptic rhetoric came from above and supported imperial themes. In the East this translated into missionary activity which, as in Hungary, worked from the top down, introducing not the popular Christianity of Peace councils and pilgrimages, but that of monarchical episcopal authority. True to its protean nature, apocalyptic expectations thus had an almost opposite impact on two different elements of Christendom, depending on the cultural medium in which it expressed itself.

Awaiting "his Return" and the "End of Time" in Medieval Muslim Thought

Hanna E. Kassis (UBC, Vancouver)

While the year A.D. 1000 and the apprehensive anticipation that preceded it were primarily a concern of Latin Europe, similar expectations were not lacking in the non-Christian world. It should not be forgotten that the primary perception of expectation of the return of the "redeemer" – one on which that of Christianity was founded – existed several centuries before in Judaism. The expectation of the return of the Messiah, the one who is to redeem Jewry from its enslavement and dispersion, and the portents that are to signal his redemptive return, were the antecedents of the return of Christianity.

Drawing upon the vocabulary of both of its predecessors – Judaism and Christianity — with whom it shares primary theological premises, Islam also did not lack in the expectations of "a return" or of its concomitant apocalyptic portents. However, for the Muslims, as for the Jews, these were not associated with a specific time; or, if they were, such a time would be within Divine cognizance and inaccessible to human knowledge. It was certain that it should come to pass, with unmistakable portents and signs. But unlike the year 1000, the moment was beyond computation.

Such anticipation found expression in different ways. The first, and most important, is the "Hour" marking the end of time and the commencement of the Day of Judgment. This notion is founded on the teachings of the Qur'an (the holy book of Islam). The second pertains to the coming of the Mahdi (the "truly-guided" one), who shall steer the believers back to the right path. Not unlike Jewish Messianism, the two concepts were related yet separate.

Within Islam, the definition of the second concept, that of the expectation of the Mahdi, was differentiated according to sectarian beliefs: Sunni and

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Shi'ah. For the former, the idea of the Mahdi first appears in the course of the eighth century as a religious reaction to the opulence of the age – similar to the rise of sufism (Muslim mysticism). It was an expression of a desire for a return to the piety of Islam. The concept developed further to anticipate a new age preceded by the abandonment of the faith as a result of the seductive power of the *dajjSl*, the antichrist. The Mahdi was seen as the one whose coming would vanquish the age of the "tempter" and bring the apostates back to the faith.

For the Shi'ah, the Mahdi is the twelfth *ImSm*, who went into occultation and who, when the time as set by God arrives, shall return to take hold of the leadership of his community and bring about the true temporal and spiritual government of Islam.

While the concept of the Mahdi does not appear in the Qur'an, that of the Hour marking the end of time and the approach of the Day of Judgment, is prominent and forms one of the basic themes of the preaching of the faith. Nor was it limited to the Qur'an. Religious writers of Islam employ the theme prominently in later writings.

In my presentation, I shall examine one such millennial text of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, hitherto in manuscript, which purports to be the "Lost Psalms of David." This warrants the following brief explanation.

Aside from the scrolls given to Abraham, according to Muslim tradition God revealed His word in four Books, one to each of four Prophets: Moses (the Torah), David (the Psalms), Jesus (the Gospel) and Muhammad (the Qur'an). Of these, the Book revealed to David (the Psalms) posed problems to medieval Muslim religious scholarship in that the extant Biblical text contains words addressed to God rather than by Him. Consequently, the authenticity of the Biblical text was called into question.

The following excerpts are drawn from an apocryphal attempt (most likely of mystical origin) to reconstruct the "lost" revealed text. The earliest manuscript evidence for this apocryphal tradition dates from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. The earliest and most complete manuscripts, the Laurenziana (Milan) text (dated 1229 in a colophon) and the Biblioteca nacional (Madrid) text (to be dated late twelfth to early thirteenth century on paleographic grounds) are quite distinct. At the same time, however, there are enough similarities between them to suggest possible derivation from an earlier, hitherto undiscovered, common source.

THE SECOND CENTURY IN ORTHODOX THOUGHT: SPECULATION ABOUT A.M. 7000 (A.D. 1492)

Šima M. Čirković (University of Belgrade)

The introductory part of the paper presented contained data about a peculiar era used in some Ottoman chanceries in Slav language in the early sixteenth century. This period started with the year 7001, which corresponds in our counting to the period from September 1, 1492 to August 31, 1493. The new era was called *vtori vek* (second century), meaning that the first century covered the first 7000 years, corresponding to the seven days of the Creation.

The following part of the paper examined a small number of sources, in which "the last years" were recorded, which were at the same time the "years of sorrow." What is meant are the 84 years between the year 6916 (when the thirteenth solar cycle, 532 x 13, was ended) and the year 7000, when the end of the world was expected. Related to this period, there are old prophecies speaking about the Ishmaelites in *Pseudo-Methodius, Visio Danielis,* and similar texts, which were translated into Slavic languages and occasionally interpolated (especially in Bulgaria).

The final part examined *Jovan Nenad*, also called *Black Man* by his contemporaries, a leader of the Serbs in the Hungarian kingdom for some months after the disaster of Mohács (October 1526 - June 1527). The *Black Man* attempted to play the role of the Emperor of the last days known from the prophecies.

REFORM BEFORE "THE REFORM"

Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Universität Augsburg)

The principal question I have examined was the circumstances under which the papacy was able to achieve such a high position during the so called investiture struggle, that is, to remain the unquestioned head and leader of the Latin church, now called the "universal church."

In my opinion, the crucial role belongs to the reform as the enforcement at least in theory – of some principles of the Church, such as celibacy for most members of the clergy, the ban on simony, the liberty of ecclesiastical elections, and – since 1078 or 1080 – the prohibition of the influence of laymen concerning the investiture). In order to succeed, a kind of headquarters for the initiatives was necessary. Therefore, the reformers needed a strong papa-

cy. The papacy, on the other hand, could use the reform to strengthen its own position within Christendom.

The success from 1049 onward was only possible because in the previous period – during the tenth and early eleventh centuries – there had been a development important for the later reform. This development – a kind of reform before "The Reform" – is the subject of my discussion. It is focused around three points of interest:

- 1. the specifically Roman *Renovatio Romae*, independent from the emperors and other foreigners;
- 2. the increasing acceptance of the position held by the popes;
- 3. the struggle against simony and against the sexual customs practiced by many clerics.

