ANNUAL
OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES
AT CEU

1997–1998

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Edited by
Katalin Szende

C E U

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

The fifth volume of the Annual which gives an overview of the life and activities of the sixth year of our Department is characterised by both continuity and changes. The continuity in the main chapters shows that the work at the Department followed the path marked during the previous years, but filled the established framework with new contents to meet new challenges. The changes–both in the academic program and the staff–are described in details in the *Report of the Year* and the description of *The Ph.D. Program*. The sad additions of this year's overview are the three obituaries: Professor Aleksander Gieysztor and two of our students, Zvetlana-Michaela Tănasă and Ilija Panchovsky died recently. By including their obituaries, we would like to commemorate them not only in their academical relation to the Department, but as the living persons they were.

Following last year's tradition, we included seven papers presented by our students at different occasions during this year. To these we added two chapters of the M.A. thesis of Zvetlana-Michaela Tănasă, by which we wish not only to preserve her memory but to present her innovative ideas for future research.

The Alumni Directory, organised no longer according to the classes of each year, but as a full alphabetical register–an arrangement which is due to the growing number of students–intends to give up-to-date information on the recent status and achievements of our alumni. Its reliability depends, however, on the willingness of our former students to co-operate. We want to use this opportunity to encourage everyone to keep in touch with us after the graduation. The contacts can also be facilitated by the web-site of the Department which can be found under the address www.ceu.hu/medstud/medstdir.html.

The Editor should like to thank everyone who contributed to the formation of this volume: to Alice Choyke for improving the clarity and fluency of the text, to Péter Szabó for his help in copy-editing, to Marcell Sebők and the administration of the Department for their patient assistance, and to the Archaeolingua Foundation & Publishing House who undertook the task of making a nice book for our use and pleasure.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CEU

Central European University (CEU) is an internationally recognized institution of post-graduate education in the social sciences. It seeks to contribute to the development of open societies in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union by promoting a system of education in which ideas are creatively, critically, and comparatively examined. CEU serves as an advanced center of research and policy analysis and facilitates academic dialogue while preparing its graduates to serve as the region's next generation of leaders and scholars.

CEU was established in 1991 as a pan-regional university committed to promoting educational development throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. CEU is a unitary institution, under a common Board of Trustees and Senate, with teaching sites in Hungary and Poland. Its primary offices are in Budapest. CEU has an absolute charter from the Board of Regents of the State of New York. The academic departments and programs include in Budapest economics, environmental sciences and policy, history, international relations and European studies, legal studies, medieval studies, and political science; in Warsaw sociology. Other interdisciplinary programs are also available in Budapest such as the program on gender and culture, human rights, nationalism studies, social theory, and southeast European studies.

During the 1997/98 academic year, CEU enrolled 709 students drawn from 41 countries including those of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Western Europe, North America, and Asia. Over 60 resident professors and a number of visiting professors from around the world teach at CEU, giving students access to highly respected academics.

Central European University does not discriminate on the basis of–including, but not limited to–race, color, national and ethnic origin, religion, gender or sexual orientation in administering its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs, and athletic and other school-administered programs.

CEU recognizes the human dignity of each member of its community. The university also believes that each member has a responsibility to promote respect and dignity for others so that all members of the community are free to pursue their goals in an open environment, able to participate in the free exchange of ideas, and

able to share equally in the benefits of the university's employment and educational opportunities. To achieve this end, the university strives to foster an academic, work and living environment that is free from any form of harassment, including that based on sex.

HOW TO DO THINGS WITH BLUEPRINTS

Prof. Sorin Antohi
Academic Pro-Rector

On September 12, 1997, CEU officially entered a new academic year–its seventh. By one of those icreasingly frequent changes forced by the media onto reality (reality, full stop; not virtual reality), the special supplement to the *Gazette* was being distributed to the large audience attending the opening ceremony shortly before Professor Josef Jařab and myself were supposed to deliver our welcoming remarks. It was a collective exercise in anachronism: our "speeches" were already in print, disturbingly challenging Newton's idea of time, and historians' trust in archives. So the two texts were not read by their respective authors and went into oblivion directly from the printed page, while the two speakers improvised brand new addresses, presumably off the record. (CEU consistently offers evidence of our region's allergy to keeping records, rather natural after decades of secret police surveillance: a few weeks ago, Professor Jařab's sophisticated and funny public conversation with György Konrád was not taped, at least officially, although the host and his guest were using high-tech wireless microphones.)

The time travel was over, CEU was back into history as usual. However, I kept thinking about that short intrusion of the near future into our present continuous and I started to include references to my most ambitious institutional projects in every conversation, from the casual remarks on CEU's daily operations to the polemics on academic issues. Quite quickly, I realized that many people at CEU were somewhat tired with projects or visions and they tended to dismiss any further talk about changes, future, and the like as mere speculation. I also suspected that such *blasé* partners, although polite and possibly open-minded, were waiting for me to settle in my Pro-Rector's armchair, run the place smoothly and grow into accepting their cynical realism. At some point, somebody even e-mailed me a kind of military fairy-tale describing *ad usum delphini* a general that made *Blitzkrieg* advances into enemy territory but eventually lost his considerably slower soldiers in the process.

While I don't really feel like refuting the bellicose parable–I would simply suggest my correspondent a closer reading of Clausewitz–I want to make a more general point: halfway between Popper's "piecemeal" and "Utopian" extremes of social engineering, one could still imagine another option. To put it briefly, this would be to constantly produce blueprints, to offer them for, and change them according to, open debates, to implement them thoroughly and to consistently check them against their consequences, intended or not. Even after the collapse of most Utopias, handling blueprints with skeptical care can still prevent us from abandoning ambitious necessary change altogether. In what follows, I introduce such a blueprint, which already includes ideas and feedback from our Rector and President, Professor Josef Jařab, our Executive Vice-President, Dr. István Teplán, and others. In the next months, we shall concentrate on its improvement and implementation. Your reactions and suggestions are welcome.

From Remedial to Elite Education. As one among many programs designed and operated by the Soros foundations network, CEU is contributing in its modest way to the birth or consolidation of open societies. However, CEU should gradually distance itself from the general logic of the network–philanthropy–and evolve towards the typical logic of graduate schools–academic excellence. This does not mean that a group of preposterous scholars are trying to escape the constraints (financial, moral, and otherwise) of post-communism and offer themselves an ivory tower at the expense of deserving multitudes from under-resourced parts of the world. It simply means that a number of responsible people with a real knowledge of CEU's target region understand several principles and facts, such as: (a) CEU is not the only institution that caters to the educational needs of the region (our code-name for the blurred symbolic map of post-communism), as many good schools, universities and think tanks are set up or reformed, often with assistance from the Soros foundations network; (b) rather than accept in the name of equal opportunity students whose English is poor and whose academic qualifications are doubtful, we should raise admission standards and develop our advertising and recruiting strategies in order to make sure we reach, appeal to, and use our resources for the brightest graduates. Ironically enough, the elites of the region have been too often sacrificed in the name of generous principles.

From Occasional Paternalism to Peer Cooperation. Eight years after the fall of the Berlin wall, CEU is decisively moving towards cooperation with similar, or complementary, institutions–in the region and elsewhere. Cooperative projects are not new at all, but we need more common work with our peers, more exchange of ideas and experiences, and less paternalistic assistance to frustrated betters or *mendiants ingrats.* Junior and Senior Visiting Fellows, visitors through programs

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such as the Curriculum Resource Center or the Summer University are increasingly seen as CEU faculty's colleagues and partners, and invited for meaningful, intensive, and candid intellectual exchanges. Moreover, since at CEU one is most likely to find the relevant expertise, our university is coming closer to the Soros-funded programs that have related goals; the Research Support Scheme is one such program.

One of the most recent developments in this respect is the Joint Appointment Scheme, to be launched in the near future, by which outstanding academics from the region and elsewhere will be able to teach during a part of the academic year as Recurrent Visiting Professors at CEU, while continuing to teach at their home universities for the rest of the academic year. This formula has proved to be very successful in several CEU departments; at this point, we are adding to it benefits for the departments and universities from where our jointly appointed professors come, in order to transform what is largely an individual adventure into a lasting institutional collaboration. Furthermore, CEU will profit from having more qualified supervisors for its M.A. and Ph.D. students, while the whole range of academic programs in the Soros foundations network will gain more consistency and substance.

Towards a Network of Research Networks. Similar to the regional integration of our teaching, research at CEU is to be reorganized and encouraged at all levels, from departments and programs to international teams. It will be coordinated by a new unit, which is now being designed and debated: the CEU Institute for Advanced Studies. Far from being one of those oversized research institutes that were so popular in the region before 1989, this is to function as a network of networks, focusing on projects that will be coordinated by CEU faculty alongside non-CEU scholars, under the academic guidance of an international advisory board. Our Ph.D. students will be encouraged to join whenever appropriate. Funding from external sources; publication of the main research results–often with the CEU Press; high-profile conferences, including a "The State of the Art in" series, to be launched in 1999 with a focus on historical studies; rigorous interdisciplinary research; and balance between "hot" topics and long-term concerns are some of the founding ideas of the Institute.

This is merely a sketch of our blueprint. From the Student Council and the newly launched Junior Faculty Initiative–an informal group of young scholars that meet to debate university-wide issues–to the Academic Forum, the Senate and the Board of Trustees, this blueprint will hopefully travel all the way from fantasy to reality. What is at stake is simply CEU's status as a center of excellence.

Meeting of the Academic Advisory Board of the Department of Medieval Studies
in the Senate Room of CEU.

Working lunch during the Board Meeting.

REPORT OF THE YEAR

János M. Bak, Acting Head

The year 1997/98 was, if we wish to give it a general characterisation, one of transition. Not only was Gábor Klaniczay elected Rector of the Collegium Budapest, Insitute for Advanced Study, and, therefore, had to resign from the position of Head of the Department, but last year's program coordinator, Renata Mikolajczyk, also decided to return to active research, and thus a new head of the office had also to be found. Upon the recommendation of the Academic Advisory Board in the Spring of 1997, the Rector and Senate of CEU appointed the writer of this report as acting head. The position of coordinator was assumed by Anna Ádám, a teacher of English with some adminstrative and budgeting experience, who intends to stay "on board" for the long term. Admittedly, the transition has not been easy, for there were very many things that got never formally recorded but existed only in our heads or in that of Marcell Sebők (who, for a semester in the Fall 1997, was with us as a guest editor of the *Annual* for 1996/97) or Renata. Parallelly with these administrative changes in our bailiwick, we had to get used to much more "bureaucratic" procedures at CEU. The university has now grown into a sizeable institution which inevitably entails more paperwork, more precise accounting, budgeting, registration and so on. And–according to a recent report by Price-Waterhouse–this is not always as efficient as one might wish. A long way from Hűvösvölgy times when "registration" for courses was a piece of paper in the instructors' hand and finances were handled through a check-book in the coordinator's desk.

However, before the academic year came to its end, the new Head of the Department, Prof. József Laszlovszky, had been approved by the Senate and the Board of Trustees, and will formally take over the leadership on 1 January, 1999. In the meantime, the partially new administrative staff has also acquired the necessary routine.

We opened 1997/98 with the traditional short excursion into western Hungary, and this time the weather was so pleasant that–before a very elegant wine-tasting "session"–we had an afternoon of swimming in Lake Balaton. The new class of M.A. candidates has 33 students, to them came 10 new "probationary" Ph.D.

candidates (as they are now called during their first year before the comprehensive exams), and 18 returning Ph.D. students. Additionally, seven of our finishing Ph.D. students (from the very first year of our program) were still around, completing their dissertations. As they had been on leave for several months in the past years, they had still a few months' worth of stipend to be used for completing their work. All told, in 1997/98 we had the largest number of students in the program, which was not bad, insofar as there was a tendency in the Administration to that kind of "normative financing", which is practised in many state universities. (It proved in fact to be handled less strictly by the financial authorities than we had feared.) At any rate, we decided to increase the first-year intake rather than become less rigorous in admitting M.A. graduates into the Ph.D. program.

The incoming class looked a bit problematic in terms of English language background, and also in previous professional training. We had to realise that the impressive number of high quality students of our first years–due to the fact that we had a chance to admit young scholars who had spent some years after their first degree in professional life and were, so to say, "waiting" for the opportunity to come to CEU–will not be the general rule. We are now recruiting from the "annual average" of university graduates. Our students tend to be younger and less experienced. It was clear that we have to adjust our expectations, methods, and offerings to these circumstances. Moreover, in the last years we became aware of the fact that–concomitant with "modernisation"–the traditionally good basic training of medievalists as well as the status of scholars in the humanities has begun to decline in the region. To put it crudely: our entering students will soon know as little Latin as American or German B.A. graduates, and all the "money-making trades" will tend to eclipse in prestige the traditionally highly regarded *panowie profesorowie.* This cannot be stopped, but we have to face it and adjust our program. We intend to accept intelligent and motivated young people, and help them overcome the short-comings of their previous education also in fields that used to be well taken care of earlier. This translates into the need for such offerings as beginners' courses in Latin/Greek/Old Church Slavonic, more basic proseminars in research skills, and so on, while, on the M.A. level, the number of specialised and professional seminars will have to be somewhat reduced. We can catch up during the doctoral years for those who chose to pursue higher degrees with us.

The geographical gaps in the arriving students (especially the low number of students from the Czech and Slovak Republics, but also the relatively weak Polish presence) were not quite balanced by the growing interest for CEU in Romania. The good supply of Bulgarians seems to have declined, but maybe just temporarily.

Croatia, Russia, Ukraine, Hungary and the Baltic kept up, more or less, their "usual quota."

Both the pre-session and the first semester went well (for course descriptions, see below, pp. 37–61) and some of our concerns (especially about English) proved to be overpessimistic. All of those who had problems in this field, managed to catch up, with the help of our faculty and the Language Teaching Centre's tutors, by December.

In late Fall we have been again nominated for the Hannah Arendt Prize (of which we were finalists last year and received a nice *laudatio* from Lord Dahrendorf), and had to present our program once more, but this time we did not make it into the second round. Still, such recognition is good for the *ego-* and for public relations. In October we launched a year-long public lecture series on "Byzantium and the Rest of Europe: In memoriam Alexander Kazhdan"–the leading Byzantinist who had planned to spend some weeks with us in the 1997/98 academic year (see below, pp. 63–65) but died in the Spring. This series allowed our students to meet internationally renowned experts in a field which we intend to build up as a special profile of our department in the long run. Particularly valuable in this effort was that we established good contacts with Viennese Byzantinist scholars, who will regularly offer guest courses in our program in the future. Also, the lectures drew attention to our department in the Budapest scholarly community, a concern high among our priorities. (A few students took the lecture series "for credit", by writing a short essay at the end of an appropriate topic of their choice.) We intend to continue such topically oriented series, even if not as extensive ones as in 1997/98: the organisation (and budget!) for a weekly public lecture is too much for our limited resources.

The second semester and the Spring Session were enriched by a number of guests, regulars and new friends, such as the two Canadians, Hanna Kassis and DeLloyd Guth, who were very much appreciated by the students, and in April–May Roberto Rusconi, Marco Mostert, Hartmut Kugler, Henrik and Marianna Birnbaum, and Nancy van Deusen. We also introduced a new course on "The Bible in the Middle Ages" (offered by Marianne Sághy, see below, p. 56.) which proved to be very popular and will be a regular feature.

In February the great event of our (and CEU's!) first doctoral promotion took place. Stanko Andrić Gábor Klaniczay's student, defended his dissertation on *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*. In May, he was followed by the second doctoranda: Margaret Draganova Dimitrova, Henrik Birnbaum's student, defended her work on *Greek and Latin Loanwords and Names in Glagolitic Missals*. (On details, see below, pp. 111–120). On June 23, they were formally awarded the degree by the

Rector (together with a young lawyer, CEU's first SJD). On the faculty's side, Marianne Sághy defended her Ph.D. in Princeton, and passed the necessary rites of passage in Hungary as well.

In February-March the new applications arrived. We believe that all twenty-five who were finally accepted will prove to be good M.A. candidates (and beyond). Their English background is much better than the past few years' average (and maybe this trend will even increase in the future). In contrast and as a balance to the relatively low intake of M.A. candidates, we admitted fourteen new Ph.D. candidates: nine from this year's graduates, four former students of ours, who had spent a year or two elsewhere and, as a new feature, one graduate from another university. The uneven geographic distribution remains a problem: we are now apparently quite popular in Romania (seven new students and one from Moldova) and Hungary (six); the rest of the new M.A. class is going to come from Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Serbia (one each), Russia and Ukraine (two each); but none from Croatia, the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovenia. There was no successful Western applicant either.

At the end of March, combined with the Interdisciplinary Workshop, our newly constituted Academic Advisory Board held its first meeting. Chaired by Elisabeth A. R. Brown from New York, it was attended by a majority of members, among them the newly elected Professors. Rees Davis from Oxford, Evelyne Patlagean from Paris, and Andrei Pippidi from Bucharest. The Board discussed the progress of the department and placed a number of issues on the agenda, which had been recommended by previous visitors and alumni, who were asked to suggest "problems" for an internal review. The Board approved the department's work and its strategic plans and was especially pleased about the reports on the progress in English academic writing which is reflected in the incomparably better style and form of the theses submitted.

The main points of the Board's decisions addressed the need of recruitment in the countries less well represented among our students, including Western Europe and North America; the ratio between courses on research methods and special topics as well as those offered by resident and by visiting faculty. Based on the experience of the last two years, its was decided to discontinue the experimentally introduced option of "three papers and exam" instead of M.A. thesis. The few students who chose this option could have very well expanded either of the papers into a regular thesis, or, if not, should have taken more time and submitted later, as some students always do. (Usually two or three M.A. students postpone their submission and defense by half a year or one, and several of them proved to be good pieces of work which simply needed more time for material collection and/or

writing.) The Board also discussed our struggle with the idea of prescribing a set of "big books" (both sources and literature) that were to be read during the M.A. program: we found that, even though–considering the limitations of access to up-to-date research by many of our students–something of this sort would be useful, the schedule of the nine months at CEU simply does not allow to squeeze in more than what we presently offer. Serious discussion of the readings would not be possible, and a prescription without follow-up would be a rather empty proposal. Actually, it was suggested that in course of the new-style doctoral research seminars (on which see below p. 109–111), the lists compiled might be utilized as recommended background reading and some discussion could be put on the agenda.

On the request of the Board, we made a rough statistics on the career of our graduates. Up to 1997, 129 students had graduated with an M.A. in Medieval Studies (a dozen more received a "Certificate of Attendance" enabling them to submit their theses later, and two of them have already done so). Of these, 33 are continuing their doctoral studies with CEU, 42 are in doctoral (or comparable, e.g. aspirantura) programs elsewhere (28 "at home," 14 abroad); 25 have obtained academic research or teaching posts, 21 other "profession-related" (e.g. research manegement, archives, scholarly publishing, etc.) positions. (Some of the doctoral students already hold part-time positions.) As far as we can tell (and not all alumni/ae keep in touch with us), only eight of our graduates either unemployed or had to find positions outside the wider field of the profession. We feel that this is not a bad picture about the fate of our students, and hope that it may be kept up in the future.

The Interdisciplinary Workshop in early April (see the program below, pp. 200–201) was very interesting and valuable in intellectual content as well as in good collegial exchanges, but had poor attendance from the M.A. class. While the year before we found that a date in June is not advantageous, all the M.A. students were exhausted after submitting their theses, the date at the end of the second semester promised better results. We were, apparently, mistaken, though many of our doctoral students attended the sessions and–an innovation we intend to contribute and expand–papers presented by Ph.D. candidates was a very successful feature. We combined the workshop with a visit of colleagues from eastern and central Europe (in the framework of CEU's Curriculum Resources Centre), and they were very pleased by having been able to discuss their teaching with us and our guests as well as making contacts with scholars from many countries. We have decided to try yet another date, so the Interdisciplinary Workshop of 1998–99 will be scheduled for the middle of the second semester (late February); its topic is to be "Constructing

and Reconstructing Frontiers" which is to be understood as different kinds of frontiers, those "on the ground" as well as those "in the mind."

Most of our M.A. students who needed funds for travel or equipment or photocopies, won research grants for the two-weeks' break in April. Their travels took them as far as Edinburgh, Oxford, Paris, St Petersburg, and to the neighbouring countries, whence they returned with often quite new pieces of evidence for their theses–and later research. The competition is now becoming more and more stiff, as the number of students is increasing while the total of the funds remains the same. Besides, in past years, the department had all kinds of "free" funds and savings which we could chip in from, if needed. That will not be possible in the future.

The Spring Field Trip was into a new direction: towards the northeast with Cracow as its main object, but with the inclusion of eastern Slovakia and northeastern Hungary (program on pp. 29–31, below). The booklet prepared by the students in the course of both semesters was perhaps the best produced so far. This time we discontinued the formal "Excursion Seminar" and had the papers for the field-trip guide be prepared individually with the counsel and supervision of the faculty; this proved to be a fruitful exercise.

Because of budgetary restraints and other considerations, 1997–98 was the first year in which the M.A. students had no "tutors" assigned to them. The experence of the previous year, when three doctoral students served as tutors has shown that if these tutors take their task seriously, they lose too much time in their own study, and if they don't, than their "pupils" are shortchanged. As we are no longer able to remunerate such tutors by extra stipend-time for their Ph.D. work, and also, as we cannot count on having always two or three pedagogically oriented doctornadi/ae, we dropped this arrangement. Instead, we asked two doctoral students to be of assistance to their younger colleagues in matters of documentation (notes, bibliography, etc.), and this was a very successful enterprise: Giedrė Mickūnaitė and Gábor Virágos (both devoted footnote-maniacs) assisted the Academic Writing Sr. Instructor in fields that demanded special knowledge in textual and archaeological sources and their proper annotation.

The budget of our "Nobility" research project (on which, see below, pp. 167–173) allowed us, however, to invite a few younger colleagues as research fellows and "use" them as informal tutors. The doctoral candidates Joel Seltzer and Elizabeth Papazian (both from Yale University) offered some formal and informal assistance to M.A. and Ph.D. students during the two semesters while they were able to pursue their own research in the region (mainly in Prague). Our first (and, alas, for the time being, last!) postdoctoral fellow, Dr Scott Ashley (of Magdalen College,

Oxford), was of great help to many M.A. candidates during the Spring Session and the hectic thesis-writing period.

In retrospect, we believe that the lack of formal "tutors," something that may anyhow not be quite appropriate on the graduate level, did not cause a major problem, though we did miss that kind of feed-back which we received earlier through the younger colleagues to whom our students found it easier to complain about problems than to their professors. However, with the help of the two very active student representatives, who attended department meetings and kept continuous contact with our staff and faculty (Polina Melik-Simonian and Berislav Schejbal), we were not "isolated" from the student body–not as if this would have ever been a serious problem in our small and (so we hope) still friendly and collegial constituency. Our regular "student forum" meetings (every second or third week) also offered channels of communication.

On June 22–25, twenty-seven M.A. theses were successfully defended–after having been adjudicated by external readers–and granted the M.A. degree (see below, pp. 67–72). The defences were chaired in part by Patrick Geary (at that time still at UCLA but in the process of moving to Notre Dame), who, as a regular guest for this exercise ever since our first year, serves as our "standard-bearer" from year to year. In our internal assessment five deserved distinction *(magna cum laude)*, ten honours *(cum laude)*, and twelve were pass degrees (CEU will officially introduce "honours" etc. only next year). Three students postponed their defence for the Fall, having run out of time, usually for good reasons, personal or professional.

At the official CEU Commencement ceremony, celebrated with full pomp and circumstance, gown, mortarboard and fanfare, we felt that another successful year was completed. We drank some good wine accompanied by catered and home-made food at our own subsequent diploma-granting feast in good cheer–and the usual sadness of parting with many young colleagues who in a year had become valued friends.

† ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR

With the death of Aleksander Gieysztor on 9 February, 1999, the Department lost one of its oldest friends, supporters, and critics in one.

Professor Gieysztor, doyen of Polish medieval historians, long-time President of the Polish Academy of Sciences and for more than a decade Director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, raised the problem of collegial (as opposed to "official") cooperation between central and eastern European medievalists in several conversations in "his" Castle long before the CEU was even thought of. Therefore, it was only natural that he was the first among the leading scholars in the region who joined us in the planning and preparation of the Medieval Studies Program. A member of our Academic Advisory Board from the very beginning, Professor Gieysztor spent many hours with us discussing the program's progress, and became a most reliable and strict judge of both our work and that of our students. He was for all these years member of our Ph.D. selection committee, and always took time to review applications seriously. Many students who worked in fields close to his heart and expertise learned to appreciate his helpfulness and unselfish support in their study and career plans. In a word: we, together with many friends and colleagues in Poland an all around the world, mourn a true "gentleman and scholar."