The *Renovatio Romae* meant, more exactly, a kind of revival of the antique Rome, as well as the increasing importance of the Laterane, the papal residence. Examples are numerous: some of them are the name *Octavianus* given to the son of Alberic II, the later pope John XII, the new division of the city of Rome into twelve regions according to the system known from the time of Augustus, and the marking of the routes of papal processions according to antique monuments. The enforced importance of the Laterane was demonstrated by the more frequent denomination as *sacrum palatium*, by the changes within the colleges of deacons and other palatine clerics, and by the so-called palatine judges. Henceforth, the pope was – as was shown in the ceremonies and in his residence – a quasi-emperor.

The increasing acceptance of the papal position was demonstrated by the exemptions of monasteries from episcopal or lay power and influence (Cluny, Fleury etc.), by the fact that the founding of new ecclesiastical provinces was possible only in co-operation with the pope (Magdeburg, Benevento, Tarragona/Vic, Gniezno, Gran/Esztergom etc.), and by the presence and leading position of papal legates at provincial synods (Ingelheim etc.) or Roman synods presided over by both the Pope and the Emperor alike (since 962), claiming competence outside the Empire.

Examples concerning church reform were shown in regard to simony (texts from 981 and 999), directed against failures of observance in Catalonia (Besalú) and Central Italy (Farfa), and to celibacy (Synod of Pavia in 1022).

THE YEAR 1000: MUTATIONS AND CONTINUITIES

Patrick Geary (UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies)

The complexities of the current debate concerning the "mutation of the Year Thousand" can be examined through the optic of a unique document, preserved in the cartulary of St. Victor of Marseilles, which was transcribed around the year 1100. While the concerns about the dawn of the new age were a feature of the mental and social terrain of the generation that preceded ours by one thousand years, most recent discussion of the millennial generation has focused on quite different issues. First and most obvious is the creation, within a few generations on either side of the year thousand, of new polities in the Empire, Italy, France, and England. Macro-political transformation is perhaps itself more of a symptom than a cause of the discontinuities across Europe. At the other end of society, Marxist historians have argued that the decades around the millennium saw a profound transformation in the organization of agricultural labor, perhaps the most profound since the Romanization of Gaul in the first centuries of the Roman empire. Prior to the "mutation féodale," they argue, large landowners owned property and labor on their domains, the successors of the Roman Latifundia. At the start of the eleventh century, this ancient system underwent a sudden, revolutionary change. The disappearance of the Carolingian-style state, with its ability to protect free small landowners and to coerce slave labor to the benefit of landowners, created a window of opportunity for lower and middling elements of society. This brief period of freedom did not, however, endure for long: within a generation landowners were able to regain control of labor by eliminating freeholders from access to allodial land and by forcing peasants under their protection and domination as serfs within a feudal system that characterized European economic and social structures for centuries. Closely related to these agrarian transformations is the so-called feudal revolution. The same process that destroyed the coercive authority of the traditional state gave rise to a new class of warriors, the *milites*, who broke free from the old order of royal and comital authority. Their emergence was coincidental with attempts to control their violence, led by the threatened representatives of the old order, especially counts, who, having transformed their offices into hereditary family property, saw the other free warriors in their jurisdictions escape from their control in the same way that they had escaped that of the kings.

Recently, French historians, most notably Dominique Barthélemy, have challenged the very notion of a feudal transformation. Barthélemy argued that the image of eleventh century society is based on a misreading and misinterpretation of evidence.

In its place, Barthélemy suggests that decisive change in European society began between 843 and 888 and was completed by 890 with the disappearance of a unitary political system in the Carolingian world and the appearance of non-Carolingian successor kingdoms. However, even before that point, the Carolingian polity was a complex interpenetration of public and private power, in which a military aristocracy virtually identical to the "knightly" society of the eleventh century exercised its authority through a combination of public office and private lordship.

The text analyzed in the seminar seems to present an image of the feudal "mutation" in all its details. It is a story of the usurpation of property by a local strongman and his *milites*, who were granted the monastery by Count William the Liberator after he had expelled the Saracens from Garde le Frenet in 972.

At the beginning, one sees royal authority intact. Fiscal land is granted to the count. However, already public authority is beginning to erode, as local powers begin to act usquisque secundum propriam virtutem. The count attempts to settle this situation through his intervention, making the viscount of Marseilles the defender of the monastic interests in the region. But public order cannot protect the settlement he establishes. Local independent cultivators can enter into contracts with the owners, but when a conflict arises, the viscount takes advantage of it for his own purposes: surrounded by his knights, he manages to turn the situation against both parties to his own profit. Here is no public justice but simply a power play by the viscount. The small landowners are simply expelled, the abbey is defrauded of its property, and the viscount, the monastery's defensor, becomes its predator. Here is a perfect example of the breakdown of public authority in the last decades of the tenth century, of the suppression of the small landowners who arose from the confusion at the time of the reconquest, and the establishment of the viscount's familial lordship at the expense of the count, the monastery, and the independent landowners.

However, a close examination of the language of the document, the terminology it employs, and the persons and property it describes suggests that rather than contemporary evidence of the "feudal mutation" it is more likely a narrative written over a century later, at the beginning of the period that invented the mutation myth for its own purposes. Such creative "inventions" of the past were common in the later eleventh century but too often have been seen as objective descriptions. Rather than evidence of the reality of this transformation, the document is evidence of the tenacity of a myth.

FROM SLAVERY TO SERFDOM IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY CATALONIA

Paul Freedman (Vanderbilt University, Nashville)

Among its uses and symbolic purposes, in recent decades the millennium has been seen by historians as coinciding with a fundamental change in the organisation of society. The "feudal revolution" radically changed the structures of government, land tenure, jurisdiction, military power, and even patterns of settlement. Arguments against this notion of a sudden birth of feudal society around the year 1000 have been advanced by Dominique Barthélemy. This communication examines the issue of slavery and its transition to medieval servitude, particularly whether or not this can be said to have taken place in Catalonia around 1000.

In the work of Pierre Bonnassie, Catalonia has been used as an example of the decline of slavery and the rise of serfdom. Bonnassie showed how the crisis of comital authority between 1020 and 1060 challenged the distinction between public order and private jurisdiction. The assertion of aristocratic privilege resulted in the building of new castles, the subjugation of the countryside, an ability to defy the counts of Barcelona, and the reordering or abolition of legal practices and institutions. Bonnassie has also argued that in Catalonia, as well as in much of south-western Europe from the Rhône to the Atlantic, slavery based upon the ancient model, along with allodial land holding, came to an end near 1000 with the rise of a regime based on military power. According to this model, slavery persisted and was then abruptly replaced by serfdom as part of the epoch-making feudal revolution.

Barthélemy is not particularly expert on or interested in Catalonia, but since it forms such an important argument for the theories he opposes, the degree to which it actually fits these theories is a question worth asking. While Bonnassie's picture of the crisis of public authority from 1020 to 1060 remains crucial to our understanding of the course of medieval Catalan history, the change in land tenure was more gradual, and does not support the notion of a sudden "mutation." Allodial land holding had already been in decline since the early decades of the Carolingian-sponsored resettlement of the Spanish March. The dominant form of land tenure was tenancy, sometimes on generous terms, but not amounting to a regime of complete independence for the free population of farmers. Nor was slavery very common. Indeed, as Hans Werner Goetz has argued for Europe in general, to call the lower orders of Carolingian rural society slaves does violence to the word as it applies to the era of the Roman Empire. Catalonia had neither large estates nor an allodial pattern, but rather tenancy on relatively favourable terms.

In the eleventh century, such allodial holdings as did exist were pressured by aristocratic assertion. New exactions were developed (often regarded as illegal). To some degree it may even be the case that tenants had to pay a greater part of their harvest to their lords or that, deprived of the protection of public institutions, they were forced to recognise the illegitimate claims of new masters. The analysis of eleventh-century documents shows, however, that it is still premature to speak of serfs in the sense of the Late Middle Ages when such degraded tenants, the *pagesos de la remenca* as they were called, would make up one quarter of the rural population. The origins of serfdom appear to lie in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, when tenants were forced to acknowledge their subordination in charters, and when they began, regularly and legally, to pay redemption fines in order to secure their freedom or to move from one lord's control to that of another. Without underestimating the changes that took place shortly after 1000, it is incorrect to annex the "feudal revolution" to a sudden replacement of rural regimes. The transition from slavery to servitude in Catalonia was spread out over centuries.

Byzantine Aristocracy and the Empire on the Eve of the Year 1000: The Crisis in Asia Minor, 976-989

Evelyne Patlagean (Paris X-Nanterre)

The political crisis which sweeps through Asia Minor in the years 976-989, reaching as far as the Caliphate, may serve to illuminate key aspects of Byzantine society, which was, at the time, a crucial area in all respects. The conflict involved the young emperor Basil II, a scion of the dynasty founded by Basil I (867-886), and the Bardases, two kinsmen from the uppermost aristocratic houses of the time, Phocas and Scleros. Both of them had Armenian connections, and both had previously attained imperial power, when Nikephoros Phocas married Basil II's widowed mother (963), and was later succeeded by his nephew on the maternal side, the murderer John Tzimiskes, widower to a Scleraina (969). The starting point of the crisis was John's death (976), and the issues at stake were Constantinople and the imperial power. Both challengers relied on the kinship network, and, backed by their retinues, they operated contrary to the oath by which they were bound to the Emperor. They were samples of the powerful (*dunamenoi*); however, it remains somewhat unclear whether they were actually great landlords, local chieftains, or something of both.

The sources mainly include historiography (Greek, Armenian, and Arabic), and unfortunately, there is no archive material or properly geared

fortification archaeology, which would supply the scholar with specific information. Therefore, what we get is an insight into the provincial society which, at this particular historical moment, played a leading role in the political and even dynastic fate of the Empire, in a border region which assumes essential importance.

On the Meeting in Gniezno

Aleksander Gieysztor (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw)

During the tenth century, three monarchies of Central Europe arose from tribal societies, adopting the models of Western societies and adapting them according to their needs and possibilities. By that time the Cyrilomethodian mission had already declined. Some remnants were still visible in Bohemia during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but less than a century after the beginning of the Christianization, the Latin Church was consolidated there, and the two bishoprics, Prague and Olomouc, subordinated to Mainz, established. The Bohemian prince retained a special position, with visible national traits in his medieval image (e.g., the cult of St. Wenceslas), and relative independence from the Empire (e.g., the privilege to choose a bishop, no imperial lands, and a foreign policy independent from that of the Empire).

The situation in Poland was different: Mieszko, baptised in 966, became *amicus imperatoris* and was expected to become a useful ally to the Emperor in his Polabian policy. At his entry into the Christian Commonwealth, Mieszko **received a** unique privilege: the Magdeburg church province was never to pass the line of the Oder, and the Polish bishop was subordinated directly to the Holy See.

The new Christian rulers were fully aware of the importance of the Roman Church as different from the Imperial one. A very special homage paid by Mieszko to the Holy See (the dispatch to Rome of a lock of hair of his son, seven-year old Boleslaw, in order to seek papal protection) could be connected to the time of the visit by the Bohemian princess Mlada. And at the end of his rule, probably in 991, Mieszko added another point to the Polish case in Rome: the act *Dagome iudex*, containing the oblation of Gniezno territories to the Holy See, has still not lost its attraction to the historians because of its numerous possible interpretations. The act seems to have been the attempt to obtain pontifical safeguards to assure the succession rights of his sons other than Boleslaw. However, there is a possibility of a second aim: to create a preliminary condition for the foundation of Poland's own church province. (A

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similar oblation was made several years later by Stephen of Hungary in order to obtain the same goal.)

Otto III and his advisory circle appear to have been fully aware of the political reality of the newly Christianised territories and their rulers' aspirations of independence for their countries and churches. It remains an open question whether Otto's plans towards Hungary were a result of his rivalry with the Byzantine Empire. It does not seem farfetched to assume that it was advantageous for Otto to cooperate with the prince of Hungary when other south-eastern countries like Croatia and the Dalmatian towns already gravitated toward Byzantium. According to sources, Stephen received a crown and a papal benediction, as well as a Holy Lance, from Rome on behalf of the Emperor, which had probably been preceded by an oblation of Hungary to the holy See, later remembered by Gregory VII. The coronation and the establishment of the archbishopric of Esztergom can be safely dated to the year 1001, one year after the Gniezno convention, where Boleslaw the brave received a Holy Lance and the Archbishopric of St. Adalbert was established.