† ZVETLANA-MIHAELA TĂNASĂ
(1968–1998)

On November 8, 1998 Zvetlana-Mihaela Tănasă, Ph.D. student of our department, died in a monastery situated high in the Moldavian mountains. Death put a premature end to this life full of strife and conflicts, but also full of hope and optimism, and, above all, full of kindness and love towards all those who had the chance to belong to the environment of the moving personality who Zvetlana was. And–although this is certainly less important *sub specie aeternitatis*–Zvetlana's premature death also put an end to the career of someone gifted with an exceptional intelligence, someone who could have produced astonishing scholarly results in any of the fields where she was at home: comparative linguistics, classical philology, or patristics.

She was born in a small village in Moldavia in a poor family, in very difficult conditions. She did her graduate studies at the "Al. I. Cuza" University in Iaşi. First she graduated in English language and literature (1992), and secondly in classical languages (1995). In 1989, at the university, she took an important part in the students' movement against the Ceauşescu regime. She was among the main organizers, a fact which later caused her many hardships. During her university years she was also occupied with comparative linguistics. She worked on Gothic loanwords in the Romanian language. Then she came to us, to the CEU, where her interest turned to patristics and medieval manuscripts. In her M.A. year she finished an outstanding thesis on an eleventh century manuscript of St. John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*, kept in the University Library in Budapest (*Elte graec. 2*). It is our pride that a Romanian student of ours made the first detailed and reliable description of this important holding of the University Library. However, the thesis contained much more than a mere description. In her essay, Zvetlana put forward and supported with strong arguments a daring hypothesis about the way Chrysostomian texts were transmitted. If her hypothesis turns out to be true, it should change our way of approaching patristic texts, and make us ask questions which we have not asked before. The description of the manuscript, and the chapter presenting Zvetlana's new hypothesis can be read in this *Annual*. Of course, proving this hypothesis would have required much more work in the same direction, and

I believe that sooner or later Zvetlana would have elaborated her thesis. However, her innovative mind could not continue in this direction. She wanted to start new research in the comparative history of late antique and medieval philosophical and theological doctrines, a project which also took advantage of her excellent knowledge of philology; she embarked upon this new project in her first Ph.D. year.

Unfortunately, all these scholarly pursuits had to remain merely a promising beginning. A serious cancerous illness claimed to utter the last word in Zvetlana's young life. However, cancer's was not the last word, or only apparently so. Zvetlana, this indefatigable warrior, fought the illness with all her strength. Feeling the decay of her physical abilities, she changed her intellectual pursuits for spiritual ones. She went home to Moldavia, became a nun, and faced her indescribable sufferings with unusual courage. As her last letters, and also the reports of those who knew her in her last period, testify, she became more and more calm and faced death with serenity. What could be a greater achievement for somebody who has been so dedicated to Christian "philosophy," a philosophy which consists not so much in an exercise of the mind as in a moral and spiritual preparation for the world to come?

Dumnezeu să o odihnească!
May God rest her soul.

István Perczel
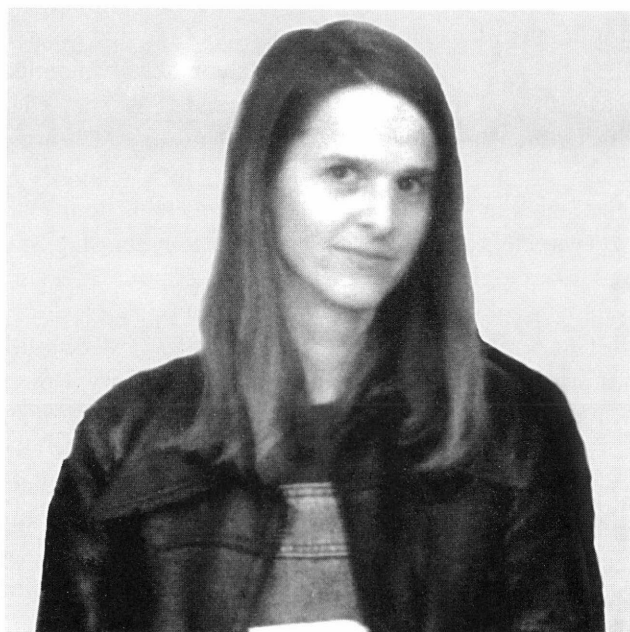
ACTIVITIES & EVENTS IN 1997/1998

1997

Sept. 1–3	Field trip to Western Hungary (see Academic Excursions pp. 28–31).
Sept. 8–26	Pre-session courses: General English, Latin, Greek, computing, visits to libraries and museums, planning discussions on M.A. research topics.
Sept. 29	Fall Semester starts.

FALL SEMESTER

Oct. 8	*"Can one study medieval Europe without Byzantium?"* Opening lecture of the public lecture series on *"Byzantium & the Rest of Europe"* in memoriam Alexander Kazhdan, 1922–1997 by János Bak and Ralph Cleminson (see **Program** pp. 63–65).
Nov. 10–17	Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from universities of the region attend a short but intensive seminar focusing on computer applications of studying medieval Slavonic texts.
Nov. 11–16	Workshop on *"Computer Applications for the Study of Medieval Slavonic Texts"* Andrej Bojadžiev, Marta Bojanivs'ka, Ralph Cleminson, Milena Dobreva, Nina Gagova, Rumjan Lazov, Anisava Miltenova, Ana Stojkova, Stanimir Velev (see detailed program p. 197)
Nov. 20–27	*"The Treasures of Mount Athos"*: exhibition in Thessaloniki. Optional program organised by the students.
Dec. 8–13	*"Byzanz als Raum"*–conference in Vienna on the problems of historical geography of the Byzantine Empire. Optional program organised by the students.
Dec. 13	A Visual Lab presentation organised by the Orbis Foundation on the occasion of its third year of activity. Five catalogues recorded

| | on CD by Lab team are presented: *Hungarian Angevin Legendary, Old Paintings of the Museum of Fine Arts, Medieval Manuscripts,* Kalocsa Cathedral Library, *Icons* of the Rostov Kreml Museum and the catalogue of the *Ráday Calvinist Library and Old Prints.* |
| Dec. 19 | End of Fall Semester. |

1998

WINTER SEMESTER

Jan. 12	Winter Semester begins.
Jan. 15	One month research visit of Junior Mobility Fellow, Roman Zaoral (University of Olomuc, Czech Republic) begins.
Feb. 2	Two month research visit of Senior Mobility Fellow, Vladimir Vavřínek (Institute of Slavonic Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic) begins.
Feb. 6	Public defence of the Ph.D. dissertation in Medieval Studies by Stanko Andrić on *"The Miracles of St. John Capistran."*
Feb. 6–8	Second Workshop on Nobility Research Project (see project report)
Feb. 18	*"The Virtual Reality of the Past."* Opening lecture of the University Faculty Public Lecture series held by József Laszlovszky on traditional and computer aided reconstructions of ancient monuments.
Feb. 21–22	Workshop on *"Patterns of Economic and Political Integration in Central and Southeast-Central Europe"* (see pp. 198–199).
Mar. 8	Two months research visit of Senior Mobility Fellow, Michail Boitsov (Moscow State University) begins.
Mar. 9	Presentation and reception on the publication of *"Women and Power in East Central Europe–Medieval and Modern"* edited by Marianne Sághy. Volumes 20–23, part 1 of the international journal *East Central Europe, Europe de Centre-Est, Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift.*
Mar. 13	The CD edition of the *Angevin Legendary,* the precious facsimile (made by the Swiss Belser Verlag on the Codex Vat. Lat. kept in the Vatican Library) is presented to the professional public in the Széchényi National Library as well as a volume together with the CD. See Project report, pp. 174–178.

Mar. 30	One week visit arranged by the Curriculum Resource Center to attend courses and workshops at the department begins.
Apr. 1–2	Meeting of the Academic Advisory Board
Apr. 2–6	*"Aspects of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Europe"*: interdisciplinary workshop (see pp. 200–201).
Apr. 2–6	Visit of a group invited by the Curriculum Resource Center. The guests not only attend courses at the Medieval Studies Department, meet both the faculty and the students, visit the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library, but also participate at the interdisciplinary workshop held at the same time.
Apr. 3	Winter Semester ends.
Apr. 7–19	M.A. Research Break
Apr. 19–25	Spring Excursion, Slovakia, Cracow and North-Eastern Hungary (see pp. 29–30).

SPRING SESSION

Apr. 27	Spring Session begins.
May 7–10	33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies organised by the Medieval Academy of America, Kalamazoo, USA. A group of five Ph.D. students headed by Gerhard Jaritz attended and gave lectures at different sessions (see pp. 202-203).
May 16	Public defence of the Ph.D. dissertation in Medieval Studies by Margaret Draganova Dimitrova on *"Greek and Latin Loanwords and Names in Croatian Glagolitic Missals."*
May 22	Spring Session ends.
May 25	M.A. Thesis Writing workshops begin.
May 27	Public Lecture by Cynthia Vakareliyska (University of Oregon) on *Roman Catholic Influences in Three Fourteenth Century Bulgarian Calendars of Saints, and How They Got There.*
June 12	M.A. Thesis Writing workshops end.
June 15	M.A. thesis submission deadline.
June 22–25	M.A. thesis defences.
June 24	Commencement Ceremony in the Museum of Design and Applied Arts.
June 25	Medieval Studies graduation ceremony.

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July 6–17   Summer University: *Documentation and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage.*
The course is directed by József Laszlovszky together with the assistance of the Visual Laboratory team (see pp. 189–194).

July 13–16   International Medieval Congress, Leeds (see pp. 204–206)

ACADEMIC EXCURSIONS

Fall Excursion, Western Hungary
September 1–3, 1997

September 1, Monday
Morning

Departure from Budapest

Visit to Ócsa, Praemonstratensian church and Ráckeve, Orthodox church and medieval frescoes

Afternoon

Veszprém, medieval cathedral and episcopal see

Visit to Városlőd excavation of the medieval Carthausian monastery, Pápa and Csorna

Arrival to Sopron in the evening

September 2, Tuesday
Tour in Sopron

Morning

Main Square, Fire-tower, Ancient Roman traces: Forum, city walls, lapidarium, Medieval streets and houses in the centre, medieval synagogue and chapter hall of the Franciscan friary

Afternoon

Visit to the archives and the town hall and the collection of appiled arts in the Storno-house

Hidegség, medieval parish church

Arrival to Fertőd in the evening, visit to the Eszterházy Palace

September 3, Wednesday
Morning

Visit to Sárvár and Sümeg castles

Afternoon
   Felsőörs, Romanesque church and swimming in Lake Balaton
   Wine evening in the Soma Pince at Alsóörs
Arrival in Budapest late in the evening

Field trip to Western Hungary: Sopron, Main Square.

Spring Excursion, Slovakia, Cracow and North-Eastern Hungary
April 19–25, 1998

April 19, Sunday
- Bánska Štiavnica (Selmecbánya)
- Kremnica (Körmöcbánya)
- Oravský Podzámok – Oravsky Hrad (Árvavára)
Accomodation in Orawka

April 20, Monday
Arrival in Cracow
- Wawel hill: cathedral, royal castle, Main Square: Cloth Hall, Virgin Mary Church, altar of Veit Stoss
- Kazimierz: St Catherine's church, Corpus Christi church
Accomodation in Cracow

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ACTIVITIES & EVENTS IN 1997/1998

April 21, Tuesday
– Tarnów
– Koprzywnica–Cistercian monastery
– Baranów Sandomierski
– Sandomierz

April 22, Wednesday
Cracow: Jagellonian Library: Manuscript Collection; Collegium Maius–Museum of the Cracow University; Churches: St Andrew's, Holy Cross; Dominican and Franciscan friaries
– Skałka: St Stanislaus' church
– Tyniec: Benedictine monastery

April 23, Thursday
Departure from Cracow
– Vel'ka Lomnica (Kakaslomnic)
– Kežmarok (Késmárk)
– Spišský Štvrtok (Szepescsütörtök)
Accomodation in Levoča (Lőcse)

April 24, Friday
– Levoča (Lőcse): City Hall
– Spišská Kapitula (Szepeskáptalan)
– Spišský Hrad (Szepesvár)
– Žehra (Zsegra)
– Košice (Kassa)
Accomodation in Sárospatak

April 25, Saturday
– Sárospatak
– region of Zemplén
– Vizsoly
– wine tasting in Tállya
Arrival in Budapest

Students and Staff at Spišský Hrad (Szepesvár), Slovakia.

Wine-tasting at Tállya.

Our guide during the excursion.

COURSES OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR
1997/1998

FALL SEMESTER COURSES
September 29–December 19

Mandatory Courses

- *M.A. Seminar* (2 credits) – Resident faculty
- *Introduction to Research Tools: Handbooks and Bibliography* (4 credits) – Resident and visitng faculty
- *Academic Writing* (2 credits) – Mary Beth Davis
- *Excursion Consultations* (1 credit) – József Laszlovszky

Optional Courses

- *Computing for Medievalists* (2 credits) – Gerhard Jaritz
- *History of Everyday Life* (2 credits) – Gerhard Jaritz
- *Ottoman History* (1 credit) – Gustav Bayerle (Indiana University, Bloomington)
- *Christianization of Central Europe* (1 credit) – Marianne Sághy
- *Hagiography* (2 credits) – Gábor Klaniczay– Christian Krötzl (University of Tampere)
- *Early Byzantine Monastic Traditions* (2 credits) – István Perczel
- *Christian Theology in the Eleventh and Thirteenth Century* (2 credits) – György Geréby
- *Economic History* (2 credits) – Ian Blanchard (University of Edinbourgh)
- *Topography of Sacred Spaces in Medieval Towns* (2 credits) – Neven Budak
- *Crusade Experience in Literary Terms* (2 credits) – Mária Dobozy (University of Utah – Salt Lake City)
- *Monastic Archaeology and Architecture* (2 credits) – József Laszlovszly

Language Courses

- *Latin: Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced* (1 credit) – György Karsai
- *Old Church Slavonic* (1 credit) – Ralph Cleminson

⚗ *Bible for Byzantinists: Greek Translation Seminar* (1 credit) – István Perczel

Ph.D. Courses

- ⚗ *Ph.D. Thesis Seminar* (2 credit) – all faculty
- ⚗ *Editing of Simon of Kéza* (2 credit) – János M. Bak, László Veszprémy (Military History Institute, Budapest), and Frank Schaer
- ⚗ *Sachsenspiegel–Vernacular Customary Law in Central Europe* (2 credit) – Mária Dobozy
- ⚗ *Papacy and Central Europe* (1 credit) – James Ross Sweeney (Pennsylvania University)
- ⚗ *Text Encoding* (2 credit) – Ralph Cleminson
- ⚗ *Individual Reading Course* (2 credit) – thesis supervisors

WINTER SEMESTER COURSES
January 12–April 3

Mandatory Courses

- ⚗ *M.A. Thesis Seminar* (2 credits) – Resisent faculty
- ⚗ *Excursion Consultation Seminar* (1 credit) – József Laszlovszky
- ⚗ *Academic Writing Consultation* (1 credit) – Mary Beth Davis

Research Methods

- ⚗ *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture* (2 credits) – József Laszlovszky
- ⚗ *Latin Palaeography* (2 credits) – László Veszprémy
- ⚗ *Palaeography and Codicology of Cyrillic Manuscripts* (2 credits) – Ralph Cleminson
- ⚗ *Codicology and Diplomatics* (2 credits) – László Veszprémy
- ⚗ *Historical Anthropology* (2 credits) – Gábor Klaniczay
- ⚗ *Gender in the Middle Ages* (2 credits) – Gerhard Jaritz
- ⚗ *Visual Resources* (2 credits) – Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács
- ⚗ *Economic and Social History* (2 credits) – Hanna Zaremska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw) and Balázs Nagy
- ⚗ *Historical Demography* (2 credits) – Tamás Faragó (Miskolc University)
- ⚗ *Gothic Art and Architecture* (2 credits) – Lívia Varga (University of Toronto)
- ⚗ *Iconography* (2 credits) – Zsuzsa Urbach (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)
- ⚗ *Medieval Philosophy* (2 credits) – György Geréby and Ben Schomakers (Catholic University, Leuven)

Optional Courses

Seminars

- *Computing for Medievalists* (2 credits) – Gerhard Jaritz
- *Islam and Christianity* (2 credits) –
  Hanna Kassis (University of British Columbia, Vancouver)
- *The Bible in the Middle Ages* (2 credits) – Marianne Sághy
- *Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries on Aristotle's* De anima (2 credits) –
  Ben Schomakers
- *Social Conflict in the Later Middle Ages* (2 credits) – János M. Bak
- *History of Communication* (2 credits) – Gerhard Jaritz
- *Literary Text in the Middle Ages* (2 credits) – Ralph Cleminson

Short Seminars

- *Medieval Legal Texts* (1 credit) – DeLloyd J. Guth (University of Manitoba),
  January 12–February 20
- *The Image of the Other* (1 credit) – Felicitas Schmieder
  (Universität Frankfurt am Main), January 12 – February 20
- *Norms of Behaviour and Literature in Courtly Society* (1 credit) – Danielle
  Régnier-Bohler (Universté de Bordeaux), February 16–March 6
- *Art of Imperium and Sacerdotium in Bohemia in the Middle Ages* (1 credit) –
  Hana Hlaváčková (Institute of Art History, Prague)

Language Courses

- *Latin: Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced* (1 credit) – György Karsai
- *Old Church Slavonic* (1 credit) – Ralph Cleminson
- *Greek Text Reading* (1 credit) – Ben Schomakers

Ph.D. Courses

- *Ph.D. Thesis Seminar* (2 credits) – Resident faculty
- *Advanced Academic Writing* (2 credits) – Mary Beth Davis
- *Individual Reading Course* (2 credits) – thesis supervisors
- *Jewish, Muslim and Christian Interactions in the Middle Ages* (2 credits) –
  Hanna Kassis
- *Medieval Legal Sources* (1 credit) – DeLloyd J. Guth,
  January 12– February 20
- *Prophecy as Instrument of Political Propaganda* (1 credit) –
  Felicitas Schmieder, January 12–February 20

- *Medieval Notions of* Infamia (1 credit) – Hanna Zaremska, February 23–April 3
- *Foundation Narratives and "lieux de mémoire"* (1 credit) – Danielle Régnier-Bohler, February 16–March 6

SPRING SESSION
April 27–May 22, 1998

Reading Courses (1 credit each)

- *Polish–German Relations: Coexistence, Colonization, Conflict* – Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA)
- *Medieval* Mappae mundi–Hartmut Kugler (Universität Erlagen-Nürnberg)
- *Prophecies and Apocalyptical Thought in the Middle Ages* – Roberto Rusconi (Università di Aquila)
- *Orality in the Middle Ages* – Marco Mostert (University of Utrecht)
- *Medieval Female Mystics* – Mary Beth Davis
- *Humanist Literature* – Marianna Birnbaum (UCLA)
- *Medieval Music* – Nancy van Deusen (The Claremont Graduate School, California)

COURSE DESCRIPTIONS

I. GENERAL COURSES

Resident faculty
M.A. Seminar

This is the core course of the entire year, beginning with a few lectures on research–usually presented by the resident faculty on their own on-going projects as "models"–and continuing with the discussion of outlines and chapters of M.A. theses in progress. Usually split into two groups to create a better environment for discussion, the seminar focuses during the first semester on preliminary outlines and bibliographies presented by the M.A. candidates. In the second semester, students present sample chapters (circulated in advance), preferably ones that deal with the critical evaluation of their major sources, whether texts, images or monuments. These chapter-presentations are augmented by critique of other students, involving thus the students in the analysis of topics beyond their own research. During the Spring Session and the subsequent weeks, the M.A. Seminar is transformed into small-group thesis-writing workshops, usually under the guidance of the thesis supervisors.

Resident and Visiting Faculty
Ph.D. Seminar

The seminar has three kinds of sessions. Most of them are devoted to the discussion of outlines, first and later drafts or special research problems of doctoral dissertations in progress (or chapters thereof), presented by the candidates. Some sessions are aimed at preparing the "probationary Ph.D. candidates" for their field examination, by faculty presenting the recent literature and the scholarly controversies regarding a topic that can be selected for the oral examination at the end of the first year. Finally, occasional lectures about on-going research projects by visitors and resident faculty serve as "examples" for scholarly procedure and problems.

Mary Beth L. Davis
Academic Writing for Medievalists I
Documentation, Argumentation, and Academic Prose Style

This course, required for all M.A. students during the fall term, provides a "working" review of the standards and expectations of the Medieval Studies Department in regard to the documentation of sources, academic writing, and oral

presentations. During the semester, students compile bibliographies pertinent to their research interests and write summaries, outlines for oral presentations, introductions to their thesis topics, rhetorical analyses, and seminar papers. In addition, the basic techniques of public speaking are discussed, and students gain experience developing their own presentation styles.

Mary Beth L. Davis
Academic Writing for Medievalists II
Writing the M.A. Thesis and the Research Proposal

This winter term course in academic writing meets only four times as a full group, and during these sessions, the overall structure of the M.A. Thesis and the components of a successful research proposal are reviewed and analyzed. In addition, all students attend weekly writing tutorials during which they review and revise the required assignments, namely, the thesis chapter that presents the "critical evaluation of the sources," a research proposal, and the academic excursion essay.

Mary Beth L. Davis
Ph.D. Advanced Academic Writing: Writing for the Profession

This course is required for all "probationary Ph.D. students" as it is designed for advanced graduate students who intend to continue in the academic profession after obtaining the Ph.D. degree, whether teaching at universities or as researchers at institutions. In addition, the overall purpose is to prepare students to write for an international medievalist audience. Thus, individual classes focus on such topics as the book review, the conference paper and abstract, the journal article and query letter, the research proposal, the curriculum vitae, and project descriptions. The course is also a "workshop" in which students prepare materials from their previous research with the purpose of publication and/or conference presentation.

József Laszlovszky
Excursion Consultation

The *Academic Excursion* credits imply the preparation for the field trip (April 19–25, 1998) to important archaeological, historical and cultural monuments of the region, and include the presentation of a background paper on one of these sites or related problems as well as the participation in compiling a field trip guide (ground plans, literature, major dates etc.). Every student is also assigned some scholarly task during the excursion.

During the excursion of this academic year we are going to visit north-eastern Hungary, Slovakia and southern Poland. Introductory lectures related to this regions are offered in the first part of the semester to help students to find their excursion

topic. The list of excursion topics are given to the students in the first part of October. Every student should select one topic from this list and work on the excursion paper with the help of professors indicated in the topic list. The written assignment for the first semester is to submit the preliminary bibliography of the selected topic. Practical questions related to this bibliography are discussed by Mary Beth Davis in the Academic Writing course.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

Resident and visiting faculty
Introduction to the Sources and Bibliography of Medieval Studies

This course, the core of the Research Methods program, aims at familiarizing the students with the major reference works in medieval studies, especially the general and special source collections and the different repertories, bibliographies, and other aids (dictionaries, glossaries, etc.). The first few weeks are devoted to an overview of written and non-written sources ("typology") and the structure of the great collections (*MGH, Patrologia*, etc.). Thereafter, the tools for the study of written sources (palaeography, epigraphics, diplomatics) and the major reference works for different fields of medieval studies (art, archaeology, everyday life, economic history, Latin and vernacular literatures, philosophy, theology, and so on) are introduced. Considering the limited time (usually one session per "field"), instructors concentrate on pointing out the advantages and shortcomings of the reference works and handbooks and supply a selected bibliography (collected in a *Handbook* for the course, which also lists the shelfmarks in Budapest libraries). It is hoped that these short introductions will enable students to start finding information on a specific issue of medieval civilization even outside their main field of study. Assignments demand work in the libraries, the use of reference works in different ways, and familiarity with various types of sources and literature.

Tamás Faragó
Historical Demography

This course is a comparative study of historical demography extending from Germany to West to the border of European Russia in the East. Regular themes of the historical demography and population history are discussed. Emphasis is placed on sources and on new historical methods and problems, rather than on chronological events. The lectures provide a brief introduction to the assigned topic: give structure, definitions and pose the important problems. We also analyse a couple of

contemporary sources (short texts) or some subsequent primary/secondary source publications (maps, tables or graphs).