One has to keep in mind the division of responsibilities between the Emperor and the Pope, connected through the idea of *Christianus mundus* in cooperation with *Imperium romanum*. The evangelization duty, introduced by then on a macroscale in that part of Europe, was later inherited by the rulers of both countries in question, Poland and Hungary. The demise of Otto III and Silvester II has often been viewed as the final disaster of the plan to build the "Ottonian universum." According to Jules Havet, the Emperor was too young and the Pope too scholarly. Still, during those good times around the year 1000, due to the activities within very few years, a long-term phenomenon was created: the integration of newcomers into European civilization.

On the Meeting in Gniezno: Poland Around A.D. 1000 in the Light of Archaeology

Lech Leciejewicz (University of Wrocław)

In the early Middle Ages, along with the changes in primitive social, economic, and political structures in Central Europe, an early feudal, socially differentiated Polish nation was born. Around 963, a chronicle first mentions the Piast state between the Oder and Vistula rivers; the country first became officially Christian in 966. Soon after this event, the Polish state became a full member of the community of civilized societies of medieval Europe. The meeting in Gniezno in A.D. 1000 testifies to it convincingly.

Written sources covering the period to the beginning of the second millennium are scarce, so that it is impossible to follow on a documentary basis the history of Poland at that time. The basic sources exist, however, hidden under the soil, and archaeologists have been revealing them gradually and interpreting them in the light of archaeological methods.

The new methods introduced into Polish medieval archaeology after the Second World War resulted in the formulation of new questions to be put to the available sources. The birth of the Polish state has been considered as an element in a general process of the rise of new economic, social, and political structures, set against a wide European background. The archaeologist was thus forced to consider the cultural conditions and consequences caused by the rise of the state and its impact on the whole sphere of knowledge and outlook on life. Another fundamental problem was the way in which the natural environment was utilised in this process.

New questions required the elaboration of new methods of interpretation, lying well beyond the scope of traditional methods. A wide ranging discussion among archaeologists, historians, art historians, and cultural and social anthropologists was, however, very fruitful. Socio-cultural models were created, which made a deeper interpretation of archaeological sources concerning the Polish Middle Ages possible. Further, the co-operation with representatives of the natural and technical sciences proved to be of great importance. Thus, a research programme concerning the birth of the Polish state turned out to be the first interdisciplinary enterprise in the field of historical science.

The *Millennium Research Programme* concentrated on all the main political and economic centres of the Piast state, among them the cities mentioned in the historical records concerning the meeting in the year 1000: Gniezno itself and Poznań in Great Poland (the cradle of the Polish state), as well as Cracow in Little Poland, Wrocław in Silesia and Kołobrzeg in Pomerania. The most fundamental conclusion to be drawn from these investigations is the statement that all the main political and economic centres of early medieval Poland have early town patterns, which means that the urban revolution took place in Poland in the time of the state revolution, and not in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in connection with the introduction of German Law. In certain regions the establishment of this pattern took place at an even earlier date, for example, among the towns of the Baltic Coast.

The greater number of the centres established were well-situated in places of strategic importance. Because of the lowland landscape which comprises a considerable part of Poland, these centres often lay in the drainage area of a river; and as a consequence of changes in the ground water level, they were frequently endangered by floods. In the sea zone, eustatic movements of the

Baltic bottom presented additional problems as the land sank on its southern coast. In such conditions, it was convenient, during the establishment of permanent urban settlements, to raise the ground level at each rebuilding by leaving the foundations of old structures in place. In waterlogged layers, timber remains in a good state of preservation, and archaeologists often encounter layers – sometimes as much as 10 meters deep – consisting of structures and objects of organic material in a remarkably good state of preservation. In this situation, cultural change can be traced over relatively long periods, beginning with the ninth and tenth centuries.

Concentration of this research on the main centres of the Piast state does not mean neglecting the problem of settlement and economic transformation in the period previous to the inception of the early monarchy. The method of field research work, however, has been rather different from that used in the examination of early towns, because village settlements were often transferred from one site to another and, consequently, no deep occupation layers have built up on the individual site. In this situation, the basic method used in the reconstruction of the settlement processes was the microgeographical one.

The archaeological investigations enabled us to conclude that the economic and cultural foundations of the Polish state were entirely of native origins. The rise of the Piast state was the result of the socio-economic and political evolution of the local Slav tribes. However, the most important factor was the acquisition of patterns of civilisation of Latin origin, and in the course of archaeological excavations, many new relics of pre-Romanesque architecture and art have been found. In this context, the meeting in Gniezno in A.D. 1000 was an event of fundamental significance in the early history of Poland. Its political and ecclesiastical consequences essentially influenced further culture development of the country.

The Opening of Charlemagne's Tomb in Aachen Some Reflections on Otto III and the Renovatio Imperii

Knut Görich (Universität Tübingen)

The starting point for the discussion of the relationship between the veneration of Charlemagne as a saint and politics are those sources which report the opening of his tomb in Aachen by Otto III, on Pentecost of the year 1000. The accent must necessarily lie on those details, which have unanimously been dismissed by scholars as unreliable adornment, since they intermingle the narration of the events with ideology reminiscent of the veneration of saints and relics. However, it is precisely these parts that allow us to recognise the expectations of the Imperial Court connected with the opening of the tomb.

A deeper and more detailed insight into the sources reveals a new picture of the events in Aachen: Otto III planned the canonisation of the Carolingians. The opening of the tomb was a daring attempt, accompanied by theological scruples and strategies, to establish a saint's cult around a ruler. Such a novelty demanded careful planning. The first step was the localisation of the tomb, since the possession of the relics was an indispensable precondition for the future cult. However, whether they were actually buried "in the supposed place" (Thietmar), only an investigation could reveal.

This was organised in "the required secrecy" (as it is reported about many openings of tombs), and contributed to the sanctity of Charlemagne through unmistakable signs. The disclosed body was venerated by Otto III as holy, but regarding fragmentation its integrity was respected. The elevation was omitted, since a newly proclaimed cult had by that time not yet been established as tradition by the continuous veneration of the place. The canonisation of an emperor who was not a martyr was a challenge to the previous practice. In order to integrate the cult in the tradition, it was necessary to obtain the approval of the Pope, which was indispensable for the spread of the cult beyond local significance. The unexpected death of Otto III in January 1002 could have been the major reason that the canonisation of Charlemagne did not take place as early as the eleventh century. It was only in 1165, during the times of Frederick Barbarossa, that Charlemagne was proclaimed a saint.

The Year 1000 in Scandinavia

Aron Gurevich (Institute for History, Russian Academy of Sciences)

The study of the conversion of the Scandinavian countries is accompanied by considerable problems concerning the study of the sources. Writing (other than runes) goes back to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries in the North. Therefore, the events around the year 1000 are viewed largely retrospectively. At the same time, the texts which provide information on the beginnings of Christianity in Scandinavia (when at last they appear), are extremely detailed. These are primarily Old Icelandic works, mostly sagas and scaldic poetry, but also legal documents. Naturally, what the historian is dealing with is an interpretation of the events, as they appeared to Icelandic and Norwegian writers two or three hundred years later.

Leaving aside the few indications of earlier attempts to convert the Scandinavians in the Viking period (Ansgar's mission), it must be stressed that the decisive penetration of Christianity into the North took place around the year 1000. The Norwegian kings (Olaf Haraldsson and Olaf Trygvesson), having acquired European experience outside their own countries, made attempts to introduce the new religion at home. They saw Christianity as a means of strengthening the power of the monarch. In this they encountered resistance on the part of local leaders, supported by the broad stratum of freemen. As a result of this conflict, Olaf Haraldsson was forced to go into exile, upon return from which in 1030, he fell in battle against the combined forces of the northern Norwegians and the Danish King Canute. However, Olaf's defeat turned into the triumph of Christianity: a few years later the Church proclaimed him a saint, "the perpetual king of Norway," and the dynasty's heavenly protector. In this way the conversion of Norway went hand in hand with its political unification.

It remains unclear to what extent the conversion affected the spiritual life of the Norwegians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Debates on this subject between historians, which began as long ago as the 1920s (Fr. Paasche and Edv. Bulls), have shown extreme contradictions in the religious and cultural situation. Although officially the Church had triumphed, and many hundred wooden parish churches were built in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, nevertheless pagan traditions remained alive. Here we find both opposition and mutual influence between learned and popular culture.

The conversion of Iceland took place in a different manner. Given the absence of even rudimentary statehood, the reception of the new faith took place comparatively peacefully, and was aimed at eliminating dissentions between pagans and Christians. In the year 1000, the Althing decided that all Icelanders must be baptized. At the same time there was a reservation that they had the right to perform pagan rituals and sacrifices at home. It is curious to note that the law-speaker, the chief of the Althing, pronounced this decision after lying on the field of the Althing for a night and a day with his head covered by his cloak: evidently the decision came to him as a result of some sort of shamanistic inspiration.

The songs of the Edda, and to a large extent the sagas, which as has already been stated were written down two or three hundred years after the event, are still the product of a pagan tradition, even though they have been subjected to new religious and cultural impulses.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN DALMATIA/CROATIA AFTER 1000

Neven Budak (University of Zagreb/CEU)

The period around the year 1000 was for Dalmatia/Croatia the starting point of three different, but related, processes: the process of urban development, the *Verschriftlichungsprozess*, and the development of the Benedictine order.

Although we are still facing considerable problems in connection with the evaluation of originality of different charters from the region, we are able to follow what Hagen Keller describes as *Verschriftlichungsprozess*. While we have only two charters preserved from the ninth century (with the mention of a third), and only four (plus one suspect and a later mention of two more) from the tenth century, there are already more than twenty charters from the first half of the eleventh century and over a hundred from the second half. The eleventh century also gave birth to cartularies or collections or records and transcripts, sometimes preceded by the story of the foundation of the monastery owning the codex. Writing on stone shows a decrease of this kind of literacy after the end of the ninth century, but an increase of glagolitic inscriptions from the eleventh century onwards.

This intensifying of literacy demonstrates increased economic activity in everyday life which had to be recorded.

The most important centres, and not only of literary activity, were the Benedictine monasteries. While, before the year 1000, we find only five monasteries in Dalmatia/Croatia, three of which were royal foundations, in the second half of the eleventh century there are already seventeen new ones, out of which fourteen are foundations of private persons or families. These monasteries were the largest landowners beside the crown, and played an important role in the economic and social development of the country. Their reformation started presumably in 986, when a group of monks came from Monte Cassino to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, but still lasted into the second half of the century. Benedictines sticking to Slavonic liturgy and the glagolitic script represented serious opposition to the reformatory movement led by the archbishop of Split.

Numerous foundations of Benedictine monasteries, mostly within the town walls, bear witness to the urban development and economic strengthening of wealthy urban families. From about the year 1000 we can follow the increased building activity in most of the towns having Roman origins, some of them only then filling in the space once occupied by their Roman predecessors. A good example is the town of Rab, which, in the pre-Romanic period, covered only two thirds of the Roman town of Arba. Within 150 years (from the second half of the eleventh century) the citizens built at least four monasteries.

teries, three belfries, the palace of the count (*comes*), a *loggia*, and the city walls. Building activities and the furnishing of churches gave birth to the new Romanic style, which appears in Dalmatia as early as the first half of the eleventh century.

It would be difficult to find any special reasons for this development apart from the general economic growth in Southern Europe, especially along the trade route from Venice to Constantinople. The participation of Croats and Dalmatians in this prosperity can be seen from a sudden revival of the usage of money in the middle of the first half of the eleventh century.

The spread of urban influence on the countryside was followed by a population increase and an intense croatisation of the towns with an old Romanic population.

ARON GUREVICH IN BUDAPEST

As a participant of the Interdisciplinary Workshop on *The Year 1000* of the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University, Aron Gurevich, the best-known Russian medievalist, spent a week in Budapest in June 1996, and gave a well attended public lecture at CEU on the topic of his latest book, *The Origins of European Individualism*, trans. K. Judelson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)

Gurevich opened his lecture by stating that the question of human individuality is also a major historical question. It belongs into the context of the larger issue of the "Emergence of Europe." What turned medieval Europe into the Europe we know today: how did a world of disparate local civilizations become a single entity within which the universal historical process unfolds? An integral part of this process was the specific character of the individual, who emerged precisely in this region.

As usual with him, Gurevich widened the scope of discussion "back" to the pre-Christian Nordic age, referring to the individuals in the epic tradition from the Edda to Sverris saga. As proof of the existence of the persona "in search of the individual," he also analysed the famous writing *De vita sua* of Guibert of Nogent, and other medieval autobiographies (such as Abelard's).