György Geréby and *Ben Schomakers*
Medieval Philosophy

The course serves as an introduction to some basic issues in the philosophical thought of the Latin West between the 11th and the 14th centuries. Presentations are based on short texts (if possible, in translations, but in some cases we read latin texts), introduced by a general analysis of the problem to be discussed, and followed by discussion of the problems.

The following topics are discussed: the organisation of philosophical and theological learning at the medieval universities; Aristotle and Plato in the Middle Ages; the idea of language and the role of logic. Special attention is paid to the topic of the universals, to faith and reason: the case of Aquinas and Ockham, to the concepts of illumination and abstraction (Augustine and Bonaventura vs. Aristotle and Aquinas). An overview on contemporary views on natural philosophy: creation and the eternity of the world, the problem of divine omnipotence as well as the soul and the problem of the active intellect is also provided.

Gerhard Jaritz
Computing for Medievalists

The course concentrates on the application of databasing in medieval historical research, particularly by using the database management system "KLEIO" that has been developed at the "Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte" in Göttingen (Germany). We combine methodological discussions with extensive possibilities for practical work.

At first, the example of the description, documentation and analysis of pictorial sources play the main role, followed by the management of the contents of written sources like account books, testaments, inventories or chronicles. The usage of the students' "own" sources being relevant for their master theses, for their research projects, etc. is appreciated and supported. Major emphasis is put on the necessity to stay as close to the sources as possible.

We concentrate on the following features: Easy and more complex data retrieval, indexes, catalogues and codebooks, full text analysis, the integration of pictorial sources, and digital image analysis.

Gerhard Jaritz
Gender in the Middle Ages

The course concentrates on the phenomenon of gender as a social category in the Middle Ages. It deals with the female and the male, and their roles in medieval society. The female, domestic and the male, non-domestic space played a decisive part as criteria of differenciation. Various extensions of domestic space, however, may have lead to relevant spheres of women in non-domestic; "public" life. Naturally, any levels of power were well connected with components of gender. The phenomena of ideal, image, norm and practice, and their representation is considered and analysed; their differences, ambuiguities, and ambivalences are interpreted. We discuss developments and changes. Problems of the perception and image of sexuality are also dealt with. At the end of the course, it should have become evident that any field of medieval history has to be seen as indispensably and decisively connected with various gender-specific phenomena.

Gábor Klaniczay
Historical Anthropology

The aim of the course is to present this fairly new approach to historical sources and problems. We discuss together writings by anthropologists on historical problems and by historians using anthropological methods. The first classes concentrate on defining the aims and methods of historical anthropology such as ritual, symbol, body, marginalty and witchcraft. Discussions on the individual topics emphasize the methodological relevance of anthropology. The course also aims at making the participants experiment with similar questions on their own materials.

József Laszlovszky
Medieval Archaeology and Architecture

The aim of the course is to present the basic methods of medieval archaeology in the form of case studies. The first part of the seminar is the description of methods (dating, stratigraphy, cemetery analysis, etc.) and the case studies represent different fields (church archaeology, settlements, castles, etc.) of medieval archaeology as well. In the second part of each seminar archaeological documentation are discussed.

The other aspect of the course is the connection between architectural history and medieval archaeology. We examine medieval monuments and pay special attention to the methods of architectural archaeology (archaeological interpretation of standing buildings). The purpose is to understand the relationship between the methods and techniques of monuments analysis and field archaeological methods.

COURSES OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Balázs Nagy and *Hanna Zaremska*
Economic and Social History
Part 1 – Economic History
The economic history course concentrates on the economic changes of the countries of East Central Europe between the 10th–14th centuries. The main task of the course is to follow the economic–commercial integration of the countries of the above mentioned region. The method of the instruction is determined mainly by the parallel analysis of sources and literature. The program of the course starts with the 'prehistory', i.e. from the late Carolingian period and continues with the later development. It includes: Commercial connections in East Central European (before the 13th century) mining of precious metals and its consequences, trend of economic integration in the 14th century, commodities in the transcontinental trade, the role of south German and Italian merchants in the region, effects of the Black Death and the influence of the economic crisis of the 14th century, economic activities in East Central Europe as reflected by the accounts of foreign travellers and merchants.

Part 2 – Social History
The course consists of six classes which can be summarized under the title: "Individual and group in medieval society." Starting with the main ideas of Christian "anthropology" and its conception of man as *homo viator* and penitent, the first class takes up points like the duality of body and soul; the human body as a metaphor representing medieval society; oppositions in society: *ordo clericorum– ordo laicorum*; *potens–pauper* (powerful and poor). The second class concentrates on family, marriage and household. The concept of family is followed from Late Antiquity *(familia, patria, potestas, domus)* through Christian marriage and its sacramental essence (St. Augustin, Peter Lombard, Gratian), as well as the barbarian family and the foundation of the kinship group to the developments of the High and Late Middle Ages. The third class deals with the history of emotions which include domestic and family sentiments as well as spiritual and religious ideals. Attitudes towards motherhood, fatherhood, and childhood are also examined. The main topic of the fourth class is the urban society as a community consisting of religious and professional corporations. The fifth class covers the history of private life and discusses concepts like solitude, intimacy and individualism in medieval society. The closing theme presents medieval concepts of marginality: infamy, exclusion, separation. Groups afflicted by these distinction: lepers, heretics, and ethnic minorities are also surveyed.

Tamás Sajó and *Béla Zsolt Szakács*
Database Anatomy for Historians

Historians increasingly face databases in their everyday work. They use statistical, text, and image databases made by other scholars, compile or fill out such databases projected and maintained by research instutions, and, not rarely, they have to build themselves a database for their own purposes. In the same time, they generally know very little about the theoretical requirements and alternatives of database building. Why is a database composed in this way and not in another? What are the advantages of a given structure and which other advantages does it exclude? How should one begin to plan a database for systematizing a certain type and amount of material at hands? In our course we focus on some aspects that can help to answer these and similar questions. The text and visual databases collected by the Department's Visual Laboratory will serve as demonstrative examples for different solutions to problems of database building.

Databases to be demonstrated include museum CD-ROM editions (Uffizi, Ermitage, Louvre); the Vatican Library Videodiscs with Thésaurus des Images Médiévales; the Marburger Index with ICONCLASS; the International Medieval Bibliography; and classical text databases.

Zsuzsa Urbach
Iconography

Iconography is a method employed by both art history and archaeology. According to Erwin Panofsky's definition: "Iconography is the branch of the history of art, which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning in a work of art, as op-posed to their form." In the first lecture, I try to give an introduction and histori-ography of this field. As the course intends to give an overview mostly for historians and not especially for art historians, it is important to stress in iconographical studies the image itself is the "primary source" which has to be analysed. As iconographic literature shows, the traditions of images (Bildtradition in German) has been often stronger than the tradition of textual sources, thus the interrelation of text and image, especially in the Middle Ages is extremely intricate.

This course intends only to give an introduction to Christian iconography, limiting itself to the most common and popular types of the Trinity, Christ and the Virgin. This introduction is followed by a comprehensive survey of the Life of Christ and the Life of the Virgin, according to the Gospels and the apocryphal scripts. My field of research is art and iconography of the Late Middle Ages, thus the examples are taken mostly from the art of the pediod between the fourteenth and

sixteenth centuries, from Italy and Northern Europe, but as an introduction, some Byzantine examples are also being shown.

László Veszprémy
Latin Palaeography

The aim of these courses is to develop the skills of reading and interpretation of medieval Latin texts and to make the students familiar with the most important handbooks and palaeographical albums. To read medieval manuscripts and charters means to face the methodological and philological problems of manuscript and diplomatic studies, which are the subjects of these courses. (The lectures do not give an introduction to reading; students are supposed to have learned the basic Latin script-types from ancient to humanistic times.) A special attention is paid to the Central European development of the Latin scripts and to its cultural context.

László Veszprémy
Latin Codicology and Diplomatics

The course begins with clarifying the basic concepts of codicology and diplomatics and giving and introduction to handbooks, bibliographies, and basic English ter-minology. Further classes concentrate on problems of locating, dating, and editing medieval charters, the use of numerals and medieval time reckoning. Special attention is paid to the development of charter script, the typology of medieval royal, imperial, papal, and ecclesiastical charters. The last two classes deal with sources of town life and commercial written culture and with registers and medieval archives, respectively.

III. SEMINARS

János M. Bak
Social Conflict in Late Medieval Europe

The Seminar investigates the sources on urban and rural unrest in late medieval Europe, beginning with the movements of communes for urban liberty in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, through the urban and rural uprisings in the later fourteenth century (Jacquerie in France/Flanders, Ciompi in Florence, the English Rising of 1381) to the "peasant wars" of the sixteenth century (Germany, Hungary, Styria, etc.). Our major concern is to scrutinise the views of the contemporaries on social conflict as reflected in the narrative and other sources and the critical review of historians' writings on these events and their notions of explanation and analysis.

Gustav Bayerle

The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, 1071–1526

The Ottoman Empire was built on the ruins of Byzantium. After the Seljuk Alp Arslan defeated Emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert in 1071, Turkish tribes were able to penetrate Anatolia and establish a Muslim Seljuk state centering in Konya. In the 14th century, Osman, one of its nomadic frontier leaders, became independent from the waning Seljuk state and made Bursa his capital in 1326. Their next sultan crossed to Europe, his son made Edirne the springboard for further expansion; and the seventh sultan made Constantinople the seat of his Empire. Eventually the Ottoman Empire absorbed the bulk of Southwest Asia and Southeast Europe and spread its influence as far as Inner Asia, India, and North Africa. The objective of this course is to present a survey of the political, social, and economic developments of this unique Islamic empire from its formation to zenith of their power in the reign of Sultan Suleiman (1520–1566). Special attention will be given to the evolution of Ottoman institutions within its multi-cultural framework.

Henrik Birnbaum

Poland and Germany in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. Contacts, Conflicts, Colonization, Cooperation

The period covered is from the early tenth century (when West Slavic–Lekhitic– tribes clashed and cooperated with the East Frankish/German kingdom/empire, and formed the Polish state under Mieszko I, the Old, of the Piast dynasty) through 1572, the year when the last king of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Sigismund Augustus, died. As indicated in the subheading of the description, the emphasis is on contacts, conflicts, colonization, and cooperation between Poles and Germans, as well as on the German "Drive to the East" (*Drang nach Osten*). Among events, phenomena, and figures, the role of the Hanseatic League in Polish territory, the introduction of the Magdeburg Law in Polish towns, the settlement of German (and Jewish) merchants and craftsmen in Poland, the conflict with the Teutonic Knights, the achievements (and background) of such personalities as Nicholas Copernicus (Mikołaj Kopernik) and Veit Stoss (Wit Stwosz) are highlighted.

Marianna D. Birnbaum

Humanist Literature

The lectures and discussions will focus on the renaissance man's view of the world surrounding him and on beliefs and feelings as expressed in Central European humanist literature.

The etiological genres, dealing with the *origines gentium* are investigated as they reflect a nation's traditions regarding its own history. In this conncetion, a view of the world and the particular people's envisioned role in that world is also examined.

The description of nature, civilized by human labor, is a significant part of Renaissance literature. Therefore, the influence of classical authors, primarily Vergil and Ovid on the Central European literature is studied.

The role of man as a social being is another area of scrutiny. Socialization can be tested in view of the humanist perspective. In this segment such concepts as *patria* and issueas of class and gender are discussed. The individual author's stance: supportive, critical, ironical, etc., is being explored in these contexts.

The role of the private persona is revealed through works dealing with the family (i.e. childhood, blood relationships) and the Renaissance conception of friendship and their classical literary models are considered. In this connection, the rediscovery of the human body is traced in Renaissance writings.

Ian Blanchard
Medieval Economic and Social History

This course is designed to train students in the critical appraisal of current typologies of 'pre-modern' European economic and social changes, in the light of empirical investigations into the evolution of the medieeval (ca. 350–1520 AD) European economy and society. It examines long-term patterns of economic change in 'pre-modern' Europe. Special attention is paid to exploring why protracted periods of recession, such as followed the collapse of Roman Imperial power in the West (ca. 440–560 AD), were not replicated in the wake of the Black Death (ca. 1350–1520). During the later Middle Ages the high levels of economic activity achieved as a result of an unprecedented phase of "real" economic growth (ca. 1040–1340) were sustained, in spite of acute monetary and demographic disorders. The course is based upon a critical appraisal of available National Income estimates. It explores that process of medieeval social and economic change, which transformed the everyday life of men and women, in a way which was to remain unparalleled until the second half of the twentieth century. It examines the creation of a distinct "medieval" economy, which laid the foundations, in a way that "classical antiquity" never had, for the modern world.

Neven Budak
Sacred Spaces in Medieval Towns

The aim of the seminar is to compare the development of sacred spaces in different types of European, most of all Central European and Mediterranean towns from the late Antiquity till the 16th century. Under the term "sacred spaces" we understand buildings and spaces dedicated to religious purposes directly, such as churches, monasteries, chapels and cemeteries, or indirectly, like episcopal palaces, houses belonging to confraternities, etc. The changing relation between sacred spaces and urban development, as well as the functioning of such spaces are the major points of interest.

Ralph Cleminson
Text-Encoding (Ph.D. Seminar)

The seminar provides a gentle introduction to the electronic encoding of mediaeval texts and its uses, which cover all aspects of the organisation and manipulation of information in written form. It is based on the principles worked out over recent years by the Text Encoding Initiative, and provides participants with the opportunity for practical work with the texts that they are studying. The techniques and principles described are applicable to texts in any script and language. Participants are encouraged to bring along their own texts and problems of information management.

Mary Beth L. Davis
Reading the Texts of Female Mystics: Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe

This course is based on a close reading of two late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century mystical texts: *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich* (ca 1393) and *The Book of Margery Kempe* (ca 1436). The seminar as a whole focuses on these general questions–What creates or defines or is included in a medieval mystical text? What rhetoric (i.e., choices in the written expression of the mystic's experience) is implicit or explicit in these writings? What traditions provide the context within which the mystical experience is understood, rendered, or articulated? Within the context of these larger concerns, we also investigate the situation of women as writers of mystical texts as depicted and articulated directly by both Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe.

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Nancy van Deusen

Music as a Quadrivial Art: The Place, Purpose, Function and "Ministry" of Music within Medieval Education and Intellectual Life

One of the primary questions concerning music during the period from late Antiquity to the so-called Renaissance is why music was included at all within the quadrivial or mathematical arts, what was expected form it, and how it was taught.

Music as the analogy science, served as a bridge between what could be quantified and measured in terms of ordinal number, geometricized substance, and movement, and that which was almost totally abstract, namely the principles and discussions of these principles to be found in the study of theology-philosophy. Rather than containing what could be learned by means of rote memorization, music got to the heart of the matter, the essence of basic principles. Its components, such as individual tones, could be learned by a child, much as a child learned alphabetical letters and learned, as well, to place them within syntax. But the essential *nature* of particularity and particular increment within continuity, that is, the abstraction upon which letters within syntax was based, was accessible by thinking about how tones occurred within the continuity of a melodic line. Thus, music formed a necessary approach to theology, which discussed single event within temporality and eternity. Extending a similar statement by Augustine, quoted above, Roger Bacon toward the end of the thirteenth century reiterated that without music true understanding of philosophy and theology remained inaccessible. The goal of this seminar is to observe how this could be the case. The course, therefore, is fundamentally interdisciplinary due to the fact that it logically and substantially relates the quadrivial arts, the analogical bridge of music, to theology-philosophy, which, of course, was the goal of all study throughout the medieval period.

Mária Dobozy

The Crusade Experience (East and West) in Literary Terms

This course looks at the early reactions to the crusades in the Middle East and Northern Europe by reading eye-witness Latin accounts, Greek accounts, Islamic historians, and the German chronicles and other narrative works concerning the crusades and the Holy Land. These texts all represent attempts by the authors to shape their audience's understanding not only of the events, but also of their own history. We discuss the topics of literary versus historical accounts, mimesis, narrative strategies, and cross-cultural and religious comparisons, the confrontation of the other, all of which are used to portray "history" or "reality" from the author's cultural perspective.

Special attention is paid to the following questions: How is the other presented? How do the texts claim accuracy in their description of people, events and customs? What is the rationale for each enterprise? What personal justifications and explanations do we find? To what extent have authority figures and popular beliefs shaped opinions in our texts? How does genre shape or constrain a) historical interpretation, and b) creativity of expression? To what extent do these literary texts reflect a process of coming to terms with the crusade or to what extent is the crusade a plot for playing out social contradictions at home?

Mária Dobozy
Literature as Performance

This course asks the question: How can we go beyond traditional ways of reading literature? The answer, to approach literature from several different directions may be obvious, but the methodology by which this can be achieved is not so obvious. The major premise in this course is that literature is not text, but exists primarily in performance. For this we need to study the poet-performers ("minstrels") for they were the creators and transmitters of literary works. We will examine the relevance of social history, anthropology (especially with respect to a dynamic definition of ritual) and performance theory the analysis of both romance and poetry. Our goal is literary and historical, that is, to find a way of understanding the performative impact of literature on an audience when we receive it only as text.

The first part of the course discusses the life and social context within which poet-performers work. The second half deals with the poetry in an attempt to determine what we can retrieve by means of performance theory. A concluding session discusses the implications for studying the affective impact of performance on an audience that still finds meaning in ritual and knows how to combine signs.

Mária Dobozy
The Saxon Mirror, a Vernacular Customary Law in Central Europe

The thirteenth century witnessed an urge of vernacular lawbook-writing all over Europe. This course focuses on the earliest text, the German 13th century custumary lawbook, *Sachsenspiegel* (Saxon Mirror) by Eike von Repgow. The Saxon Mirror (c. 1225–1235) is a vernacular collection of German customary laws of Saxony, an ethnically mixed territory where the traditions of Eastfalia and Westfalia, Thuringia, Swabia, the Netherlands, and the indigenous Slavs (Wends) melted. The conception and execution of this lawbook were epoch-making because no one in Germany had attempted such a project–a compilation of contemporary legal practices–since Carolingian times.

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The theoretical orientation here is to lay out the differences and commonalities of historiographic and literary approaches within a historical framework. What this means in practice, is that as we work through a close reading of the text, we study the kinds of questions posed by historians, legal historians, linguists and literary historians and the differences in perspective and evaluation that result. Students are expected to present questions in class that reflect their discipline and write a research paper that evaluates the types of questions that can be asked of a text and the methods required to find valid answers.

György Geréby

Christian Theology in the Latin West between the Eleventh and the Thirteenth Centuries

The seminar aims to provide an introduction to the issues and debates in the earlier period of the schools of the Latin West, that is to scholastic theology between c. 1050–c. 1260. The talks are based on selected topics from the Sententiae (published 1155–1157) of Peter of Lombard (1095/1100–1160). The *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* is an excellent map of the theological issues of the day and of the preceding century, both from the methodological and from the doctrinal point of view. Again, as the standard coursebook of the theology faculties until the end of the Middle Ages it bequeathed the starting points for the theologians of the coming centuries.

The analyses include a selection of the most important issues in their contexts, that is, the positions of some of Peter's most important predecessors, his contemporaries and successors, like e.g. Anselm of Canterbury (1033/4–1109), Berengar of Tours (c. 1000–1088), Peter Damian (c. 1007–1072), Thomas Aquinas (1224/5–1274) and Bonaventure (1221–1274).

DeLloyd J. Guth

Legal Systems and Sources: from Ancient Athens to Late Medieval England

The aim of the course is to give a comprehensive overview of legal systems from Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages, accompanied by studying the basic sources related to each theme. The earliest topic to be studied his the nature of law in its Athenian, Roman and Jewish origins, through the trials of Socrates and Christ as well as the intellectual structure of legal systems within the Roman law. Further classes focus on the emergence of English common law and on the oral and written formulary practice of charters, writs, plea rolls and yearbooks. Subsequently, customary and canon laws are studied through the special features of punishment,

debt and non-common law courts. Finally, discussions on criminal law focussing on the interactions of substance and procedure round off the series of classes.

DeLloyd J. Guth
Medieval Legal Texts and How to Use them

Six sessions survey different genres of medieval legal texts, concentrating on their value as historical sources as well as the problems of their critical treatment. The various types of texts to be studied include statutory and codified laws, i. e. royal, canon, and local legislation; law court judgements, regulatory/administrative laws, etc. The group also gives an insight into reconstructing the enforcement of laws, rights and duties, while treatises enable us to discuss the significance of the jurists (e.g., Gaius, Gratian, Glanvill, Bracton, Fortescue). The last two classes also involve methodological questions: anecdotal and aggregative case analyses: how to do it, and why? Procedural law at common law and equity: reconstructing legal institutions and systems.

Hana Hlaváčková
The Art of *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium* in Bohemia during the High Middle Ages

The short course consists of six lectures the aim of which is not only to show the difference between the art from the court of the Emperor, which had been very splendid and representative, and the art made for Church, which was predominantly for liturgical purposes, but also that this very rich material could help students in their orientation to the complicated and sophisticated medieval iconography. In detail the sessions focus on the following subjects: *The art of the 1330s and the early 1340s. Bishop Jan IV. of Dražice as a donor.* The group of art from the circle of the last Bohemian bishop Jan of Dražice after his Avignon exile (1317–1329). Foundation of the monastery of Augustinian Canons (1333) and the bishopric country seat at Roudnice in northern Bohemia and the bishop's donations to this community: illuminated manuscripts, wall- and panel paintings. *The Foundations of Charles IV.* Just after his coronation as King of Bohemia in 1347 he appeared as the founder of the New Town of Prague, the University, and the stone bridge. Foundation of the new cathedral and its architects: Matyaš of Arras and Peter Parler. Paintings and sculptures in the cathedral. *Karlštejn castle and its decoration.* Karlštejn castle as the centre of the Imperium. Architecture and the program of paintings; the role of liturgy, relics, and crown jewels. The painters: Theodorik and anonymous others. New restaurations and discoveries. Its special place among the castles in contemporary Europe. *Illuminated manuscripts connected with the royal court.* The group of manuscripts made for the bishop Jan

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ze Středy (Johann von Neumarkt), The Evangeliary of Jan of Opava and Orationale Arnesti. The other manuscripts from the same workshop. *Illuminated manuscripts made for Prague's chapter and monasteries.* Collection of liturgical manuscripts ordered by Prague's first archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice from the workshop which produced materials for the chapters and Bohemian monasteries, probably at Prague's cathedral.

Gerhard Jaritz
History of Communication

Various fields, forms and levels of communication played a decisive role in medieval society. They determined, among others, religion, politics, economy, and everyday life. Different networks and patterns of communication were relevant for any kind of social contacts. The course concentrates on theoretical and methodological questions of research as well as on ways of practical realization of communication, reaching from aspects of mobility and travel to the role of pictures and the importance of gestures. Discussions are based on the various representations and "realities" of normative, didactic, narrative, literary and visual communication. Forms of communication between east and west are particularly emphasized.

Gerhard Jaritz
History of Everyday Life

The course is an introduction into the history of daily life in the Middle Ages. Particular attention is paid to theoretical and methodological aspects of research, to the usage of different types of sources (archaeological evidence, written sources, images), and to their critical interpretation. Special emphasis is put on questions of source intention, representation, image and "reality", norm and practice, of contrasts, connotations, ambiguities and ambivalences, and the role of symbols and signs is discussed within this framework. Topics of central interest include dress, food and housing, based on reading and analysis of source examples.

Hanna Kassis
Islam and Christianity in the Middle Ages

Against the background of general reading on the attitude of Christendom towards Islam, in the first part of this seminar we examine a selection of texts (in translation) that demonstrate the legal position of Christians living under Muslim rule in the Middle Ages. Such texts include relevant passages from the Qur'an and the Traditions (*Hadith*), treaties of surrender, legal opinions (*fatwas*), apologetics, etc. Inasmuch as Muslim Spain had a great influence on shaping the history of Muslim-

Christian relations in the Middle Ages, attention focuses in the second part of the course on this region.

On completion of this course, students will have developed an understanding of the legal foundations of Muslim toleration of Christianity (and Judaism) and the historical factors (such as the Crusades) that brought about a gradual change in the interpretation and application of these tenets.