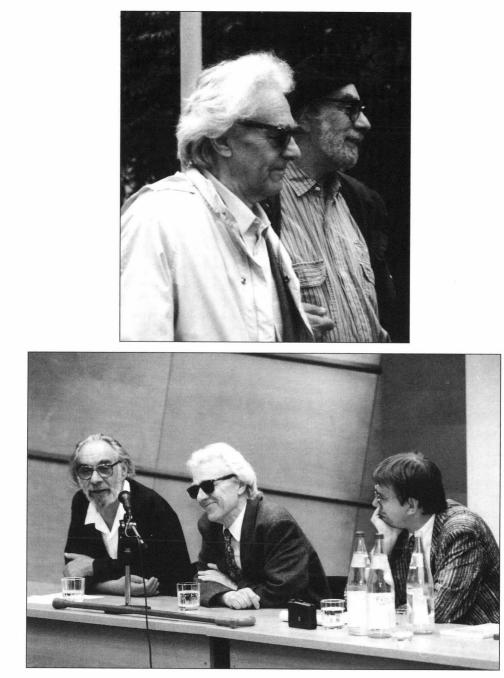
Among the several examples of the "birth of the individual" well before the usually assumed "date" of the Italian Renaissance, Gurevich analysed a sermon by the German mendicant preacher, Berthold of Regensburg. Berthold would explain diverse aspects of religion and principles of Christian behaviour to the people of the cities and villages of southern Germany and to the inhabitants of other regions of the Empire, delivering sermons that, according to contemporary testimony, were uniquely popular. One of the sermons of Berthold, which is of unique interest in connection with the investigation of the individual in the Middle Ages, is entitled *Concerning the Five Talents*.

Examining this sermon, Gurevich pointed to a profound and radical reinterpretation of a parable from the Gospels with quite new implications. A new concept of the human individual is put forward in the guise of a traditional exegesis of the Holy Scriptures. Berthold's reading of the biblical passage contains an idea of the human individual otherwise absent from such commentaries. Berthold concentrates exclusively on the handing over of the five talents to the third servant, that is, to an adult. He concentrates on this person, who had reached an age when he thinks before he acts and shoulders complete responsibility for his actions. This idea – the individual's responsibility - is particularly important in Berthold's eyes. Speaking about the "first talent," the preacher identifies it with "our own person," which the Lord created in his image and after his likeness, and endowed it with free will. "We must account for it before God ... " The first, and evidently most important, thing that comes to the preacher's mind when he talks about what is best and most valuable in humankind, and what makes each one of us worthy of the name Man made in God's image, is the fact that each person is an individual or persona. Therefore, these five talents, entrusted to humankind and constituting the main values in life, for the use of which people will have to account sooner or later to the Supreme, are persona, vocation, the allotted time on earth, property, and relationships with other people. Gurevich emphasized that, for Berthold, the persona embraces both soul and body.

Gurevich concluded his talk by stating that despite assertions by those scholars who assume that the "concept of *individual* was never verbalized" in the Middle Ages, he could not find any equivalent with which to translate the term *persona* other than "individual." Justification for this interpretation can be gleaned from the analysis of the context in which this concept is used. We should not lose sight of the fact that what we have before us is a *medieval* individual. Of course, the medieval individual in Berthold's days did not posses the same degree of autonomy and independence which were to become his main hallmarks several centuries later. This was an individual created by God and obliged to return to Him.

In spite of the serious handicap of the recent loss of eyesight, which burdens Professor Gurevich, he not only presented his argument in a vivid and entertaining way, but was also glad to reply to questions and spend time with students and interested nonspecialists discussing his ideas. It was a sad occasion insofar as he, whose books became known in Hungary many years ago, could not visit Budapest earlier, and thus had to rely on his companions' telling him about the sights of the city, but a very joyful one, too, as he seemed to enjoy the scholarly company as much as his audience enjoyed his presence.

ARON GUREVICH IN BUDAPEST



Aron Gurevich in Budapest

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- "The Reconstruction of Shaikh 'Adi b. Musafir's Biography on the Basis of Arabic and Kurdish Sources: A Contribution to the History of the Yezidi Kurds in the 11th-12th centuries." In Abstracts of the Papers Presented to the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, and Mythos in the Middle East & North Africa (LEM), Budapest, 18-22 September, 1995.
- "The Reconstruction of Shaikh 'Adi b. Musafir's Biography on the • Basis of Arabic and Kurdish Sources." In The Arabist, ed. K. Dévényi and T. Iványi, 18, 1997: 101-110.

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- "Women's Devotion to Saints According to the Miracles of St. John Capistran." In Kobieta w kulturze Średniowiecznej Europy, ed. A. Gąsiorowski et al., 201-4. Poznañ, 1995.
- "Bertran de Born i njegova sjenka u književnoj povijesti" [Bertran de Born and his shadow in literary history], *Knjizevna smotra* 28:99, (1996): 37-57.
- "Regularni kanonici u srednjovjekovnom Srijemu" [Canons regular in medieval Srijem], *Croatica christiana periodica* 20:37, (1996): 1-22.
- "Studenti iz slavonsko-srijemskog meďuriječja na srednjovjekovnim sveučilištima" [Students from Slavonian-Syrmian interamnium at medieval universities], *Croatica christiana periodica* 20:37, (1996): 117-52.

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- "The Investigation of the Prognostic Books by Means of Kleio Computer Program." In Proceedings of the Conference on the Computer Support System in Medieval Slavic Studies, Blagoevgrad, 1995.
- "Semantika na Lunnikovoto predskazanie" [The semantic peculiarities of the moon's predictions], *Mezhdunarodna b'Igaristika* (1995): 113-45.
- "Gadatelnite knigi v starobălgarskata literatura" [Prognostic books in the old Bulgarian literature], Sofia: Vreme Publishing House, 1996.
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• In collaboration with János Bak: "A Honfoglalás képe az angolamerikai szakirodalomban" [The portrayal of the Hungarian conquest in Anglo-American scholarship] *Magyar Tudomány* 40 (1995): 1478-84.