Hanna Kassis
Jewish, Christian and Muslim Interactions in the Middle Ages (Ph.D. Seminar)

In this course students examine the manner in which each of the three religious traditions viewed and interacted with the two others. The approach is that of examining selected texts by proponents of each of the three traditions against the historical backdrop of the period. Unavoidably, the literature to be examined is polemical in nature. In this regard it should be borne in mind that each of the three religious traditions adhered very closely and by necessity to the exclusiveness of its own revelation and the invalidity or abrogation of that of the others.

Emphasis will be placed on the *convivencia* of the three communities in Medieval Spain, beginning with the eleventh century, which witnessed the heightening of the tension that had set in several centuries before.

Gábor Klaniczay and *Christian Krötzl*
Hagiography

The seminar aims to give a general orientation in the analysis of medieval hagiographic source material and its various historiographic approaches. The overview of a number of important research topics are combined with a specific attention to the regional variations and differences of the cult of the saints within medieval Europe: East and West, North and South. The themes basically cover the evolution of the cult of the saints throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, showing important transformations of sainthood like the appearance of dynastic and political cults, the institution of canonization trials, the new function of visions or images, or the late medieval vogue of "living saints." Hagiography is approached also from more general points of view: those of gender, narrative structures, and everyday life.

Hartmut Kugler
M*appa* M*undi* – The Image of the World on Medieval Maps

Medieval world maps are mental maps. They are composed by geographical experience, literary knowledge and philosophical speculation. The three continents of medieval world, Asia, Europe, and Africa, were centred around the Holy Land,

and they had different qualities. In the fairest East was situated the Paradise, surrounded by high mountains or deep waters, and inaccessible to mankind. But in the neighbourhood you could find golden mountains and medicine giving eternal youth. Terrible tribes in northern Asia always tried to leave their territories behind the Caucuses and to devastate the rest of the world. In the south of Africa were situated series of monsters deformed by the bad conditions of the arid climate. Christendom, facing this *Orbis terrarum*, went through a hot-cold treatment of defensive fear and aggressive curiosity. Its learned men were able to enlarge their fields of experience within a crazy idea of global structure inherited by ancient and biblical authorities. This idea of the universe was full of errors, but it worked. Moreover, form studying medieval world maps we can learn much about mnemonics nowadays called "mental mapping." The ideas mentioned above are demonstrated and tested using the evidence of the Hereford Map, one of the largest Medieval maps (ca. 1300).

József Laszlovszky, with the contribution of *Johannes Koder* (Vienna)
Monastic Architecture and Archaeology

The seminar is designed as an introduction to the basic elements of monastic architecture. The most important periods of monastic movements are discussed in their architectural contexts, and the case-studies are mainly related to archaeological problems of monastic complexes. Each seminar consist of an introduction to the given problem or period, followed by a seminar discussion of the methodological and historical interpretation of the excavated features. Therefore, the seminar will explores the present role of medieval archaeology in the research of medieval monastic communities. The aim is to see the architectural heritage of the monastic orders in their ideological context, with a special emphasis on recent methodological issues (industrial archaeology, landscape studies, spatial organisation, etc.).

After an introduction on architectural, historical and art historical issues in the interpretation of archaeological features, the course gives an overview on the emergence of monastic architecture and the archaeology of the earliest monastic communities in Egypt and in the Holy Land. The architecture of the earliest European monastic communities (Benedictine, Irish), as well as Western and Eastern architectural tradition of the early medieval monasteries is discussed as predecessors before the emergence of the classical Benedictine Abbey. Further development is demonstrated through the Sankt Gallen plan, the Carolingian monasteries and the building complexes of Cluny I-II-III, and their influence on European monastic architecture. The contribution of Johannes Koder (Vienna) deals with monasteries and monasticism as factors of Byzantine settlement history. Further topics for the

last part of the course include the crusades and monastic architecture; monastic reform and architectural reform; mendicant orders in the urban landscape, and monastic architecture beyond the cloister (fishponds, mills, barns, and fields owned by monasteries and their impact on the medieval landscape).

Marco Mostert
Orality in the Middle Ages. The Forms of Non-verbal and Oral Communication

One of the most important developments in European history is the transition from a society in which only few were able to read and write to one in which most members are active users of the written word. This transition is a complex process, which started long before the Middle Ages and cannot be considered to have been accomplished yet. The advent of written culture cannot be studied properly without paying attention to the other forms of communication as well. Indeed, writing can only be fully understood in the light of *all* forms of non-verbal, oral and written communication available to the various medieval societies. When, in the Middle Ages, one was unable or unwilling to use writing, one had to resort to the forms of communication of orality. We define 'orality' as the sum total of all non-written forms of communication. We are not only speaking about oral communication, but also about attitudes, gestures, smells, flavours, and non-verbal messages which may be transmitted through the eye and the ear.

In this course, a number of important research results of the last decades will be summarized. We will pay attention to such diverse subjects as the role of memory in semi-literate societies; the fabrication of images of the past; the roles of sounds and images, smells and flavours in the church; the relation between written law and the word of the king; orally produced 'literature'; riddles, proverbs and fairy tales; and education. The most important periods in the transition from predominantly oral to predominantly literate culture were the Middle Ages and Early Modern times, when the introduction and dissemination of printing changed the nature of written culture.

István Perczel
Early Byzantine Monastic Traditions (From the Fourth to the Sixth Century)

The course aims at a complex presentation of the early history of Christian monasticism in the East, a theme that coincides largely with that of the early history of monasticism in general. It examines the extant textual evidence, while the archaeological evidence is treated in Professor Laszlovszky's parallel course. This course is not just a recounting of the story of the monastic movement. Quite on the contrary, it tries to show that such a recounting, as is often done, is illusory. Instead

of a clear-cut story, we have in fact a series of problems and astonishingly abundant, but largely unprocessed source material. The latter is being treated by a handful of enthusiastic modern scholars who know some of the languages required: that is, besides Latin and Greek, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, etc., but the entire field can still be qualified as a virgin land of research. Thus, our course tries to present the problems in question, always concentrating on text criticism, and presenting the gaps of our knowledge. Among other topics, it focuses on the interactions of monastic life and spiritual theories, history of monasticism and the history of dogma, orthodoxy and heresy, monks and their role in the surrounding society. It covers the areas of Egypt, Syria-Mesopotamia, Palestine, Cappadocia, and Constantinople and the time-period from the fourth to the sixth century. However, it cannot aim at completeness, the time being too short and human strength too finite.

Roberto Rusconi
Prophecies and Apocalyptical Thought in the Middle Ages

The course aims at presenting examples of apocalyptical prophecies with the help of short latin texts (with English translation) and reproductions of images (and slides). The main topics discussed are biblical exegesis, theology of history and prophecy from the eleventh to the fourteenth century and the eschatology at the end of the Middle Ages (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries). Sources studied in detail include the *"Liber Figurarum"* and Joachim of Fiore (end of the twelfth-beginning of the thirteenth centuries) as well as prophetic anthologies from Italy (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). The final classes concentrate on the problematic of Antichrists and Antichrist from the Early Middle Ages to the fifteenth century and on the iconography of the Antichrist's Preaching in the Late Middle Ages.

Marianne Sághy
The Bible in the Middle Ages

The Bible was the most read book in the Middle Ages. The course aims to examine the making of the Bible and its function in medieval learning. What is the Bible? How was the canon created in early Christianity? What happened with the apocryphal books? Dealing with diverse hermeneutical approaches to the Holy Scriptures, we follow up the making of the exegetical tradition in the West. How was the biblical text read and interpreted in various historical periods? What was the importance of the Bible in the monastic movement? What role did it play in presenting a model of holiness to the monks and bringing their quest for holiness to realization? What were the new trends of hermeneutics and biblical commentary at the universities? How did Protestant scholars interpret the Scripture and why did

they translate it into the vernacular?–These and related questions form the core of the discussions during the course.

Marianne Sághy
The Christianization of Central Europe

This course intends to examine the politics of Christianization in Central Europe on the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. On the basis of source material related to to the Christianization of the Hungarians (the three legends of Saint Stephen; the relevant parts of Thietmar of Merseburg's Chronicle; Piligrim of Passau's forgeries, etc.), we survey what is known about the evangelization of Hungary. The main questions to be asked are: "What do we know about this historical problem and why do we know it the way we do? Why is the Christianization of the Hungarians presented in the sources the way it is?"

The Christian mission to Hungary was not a lonely and secluded affair in this geographical area. It was part of a larger project of the Saxon Emperors, working closely together with the papacy, to integrate Central Europe into the world of Latin Christianity which resulted in the emergence of the new Christian states of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. The friend and spiritual father of Emperor Otto III, Saint Adalbert (who died on a mission to Prussia in 997) became the missionary saint venerated in all three recently Christianized countries. The course presents the person of Adalbert (Vojtech, Wojciech, Béla) and discusses why he became "the model saint" in this region in the tenth- eleventh centuries. By way of introduction, the problems of Christianization in Western Europe and with Latin missionary is also being surveyed.

Felicitas Schmieder
Prophecy as Instrument of Political Propaganda

In the Middle Ages history was regarded limited; it had had a beginning and was expected to have an end. From the prophetic writings in the Bible–like the prophets Isaias and Ieremias or especially the Revelations of John–as well as from many later visions and prophecies everybody knew what to expect for the final days: the many signs that would announce the very last events, the coming of Antichrist, the Second Coming of Christ, the Final Judgment. Question remained at any time when this ending would eventually take place, and a good deal of the hard efforts to get to a correct calculation of time (computistic) were to serve this aim, since every Christian, every rulers and beggars alike, wanted to and had to be prepared. Hopes and disappointments, and actual judgments were received immediately, and reinterpreted for the own time. After a short look on earlier crucial times, like the years

800 and 1000, the course focuses especially on the later Middle Ages, starting from the year 1260 in which, following the famous abbot Joachim of Fiore, the Last Millennium was expected to begin. Working basis are prophetic texts and their critics, printed as well as in manuscript, from different environments, that are to be connected to the various "political" events of their time.

Felicitas Schmieder
The Image of the Other

The medieval Roman Christians regarded faith one of the decisive criteria for their assessment of others. The whole world had eventually to become Christian, so that basically all peoples of this world were considered from that point of view, as objects for Christian mission or potential targets for crusades, to be converted, or destroyed. Additionally, all over the Early and High Middle Ages, the Europeans remained convicted that all the world and all of its peoples had been entirely described in the antique, biblical and literary traditions. From the time of the crusades on, and over the course of the late medieval travels of mission and trade to Asia and North Africa more and more Europeans got–in very different ways, for shorter or longer times–in closer contact with peoples known to them from tradition and, moreover, met more and more foreign peoples, who they could not easily find in their descriptions of the world. The closer knowledge could change the image of the "known" peoples, while the unknown had to be included into the "orbis", by describing them, their life, religion, behavior, and by judging them following more or less flexible criteria, images or stereotypes. So in the Late Middle Ages the Europeans step by step changed their image of the world and of the other peoples and developed the patterns to face any further new people to meet. In the course, these developments are considered on the basis of mostly Latin late medieval sources mainly on the newly "discovered" Mongols but also on other peoples from different points of view.

Ben Schomakers
Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries on Aristotle's D*e anima*

Aristotle's *De anima* is one of the most intensively studied texts in the history of philosophy, and has been commented upon, from the second century onwards, by a large number of–in many cases outstanding–philosophers. The results of their exegesis helped to shape the philosophical systems of the times they were living in, and were of course influenced too by the growing ideas behind these systems. A study of the commentaries on the *De anima* thus means a study of the nature of the cultures that were receiving Aristotle's writing. In this course we especially focus upon the doctrine of the so called active intellect that had been formulated by

Aristotle in the enigmatical words of *De anima* III.5, and its explanation by philosophers as Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Johannus Philoponus, Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Averroes and Thomas Aquinas, who, of course are remote in time and culture, but all of them share an interest in an eternal theme, phrased for the first time by Aristotle. The students are expected to present each one of these texts, where possible studied in the original language.

Ben Schomakers
Byzantine Text Reading

We are selecting two sections of Gregory of Nyssa's (late fourth century) *Life of Moses*, the first taken from the first book, in which Gregory relates Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai, following closely the words of the Old Testament's *Exodus*, the second from the second book, in which Gregory gives his own spiritual–and even mystical–clarification of his earlier literal description. Gregory's language is rather polished, rhethorical and perhaps not always easy to follow, but he uses words, motives, themes and methods which recur in and even stamp later Byzantine thought; on the other hand in Gregory culminates a tradition of Exodus-exegesis that started with Philo. Reading Philo's text in the original language thus is not only an enchanting exercise in enjoying Greek philosophical literature at its best, but also allows for comparisons of the text with that of others, such as Philo and Dionysius. The reading course traces also the history of an important religious motive.

Ben Schomakers
Greek Text Reading

We are reading some texts of the early sixth-century author Dionysius the Areopagite, which are on the one hand difficult due to their ambiguity and at time to the abstract level of the thoughts they express, but are on the other hand they are accessible because their vocabulary is particular but rather elementary. The sentences are long but surveyable because they express very interesting and fascinating ideas, which have proven to become insistent themes and motives in the history of later Greek and Byzantine literature and thought. Thus, while reading Dionysius' *Mystical theology* and the first five *Letters* in full, and paying attention both to their grammar and their content, the students acquire linguistic skill and cultural knowledge that is essential for approaching the Byzantine tradition.

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COURSES OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR

James Ross Sweeney
The Papacy and Central Europe

The seminar explores the triangular interaction of the papacy with Germany/Empire (including Bohemia) and the kingdoms of Croatia, Galicia (Ruthenia), Hungary and Poland. The principal issues arising from the growing centralization and uniformity in ecclesiastical governance and from the political frictions and conflicts of the region are analyzed for the period from ca. AD 1000–1300. Attention will be given to the major developments of papal government and their impact upon Central Europe. Among the topics to be discussed are: Papal reform and church uniformity, the College of cardinals, Church councils and local synods, Papal legates, Papal letters and canon law, Popes and bishops (including episcopal election), Innocent III and Central Europe, Papacy and the Mongol threat to East Central Europe, and the Papacy and national monarchies at the time of Boniface VIII.

Szabolcs de Vajay
Genealogy as Social Science

The course aims at familiarizing the students with the main concepts of genealogy and at placing this branch of study within the wider framework of social sciences. The introductory lecture deals with the epistemological placing of genealogical and heraldic approaches within the social organigram of the Middle Ages. Further classes concentrate on the genealogical challenge: family, clan, nation, and their social impact; the heraldic message: from sign of recognition toward a social indicator and the role of mithologic genealogies and heraldic legends in a stratified society.

     Subsequent sessions focus on genealogy as cultural identity and heraldry as a social building tool as well as on challenges and replies regarding the genealogical and heraldic systems in the Central and Eastern European areas. After a resumee of historic trends, from the medieval practice to modern interpretations, the conclusions argue in favour of a better understanding of human behaviour through genealogical self-consciusness and heraldic pride.

Livia Varga
Architecture for the Dead: Sources and Development of Christian Funerary Architecture between the Third and Fifteenth Centuries

Many of the most important and famous buildings of Antiquity and Christendom were built to commemorate the dead in this world or to ensure their well-being in the next. This seminar provides a framework for the study of funerary architecture in the West and East from the third to the fifteenth century. As an introduction,

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Greek and Roman funerary customs and art are presented, which were the main sources of medieval funerary art. As inherent parts of the subject, social history and the roles of theology and liturgy are also discussed.

Hanna Zaremska
Medieval Notions of *Infamia*

The central topic of the seminar is good reputation, honour and infamy in medieval society. First of all we discuss the basic concepts: *fama,* rumour and reputation as well as the evolution of the concepts of fame, common reputation, and public opinion. Then the attention turns to hereditary and familial aspects of noble honour, composition (financial compensation for damage) in medieval penal system, and composition contracts between the victim's family and the murderer. Sources from medieval Cracow serve as starting points to two further topics. The personal aspects of *bona fama* and *ius civile* as a factor differentiating the legal status of townspeople is studied on the example of the *Liber iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1392–1506,* while defamation in everyday life is demonstated through the analysis of the *Regestrum domini advocati Cracoviensis 1442–1443*). The concept of degrading occupations: its reflection in canon law, municipal law and judicial custom is also being studied in this context. Finally we deal with signs of marginal condition as instruments of infamy, exclusion and repression as *signa infamiae*.

Class of 1997–98.

PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES

"Byzantium and the Rest of Europe"
In memoriam Alexander Kazhdan (1922–1997)

8 October
János M. Bak and Ralph Cleminson (CEU):
Can One Study Medieval Europe without Byzantium?

15 October
Falko Daim (Vienna):
Byzantine Belt Sets of the Eighth Century

22 October
Ihor Ševčenko (Harvard):
Perceptions of Byzantium

29 October
James Ross Sweeney (Pennsylvania State University/CEU):
Reflections on the Collapse of a Super Power:
Byzantium in the Late Twelfth Century

5 November
Herwig Wolfram (Vienna):
Byzantium and the Xantha Ethne (the Blond Nations) (400–600 AD)

12 November
Johannes Koder (Vienna):
Monasteries and Monasticism as Factors of Byzantine Settlement History

19 November
István Perczel (CEU):
From Palestine to Francia: The Prologue of the Celestial Hierarchy *of*
Pseudo-Dionysios and Its Eriugenian Interpretation

PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES

3 December
Gustav Bayerle (Bloomington/CEU):
The Patriarchate of Constantinople in Ottoman Istanbul

10 December
Etele Kiss (Budapest):
Byzantine Goldsmith Work between China and the Ottonian

17 December
Wolfram Hörander (Vienna):
From Krumbacher to Kazhdan–a Century of Changing Approaches to Byzantine Literature

21 January
György Geréby (CEU/ELTE):
The "Visio Beatifica" Controversy and its Eastern Background

28 January
Felicitas Schmieder (Frankfurt/CEU):
Enemy, Obstacle, Ally? The Greek in Western Crusade Proposals Between 1274 and 1311

4 February
Miljenko Jurković (Zagreb):
Between East and West: Artistic Influences in Early Medieval Croatia

11 February
Vladimir Vavřínek (Prague/CEU):
Ecclesiastical Missions as a Means of Byzantine Diplomacy

18 February
Sergey Ivanov (Moscow):
Hungarians in an Unknown Byzantine Geographical Treatise

25 February
Imre Kovács (Budapest):
The "Authentic Portrait" of the Virgin. The Migration of a Rare Icono-graphical Type between East and West

4 March

Evelyne Patlagean (Paris-Nanterre):
Meaning and Use of Colophons: Western into Byzantine

11 March

Panagiotis S- Antonopoulos (Janina/Athens):
Byzantine Diplomacy Before the Year 1000

18 March

Ben Schomakers (Leyden/CEU)
Plotinian and Dionysian Mysticism: A Comparison between West and East

25 March

Ewald Kislinger (Vienna):
Silken Garments and Coarse Bread: Aspects of Everyday Life in Byzantium

1 April

Peter Schreiner (Cologne):
The Portrait of a Byzantine Intellectual: Isidore of Kiev

29 April

Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA/CEU):
The Splendour of Byzantium and its Reflection in the Slavia Orthodoxa

6 May

Nancy van Deusen (Claremont/CEU):
Associations and Delineations Between Byzantine and Western Musical Traditions

20 May

Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA/CEU):
What the West Won from the Loss of Constantinople

M.A. CLASS OF 1997/1998

This list provides information on our graduate students in the following order: name, country, undergraduate university, title of M.A. thesis, TS: thesis supervisor, EE: external examiner, result.

BEATON, MARY (USA)
> Rutgers University
Angevin Queenships in the Fourteenth Century
> TS: Marianne Sághy
> EE: —
> *Postponed*

BOGATINOSKA, BILJANA (Macedonia)
> Sts. Cyril and Methodius University
St. Clement's Church of St. Panteleimon: Architectural History of a Medieval Monument in Ohrid (with a CD-ROM)
> TS: József Laszlovszky
> EE: Etele Kiss
> *Accepted*

BOLCHEVA, IRINA (Bulgaria)
> Sofia University
Textological Analysis of Two Narratives on Ancient Themes in Slavia Orthodoxia: The Story of Aesop and the Story of the Trojan War in Slavonic Manuscripts from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
> TS: Ralph Cleminson
> EE: Mária Dobozy, Margaret Dimitrova
> *Postponed*

BUNGARDEAN, ADRIANA (Romania)
> Western University of Timisoara
Vernacular Literature on Death in Sixteenth-Century Hungary
> TS: Gerhard Jaritz
> EE: Christian Krötzl
> *Accepted*

FLOREA, CARMEN (Romania)
    Babeş-Bolyai University
Devotional Practices in Late Medieval Transylvania
    TS: Gábor Klaniczay
    EE: —
    Postponed

GARIPZANOV, ILDAR (Russia)
    Kazan State University
Roman Imperial Tradition in Carolingian Coinage (754/5–877)
    TS: János Bak
    EE: Hanna Kassis
    Accepted with Honours

GAŞPAR, CHRISTIAN N. (Romania)
    Western University of Timişoara
Theodoret's *Philotheos Historia*: The Epic of Syrian Monasticism
    TS: Marianne Sághy
    EE: Pierre Riché
    Accepted with Distinction

GUEORGUIEVA, GERGANA (Bulgaria)
    Veliko Turnovo University
**Islamic Cultural Heritage: *Tekkes, Turbes* and *Zaviyes* in Northeastern
Bulgaria from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century**
    TS: József Laszlovszky
    EE: Ibolya Gerelyes
    Accepted

HORNÍČKOVÁ, KATEŘINA (Czech Republik)
    Charles University
Byzantine Reliquary Pectoral Crosses in Central Europe
    TS: József Laszlovszky
    EE: István Fodor
    Accepted with Distinction

KISS, ANDREA (Hungary)
    JATE, Szeged
**Historical Study of the Changing Landscape of Lake Fertő during the Later
Middle Ages (13th–15th c.)**
    TS: József Laszlovszky
    EE: Beatrix Romhányi
    Accepted

KUZMENKO, SERGIY (Ukraine)
    Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv
Holy Folly and a Recluse in Old Kievan Literature (an Analysis of the Legend of Isakij the Cave-dweller)
    TS: Gábor Klaniczay–Ralph C. Cleminson
    EE: Muriel Heppel
    Accepted with Honours

LEMENEVA, ELENA (Russia)
    Moscow Russian State University of Humanities
The Tale of Two Birds and Many Saints: Twelfth-Thirteenth Century Images and their Creators
    TS: Gerhard Jaritz
    EE: Klaus Schreiner
    Accepted with Honours

MAGHIOROŞ, DRAGOŞ (Romania)
    Western University of Timişoara
Carolingian Word Against Byzantine Image: The Seven Liberal Arts, Eloquence, *Tellus* and the *Libri Carolini*
    TS: Marianne Sághy
    EE: Pierre Riché
    Accepted with Honours

MAKSELIENE, SIMONA (Lithuania)
    Kaunas University of Vytautas
The Glory of God and its Byzantine Iconography
    TS: István Perczel
    EE: Andrew Louth
    Accepred with Distinction

MAKSELIS, RASIUS (Lithuania)
    Kaunas University of Vytautas
Plotinus' Doctrine of Eros
    TS: István Perczel
    EE: Philippe Hoffman
    Accepted with Distinction

MELIK-SIMONIAN, POLINA (Russia)
    Salve Regina University
"*Patarena... de natione Bossinensium*": The Female Role in the 'Bosnian Church'
    TS: Gerhard Jaritz
    EE: Sima Cirković
    Accepted with Honours

MÉSZÁROS, CSILLA (Romania)
   Babeş-Bolyai University
Dramatic and Visual Elements in Philippe de Mézières' *Le Songe du Vieil Pélerin*
   TS: Marianne Sághy
   EE: Olga Anna Dull
   Accepted

NEMERKÉNYI, ELŐD (Hungary)
   ELTE, Budapest
Cathedral Libraries in Medieval Hungary
   TS: Marianne Sághy
   EE: Richard Sharpe
   Accepted with Honours

OLARU, LAURA-EMANUELA (Romania)
   University of Bucharest
Images of Woman in the *Trobairitz'* **Poetry (Vocabulary and Imagery)**
   TS: Mária Dobozy
   EE: Herman Braet
   Accepted

SALEI, SIARHEI (Belarus)
   Grodno State University
On the International Acceptance of Ivan the Terrible's Imperial Title
   TS: János M. Bak
   EE: Ihor Ševčenko
   Accepted

SCHEJBAL, BERISLAV (Croatia)
   University of Zagreb
Medieval Topography of the Daruvar Area
   TS: József Laszlovszky
   EE: —
   Postponed

SILAYEV, ALEXANDER (Ukraine)
   Lviv State University
Frontier and Settlement: Cumans North of the Lower Danube in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century
   TS: József Laszlovszky
   EE: Gábor Vékony
   Accepted

SONINA, SNEJINA (Russia)
Herzen State Pedagogical University
Supertunica - Seurcot - Surcoat: **French and English Courtly Dress Terminology in the Royal Wardrobe Accounts of the Fourteenth Century**
TS: Gerhard Jaritz
EE: Pál Léderer
Accepted

STANCIU, DIANA (Romania)
University of Bucharest
The Ninth-Century Debate on Predestination
TS: János Bak
EE: György Geréby
Accepted with Honours

SZABÓ, PÉTER (Hungary)
ELTE, Budapest
Pilis: a Hungarian Forest in the Middle Ages
TS: József Laszlovszky
EE: András Grynaeus
Accepted with Distinction

TIGOUNTSOVA, INNA (Russia)
Kaliningrad State University
The Canon to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica: Structure and Content
TS: Ralph Cleminson
EE: Jennifer Newman
Accepted

TZVETKOVA-IVANOVA, CHRISTINA (Bulgaria)
St. Kliment Ohridski University
The Virgin Mary of the Burning Bush: From Text to Image
TS: Ralph Cleminson
EE: Lindsey Hughes
Accepted with Honours

VERSECKAS, DANGIS (Lithuania)
Vytautas Magnus University
Contributions Towards a History of the Late Medieval English Kitchen Garden
TS: Gerhard Jaritz
EE: P.D.A. Harvey
Accepted with Honours

VESELÝ, JIŘÍ-JOSEPH (Czech Republic)
Ludwig Maximilians Universität München
Das Prager Emauskloster und sein Besitz in der vorhussitischen Zeit / The Emaus Monastery in Prague and its Estates in the Pre-Hussite Period (ca. 1350–1420): A Study to its Economic History
TS: János Bak
EE: František Šmáhel
Accepted

YASNITSKY, ANTON (Ukraine)
Kharkiv State University
Augustine's Dialogue with Classical Antiquity
TS: Marianne Sághy
EE: —
Postponed

YUKHINA, ELLINA (Russia)
Rostov-on-Don State Institute of Architecture
Symbolism of the Cuman Burial Tradition and its Relation to Beliefs and Customs. South Russia in the Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries
TS: József Laszlovszky
EE: —
Postponed

ZEČEVIĆ, NADA (Yugoslavia)
University of Pristina
Two Albanian Noble Kindreds. A Case Study of the Musachi and the Thopia
TS: János M. Bak
EE: Patrick Geary
Accepted with Honours

ABSTRACTS OF THE M.A. THESES

St Clement's Church of St Panteleimon:
Architectural History of a Medieval Monument in Ohrid

Biljana Bogatinoska

This thesis investigates St Clement's Church of St Panteleimon, the most important Slavic-Christian church in the town of Ohrid. It deals with its history, its architectural history, architecture, and art, in both its medieval and present-day context. In addressing all of these aspects of St Clement's, this study attempts to examine each of them separately and in relation to each other, and thus to establish the importance of the Church within the context of the architectural tradition in the town of Ohrid, its surroundings, and in the context of Byzantine art and architecture. The main idea is that by examining the church itself, its form, function, materials, method of construction, its exterior, its location, and its place in a defined period of time and geographical borders, the value of the church can be established. Thus, from the architectural point of view, the church presents a unique combination of a triconch and cross-in-square structure in the context of Early Christian and Byzantine art and architecture. With its triconch structure St Clement's follows the building tradition in Ohrid and its surroundings, and with the cross-in-square structure it opens a new era in the architectural building tradition.

Because of the great importance of St Clement's Church, I propose a plan for an additional excavation, in which a group of specialists from a wide range of disciplines, such as archaeologists, architects, and art historians would take part. Following this there is a plan for conservation and restoration which would lead to a larger architectural project for the urbanisation and revitalisation of the site, so that it can properly suit the needs of society. However, this new function for the community can only be achieved if chosen by the people themselves. As a contemporary tool for information a CD-ROM could present a first step in the process of revitalisation and could be viewed in the interior of the church where it would be available to every scholar and every visitor who is interested in learning more about the

church *in situ*. The CD-ROM form would be attractive and popular among scholars, in particular, architects, archaeologists, arthistorians, and historians. Therefore, I present this thesis not only in classical, written form, but with such a specific tool, which in itself also represents an experiment to test whether CD-ROM is a useful form in which to present this kind of scholarly work.

Textological Analysis of Two Narratives on Ancient Themes in *Slavia Orthodoxa*: The Story of Aesop and the Story of Trojan War in Slavonic Manuscripts from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Irina Boltcheva

Within the Slavic cultural tradition the appearance of the Story of Aesop and the Story of the Trojan War can be related to the new Renaissance processes influencing European culture in the twelfth to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. In these Slavic narratives from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, tendencies towards innovation are presented on two major textual levels, that of the features of the language in which the stories are recorded and that of the features of the structure and theme of the narration. In order to expose more precisely the characteristics of the literary renewal expressed in these two stories, a textological analysis with a detailed description of their linguistic and textual structure is provided.

The narratives included in the proposed investigation, the Story of Aesop and the Story of the Trojan War, reflect aspects of the Hellenistic, Christian, Slavic, and western European literary traditions. On the basis of a comparative textological analysis cultural continuity, interaction, and development of several literary elements on four textual levels–the level of content, interpretation, language, and the structure of the narration–from their Greek and Latin origins to their incorporation into the Slavonic literature are revealed and analysed.

The analysis of the Story of Aesop and the Story of the Trojan War examines two basic registers of textual representation–linguistic and literary. The linguistic register exposed in the chapter "Textological Comparison" provides evidence for the "development" of the language, founded upon a detailed description and systematic examination of the following topics: the principles of orthography; the transformation of grammatical structure; the replacement of lexical units; and the re-organisation of the textual body. The main direction of linguistic innovation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the South Slavic territories is towards the estab-

lishment of a new kind of literary exposition which draws on features of the spoken language.

The literary register represents the process of innovation of the forms of literary expression. On the level of literary analysis the establishment of a new generic literary form can be observed. Two directions of change and modification represented in the two traditions of Aesop and of the Trojan War can be defined. The first of them reflects the enrichment of the content through incorporation of various motifs in the main plot of the narration. This enrichment indicates a broadening of literary interest by turning attention to themes with ancient, non-ecclesiastical origin. The other direction shows the formal changes in the literary representation that lead to the creation of a new form of non-ecclesiastical prose. The two narratives explicate the tendency to create new literary forms on different bases. In the Story of the Trojan War compilations and interpolations form the foundation of a new type of narrative, whereas in the Story of Aesop a common model is applied and modified according to different principles. A compendium of exempla stories is unified by the figure of the main character. Interestingly, in both traditions textological divisions based on linguistic characteristics coincide with textological divisions based on differences in the structure of the narratives.

It can be concluded that in the realm of Slavia Orthodoxa in the period of the Late Middle Ages, a process of literary transformation can be observed. This process can be interpreted as a reflection of a more general cultural innovation extended over Europe. More specifically, the reformation of medieval Slavic literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be perceived as a consequence of the interaction between the Byzantine cultural tradition, Western European Renaissance tendencies, and the development of Slavic culture.

Vernacular Literature on Death in Sixteenth-Century Hungary

Adriana Bungardean

The idea of writing a study on the Hungarian vernacular literature on death came from the fact that, although research on attitudes towards death are very fashionable, especially in the last few decades, Hungarian historians paid little attention to a reconstruction of the history of death, based on analyses of religious and literary sources. Thus, this study aims to take its place in opening ways for further research.

ABSTRACTS OF THE M.A. THESES

The main task of the study is to present ideas connected with attitudes towards death, by analysing literary and religious texts, by showing their existence in Hungary and their place in the codex literature, as well as in the secular poetry of the sixteenth century. There are no previous methodologies regarding writings on death in this area, nor any attempts to collect these writings. For the purposes of this research, a typology was used that lead to analyses of *meditations on death*, *artes moriendi*, and poems on *Dances of Death*.

The study shows the importance of codex writing from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The patterns of attitudes towards death were mainly formed by the Mendicants and their writings. Their role in book production was great in this period which saw the greatest flourishing of codex writing in the vernacular. They were translated for the use of nuns unacquainted with the Latin language.

The study goes further into the sixteenth century literature, based mainly on poems of death, although it avoids the transition period of the early Reformation. The features of the texts on death remained largely stable during the second half of the sixteenth century. It was not the purpose of this study to enter deeper into the changes in eschatological thought brought by the Reformation, but only to show that poems of death, and in general the concern with death, has a continuity in this period. The main change in the Protestant view on death was provided by the theory of predestined damnation or salvation. Protestant death was perceived as an inevitable progress.

Finally, this study wanted to confirm the important place of the literature on death in the whole of Europe and through that the integration of regional religious issues into a general European tradition.

Roman Imperial Tradition in Carolingian Coinage (754/5–877)

Ildar Garipzanov

This thesis analyses a revival of Roman imperial tradition, as it affected coinage. The study attempts to combine numismatic sources with the evidence of seals, bulls, book miniatures, and written sources. Having established more specific models of Roman imperial tradition, this study may contribute to the assessment of the problem of *Renovatio*.

In the period 754/5–877, Carolingian coinage went through three main stages: royal coinage (754/5–812), imperial coinage (812–840), and post-imperial coinage (840–877). The first stage was distinguished by the gradual increase of royal control

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over mints and by the unification of coin design throughout the kingdom. Coins left behind the influence of contemporary written practice and developed their own stylistic language, based on the elements of the previous Frankish Christian tradition. After the imperial coronation in 800, Roman imperial tradition came to influence Carolingian coinage, seals and bulls, and the legend *Renovatio Romani imperii*, expressing the introduction of a new concept of authority, appeared on the imperial bull.

This *Renovatio* took five main forms. First, the distribution of mints during the imperial coinage of Charlemagne was partly influenced by Roman monetary practice in Gaul. Second, the Roman tradition of commemorative gold coin medallions and medallions was revived and existed until the death of Louis the Pious. Third, the title legend on imperial coins as well as on the imperial bull of Charlemagne was copied from late Roman coins. This imitation was despite the fact that title legends on Carolingian coins were usually influenced by the official *intitulatio* and the previous form of a title legend. Fourth, just as Roman emperors did, Charlemagne began to use coins for propagating the main values of his empire and introduced the first propagandist legend in Carolingian coinage, *Christiana religio*. The study raises the question of a possible protocrusade aspect in the meaning of the *Christiana religio* legend. Fifth, Carolingian imperial coinage borrowed images of the temple, the bust, the ship, and the wreath from Roman coins of Gaul or northern Italy, struck at the end of the third and at the beginning of the fourth centuries. The study traces the development of the images of a ruler on coins, seals, bulls and miniatures and proves that there was a revival of Roman imperial images of authority between the 800s and 840s.

The third stage, after 840, saw a gradual transition from Roman tradition of imperial authority to a new "medieval" one. The formula *gratia Dei rex* summarised the essence of a new concept of authority and became the most important element of the official *intitulatio* of Charles the Bald, and the inscription on his seals and coins. He returned to the earlier Frankish tradition of authority, copying the royal titles and monogram of Charlemagne.

Theodoret's Philotheos Historia: The Epic of Syrian Monasticism

Christian N. Gaşpar

The present thesis is an attempt to investigate the use of heroic terminology, themes and images in the literary portraits of the Syrian ascetics composed by Theodoret,

Bishop of Cyrrhus (*vixit* AD 393–466), in his work, the *Philotheos historia* (AD 444). It also aims at providing an "ideological" justification for the abundant and rather singular use Theodoret made of Greek heroic terminology and imagery.

After the preliminary remarks, which contain a brief bio-bibliographic portrait of Theodoret and a succinct review of the scholarly literature (mainly the work done by Pierre Canivet, since this topic was not particularly favoured by previous researchers), a few methodological questions are raised concerning the literary status of the *Philotheos historia* and its possible relation with the social realities of the Late Roman Empire. Since Theodoret's work is to be included among the literary writings which employ a hagiographic discourse, characterised by stylisation of the contents and a polemical function, this relation is shown to be at least problematic.

An attempt is then made to summarise and analyse the accusations against the Christian ascetics which appear in works written by non-Christians (such as Libanius, Eunapius, and Julian) and Christians (such as Synesius of Cyrene) in the fourth and fifth centuries. The image of the Christian monks painted by these sources contains a negative image of the monks, devoid of certain traditional heroic elements usually contained in representations of exceptional individuals in the Hellenic tradition.

The possible audience of the *Philotheos historia* is determined in the following chapter, by analysing significant features of the text (language, specific stylistic choices, dissimulated programmatic declarations). The work was most probably addressed to members of the intellectual elite, and, consequently, the image of ascetics was shaped along the lines of the ideal heroic figures specific to this social category.

An investigation of some of the traditional heroic themes and terms occurring in the *Philotheos historia* is made in the last two chapters. The use Theodoret made of such *topoi* as heroic appearance, the sacred rage of the warrior and the consequences of losing control over it, heroic fame, visible virtue, etc. suggests that he made a conscious effort to adopt non-Christian thematic terminology and to adapt it to new, typically Christian, concepts and meanings. The purpose was to create a prestigious Christian heroic tradition which might successfully oppose the existing one and, because of its terminologic and thematic continuity, appeal both to the Christian and to the non-Christian members of the educated audience for which the *Philotheos historia* was composed.

The concluding chapter sums up the results obtained and indicates possible directions in which future research might proceed in identifying and analysing the remaining heroic elements which were not included in the present thesis.

Islamic Religious Centres: *Tekkes, Zaviyes* and *Turbes* in Northeastern Bulgaria from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century

Gergana Gueorguieva

My work concentrates on the location of Sufi centres, *tekkes* and *zaviyes*, and the tombs of the leaders which were spread in Northeastern Bulgaria during the period of Ottoman rule. The main purpose is the elucidation of the role and position of the Islamic orders in the Balkans during the period of the rise of the empire, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, on the basis of the spread and activity of their centres. One very interesting aspect of this issue is the participation of the dervishes in the process of colonisation and Islamisation of the Balkans. The members of the orders were not only the first missionaries of Islam but also active colonisers: founders of new villages. The thesis is based on published sources of various genres which elucidate different aspects in the history of the *tekkes* and *zaviyes*.

The first chapter is based on translated official Ottoman Turkish documents, *vakif* registers, which provide information about the estates and incomes of several *tekkes* in the sixteenth century. They show the high position of the *tekkes* and *zaviyes* which received incomes from the official authorities. Moreover, they describe the creation of the *tekkes* which is closely connected with the settling of Muslim people in the region. This is also supported by the material collected in the second chapter: place names and names of people from a complete register of taxes. The names of people and places include Sufi terms which suggests their relation to the Islamic orders. Furthermore, the travelogues present a rather elaborate system of local dervish centres in the seventeenth century. This attests to a development in dervish activity and to the wide spread of dervish centres in the region. The architectural features of the preserved *tekkes* and *turbes* illustrate the high quality of the buildings and testify to their importance. In fact, they presented the distinguished features of the classical Ottoman architecture which was developed mainly in the capital.

In conclusion, the various sources stress the important position of the Islamic orders and their local centres in northeastern Bulgaria as Muslim institutions. The connection with the first sultans and the participation in the process of Ottoman conquest help to determine the role of dervish centres as pivots of the Muslim religion in the Balkan provinces. Moreover, in the process of development they also appeared as economic centres in the area and as charitable institutions.

Byzantine Reliquary Pectoral Crosses in Central Europe

Kateřina Horníčková

Byzantine reliquary pectoral crosses (*enkolpia*) are pendant cross-shaped reliquaries, which are often found in the tenth-eleventh century cemeteries in Byzantium and in the regions under Byzantine influence. In my work, I tried to collect all the bronze Byzantine pectoral crosses found in the region of Central Europe, namely Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, and to establish their typology dividing the pectorals into two main groups of engraved and relief crosses. Later, I have applied the created typology to the Central European material.

I have organised the material from Central Europe into a catalogue with entries ordered according to place names. The catalogue contains 59 pectoral crosses with detailed descriptions, information about the finds, the dating, the type, and the relevant literature. Consequently, I have analysed the collected material aiming specifically at the problem of typological distribution, dating, spatial distribution and usage of the crosses. It turned out that within the examined material, the relief crosses with the Crucifixion and the Virgin Orans were the most frequent finds in the region. The engraved pectoral crosses were rather rare and they mostly belong to the autonomous group originating possibly from a provincial workshop imitating Byzantine production. There are interesting iconographical motifs derived from Byzantine iconography depicted on the engraved crosses.

In the search for the origin of bronze pectoral crosses in general, I have found the prototypes in the group of elaborated cross-reliquaries decorated in niello, known as group of the Pliska cross, which was recently dated between 800–830. The crosses from the Pliska group provided the iconographical repertoire for the cross-reliquaries made in bronze.

Concerning the dating of Central European pectoral crosses, I have based my suggestions on the archaeological context of the finds. The analysis of the material presented in the catalogue showed that the majority of pectoral crosses were buried into the ground between ca. 950–1050/60, which matches the period of strong contacts between the Carpathian basin and Byzantium. The density of pectoral crosses in Hungary can be explained in the light of the penetration of Eastern Christianity.

Typological analysis showed that several examined crosses are not of Byzantine origin (in the first place the excellent group of enamelled crosses found in Opočnice in the Czech Republic) and should be excluded from the context of Byzantine *enkolpia*. A final evaluation of these crosses requires more focused and detailed future study.

Historical Study of the Changing Landscape of Lake Fertő during the Later Middle Ages (13th c.–15th c.)

Andrea Kiss

One aim of this study was to provide, describe and analyse all of the information referring to the lands and settlements of the Lake Fertő (named Neusiedler See on the Austrian side) area. On the basis of these sources, I attempted to use some particular parts of this reconstruction to find evidence for the possible shoreline changes of the lake. In my opinion, these two aims were strongly dependent on each other: the lake dominated its surrounding environs, and these environs influenced the lake.

For this reason, I have collected medieval charters in order to provide the database for the reconstruction of the medieval landscape of the Fertő area. In addition, I provided a geographical, and historical geographical background to indicate the natural conditions and development of the area, and also show the significant changes which took place mainly in the last century. Because of the radical changes in the water system, I had to find a period which was not effected by the deep human influence of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries. However, the abundance of geographical sources could allow a reconstruction of medieval land-scape features in order to find changes between the two periods. I used information from some eighteenth-century or even earlier geographical descriptions, notes, registers, and maps which referred to the lake and its surrounding environs in pursuit of this aim.

The importance of viticulture in the northern, western and southwestern parts of the area has to be emphasised. It was especially visible in the Sopron-Rákos region from the second half of the thirteenth century. From the second half of the fourteenth century, the growing number of charters, letters, and testaments provided information even for the location of the vineyards. In this case, the eighteenth-century descriptions could provide a useful parallel for the same situation.

Significant landscape changes between late medieval and eighteenth-century conditions could not be reconstructed. However, some changes took place in the settlement structure in two time periods: first in the thirteenth, and then in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, some lands and settlements, even entire villages, disappeared from the region. Abandoned lands and villages, under the name of *predium*, appeared especially in the eastern, and in some cases in the western-southwestern parts of the region. While in the western, northern and southern parts of the region, a relatively large number of settlements remained, in the eastern parts,

large-scale landholding with only a small number of settlements became predominant.

In my opinion, the fragmentary reconstructions of this study could provide the background research for some possible future research: the unpublished charters of the chapters of Csorna, Győr, Vasvár, and also the recent archaeological surveys can provide much more information on the medieval landscape features of the area.

Holy Folly and a Recluse in Old Kievan Literature
(An Analysis of the Legend of Isakij the Cave-dweller)

Sergij Kuzmenko

This thesis is an attempt to analyse a narrative from *The Primary Kievan Chronicle* about Isakij the Cave-dweller, which in a later period was included into the *Paterik of the Kievan Caves*. The prototype of this narrative, an eleventh-century monk from the Monastery of the Kievan Caves, is traditionally referred to as "the first Russian holy fool."

The first goal pursued in this study is to discuss the behaviour of Isakij in connection with the phenomenon of holy folly. Although the source itself depicts Isakij's folly only fragmentarily, this scarcity of direct information has been to some extent compensated for by an inquiry into the Byzantine tradition of perfect fools, as well as a consideration of the cultural and historical milieu Isakij lived in. The analysis has shown that Isakij's acts of folly, as they are depicted in the narrative, should be interpreted as a specific kind of ascetic practice akin to the examples shown in the early *paterika*, rather than holy folly as such. This view has been supported both by a detailed analysis of the legend, as well as by the sources which presumably contributed towards modelling the behaviour of the "historical" Isakij.

The other purpose is to concentrate on the literary aspects of the legend about Isakij. This work, one of the earliest of Kievan ascetic writing, has attracted the attention of many scholars and hence has received various interpretations which came into the focus of this discussion. The aim of this study is not just to review different approaches towards the legend about Isakij, but also to argue against some speculative conclusions drawn from the sources which contributed to the legend, as well as some religious tendencies expressed in it. In the centre of this discussion was the hypothesis of L. Müller that the actual legend about Isakij the Cave-dweller had originally consisted of two different versions reflecting two different approaches

towards the ascetic life. On the basis of the analysis done in the thesis, this theory was rejected, since it is supported neither textologically nor historically.

Also a set of parallels has been drawn between the legend about Isakij and the late-eleventh century *Life of Feodosij*, in which a new ideal of the monastic saint was expressed. The personal acquaintance between Isakij and Feodosij, as well as the familiarity of the anonymous author of the legend about Isakij with the *Life*, both explain some common *topoi* found in the two narratives.

The Tale of Two Birds and Many Saints:
Twelfth-Thirteenth-Century Images and Their Creators

Elena Lemeneva

Famous examples from different spheres of culture suggest that bird images became more important in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries than they had been before. Emperor Frederick II writes the first scientific treatise on falconry: the *De arte venandi cum avibus;* the theologian Hugh of Folieto compiles the *Aviarium*, a moral treatise based on the analysis of birds' nature and behaviour; St. Francis of Assisi chooses birds as the audience for his sermons. Such a noticeable rise of interest toward birds compels one to inquire what meaning the image of a bird had for the people of this age.

The images of two birds seem to be relevant for all levels of twelfth-thirteenth-century culture, namely, that of the dove and the hawk. "See how the hawk and the dove sit on the same perch. I am from the clergy and you are from the military," run the first lines of the *Aviarium*. Taking these two images as a basis, the present thesis attempts to find out their meaning and role in twelfth-thirteenth-century communication systems.

The chronological development of the dove image from the early Christian era to the High Middle Ages in the limited sphere of religious art and thought is the subject of the first part of the thesis. Special attention is paid to the correlation of the visual and textual interpretation and the use of the image. This approach permits an assessment of the combination of tradition and innovation in the treatment of the image.

The second part observes the image of the hawk in both religious and secular communication systems of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. This synchronic approach offers a chance to analyse the influence of the communicational framework on the meaning and function of one single image. These two case studies lead to

certain conclusions which concern not only birds but also people in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.

The chronological development of the visual image of the dove reveals the logic of its transformation in correlation to the general development of ideas and notions. The study of the meanings and functions of this image shows that, on the one hand, the twelfth-thirteenth-century use of the image was a logical continuation of previous development combined, on the other hand, with the changed correlation between texts and images. For instance, the notion of the constant personal contact of holy mortals with the Divinity due to their moral and spiritual qualities, which for a long time existed in the hagiographic texts but did not appear in church art, came to be visualised only now. This visualisation of the constant presence of the Lord in peoples' lives in the image of a bird might have been one of the factors which triggered a special attitude to birds as seen in Hugh of Folieto and *il Poverello*.

The examination of the transformation of the image of the hawk in the courtly, legislative, literary, iconographic, hagiographic and theological discourses of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries discloses the correlation of reality and imagination in the attitude to birds in the different communication systems. Comparison of the different attitudes to one single characteristic of that bird—its being a bird of prey—stresses the dependence of the interpretation on both the expectations of the audience and the purposes of the initiator of communication.

Reasons of economy did not allow me to explore other aspects of the problem, as well as many additional textual and iconic sources. The starting points of the research, that is, *De arte venandi*, *Aviarium*, and Francis's sermon to birds deserve careful individual study which may contribute to an understanding of the attitudes reflected in these celebrated texts.