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- "Novo izdanie na glagoličeski misal" [New edition of a Glagolitic missal]. Review in *Palacobulgarica* 19:4 (1995): 116-8.
- "Prevodi na biblejski i Damaskinovi tekstove ot grăcki na roden govor" [Translations of Biblical texts and Damaskinos Studitis' sermons into vernacular]. *Folklorni modeli na sveta*, ed. R. Malčev and K. Rangočev (1996): 71-4

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- "Arégi és a mai magyar nyelv idő-metaforái" [Time metaphors in Old and Modern Hungarian], Paper at the 6th Applied Linguistics Conference, Nyíregyháza, Hungary, April 2-4, 1996.
- "Vrančić's Five-Lingual Dictionary." Paper at the Conference *Obitelj Vrančić u hrvastkoj kulturi i znanosti,* held at Šibenik, Croatia, September 13-14, 1995.

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- "Henadebi Ioane Petritsis philosophiur sistemashi" [Henadology of Ioane Petritsi], Bulletin of Kutaisi University 4 (1995): 297-308.
- "The Harmonisation of Neoplatonism and Christianity" In Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1994-1995, ed. M. Beth Davis and M. Sebők, Budapest, 1996: 124-39.

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 "Icoane din biserica de lemun de la Petriş – judetul Bistrița Năsăud" [Icons found in the inheritance of German monuments – Bistrița Năsăud district]. Ars Transilvaniae 4 (1994).

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- Senj i Vinodol izmeðu kralja Matijaša Korvina, Frankopana i Venecije [Senj and Vinodol between King Matthias Corvinus, the Frankapani family and Venice] Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest 28 (1995): 61-70.
- Zupanije u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku [The counties in the high and late Middle Ages]. In *Hrvatske upanije kroz stolječa* [The Croatian counties through the centuries], 21-38. Zagreb, 1996.

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- Książę węgierski żonaty z córką Mścisława halickiego. Przyczynek do czasu i miejsca powstania Kroniki węgiersko-polskiej [A Hungarian prince married to a daughter of Mstislav of Halicz Rus': A contribution to the time and place of the origin of the Hungarian-Polish chronicle] In Kwartalnik Historyczny 102 (1995): 23-35.
- Adelheid, az állítólagos lengyel hercegnő a magyar trónon [Adelheid: Alleged Polish Princess on the Hungarian throne]. *Aetas* 3:4 (1995): 114-26.

- Európa keleti fele a középkor alkonyán [East Europe at the decline of the Middle Ages] Critical Note of: Jerzy Kłoczowski, Europa słowiańska w XIV-XV wieku [Slavic Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] Aetas, 3:4 (1995): 186-91.
- Review of: Jacek Soszyński, Kronika Marcina Polaka i jej Średniowieczna tradycja rękopiśmienna w Polsce [The chronicle of Martinus Polonus and its medieval manuscript tradition] In Kwartalnik Historyczny 102 (1995): 269-72.

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- "Consideratii asupra stemei lui Balc fiul lui Sas" [General considerations about the coat of arms of Balc, the son of Sas] *Corviania: Acta Musei Corvinensis* I:1 (1995): 45-50.
- "Imagistica heraldica peiorativa din secolele XII-XVI" [Pejorative heraldic imagery between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries]. Conference Paper, Zilele Academice Clujene, Cluj, October, 23-27, 1995.
- "Patricularitati ale heraldicii theresiene in stema vorbitoare a baronului von Brukenthal (1721/1803)" [Peculiar issues of Theresian heraldy in the canting arms of Baron von Brukenthal, 1721-1803], Conference Paper, 7th Symposium of Genealogical Studies, Iasi, May, 9-12, 1996.
- "Aspecte heraldice in ritualul puterii (sec. XII-XVI)" [Heraldic aspects in the power ritual between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries], Conference Paper, The Scientific Session of Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, April-May, 1996.
- "Siegelabbildungen und Siegelabdrucke im Staatsarchiv Hermannstadt." Tagung Quellen der siebenburgischen Landeskunde, Sibiu/Hermannstadt, June 7-8, 1996

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- "A középkori Szent László falképek másolatai, 1863-1914" [Copies of Medieval murals of the Legend of Saint Ladislas]. Ars Hungarica 23:2 (1995): 305-15.
- "Pannonia Regia Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541, Recenzió a katalógusról" [Review of Pannonia Regia exhibition catalogue]. Ars Hungarica 23:2 (1995): 317-22.

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- "The Medieval Population of Tartu. A Case Study." In *Vanhojen luiden kertomaa*, ed. H.S. Vourinen, U. Vala. Helsinki, 1996.

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 "Holy Fools in Medieval Russia: More Questions than Answers." Summaries of the Papers at Christianity in East Central Europe and Its Relations with the West and the East. Congress of CIHEC. Lublin, September 2-6, 1996: 39-40.

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- "Some Aspects of the Daily Life of Monks in an Early Medieval Bulgarian Monastery." In La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines réguliers au Moyen Age et Temps modernes. Actes du Premier Colloque International du L.A.R.H.C.O.R. Wrocław-Książ, Nov. 30 - Dec. 4, 1994. 704-5 Wrocław, 1995.
- "Boot-Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna and the Early Pilgrimage

in Bulgaria." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1994-1995,* ed. M. Beth Davis and M. Sebők, Budapest, 1996, 140-66.

- "Silent Communication: Graffiti from the Monastery of Ravna, Bulgaria." VEREIN ANNISA, 1996.
- "Predstavata za Bog v prehoda ezičestvo-christijanstvo v Bălgarija (po materiali ot manastira pri s. Ravna)." [The idea of God in Bulgaria during the transition from paganism to Christianity: according to material from the monastery of Ravna]. In *Bog i Tzar v sednovekovna Bălgarija*. Plovdiv, 1995: 63-9.
- "Centăr i periferija v Ravnenskija manastir (po archeologièeski danni)" [Centre and periphery in the Ravna Monastery: according to the archaeological data]. In *Svetogorskata obitel Zograf* [The Holy Mountain monastery of Zograph], vol. 2. Sofia, 1996, 221-43.

Papers delivered at congresses:

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- "Edna hipoteza za poklonničestvoto v Bălgarija prez X vek" [One hypothesis about pilgrimage in Bulgaria in the tenth century]. *Peta natzionalna konferentzija "Bălgarite v Severnoto Pričernomorie"* [5th National Conference "The Bulgarians and the Black Sea Region"], November 28-30, 1995, University of Veliko Tãrnovo.
- "A Look Towards Monastic Practices in Tenth-Century Bulgaria: The Monastery of Ravna and the Surrounding Hermitages." *Hermitae, Monachi, Fratres. International Conference on the Interaction of Medieval Monastic Cultures, March* 21-23, 1996, Pannonhalma.
- "Silent Communication: Graffiti from One Monastic Scriptorium." 31st International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 8-11, 1996.
- "A Tenth-Century Graffito of St Basil the Great in the Light of his Cult in Eastern Monasticism." *3d International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, July 8-11, 1996.
- "Lust and Piety: Didactic Images from Bulgarian Medieval Monasteries." Disziplinierung und Sachkultur im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Internationaler Kongreß. Krems a. d. Donau, Austria, 8-11 October 1996.