Carolingian Word Against Byzantine Image:
The Seven Liberal Arts, Eloquence, Tellus and the *Libri Carolini*

Dragoș Maghioroș

Previous research on the *Libri Carolini*, the Carolingian treatise directed against the decisions of the seventh Ecumenical Council (787), has failed to consider the meaning of some of the poems of its acknowledged author–Theodulf of Orléans. Theodulf, who took up a position against the spiritual function of the icons, described in two of his poems images of the seven liberal arts and Tellus. While

sometimes these images were interpreted as works of art, it seems that for Theodulf they represented much more. Theodulf, who denied any spiritual value to the icons, ascribed a spiritual role to the images of the seven liberal arts and of Tellus.

The seven personified liberal arts, as described by Theodulf, were originally part of a religious system, as conceived by Martianus Capella in *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. Capella's work presents an allegory of the union between literary erudition (Philology) and eloquence (Mercury) in the presence of the seven liberal arts. In this context, a pagan one, salvation is achieved through learning and erudition. Augustine, a contemporary of Capella, although enthusiastic about the liberal arts in his youth, became in his later works less convinced about their relevance for the spiritual life of the Christian.

However, in a period of growing interest among the Carolingians concerning learning, the *Libri Carolini* displayed a special interest in the seven liberal arts. The central and lengthiest chapter of the *Libri Carolini*, a real summary of the whole work, opposes Scripture to the Image. Scripture is presented as a sum of the liberal arts and eloquence following a symbolism closer to Capella's work than to Christian traditions. The Carolingian vision of the Word resembles in this case a handbook of the seven liberal arts. Consequently, the reflection of the *Libri Carolini*'s in contemporary art was not in the disappearance of religious Christian images–because *Libri Carolini* was not representing a main trend–but in the appearance of the seven personified liberal arts in the iconography of Charlemagne's palaces and in monasteries. Interestingly, this process is first recorded in the writings of the same Theodulf, who described in one of his poems Capella's arts–and also eloquence–as the subject matter of a visual image.

The second image described by Theodulf was a combination between Tellus and a *mappa mundi*. The inscription found on a map of Ripoll contained the verses of Theodulf's poems describing the liberal arts and Tellus. Yet, this map is connected with maps which can be retraced to Capella. Thus, the poems seem to belong to a similar, if not the same, tradition. Moreover, Theodulf commissioned an object following the description of Tellus and of the *mappa mundi*. In order to understand Theodulf's reasons for ordering this work, the example of John Scott Eriugena, his spiritual heir, was used. John Scott was a commentator on Capella and his works reflect the same attitude as that expressed by Theodulf in *Libri Carolini*. A source contemporary to Eriugena mentions that he received knowledge of the seven liberal arts from Theodulf. Moreover, Prudentius of Troyes' attack on Eriugena during the predestination debate, was connected with Eriugena's cosmological vision which was derived from Capella. This pagan vision implied the divinity as being the *anima mundi*. Thus, Theodulf's representation of Tellus and

the *mappa mundi* are to be explained by this vision. While in Rome and Constantinople the icons were venerated as proofs of the reality of the Incarnation, Theodulf, following an old pagan tradition, treasured a picture of the world and of Tellus.

The Glory of God and its Byzantine Iconography

Simona Makseliene

This thesis deals with the biblical concept of the *glory of God* and its iconographical representation. The introductory part presents an explanation of the notion and gives an overview of the chief manifestations of the glory of God in the Bible. As far as the glory of God–Hebr. *kabod*–was translated into Greek as *doxa*, a brief history of the development of the term is presented. This thesis concentrates on the representation of the glory of God which was manifested during the Transfiguration; therefore an overview of the Patristic exegeses on the Transfiguration is presented as well.

The Targumists discerned two aspects of *kabod:* the glory of God manifests itself either as the content of an especially sacred place (*shekinah*), or as light (*yekara*). In the Greek *doxa* these two aspects remain mixed; nor were they specified by supplementary terms. However, the variety of semantic aspects of the glory of God was rendered iconographically as different types of mandorla. The mandorla is the iconographical representation of the glory of God, and the great variety of its types is able to render the whole spectrum of meanings of *kabod-doxa*. The analysis of the types of mandorla starts with the presentation of the two major theories concerning the origin of the mandorla.

In this thesis two main types of mandorla–*shekinah* and *yekarah*–are discerned, each with two subtypes. The first type renders the glory of God as a dwelling place, that is, as the *shekinah*. Divine glory as *shekinah* can be rendered either (a) as a *cloud* of the divine presence, the ideal paradigm of which is the one into which Moses penetrated during the theophany on Mount Sinai, and which was the prefiguration of the bright cloud of the Transfiguration, or (b) as the *Tabernacle*, which was revealed to Moses in the cloud, and which was argued to correspond symbolically with the heavenly army of the celestial powers around the throne of God, as it was mediated by the prophets. As far as the different parts of the Tabernacle were interpreted allegorically by Philo of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa, as presenting the same structure of celestial ranks around God, as seen by the

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Prophets, the glory of God as present in the Tabernacle and among the ranks can be viewed as the same type of manifestation. The mandorla as cloud is dark and usually circular, with eight rays, enveloping in the scenes of the Transfiguration not only the figure of Christ, but of Moses and Elijah as well. This type of mandorla was popular during the Middle-Byzantine period (ninth-twelfth centuries). The mandorla as the Tabernacle is oval, with the heavenly powers inscribed into it. This type of mandorla occurs in scenes of the Dormition and in certain prophetic visions, especially those of Habakkuk. In scenes of the Dormition this type of mandorla occurs only in the fourteenth century; it became very popular in the Balkans and Russia during the post-Byzantine period.

The representations of divine glory as *yekara* can also be divided into two sub-types. The first representation of it, as an oval mandorla in the mosaic at the apse of the St. Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai (around 550), presents certain ideas about Christ as Sun. This type is influenced by the theology of light of Pseudo-Dionysius, who in his turn was influenced by certain Plotinian ideas about light. This type of mandorla, which was called the oval type, regained its popularity around 1200, particularly in scenes of the Transfiguration.

The second representation of divine glory as light was called the hesychastic pattern, for it occured not only in the areas definitively touched by the hesychastic movement (Mount Athos first of all), but rendered the hesychastic concept of light as well. This type of *mandorla* consist of two rectangulars and one sphere, which are crossed by numerous rays of light. The geometrical figures render the hypostases of the Trinity, and the rays the operation of light, which is proper to all the hypostases.

The thesis is rounded off by an Appendix in which the allegorical interpretation of the Tabernacle as undertaken by Philo of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, is analysed, and by a section of of 72 illustrations.

Plotinus' Doctrine of Eros

Rasius Makselis

The thesis attempts to demonstrate the consistency and universality of the Plotinian usage of the notion of *eros* in his writings. Although the definition of *eros* was given by Plotinus in one of his last treatises (III.5 [50] *On Love*), this definition is consistent with other major appearances of *eros* in Plotinus' writings of all periods.

The present thesis is the first work which regards the definition of *eros* in III.5 [50] *On Love* as the background for the doctrine of *eros* in Plotinus' philosophy.

In III.5, Plotinus defines *eros* as the Soul's striving for its source. The origin of *eros* is the Soul's aspiration for the Good. The different aspects of the Soul are combined with appropriate aspects of *eros*. The higher Soul has *eros*-god; the soul of the universe and the individual souls have *eros*-spirit. *Eros* also manifests itself as an affection of the soul. This affection, although being the weakest aspect of *eros*, contains the possibility of apprehending sensual beauty as the image of intellectual beauty. The structure of *eros* thus corresponds to the structure of the Soul: the highest *eros*-god is the substance of eros while the lower ones–spirit and affection – are the manifestations of this substance. Therefore *eros* is essentially good and different from the passive affections which do not have an ontological background.

Eros expresses the Soul's dynamic engagement into a substantial relationship with the Soul's source. The Soul engages into a love-relationship with its source because it is unsatisfied with sensual beauty, due to the memory of ideal, intelligible, beauty. The way that the Soul apprehends intelligible beauty features a specific dynamism of the two stages of the Soul's assimilation with the Intellect as its intelligible essence. This dynamism, however, is not fully developed in III.5 but is presented by Plotinus in other treatises.

The Soul in its striving for its source assimilates with two proper powers of the Intellect. The first one is the contemplation of intelligible forms. Before this first as-similation, the object of the Soul's striving contains the unity of the immediate source (the Intellect) and the ultimate source (the One), or, in other terms, the unity of the manifestation of intelligible beauty (the Intellect) and its source (the One). The Soul must be purified from the senses, unified and brought into conformity with the contemplative life of the Intellect which manifests itself as the life of the virtu-ous sage. It is after this assimilation with the intellectual contemplation of forms that the Soul becomes capable of distinguishing between the beauty of the forms of the Intellect and the source of this beauty (the One). Therefore, the Soul becomes able to strive for assimilation with the second power of the Intellect. This power is the Intellect's supraintellectual vision of the One. Only when assimilated with this vision does the Soul finally satisfy its *eros* by means of unification with the One.

Thus, the doctrine of *eros* as the Soul's striving for its source, as it is presented in III.5, appears to be the conclusive refinement of the teaching about the Soul's striving for unification with the One presented in other treatises. However, III.5 presents neither a definition of purification as the way that the Soul can be assimilated with the contemplative life of the Intellect, nor a description of how the Soul can reach for final unification. These questions are explored by Plotinus in

other treatises which are successively examined in the thesis: I.3 [20] *On Dialectics*, I.6 [1] *On Beauty*, VI.9 [9] *On the One or the Good*, VI.7 [38] *How the Multitude of the Forms Came into Existence on the One*. However, the doctrines of the purification and unification of the Soul are evidently consistent with the definition of *eros* in III.5.

The most important conclusions of the thesis are as follows: Plotinus presents a consistent and comprehensive doctrine of *eros*; the notion of *eros* in this doctrine is always connected with the Soul as its subject. The object of the Soul's *eros* changes from the Intellect to the One in the process of the Soul's search for the ultimate satisfaction of its *eros* in terms of the unification with the One.

"*Patarena ... de natione Bossinensium*": The Female Role in the 'Bosnian Church'

Polina Melik-Simonian

Women's role in both lay and secular spheres of public life was rarely prominent in medieval society. This might be one of the reasons why many of them were drawn to heterodox religious movements which often allowed their women more responsibilities, rights and opportunities to realise themselves in ways which were closed for them in the orthodox Christian communities. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the place of women of the Bosnian Church in their community and to attempt to ascertain how much they share in the relatively elevated position of medieval heterodox females.

The problem of the extant materials on the Bosnian Church is that the bigger part of them comes from western Catholic writers and was challenged by the opponents of the hypothesis of the dualist orientation of the Bosnian Church as unreliable. Answering the latter's doubts, supporters of this hypothesis attempted to find confirmation of the data found in Catholic ecclesiastical sources in the proper Bosnian materials. In an attempt to distinguish information recovered from foreign and domestic sources, they have been analysed separately in this thesis, and the data from each of them has been compared.

The results of this analysis and comparison have shown that the information coming from Catholic theological sources of western provenance indeed differs from that presented in all other ones. Moreover, closer examination has indicated that the evidence found by various scholars in Bosnian sources in support of the evidence of the Catholic ones is unsound and cannot serve as the proof of the latter.

All other extant sources on the Bosnian Church coincide on one point–they do not reserve any noticeable place in the Church for its female adherents. Bosnian *krstjanice* make their appearance much more rarely than *krstjane* and never surface on their own in circumstances when their male counterparts are not mentioned. Non-*krstjanice* women are not even identifiable as a part of the Bosnian Church congregation, for they are never brought up in connection with any religious or social functions of the Church.

Comparison reveals that the religious role of the female adherents of the Bosnian Church is strikingly less significant than that of female Cathars. None of the features characteristic of Catharism, for instance the performance of sacraments by women, are found among the Bosnian Church women's privileges. In addition, neither of the distinctive theological dualist peculiarities relevant to women, that is a negative attitude to marriage and procreation and an untraditional interpretation of the female role in the fall and the salvation of mankind, appear to have any parallels in Bosnian theology.

The obvious disparity between the Cathar and the Bosnian Church female adherents could be indicative of major differences between the Cathar and the Bosnian Churches, and, perhaps support the hypothesis of the non-dualist character of the latter.

Dramatic and Visual Elements
in Philippe de Mézières' *Le Songe Du Vieil Pélerin*

Csilla Mészáros

Dealing with Philippe de Mézières' *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, written in 1389 in Old French, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the dramatic and theatrical elements which appear particularly in two scenes in Rome and Avignon. The *Songe* has been examined from various viewpoints by twentieth-century scholars. The literary aspects of the work have been studied by Dora M. Bell, the major allegories and their overuse have been discussed in terms of the "proliferation" of the language by Armand Strubel and Jeannine Quillet, the crusading and propagandistic aspects were accentuated by Joan B. Williamson, the moralising didactic and satirical tone has been underlined by G. W. Coopland, while Jeannine Quillet regarded the *Songe* as a *"poème allégorique."* The dramatic and theatrical aspects of the *Songe* have received little attention so far. This is, however, an important aspect of the work.

The Introduction is a review of previous scholarly approaches to the *Songe*, and it also presents a compact summary of the work. Chapter I gives an overview of allegorical writing at the end of the fourteenth century, deals with Mézières' use of allegory, or what might be called *half-allegories* because they are explained to the reader, as well as the most important allegories in the work. Chapter II considers Mézières' probable sources which could include feasts, royal entrances, processions, interludes, *entremets*. Mézières' preoccupations included also theatrical matters: he composed a liturgical drama, the *Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation*, he was interested in representation on the stage, and succeeded performing the drama in front of the papal court in 1372, and in the court of Charles V in 1373. Chapter III is the main body of the thesis where the Rome and Avignon scenes, two important stops on the allegorical travels, are analysed according to the dramatic and theatrical elements they contain. These two scenes are little masterpieces within the *Songe*, while the entire work, in fact, is less of a literary and artistic product than a propaganda piece for the crusade, and a manual of good government. A fascinating tension thus emerges between the heavily political purpose of the *Songe* and the two theatrical episodes encapsulated within the work.

The richness of the *Songe* calls for attention and makes its definition difficult. Is it a prophetic discourse, a political treatise, a treatise on vices and virtues, a propaganda for crusade, an educational manual for the future king, Charles VI, a kind of history manual on the fourteenth century, a satire, or a literary work? All these open many possibilities for further research. One possibility would be an analysis of the debate between Old Superstition and Good Faith, as an excellent example of theatrical element of the *Songe du Vieil Pélerin*.

Cathedral Libraries in Medieval Hungary

Előd Nemerkényi

Medieval Western and Central European cathedral libraries have been studied for a long time. Many of their surviving catalogues were published in the series of *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*. However, medieval Hungarian cathedral libraries have been stepchildren of historiography because of the scarcity of the sources. Although numerous studies dealt with the legal development *(loca credibilia),* the social background, and the chapter schools of Hungarian cathedrals, no systematic inquiry has been dedicated directly to their libraries. The case of the cathedral library of Esztergom illustrates the methodological problems and the

limits of the reconstruction of the lost holdings of a medieval library. Although no library catalogue survived from Esztergom, one can make use of various types of sources such as wills, visitation protocols, manuscript fragments, and codices of more or less established provenance. The sources for the organization of learning in the fifteenth-century *Collegium Christi,* attached to the cathedral of Esztergom, are also useful tools for the reconstruction. Library catalogues, the most important sources for our study, survive from the cathedrals of Veszprém (1435) and Zagreb (1394, 1426). On the basis of these book registers, that were incorporated into the general inventories of the cathedrals, it is possible to identify the books and analyze the structure of the libraries. The statistical analysis shows that the major part of the collections contained liturgical and legal books. There were relatively few books of patristic and scholastic authors and almost nothing of the Latin classics in the cathedral libraries. However, the system of book provision can be detected: in most of the cases, bishops, archdeacons, and canons bequeathed the books from their private libraries to the cathedral. Another channel must have been the academic *peregrinatio* of the canons to various late medieval Western and Central European universities. The compilers of the catalogues of the Zagreb cathedral library used sophisticated methods to identify single books as well as the texts: apart from the *incipit,* they indicated the *finit in textu primi folii,* too. Another document from Veszprém reveals the interests of the individual users of the cathedral library: a manuscript fragment containing some records of book loans between 1472–1504. Most of them preferred canon law to theology and arts. Future research may lead into three different directions: a comparison between the collections of the Hungarian cathedral libraries and those of contemporary Central Europe; an investigation and identification of the surviving codices of the 1435 Veszprém catalogue; and a critical edition of the same catalogue.

Images of Women in the *Trobairitz'* Poetry
(Vocabulary and Imagery)

Laura Emanuela Olaru

The present study has focused on the poetry of the *trobairitz,* who wrote during 1180–1260 in Occitania, in the environment of the court. Its purpose is to extract the images of women depicted in and through the vocabulary and the imagery. The study of vocabulary and imagery seemed the best way to understand the significance

and the richness of the types of women depicted in the poems: the conscious woman, the authoritative figure, the fighter, the lover, the beloved, the uncourtly woman.

The first chapter is a short analysis of the socio-economic status and power of the *trobairitz* and the ideological context of their poetic activity, as well as the general view of what they have written. A discussion of their rhetorical skills is fundamental for the following poetic analysis, both of their vocabulary and imagery. The socio-economic aspects, as well as the ideological attitudes of the courtly society explain the terminology of the poems, for example the feudal vocabulary, as well as some of the images involved in the present study. The debates about feminine writing provide the point of departure for the analysis of the texts themselves, which will highlight the skills of the *trobairitz* while attempting to complete the image of women.

The vocabulary of the poems turns out to be extremely rich in terms of address, in terms denoting love and desire, and in terms showing appreciation and depreciation. The terms of address underline the *trobairitz*' desire to communicate feelings and opinions; at the same time, the terms clearly select the audience, dividing it into a group of friends, among which *amic* frequently occurs in the discourse, and a group of enemies. At the same time, the terms of address indicate the place of the *trobairitz* in the hierarchy of the court and in her affective hierarchy. The vocabulary of love, multifarious in expression, reveals their awareness of the complexity of the concept, and their ability to play with the terms, in order to render their feelings as precisely as possible. It is love which conditions the presence of positive qualities, which should be features of the lover. The *trobairitz* also have strong feelings of self-worth, which they powerfully assert, with the purpose of making themselves more reliable as lovers. The way they choose their vocabulary clearly shows that the images they construct for themselves contradict the image constructed of them by the troubadours.

The image of the courtly woman is supplemented by some "uncourtly" aspects. Motherhood is seen as an unpleasant state, because it damages the woman; the presence of the "courtly man" in her immediacy has the same ruinous effect. A jocular image is the erotic woman, highlighted by the Domna in her dialogue with Montan. The study has emphasised that in the small corpus of the *trobairitz* poems, the portraits of women depicted are various and colourfully painted. The images of women go from those sensitive to the "winter" of inexpressiveness, to the fighters for the right to expose ideas and to be well treated, to the tough and shrewd woman in contest with the targeted man, to the woman assertive of sexual desires and the woman fearful of its consequences.

The present study has mainly concentrated on presenting diverse types of women, by synthesising evidence of the vocabulary and of the images as seen in almost all the poems, which has not been previously done. Other things could also be said about the woman in the *trobairitz* poems, bringing more examples from the rhetoric used, from the versification, or from the analysis of some aspects of grammar (morphologic evidence, types of subordination, negation).

On the International Acceptance of Ivan the Terrible's Imperial Title

Siarhei Salei

The present study shows how Muscovy attempted to legitimate its imperial claims by means of a diplomatic struggle for acknowledgment of the imperial title of its ruler.

The official assumption of the title of 'tsar' by Ivan the Terrible in 1547 and his intensive campaign aimed at its international recognition was received differently abroad. Since self-assumption of the title was generally perceived as a self-claim of its bearer, the reaction to that claim on the part of the foreign rulers was determined by their perception of the meaning of the term 'tsar'.

The Catholic states of the West perceived the title of tsar as meaning a Christian emperor. Since these states acknowledged only one emperor–that of the Holy Roman Empire–legal recognition of another Christian emperor would have resulted in changing the existing system of states. That is why the new title with its imperial significance was recognized only by weak subjects of the Catholic system of the states.

Muslim countries in the East–the Tatar Khanates and the Ottoman Empire– had a different perception of the term 'tsar'. It had the meaning of 'khan' in their vocabulary. Since Muscovy was perceived by them as an heir of the Golden Horde, they recognized the 'tsar' title of the Muscovite ruler in the meaning of 'khan', which meant legal recognition of the right of a new Christian khan to fulfill the same functions as the other khans did–namely, to be a ruler of a khanate and to develop claims on other khanates. This was in fact done by the conquest of the khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia during the reign of the first Muscovite tsar. After these conquests the Muscovite ruler started to use the argument, based on the possession of 'tsargrads', i.e. Kazan and Astrakhan, as a proof of his title in the West. This resulted in the development of an Oriental image for Muscovy and the perception of Ivan the Terrible as a 'khan'.

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For the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the term 'tsar' had a specific meaning. Since its justification was connected with the 'Kievan' legacy, its recognition would have meant an additional danger for the Lithuanians–namely, the acknowledgment of Muscovite claims on its Ruthenian lands. That is why, being faced with the possible consequences of recognition of the imperial title of the Muscovite ruler, the Grand Principality of Lithuania (and its successor–the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania from 1569) resisted doing that; and as long it as resisted, it maintained its rights to preserve its territorial sovereignty and even to recapture some of the lands that it had lost.

Frontier and Settlement: Cumans North of the Lower Danube in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century

Alexander Silayev

The aim of this thesis was to reconstruct the changing role of the Cumans in the development of the Carpatho–Danubian area (between the Lower Danube and the Carpathians to the river Dniester) before and during the first half of the thirteenth century. The events that occurred in this area are of significance not only for the evolution of local communities and the different groups of the migratory population but also for the history of the neighbouring countries. Therefore, considering the possibilities of future research into the history of the Cumans and of the other nomad peoples in the area of the western Pontic steppes, it is necessary to stress the relevance of this study for understanding the different forms of interaction between the nomads and the neighbouring sedentary peoples.

Narrative documents as well as the results of recent archaeological investigations were used for this reconstruction. The method applied to them, which correlated the information contained in the written sources with the archaeological data, helped in resolving some important problems concerning the history of this region. It became possible to establish the main stages in the evolution of the Cumans' activity in the area to the north of the lower Danube as being connected to the internal and external factors which determined the history of this people prior to the great Mongol invasion.

In particular, it was demonstrated that while the Cumans played an important role in the history of the steppes situated to the north of the Danube, their presence here was never more than temporary from the end of the eleventh until the end of the twelfth centuries. The episodic appearance of large Cuman armies during their

intrusions over the Danube or into Hungary did not significantly change the ethnic and cultural structure of the population in this region.

In the course of reconstructing the events of the first half of the thirteenth century, the development of Cuman activity in the Carpatho–Danubian area was divided into two stages. The first one (the end of the twelfth–first decades of the thirteenth centuries), which can be considered as the preparatory stage, was characterised by the increasing military penetration of the Cumans due to their participation in the political conflicts of the neighbouring states. The next stage (third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century) was connected with the direct movement of the Cumans towards the Western Pontic steppes.

The study concludes that the migration of the Cumans into the western Pontic steppes cannot be dated any earlier than 1223, when large masses of them were fleeing the first Mongol invasion. In the following period, the stabilisation and christianisation of certain groups of the Cumans became possible, these changes being the direct consequence of their expulsion from the traditional steppe area and their refuge in the territories of neighbouring countries. The changing character of the relations between the Cumans and their neighbours explains the great success attained by the Kingdom of Hungary in its expansion into the territories to the south and the east of the Carpathians in the beginning of the thirteenth century. An attempt to control the Cumans in the western Pontic steppes was also connected with the gradual advance of agricultural organisation and settlements. However, this expansion was abruptly ended by the devastating invasion of the Mongols in 1241, which began an absolutely new phase in the history of this region.

Supertunica - Seurcot - Surcoat:
French and English Courtly Dress Terminology
in the Royal Wardrobe Accounts of the Fourteenth Century

Snejina Sonina

The objective of my thesis is to investigate French and English courtly dress terminology through the application of the method of semantic nets, one of the new methods for the systematic study of terminology. The problem of terminology is particularly acute in the study of historical dress; practically all scholars studying the development of fashion in the Middle Ages mention this problem and consider it as confusing and disturbing in the study of medieval dress. However, the termino-

logy of medieval dress has seldom been studied for itself, and has never been invest-igated systematically.

The application of the method of semantic nets to the study of terms describing dress in French and English royal accounts permitted investigation of the French and English terminologies of these sources systematically. For this investigation a hierarchical system of notions of fourteenth-century courtly dress was constructed; and corresponding terms were attributed to these systematised notions. This pro-cedure allowed the analysis of the correspondences between terms and notions, the investigation of patterns of term formation for different levels of the hierarchy, and the comparison of patterns used on the same levels in both terminologies.

The investigation of the correspondences between terms and notions permitted the correction of the hypothetical structure of the terminological field of fourteenth-century courtly dress: new microfields were introduced and new lowest levels were developed. These changes draw attention to the important peculiarities of medieval dress that are not often emphasised in the study of costume. This investigation also revealed special features in the functioning of fourteenth-century terminology of royal-wardrobe accounts: this terminology was destined and used more for the description of dress items than for their classification because it does not contain "categorising" terms on its highest levels. The occasional occurrence of French synonyms in the English accounts instead of the usual Latin terms testifies that these French words were vernacular terms for dress items used at the English court.

The main result of the examination of the means of term formation is that different levels of each terminological system use their own patterns for the formation of terms, and the French and English terminologies utilise different patterns for the formation of middle level terms. The fact that the French termino-logy uses mostly suffixation and set phrases for the formation of names of new garments, and that the English one favours borrowings from French proves the significant influence of the French courtly fashion on the English one in the fourteenth century. The fact that the English terminology borrows French names for new garments, and uses Latin words for old ones proves more the influence of the French courtly fashion than the general influence of the French language.

In this paper the method of linguistic nets was used for the correction of the structure of the terminological field of only fourteenth-century dress. This attempt was done based on the example of only one kind of existing written sources–royal wardrobe accounts–and has to be continued on the basis of other sources. The important feature of linguistic nets is that it is possible to develop their structures. This means that the same basic structures can be used for pursuing the study of the dress terminology of different written sources and of different languages. Such study

could lead to the further correction of the system of notions, and, consequently, to the further clarification of the structure of the terminological field and of relations between the objects of the fourteenth-century dress object region. Moreover, these structures, using indexes, permit the organisation of the terminological system chronologically, regionally, and socially, and thus allow the combination of terminological data of varying times, places, and social strata. Such a project would bring the study of historical dress to a new, higher level. The present study is only the first step in this direction. The method of semantic nets could also be used to analyse other uncertain terminological systems.

The Ninth-century Debate on Predestination

Diana Stanciu

The aim of my study was fourfold: first, to offer an overview of the debate, the personalities and the monasteries involved, the treatises written, the councils; second, to discuss related concepts such as prescience and predestination, grace and meritorious acts, divine omnipotence and human free will, divine predilection and universal salvific will within the context formerly specified; third, to point out the context of Augustinian learning; fourth, to establish the background of the controversy in the ninth-century Carolingian realm, whether it gained its momentum due to purely theological matters, to general social conditions, personal ambitions or hidden political interests. Other aspects such as the theological origins of the debate and its aftermath were, for the moment, beyond the scope of my study.

Among the personalities involved were the Saxon monk Gottschalk, who raised the idea of double predestination, of the elect to eternal life and of the damned to eternal death, ecclesiastical authorities and scholars such as Hrabanus Maurus, Hincmar of Rheims, Lupus of Ferrières, Ratramnus of Corbie, John Scot Eriugena, Prudentius of Troyes, Florus of Lyon, Amolo of Lyon, Remigius of Lyon, and also Charles the Bald, who comissioned the writing of treatises and took part in the councils. Important centres were the monasteries of Rheims, Lyon, Fulda, Reichenau, Corbie, Orbais. The conciliar assemblies referring to predestination were: Mainz (848), Quierzy (849), Quierzy (853), Valence (855), Langres (859), Savonnières (859), and Tusey (860).

My final conclusions are: 1) the ninth-century controversy on predestination was primarily a theological and not a political one; 2) there were two types of discourse, a speculative one and a morally-centred one, generated by different

backgrounds, different interests of the participants, and uneven distribution of manuscripts; 3) due to the emphasis they laid on moral reform, the Carolingian prelates encountered great difficulties in adjusting their views to the late works of Augustine.

Pilis: A Hungarian Forest in the Middle Ages

Péter Szabó

Landscape history was developed in the 1960s and 1970s mainly in England. Its most important achievements were twofold. Firstly, landscape historians took the landscape as a source in the historiographical meaning of the word, that is, they developed a methodology of source criticism in order to interpret landscape features. Secondly, an attempt was made to combine written and non-written sources, with the addition that landscape history, when using written material, concentrates on non-narrative evidence.

This essay examined the Pilis forest in the Middle Ages with the help of this methodology. Pilis was the *medium regni* in historical Hungary, surrounded by the most important lay and ecclesiastical centres of the medieval kingdom (Esztergom, Visegrád, and Buda). The territory was royal domain, which influenced its whole development.

My research was focused on four aspects. First of all, the forested territory was described, with special attention to the natural conditions. I found that the flora of the medieval Pilis forest was similar to that of today accompanied by a well-developed horticulture especially around the densely populated areas. Another, rather negative, result was that the reconstruction of the medieval forested land in Pilis is impossible at present. Secondly, I set up the settlement structure of the region primarily with the help of the field surveys carried out in preparation for the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*. This analysis proved that the settlement changes in the Pilis region followed the general Hungarian and European trends in the sense that many settlements existed up until the thirteenth century, after which time many of these became either deserted or parts of larger settlements. This whole process was, nevertheless, in close connection with the forest, the first period representing an attempt to "conquer" the Pilis, whereas the second one saw the formation of a more stable pattern of settlements mainly in the valleys. Thirdly, I looked at the two monastic orders (Cistercians and Paulines) which had monasteries in the forest. In both cases the "secluded yet central" position of the Pilis forest was

of special importance, and it seemed that both orders were exploiting the forest rather than clearing it. It is to be noted in general that evidence of medieval forest-clearance is missing from the whole territory. Finally, an examination of the area as royal forest followed. Pilis was ancient royal property, and the whole territory was a *comitatus* of the forest with a special administrative system. Several hunting lodges and at least one medieval deer-park existed there. The lack of major castles, the locations and foundations of monasteries, and the protection of the forest strongly support the idea that the kings kept control over the territory all through the Middle Ages.

This essay proved that the methodology of landscape history is a valid approach to Hungarian material. The results provided a different, more compre-hensive image of the medieval Pilis forest than previous works. However, not nearly enough has been said about the Pilis forest as far as for example dendrochronology, forest archaeology, or pollen analysis are concerned. Future research will have to make more use of interdisciplinary studies in order to arrive at a better understanding of the relations between people and forests in medieval Hungary.

The Canon to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica: Structure and Content

Inna Tigountsova

The canon to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica is a liturgical hymn written supposedly by St. Methodius in the ninth century. The main purpose of my research was to prepare a basis for a critical edition of the canon, including an analysis of its struc-ture and content. The canon as a genre is especially peculiar because of its structure: ideally, it has nine odes, however, the canons consisting of nine odes are only sung during Lent. This means that the majority of canons have only eight odes as their constituents. The elements forming the canon include not only odes but also various *troparia*: *hypakoe, katabasia, kathisma, kontakion, oikos, theotokion,* and *staurotheotokion.* The *hypakoe* was initially a separate hymn sung in the Morning Office after the Psalm 118 as a response of congregation to the preacher chanting the psalm. The *katabasia* is an *heirmos* repeated at the end of the ode. The *katabasia* was sung by two groups of people, who were supposed to descend from their seats and sing this hymn together in the centre of the choir. The *kathisma* is sung when the congregation is seated. Another constituent of a canon, the *kontakion,* is sung at the end of the sixth ode. The metrical pattern for the *kontakion* is an *heirmos* different from the *heirmos* of the ode. After the *kontakion,* the stanza

called *oikos* is sung. The little structural difference between the *kontakion* and the The *katabasia* is an *heirmos* repeated at the end of the ode. The *katabasia* was sung by two groups of people, who were supposed to descend from their seats and sing this hymn together in the centre of the choir. The *kathisma* is sung when the congregation is seated. Another constituent of a canon, the *kontakion*, is sung at the end of the sixth ode. The metrical pattern for the *kontakion* is an *heirmos* different from the *heirmos* of the ode. After the *kontakion*, the stanza called *oikos* is sung. The little structural difference between the *kontakion* and the *oikos* lies in the *oikos'* greater length. The *theotokion* denotes the ninth ode itself as well as a *troparion* praising the Virgin Mary following each ode of the canon in honour of the *Theotokos*. The *staurotheotokion* is a *theotokion* in honour of the Virgin at the Cross. The analysis of the structure of the canon to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica shows that only some of these *troparia* can be found in the text of the canon, namely, *kontakion, oikos, theotokion,* and *kathisma.* My study included comparison of textual and structural variants of the canon; these variants are now available in a file-form.

The Virgin Mary of the Burning Bush: From Text to Image

Christina Tzvetkova-Ivanova

This research aimed to establish the exact textual background standing behind a Russian late medieval icon type, *The Virgin Mary of the Burning Bush*. The choice of this particular icon was determined by its popularity, the rich textual material connected with it, and its independence from Western examples. The focal point of interest was the correlation between the Burning Bush and the Virgin Mary, but the remaining significant elements of the *Burning Bush* icon have also been taken into consideration. The main questions discussed were the following: What was the nature of the correlation between the Burning Bush and the Virgin Mary as created in the patristic exegetical writings? What were the ways–liturgical, hymnographic, apocryphal–of transmission of this correlation to the cultural sphere of the Orthodox Slavs? What was the extant pictorial evidence which influenced or was directly copied onto the Russian icon? The investigation of these aspects cast light on the genesis of the icon type and enabled an evaluation of its concordance with the dogmatic teachings of the Orthodox Church.

The analysis of the symbolism of *The Virgin Mary of the Burning Bush* and the reconstruction of the message it sets forth suggested that its usual placement in a

larger group of other sixteenth-century iconographic compositions and its inter-
pretation as evidence of a decline in religious art is inaccurate. The *Burning Bush*
icon, although showing a complicated pattern and an allegorical manner of repres-
entation, does not constitute a break with the tradition. Rather it follows a long and
significant tradition, represented by both literary and pictorial sources.

The concept of foreshadowing which gave sanction to the establishment of a
correlation between the Burning Bush and the Virgin Mary played a key role in
patristic exegetical writings. The Burning Bush scene was interpreted as a many-
sided, concealed allusion to New Testament events. While in the exegetical writings
the correlation between the Burning Bush and the Virgin Mary was still embedded
in the context of Christology, its metaphorical use in hymnography indicated the
increasingly important cult of the Virgin Mary. The Burning Bush as a fore-
shadowing turned into one of the most frequently used metaphors in devotions to the
Virgin Mary. The extensive references to it and the use made by its significance
during the iconoclast debate contributed to the popularity of the Burning Bush-
Virgin Mary correlation and made it an important subject, worthy of pictorial
representation. The first depictions of the Virgin Mary were connected with the
relevant holy site, St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, where they played the
role of *loca sancta* representations. The popularity of the depiction, however, soon
went beyond the local significance.

The investigation has outlined a historical process of development and
transmission from the patristic exegetical writings to late medieval Russian icono-
graphy. It is, however, worth stressing that these different systems were all simul-
taneously present in the cultural milieu of sixteenth-century Russia in one way or
the other. So, the icon of *The Virgin Mary of the Burning Bush* was perceived
together with the hymns devoted to the Virgin Mary, with the reading from Exod.
3:1–6 on the feast of the Annunciation, and with the riddles in the apocryphal texts.
The icon type was oriented within a distinct context, but this context was certainly
not one of religious decline. Rather it illustrated that the Virgin Mary played an
immense role in religious perception, which is obvious from the fact that the
symbolism of the icon was responsive to popular beliefs. It vividly presented the
ideas of the holy texts and communicated silently the mystery of the Incarnation.
The *Burning Bush* icon both followed a long tradition and gave it a significant
interpretation, serving as a manifestation of devotion and a source of religious
edification.

Contributions towards a History of the Late Medieval English Kitchen Garden

Dangis Verseckas

The principal aim of my research programme was to test William Harrison's contemporary historical essay about the changes in English kitchen gardens which had taken place since the reign of Edward I. In this work, published in 1562, he reviews the process of decline and then writes that in his time (ca. 1522–1562) such gardens were going through a form of renaissance.

To this end, a thematic analysis was undertaken spanning the years from c. 1300 to 1520. This involved first an analysis of the changing number of varieties of garden plants, which were known to contemporaries in the period c. 1300–1525. Then changes during this period in the number of such plant varieties which were actually grown in the gardens of different social groups (monastic-aristocratic, peasant and town-dweller) were investigated.

It seemed that, in spite of the low number of grown varieties in the period between 1425 and 1520, consumer demand for these plants was clear for the case of cookery books, less so in that of herbals. Throughout the fifteenth century, a diminishing population acquiring more land and higher incomes created both a new aggregate and product-specific demand for vegetables.

It appeared that there were three temporal phases of change in contemporary price. The first, from 1278–1347/66 saw prices rise, as demand for vegetables was sustained in conditions of rising costs induced by demographic decline. Then from 1347/66–1475, as a high protein meat diet displaced a vegetable one, the price trend was reversed. Only from 1475–1562, with a reduction in meat consumption and a countervailing re-assertion of the demand for vegetables did prices once more increase.

The fall of vegetable prices by 1476 might indicate a reduced reward for the pesantry's labour in gardening. Such demand stimuli must have resulted in the decline of their income expectation and the increase of labour intensity, which must have determined their negative supply response to vegetables. Since a peasant most probably found his gardening work an uncongenial way of satisfying his income expectation, he moved to more lucrative pursuits to earn his desired level of cash income. On the other hand, the increase in vegetable prices by 1515, which was most probably rooted in population growth, could also mean the increase in reward for the farmers' labour, causing them to move back to gardening.

Although Harrison reflects upon the history of English kitchen gardens for the didactic purpose of praising his own time and condemning the idleness and sluggishness of the times from Henry IV to the latter end of Henry VII's and the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, in the light of the above analysis his contemporary thesis about the changes in English kitchen gardens seems to be quite justified. His timing, however, does not seem to be absolutely right. The decline of production in gardening most probably began only from 1425 rather than from the times of Henry IV.

It is hoped that the thesis contributes to a better understanding of the role of this part of agriculture in English society in the later Middle Ages and may be used as a basis for further research.

The Emaus Monastery in Prague and Its Estates in the Pre-Hussite Period (ca. 1350–1420): A Study of Its Economic Growth

Jiří-Joseph Vesely

The Benedictine Monastery of Emaus in Prague, founded in 1347 in the newly established New Town of Prague, belonged to one of the numerous monastical foundations of fourteenth-century Bohemia in the era of Charles IV. As a result of Old Church Slavonic liturgies resident there for the period of more than 500 years this subject grew steadily in popularity in nineteenth-century historiographic discourse. By the same token this issue was rediscovered by both Czech and German historians, although, surprisingly enough, it was not considered important enough to be tackled by contemporaries. The majority of post-World War II hypotheses prove to be rather speculative.

Accordingly, it seems indispensable to embark on hands-on research of the sources directly connected with the foundation and the first functional period of the monastery, which lasted until the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is why I decided to focus on the primary documents and charters issued in the monastery itself. In this respect, there are about 110 extant charters concerning predominantly economic matters. As to their contents, they testify to imperial donations in terms of *villae*, hamlets, forest plots, vineyards, ponds and arable land situated outside Prague. The monastery was able to acquire financial means through annual payments coming from its houses in the New Town, and from leasing shambles spread all over the capital.

Having lost the favour of the Emperor, the monastery had to come up with new economic policies so as to be able to survive on its own. Their efforts focused

on the concentration of their previously scattered properties mainly on the southern outskirts of Prague. Simultaneously, they started to exchange *villae* and other pieces of landed property with a view to gaining geographically more suitable locations closer to Prague. Last but not least, another possibility was opened up by renting villages and arable plots according to the *emphiteutical* (German) law. At the same time, the monastery succeeded in receiving economically advantageous privileges and exemptions from paying royal and desmesne taxes.

In comparison with other monastic foundations within fourteenth-century Bohemia, the Emaus monastery does not, therefore, constitute an exception as to the donations it received. The transition to a self-supporting economy prevented the monastery from fulfilling further ecclesiastical tasks specified by the foundation charter. Analysing both juridical and architectural aspects, it turns out that the monastery had no church of its own for twenty years, while many donations to be found in the documents were not transferred and paid at all, which is borne out by several complaints filed by the archepiscopal chancellery.

Inasmuch as the foundation itself is concerned with the political framework of the House of Luxemburg as the ruling dynasty of fourteenth-century Bohemia, we can conclude that it was not only the introduction of new orders into Bohemia, such as the mendicant friars, but also the reestablishment of once familiar and, in religious terms, accepted orders (e.g. the Benedictines, Cistercians) that exerted the major influences on the moulding of the religious realm in the kingdom. From this point of view, the Emaus monastery comes to form part and parcel of a structural framework devised by the Luxemburgs and applied to all the newly established monasteries with particular ecclesiastical goals. This case in point is most typically exemplified by the variegated liturgical programmes in the New Town of the *caput regni Bohemiae*.

Two Albanian Noble Kindreds:
A Case Study of the Kindreds Musachi and Thopia

Nada Zečević

The purpose of this research was to study the organisation of two Albanian kindreds in the context of the conflicts of interest between medieval political powers in the region. The survey of the kindreds Musachi and Thopia was chronologically confined by their appearance in the documentary material in the 1270s and to the Ottoman conquest of the region in 1479. Although the inquiry was directed by the

quantity and the quality of the source material, the following questions were examined for both kindreds: the identification of a kinsman inside and outside his kindred; the origin and the range of authority in the kindred, and consequently of power within the wider region; inheritance; name-giving; marriage. Due to the limited source material, a sixth question, that is, of economic activities, could only be examined in the case of the Thopia kindred.

Despite the misleading image of an ideal vertical lineage as presented by the family history, *Chronica della casa Musachi*, frequent identification through horizontal bonds suggests the instability of authority among the Musachi during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Their chief authority seems to have been based upon their military service to Byzantium from the second half of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the attachment of a few Musachi to the Angevins proves to be the basis of the authority of their senior branch during the 1330s. However, continuous conflict between the branches is indicated by their usually violent acquisition of land. Ongoing antagonism is further suggested by the system of land distribution, which mainly concerned the senior branch kinsmen. Musachi first names appear to be good indicators of the nature and chronology of such frictions. The instability of the leadership is also hinted through cases of periodical endogamous marriage among the Musachi.

In the case of the Thopia, identification through the vertical lineage is found within their senior branch during the second half of the fourteenth century. This seems to have been facilitated by the attachment of a few Thopia kinsmen to the Angevins. It was the personal connections and the economic activities of Charles Thopia (fl., 1358-d., 1388) that lead to a sharp distinction in the senior branch in this period. A dispute between the branches regarding inheritance, which occured at the end of the fourteenth century, appears as a symptom of the decay of the senior branch. Names illustrate the private life of the Thopias, but equally, contemporary political and social relations in the region. Cases of hypogamous marriages from the end of the fourteenth century seem to indicate the decline of the senior branch. Non-standard marital behaviour, such as concubinage and divorce, attested in the fifteenth century, is suggested as having been similarly connected with the decay of authority and power, but here relating to the entire kindred.

The conclusion emerging from this study is that the interests of the different political forces in the region, the most important of which were Byzantium, the Angevins, Venice, and the Ottomans, did not repress the development of these two Albanian kindreds. On the contrary, their attachment to these medieval global powers appears to have been of extreme importance in the differentiation of both kindreds, particularly the senior branches. However, this survey shows that the

Musachi and the Thopia chieftains gained their authority and exercised their power via different methods, which might be one of the reasons for the prevalent decentralisation of power in the region. Similar studies of other regional kindreds in the future might lead to a more definite explanation of this phenomenon.

THE PH.D. PROGRAM

Ralph Cleminson

The past year has seen a special milestone in the history of the Ph.D. program, with the award of the first doctorate not only of the Department, but of the entire University, to Stanko Andrić, who was joined at the degree ceremony by another of our doctoral students, Margaret Draganova Dimitrova, who also succesfully defended her thesis during the year. The topics of their dissertations–the miracles of St John Capistrano and Greek and Latin loan-words in Croatian glagolitic missals respectively–are aptly illustrative of the broad scope of studies in the department, and the laudatory comments of the examiners at their defences no less eloquent of the success with which they are pursued. It is by the quality of our doctoral degrees that the University will increasingly be judged in the coming years, and it is pleasing to note how firmly on the academic *mappa mundi* such a positive start places us.

It is no less pleasing to see the triumph of the Department's pioneering rôle in the development of doctoral programs in the University. Both our new doctors completed their M.A. in 1994, and began their doctoral studies even before the program was officially in existence. The structure of the program thus developed simultaneously with their theses, and that they should have been brought to completion within four years is a record that any European university might envy. We further expect a number of other candidates of the same vintage to defend their theses during the study year 1998/99.

The health of the program is assured not only by successes of this nature, but also by its continuing ability to attract new students. Eleven individuals have proceeded from probationary to full Ph.D. student status this year, and no less than fourteen have been admitted to the first (probationary) year, beginning in September 1998. It is significant that two of these are from Western Europe (specifically Italy), and indicative of the CEU's developing importance not only for scholars *from* our region, but no less for studies *of* the region. As in previous years, a number of our doctoral students have spent greater or lesser periods in Oxford, Leuven, Rome, Los Angeles, New Haven, thanks partly to the various scholarship programs of the CEU/OSI, and partly to bilateral arrangements between the Department and other institutions. We consider it of great value to young scholars from our region to be

able to include in their doctoral studies experience of academic life in other parts of the world, and while members of our department have hitherto enjoyed this, it cannot be regarded as automatically assured for the future, particularly in view of the growing numbers of doctoral students at the CEU. This is a point to be borne in mind in the evolution both of the financial support provided for scholarships, and of the relationships of the University with institutions outside the region.

The administrative structure of the Ph.D. program within the Department has also continued to develop. A number of experimental "Ph.D. seminars" were introduced during the year with a view to providing special courses on the doctoral level; however, with Ph.D. seminars open to M.A. students and M.A. seminars open to doctoral students, the distinction between them turned out to be largely meaningless, and the experiment will not be continued. There was also very great concern expressed at the pressures experienced by probationary (i.e. first-year) Ph.D. students, which were felt to be connected with the increased rôle of field exams and taught courses in the transition from probationary to full doctoral student status. It was felt that too much time and effort was being diverted from students' central research activities for the sake of studies which were inevitably superficial in comparison. Moreover, the main purpose of the field exams in the North American doctoral programs where they originate–to prepare future university teachers for the low-level undergraduate courses which are a major feature of that region, but not ours–was hardly relevant to our students' needs, and the broad grounding in the field of Medieval Studies and research methods should already have been provided by the M.A.

After long and intense discussion between students and teachers within the Department, it was decided to abolish the field exams. The transition from probationary to full doctoral student status will now be effected, typically at the end of the first year, on the basis of a very detailed dissertation prospectus which they will have prepared, and which will be subject to outside assessment. As a rule, the acceptance of the prospectus will be linked with the establishment of the student's dissertation committee, the two prospective outside members of the committee being asked to approve the prospectus not merely *per se*, but as the basis on which they would consent to be involved in the student's supervision. In this way we hope not only to assure the maintainance of standards on an international level, but also to streamline the administration of the program, and to ensure that the work done by students in their first Ph.D. year contributes directly towards their thesis.

This is particularly important at a time when the CEU, like Western European universities, is anxious to achieve good completion rates for its doctoral degrees, the more so since CEU students are strictly limited to three years' funding (exclusive of time spent on scholarships abroad), and for this and other reasons are unlikely to be

able to remain at the university, or in most cases even in the country, beyond the expiration of this term. For this reason also it is important to develop our administrative practices in such a way as to support them in attaining to the standards that have been set within the time available to them.