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- "...ultima germanorum & christianorum prouintia: Outlines of the Image of Livonia on Maps from the Thirteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century." In *Quotidianum Estonicum: Aspects of Daily Life in Medieval Estonia*, ed. J. Kivimaee and J. Kreem. Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Sonderband 5, hrsg. v. G. Jaritz, Krems, 1996: 14-28.
- "Traveling in Medieval Livonia." Presentation at International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July, 8-11, 1996. Session: Communication and Culture in the Northern Baltic Area.

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 "Morfonologija glagolskih osnova u hrvatskom crkvenoslavenskom jeziku" [Morphonology of verbal stems in Croatian Church Slavonic]. Paper at the First Croatian Congress of Slavists, Pula, September, 19-23, 1996.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

 "Some Ancient and Medieval Semantic Concepts and their Impact on Modistic Grammar." Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1994-1995, ed. M. Beth Devis and M. Sebők, Budapest 1996 (old.)

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- "Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'qub's Report on the Slavs from the Middle of the Tenth Century." In Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1994-1995, ed. M. Beth Davis and M. Sebők, Budapest, 1996, 184-99.
- "Praviteli slavian v opisanii Al-Masudi" [The rulers of the Slavs in Al-Mas'uudy's description]. Arabskii mir v kontse XX veka, Proceedings of 1st Conference of Arabists, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, 1996: 69-77. "The Slavs in Al-Andalus." Paper at the International Congress of Medievalists, Leeds, July 8-11, 1996.
- "The Vlachs in the Mediaeval Arabic and Persian Sources." Paper at the International Congress of Medievalists, Leeds, July 8-11, 1996.
- "Pochemu Ibn Fadlan nazyvaet volzhskikh bolgar slaviianami" [Why does Ibn Fad:laan call the Volga Bulgars 'Slavs']. Paper at the Annual Conference of Arabists, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, November 25 - December 1, 1996.

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- "Boatmen of Pest as Collective Litigants." Paper at the Leeds Conference, July 8-11, 1996.
- "Ambivalence of Attitudes between Masters and Journeymen: Overview of the Questions Put by the Recent Scholarship." Paper at the Conference "Probleme handwerksgeschichtlicher Forschung 7: Workshop", Sopron, November 29-December 1, 1996.

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 "Latin Bishops and Balkan Bishoprics." In Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1994-1995, ed. M. Beth Davis and M. Sebők, Budapest, 1996: 200-17.

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 "Genealogiia sviatogo: motivy religioznoi legitimatsii praviashchei dinastii v rannei sviatovatslavskoi agiografii" [The genealogy of the saint: the ruling dynasty legitimation in the early St. Wenceslas Lives]. Odissey. Chelovek v istorii/Odysseus: Man in History (1996): 178-204.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- Kăm văprosa za južnoslavjanskite prevodi na žitieto na măčenica Paraskeva/Petka Rimljanka [On the question of the South Slavic translation of the Vita of St. Paraskeva/Petka, the Roman martyr] Palaeobulgarica 2 (1996): 83-109.
- Jedna nepoznata verzija žitija rimske mučenice Petke [An unknown version of the Life of St. Petka the Roman martyr. Critical Edition and Comments on the Text]. Paper at the 26th International Meeting of Slavists "Vukovi dani": Serbian Literature and the Holy Scripture, September, 9-14, 1996.
- Koja e svetorodnata carica Anna ot Bdinskija sbornik [Who is the "holy-born tsaritsa Anna" from the Bdinski Sbornik]. Paper in collaboration with Nina Gueorgieva at *Treta naučna konferentzija "Manastirăt Zograph i bălgarskite manastiri*" [Third Annual Conference "The monastery of Zograph and the Bulgarian Monasteries"], October 17-19, 1996, University of Sofia.
- Juznoslavjanskite opisanijata na Jerusalim v manastirskite sbornici [South-slavic descriptions of Jerusalem in monastic miscellanies]. Paper at the conference "St John of Rila," Sofia, October 20-22, 1996.

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- "Tallinna Dominiiklaste klooster" [Tallinn Dominican friary]. Vana Tallinn 5:9 (1995): 35-57. With English summary.
- "Uusi leide Muhu kirikust" [New finds in the church of Muhu]. Ars Estoniae medii aevii grates Villem Raam, (1995): 57-64. With English summary.
- "The Architecture of the Dominicans in Livonia: An Abstract." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1994-1995, ed. M. Beth Davis and M. Sebök, Budapest, 1996: 69-71*

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- "A kolduló rendek szerepe az oktatásban." [The Role of the Mendicant Orders in Teaching and Education]. In: A magyar iskola 1000 éve. Exhibition catalogue. Győr, 1996.
- "Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon." [Mendicant Architecture in Medieval Hungary]. Budapest Könyvszemle BUKSZ, 1996.
- "Le Couvent des Cordeliers. Rapport des fouilles des Annexes en 1995." Together with József Laszlovszky. In Activités 1995, prévision 1996. SAEMN du Mont Beuvray, Glux-en-Glenne 1996.

Recent Degree:

Cand. Sci. at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, dissertation: "Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova," October, 1996.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- "Trije v Enem" [Three in One]. Problemi 7-8 (1995): 143-63.
- "Bo ji pogled" [God's Gaze]. Filozofski vestnik 1 (1996): 137-52.

Translations:

- Boethius, A.M.S., "Trojica je en Bog in ne trije Bogovi" [De trinitate]. Problemi 7-8 (1995): 131-40.
- Boethius, A.M.S., "Ali se Oče, Sin in Sveti duh bo anskosti predicirajo substancialno" [Utrum pater et filius et spiritus sanctus de divinitate substantialiter praedicentur]. *Problemi* 7-8 (1995): 141-2.
- de Certeau, M., "Skrivnost pogleda" [Le secret d'un regard]. *Filozofski vestnik* 1 (1996): 153-74.

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