Another step towards this end has been the reform of the Ph.D. Seminar, which has been criticised by members of the Academic Advisory Board and others as lacking a clear purpose. With a larger and more heterogeneous constituency it has proved difficult this year to achieve any general involvement with the topics presented, and we have accordingly decided that from the autumn of 1998 it will be replaced with two alternating series. The first of these will be the Research Seminar, which will not aim to unite all the Ph.D. students in a single session, but will meet fortnightly in parallel groups, each group united by a common area of interest (philosophy, archaeology, etc.), and devoted to exploring the practical aspects of work in this field. The intervening weeks will see "plenary" seminars, a prominent feature of which will be "pre-defences" presented by students on the verge of submitting their thesis (of whom we expect from henceforth to have several each year), who will thereby gain useful experience in advance of the real thing.

As in previous years, our students have been active in presenting papers at conferences throughout the world; some of these are published in the present volume. In addition, a number have been involved in research projects beyond their dissertation, and some have been teaching in their home countries. These latter activities will inevitably delay the completion of the thesis, but do no harm to its quality, and, as a normal and valuable part of career development, are indicative of the successful functioning of the program.

In the following we give a brief account on the defences of our first two doctoral dissertations.

DEFENCE OF STANKO ANDRIĆ

Curriculum vitae

Born: 1967, Strizivojna (Croatia)

Education:

1993   Diploma in Latin and French philologies, University of Zagreb;
1994   M.A. in Medieval Studies, CEU Budapest;
Currently working at the Croatian Historical Institute, section in Slavonski Brod, as a researcher of the medieval history of North-Eastern Croatia.

Major publications:

"Bertran de Born i njegova sjenka u književnoj povijesti" (Bertran de Born and his shadow in literary history) *Književna smotra* 28/99 (1006), 37–57.

"Regularni kanonici u srednjovjekovnom Srijemu" (Canons regular in medieval Srijem) *Croatica christiana periodica* 20/37 (1996), 1–22.

"Studenti iz slavonsko-srijemskog međuriječja na srednovjekovnim sveučilištima" (Students from Slavonia and Srijem at medieval universities) *Croatica christiana periodica* 20/37 (1996), 117–152.

"The beginnings of the canonization campaign of John Capistran, 1456–1463" *Hagiographica* 3 (1996), 163–256.

The Miracles of St. John Capistran (Summary)

The official canonization process of John Capistran (Giovanni da Capestrano, 1386–1456) was opened by the bull of Pope Leo X on 12 October 1519. The bulk of the documentation examined in the present thesis came into being before that date, during the preliminary, "campaigning" stage of the process. Capistran's ample miracle collections were the outcome of a vigorous initiative for his canonization, shortly following the success of a similar initiative in favor of Bernardine of Siena. The historical importance of these actions of the Observant Franciscans lies in the fact that, in the middle of the fifteenth century, they managed to launch a new series of papal canonizations after a halt of three decades. Capistranean miracle collections were recorded not only by the Franciscans but also, in the initial stage, by lay representatives of Ilok (Hung. Újlak), the place of the saint's death and burial. The abundance of versions and the polyphony of clerical and lay voices involved make this dossier an attractive area of research.

     The miracles worked *post mortem* are abundantly documented and they are the major object of this study. The cult of Capistran's earthly remains, kept in the shrine in Ilok, represents a relatively closed and independent framework. During some seventy years prior to the fall of Ilok to the Ottomans (in 1526), this mainly Hungarian cult generated a series of miracle registers, a corpus of sources highly suitable for studying within the frame of regional and local history.

1. The earliest collection of Capistran's posthumous miracles, including 188 miracle accounts, completed in April 1460 by an ad hoc committee of the townsmen of Ilok; it survives in the original bound into codex I.H.44 of the Naples National Library (**N**) and in a fifteenth-century copy kept by the Paris National Library as codex Misc. Lat. 5620 A (**P**);

2. The collection completed probably at the turn of 1460 and 1461, possibly by the Hungarian Franciscan, János Geszty; comprising 260 miracle accounts, it

partly overlaps with N. It survives in codex 1/6/1 of the convent Sant'Isidoro in Rome (**Ia**);

3. The first systematised posthumous collection, with 219 miracle accounts, composed between April 1460 and February 1461, probably by the Hungarian Franciscan Péter Soproni; it survives in codex VIII.B.35 of the Naples National Library (**Na**);

4. The collection of Capistran's posthumous miracles put together from May to November 1461, by the above mentioned friar János Geszti; it contains 111 previously unknown miracle accounts and survives in the same codex of Sant'Isidoro (**Ib**);

5. A systematized, mainly recycled, and incompletely preserved collection, probably compiled by the end of the fifteenth century, preserved in the same codex 1/6/1 of Sant'Isidoro (**Ic**), of as much as 1401 extant miracle accounts: only 90 describe posthumous miracles;

6. Two large systematized and mainly recycled collections, comprising respectively *in vita* and *post mortem* miracles of the saint, found in codex 1/6/2 of Sant'Isidoro (**Id*** and **Id†**); they were probably compiled during the years 1519–1521, after Leo X's bull of 1519. **Id†** contains 223 miracle accounts, 23 of which are not known from previous collections.

All in all, the basic source material of the thesis consists of 504 different miracle accounts, which involve 515 miracle beneficiaries. Nearly 94% of them are various cures. The rest include 23 liberations from captivity and 4 exorcisms. As many as 84% of the miracles took place following a vow or a prayer, outside the saint's shrine and without a preceding pilgrimage. 36% of the miracle beneficiaries are female, 11% from the ranks of nobility and aristocracy, 7% are members of clergy. Nearly 12% originate from Ilok itself (most of them are recorded in the initial years).

In order to situate this material better in its historical context, the thesis has been organized in the following way. The first chapter outlines the history of the Franciscan Observance, Capistran's role in it, and the circumstances which brought him to the Hungarian kingdom at the end of his life. The second chapter is an intermezzo dedicated to Ilok, the town in which Capistran chose to die. The third chapter resumes the story where the first stopped, describing the saint's last weeks and death. The rest of the study follows two parallel tracks. The fourth and the fifth chapters recount the medieval attempts to have Capistran canonized, with special attention to the miracle collections recorded for this purpose. Since the elucidation of the making of these texts turned out to be rather complicated, the miracle stories themselves had to be studied separately. The remaining two chapters explore the

world of Capistranean miracles from two points of view: the one more general, isolating patterns of the use of miracles and techniques of the cult, as documented in the saint's *vitae* and miracle collections; the other more particular, defining the contents, the chronology, and the spatial as well as social scope of the miracles *post mortem* and of the cult which yielded them.

The public defence

6 February 1998, Gellner Room, Monument Building

Examination Committee

Chair: Prof. Sorin Antohi, Pro-Rector, CEU (Chair)
Members: Prof. Sofia Boesch-Gajano (Rome)
            Prof. André Vauchez (Paris-Rome)
            Prof. Christian Krötzl (Tampere)
            Prof. Gábor Klaniczay, CEU (Thesis Supervisor)

Minutes of the defence

After the candidate described the structure of his work and summarized his findings, the members of the examining committee formulated their evaluation and posed several questions. Professor Sofia Boesch Gajano of the Terza Universita of Rome stressed the candidate's contribution to the "theory of miracles" and asked for further explanation on how a miracle is constructed and what are the roles of various participants in a "miracle story." Professor André Vauchez judged the thesis as an important new study in this field and suggested that the formation of the *fama sanctitatis* could be analysed in more detail, while he was not ready to accept without reserve the candidate's concept of miracles as based on the attitudes of the beneficiaries. Professor Christian Krötzl of the University of Tampere singled out some good points of the thesis, e.g. the distinction between "distance-dependent" and "distance-indifferent" miracles.

External examiner's main comments

Convincing in-depth analysis of the making of a saint, adding a very important geographical dimension to hagiography, while also sketching the biography of St. John Capistrano. Masterful reconstruction of the creation of the hagiographical dossier. Raises the significant issue of the relationship between reality (actual fact) and its literary rendering (text).

Stanko Andrić and his supervisor Prof. Gábor Klaniczay
after the successful defence.

The committe.

External examiners' questions:

1. The private and the public aspect of miracles, especially in countries where the notarial institution does not exist (such as Hungary). How do we distinguish between "true" and "untrue" miracles?
2. La constuction de la *fama sanctitatis* de saint Jean Capistran. Comment la *fama* a-t-il été construite et quelle était le rôle du clergé et des laics?
3. How do you explain the opposition to Capistrano's sainthood by cardinal Carvajal and Mathias Döring?
    You have offered a superb analysis of miracles *post mortem*. Why did not you deal with the miracles *in vita* as well? Capistrano as a follower and imitator of Saint Francis of Assisi.
4. La conclusion est un peu contradictoire: le *choc* mental que causait la rencontre avec le saint ou avec la fama ou saint a certainement contribué à la guérison du miraculé.

The candidate answered the questions very well. The committee, after deliberation, proposed the Senate to accept the thesis and grant the Ph.D. in Medieval Studies degree to the candidate. The Committee made the following final remarks:

Excellent and very impressive work, a major study of the source-material. Perfect combination of philological analysis and of theological discernement. The thesis brings new, original results and corrections to existing scholarship.

DEFENCE OF MARGARET DRAGANOVA DIMITROVA

Curriculum vitae

Born: 1964, Brestnica (Bulgaria)

Education:

1978–1983 National High School of Ancient Languages and Cultures, Sofia
1983–1988 University of Sofia "St. Clement of Ohrid," Bulgarian Language and Literature, M.A.diploma with honours
1991–1993 Southwestern University "Neophyte of Rila," Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, postgraduate studies in the history of the Bulgarian language, under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. P. Ilchev
1993–1994 Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest, MA diploma with distinction, thesis entitled "Greek and Latin Loanwords in the New York Missal," under the supervision of Prof. H. Birnbaum
1994–1998 Doctoral candidate, Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest.

Professional background

1992   Part-time assistant professor of the history of the Bulgarian language at Southwestern University "Neophyte of Rila," Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria
1995   Assistant professor of the history of the Bulgarian language at Southwestern University
1996/1998   Senior assistant professor of the history of the Bulgarian language at Southwestern University
1995/1997–1998 Part-time assistant professor of Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic) and the history of the Bulgarian language at the University of Sofia "St. Clement of Ohrid"

Major publications

"Loanwords in the New York Missal and the KLEIO Computer Program." In *Computer Processing of Medieval Slavic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the First International Conference, 24–28 July, 1994. Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria.* Ed. David Birnbaum et al. (Sofia, 1995), 298–312.
"Njakoi morfologični osobenosti na knižnite grăcki i latinski zaemki v xărvatskite glagoličeski misali (po materiali ot Njujorksija misal)" (Some Morphological Peculiarities of Literary Greek and Latin Loans in Croatian Glagolitic missals (on the basis of the New York Missal)). In *Prvi hrvatski slavistički kongres. Zbornik radova* Ed. S. Damjanović (Zagreb, 1997), 1:539–47.

Greek and Latin Loanwords and Names in Croatian Glagolitic Missals (Summary)

This dissertation focuses mainly on the morphological peculiarities of Greek and Latin loans in plenary missals from the mature period of Croatian Glagolitic (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries). In point of fact, a great number of these lexemes are biblical Semitisms (Hebraisms and Aramaisms) which were borrowed into medieval Slavonic sources via Greek or Latin. The main goal of this investigation is to demonstrate the interplay of early elements inherited from the Cyrillo-Methodian biblical translations and of later innovations introduced from Latin into the Croato-Glagolitic tradition, the latter having developed in a region of eastern and western cultural interaction. The study is intended to contribute to a general discussion of the cultural dialogue in this border zone because the adaptation of loans in literary languages does not depend only on linguistic factors *sensu stricto,* but also on metalinguistic circumstances such as the cultural and educational level of the *literati,* their attitude towards the written and spoken language, and the degree of

adherence to the norms of the receptor language and dependence on models of the donor language.

The main basis of the present investigation is the material excerpted from the New York Missal (early fifteenth century) and processed by means of the KLEIO computer program. This corpus of data was then compared with the data culled from seven Croato-Glagolitic missals, representative both of the more archaic northern (Krk, Istria) group and of the more innovative southern (Lika, Krbava) group of manuscripts. Finally, the forms of the loans in the missals were juxtaposed with numerous instances from the tenth-fourteenth century gospel texts, *Apostolus* fragments, and Old Testament sources originating from more easterly areas of the Slavic world.

This large-scale juxtaposition demonstrates that the Croato-Glagolitic missals of the mature period retain from the initial Cyrillo-Methodian translations many archaic forms of lexical borrowings based on Greek models, including whole categories of loans. In several cases, they even preserve the oldest variants and can therefore serve as a reliable clue for the reconstruction of the Cyrillo-Methodian forms.

The missals use many variants which appear not only in the earliest extant Slavonic manuscripts, but also in later medieval sources of Bosnian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and East Slavic provenance. These agreements among manuscripts of different date and origin suggest, on the one hand, a common underlying tradition–most likely Cyrillo-Methodian–which perhaps itself already allowed for some variation of the loans and, on the other, later relations among literary centres of the South Slavic East and West. Moreover, a common tendency to reflect more closely the foreign originals, either Greek or Latin, independently arose in these two cultural zones of medieval South Slavic literacy and yielded some common innovations.

Still, as opposed to the manuscripts of more eastern provenance, the Croato-Glagolitic missals use new Latin loans borrowed when new translations were made from Latin and when the old Cyrillo-Methodian ones were reworked in accordance with Latin texts. In this revision, the *glagoljaši* followed the methods of adaptation of the foreign vocabulary as they were established in the initial translations from the Greek. Since this lexis largely represents a literary component, its adaptation required a thorough knowledge both of the norms of the receptor language and of the grammatical peculiarities of the donor language. The consistency with which the Croatian Glagolitic bookmen applied these particular elements of medieval written sources testifies to their erudition.

The public defence

May 16, 1998, Gellner Room, Monument Building

Examination Committee

Chair: Prof. Alfred Rieber (CEU, Dept. of History)
Members: Prof. Henrik Birnbaum (Thesis Supervisor, UCLA)
        Prof. Palph Cleminson (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies)
        Dr. Mary MacRobert (Oxford University)
        Acad. Anica Nazor (Old Church Slavonic Institute, Zagreb)
External reader: Dr. Andrew Corin (UCLA)

Minutes of the defence

The external reader was not present but has sent his comments in advance. As he agreed that the dissertation is suitable for public examination, the chairman requested the candidate to summarise in a few minutes the main points of the thesis. The candidate also answered the external examiner's comments and questions. Thereafter members of the committee raised questions. Prof. Anica Nazor gave a general comment on the dissertation. Dr. Mary MacRobert inquired about connections between the subject of the research and the morphology of Old Church Slavonic. Prof. Ralph Cleminson raised questions concerning the use of the programe 'Kleio' in building a database for the thesis. Prof. Henrik Birnbaum wanted to hear more about the connections between the Bosnian and the Croatian tradition.

External examiner's main comments

The dissertation fits to the main directions of research in the given field. The loans are analyzed by the candidate in historical context. Many new examples are given and a body of new evidence is used. The author rightly points out the connections between the Croatian and other Slavic manuscript traditions. The dissertation is a significant contribution to the science and qualifies the candidate for Ph.D. The concluding section, however, should be a synthesis rather than a summary.

Questions from the public

Prof. János Bak asked about the role of the literary genre for the study of the evidence, and Prof. Ihor Sevcenko inquired about some examples given by Mrs. Dimitrova.

The candidate answered the questions very well. The committee, after deliberation, proposed the Senate to accept the thesis and grant the Ph.D. in Medieval Studies degree to the candidate. The Committee made the following final remarks:

       The research is done thoroughly and carefully and is a valuable contribution to both the given field of science and related subjects. The dissertation deserves the note 'defended with distinction'.

The committee at work.

Margaret Dragonova Dimitrova is being congratulated
by Professor Catherine Mary MacRobert.

The Ph.D. research proposals accepted in July 1997 were the following:

Sources of the Theology of Byzantine Iconoclasm

Vladimir Baranov

Status Quaestionis and a Working Hypothesis

The final restoration of the cult of icons was accomplished by the Empress Theodora. She deposed the last Iconoclastic Patriarch John Grammaticus, and the Orthodox Patriarch Methodius was given the post. The Synod which met in March 843 announced the full restoration of icon veneration.

The idea of restoration for all Post-Iconoclastic art is crucial. In the Iconodules' concept, ecclesiastic art had to return to the previous tradition, interrupted by the heretical Iconoclasts, whose inspiration for the heresy was in turn, the Jewish or Moslem rejection of images. The Iconoclastic appeal for the prohibition of images based on the literal understanding of the Second Commandment, so characteristic for the First Iconoclasm, was interpreted by the defenders of images as a "Judaic trend" within the Church. In this manner, Iconoclasm according to the Iconodules' interpretation originated from the Jewish magician named *Tessarakontapikhis,* who inspired Caliph Yazid II (650–724) to destroy all the images so that the Caliph could have a long reign.

This report is preserved in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea, where it was also emphasised that the first iconoclastic bishops from Phrygia (Constantine of Nakoleia, Thomas of Claudiopolis, and John of Synnada) knew about Yazid's iconoclasm and imitated Moslems and Jews in their actions against the Church. However, in neither Armenian, Syriac, nor Christian Arabic sources are Yazid's Iconoclastic measures associated with Jewish inspiration; in Syriac sources the Iconoclasm of Leo and of Yazid are not connected to each other.

I wish to conduct the investigation on the sources of the Iconoclastic doctrine keeping in mind that regardless of what influence challenged the widely accepted veneration of images in pre-Iconoclastic Byzantium, the Iconoclastic Emperors had to work out their rejection of images within the specifically Christian framework relying upon certain Christian texts and doctrines. The state of present day scholarship on Iconoclasm is limited by the number of sources discovered to date. Until new sources are uncovered, it seems that it would be difficult to add anything radically new to the subject. However, in spite of the many hypotheses proposed and

the exhausting bibliography on the subject, both the origins of Iconoclasm and its Christology still remain obscure.

The image of Leo III as preserved in the independent chronicles (Georgian *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, Armenian chronicle of Vardan) is that of a staunch Christian calling for "holy war" against the Moslems "for the sake of the service of the Cross," and of a defender of Chalcedonian Christians. The extant Iconoclastic dogmatic works of the time of Constantine V expose traditional Chalcedonian terminology. The subtleties of the Iconoclastic doctrine were interpreted either as "Monophysitic" (G. Ostrogorsky, J. Meyendorff) or as bearing a "Nestorian flavor" (S. Gero). At any rate there has not been much change in the interpretation of the Iconoclastic theological doctrine since 1974 when Gero confessed that: "For the historian of ideas the characterisation of iconoclastic Christology in terms of the older Chalcedonian categories poses greater difficulties than has hitherto been admitted."[1] However, St. John of Damascus, a witness of the initial stage of Iconoclasm, wrestles with the Iconoclasts precisely on Christological grounds.

My preliminary research has suggested that in spite of the widely accepted opinion that there was no elaborate Iconoclastic doctrine prior to the time of Constantine V (741–75), the earliest stage of the conflict had a well-founded theological background and the Iconoclasts from the very beginning of the Controversy accepted as legitimate a system of non-anthropomorphic images, such as the Cross, the Book of Gospels and the Eucharist.

In his *Three Apologies Against Those Who Calumniate the Divine Images,* when refuting the Iconoclasts' abhorrence of material images, St. John of Damascus operates with a particular system of similes (the Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, the Book of Gospels, and the Eucharist). His choice of similes, otherwise arbitrary, is in fact centred around the Liturgy; their precise meaning can be understood from another contemporaneous source, the liturgical exegesis entitled *Ecclesiastical History and Contemplation of the Mysteries* by Patriarch Germanus. In this treatise, Patriarch Germanus uses exactly the same system of similes while explaining the meaning of Liturgical ceremonies. In his explanation, the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha represent the table of the Preparation of the Eucharistic gifts. Thus, the choice of the same Liturgical images by St. John of Damascus already points to the possible presence of the "Eucharistic argument" in the beginning of the controversy.

I propose to look for the doctrine in the foundation of the Iconoclastic adherence towards images which could be compatible with Chalcedonian Christianity and yet yield the ramifications that we can deduce from the Iconoclastic

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[1]   S. Gero, "Notes on Byzantine Iconoclasm in the Eighth Century" *Byzantion* 44 (1974): 31.

writings. It was proposed by Father George Florovsky that the spiritualistic attitude of the Iconoclastic Emperors of the First Iconoclasm and their antipathy for matter may point to the influence of Origenist doctrines.

In this way, Byzantine Iconoclasm can be regarded as a continuation of the Origenist-Anthropomorphite Controversy of the late fourth century as well as the sixth century Controversy which resulted in the condemnation of Origenism by Emperor Justinian in 543 and finally by the Council of Constantinople II (553). The figure of Leontius of Byzantium, the contemporary of Constantinople II is of special interest here because in his Christology we may find the "connecting link" between the developed Origenism of Evagrius of Pontos and the Iconoclasts of the eighth century.

In his important monograph on Leontius, David Evans demonstrates how Leontius in his defence of the Chalcedonian doctrine of one hypostasis and two natures, nevertheless, follows faithfully the Evagrian Christology of the only unfallen *nous* Jesus ("soul" in Leontius's terminology) which was united both to the Word and to flesh as the intermediary *medium* for the sake of showing the manner of the true contemplation to other fallen *noes*, that is, the human beings. Thus, the Christology of Leontius (in fact of Evagrius) is strikingly close to Gregory the Theologian's quote which the Iconoclasts chose as the definition of their Christology at the Iconoclastic Council of Hiereia (754): "So is it with the human soul of Christ which mediates between the Godhead of the Son and the dullness of the flesh."[2]

The odd condemnation by the Iconoclasts of the Iconodules being simultaneously Monophysites and Nestorians when depicting Christ on the icon can be paralleled to Leontius of Byzantium's accusation of both the Monophysites and the Nestorians in their failure to recognise the role of the soul-mediator which safeguards the unity of person and the distinction of the natures in Christ.

In the writing of Constantine V preceding the Acts of Hiercia, the 'immaterial nature of Christ,' (divinity), 'material nature of Christ (flesh), and 'other immaterial nature' (the soul, or, perhaps, the nous) are also explicitly discussed. If it is the soul of Christ which mediates between the material realm and divinity, and the material images of Christ obviously fell short of depicting the soul (fact, acknowledged by John of Damascus himself), they cannot provide the viewer with any access to the divinity and are merely "soulless idols" according to the Iconoclastic definition.

Why did the Iconoclasts consider *image* as that of *ousia* or *nature* against the Iconodulic notion of image as that of hypostasis? The notion of "icon" as consubstantual to the nature of its prototype can be traced in Councilliar tradition. This

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[2] Mansi, vol. 13, 256–7.

notion was strongly promoted in the First Council of Nicaea where one of the key quotes was that Christ is "the radiance of his (Father's) glory and a character of his hypostasis" (Heb 1, 3). In Ephesus, Nestorius maintained this notion and applied it to his understanding of the union of two natures in Christ. Maintaining the old Cappadocian definition of hypostasis as "nature with the properties," on the basis of Phil. 2, 6, Nestorius elaborated his doctrine of two natures and two hypostases of Christ united in one person. Two natures, according to Nestorius, had two sets of distinct properties including two distinct images: that of the Father relating to the Logos, and that of servant relating to Jesus Christ. The latter quote was interpreted quite differently by Cyrill of Alexandria and his followers. According to Cyrill, we cannot make such a distinction since it is the Logos, the eternal image of the Father who manifested Himself *within* and *through* the image of the servant. Thus, the Iconoclastic notion of image consubstantuality in terms of *oikonomia* (Incarnation of the Logos) and not of *theologia* (Eternal relationship of the hypostases within the Trinity) may be traced back to the Antiochean school.

This hypothesis can be corroborated by the correspondence between Sergius the Grammarian and the Monophysite Patriarch Severus of Antioch. These texts originated within the Monophysite milieu whose exegesis, in spite of sharp rejection of Antiochean traditional vision of two distinct subjects: the Logos and Jesus Christ, in less 'technical' points owed much to the Antiochean school of exegesis. In one of his letters Sergius states that the natures in Christ are completely mingled to become "one image and one hypostasis."

In order to understand the context of the Iconoclastic theology, I will attempt to reconstruct the theological context of the key terms employed both in the Iconoclastic writings and in their refutations by the Iconodules. The term 'not-made-by-hands' *(acheiropoietos)* seems to have a particular meaning in the Controversy suggesting the Iconoclasts' peculiar view on Christ's resurrected state. Iconoclasts of Constantine the Fifth's time stated that the consecration transforms bread and wine from the realm of "made-by-hands" to the realm of "not-made-by-hands" and the Eucharist is a consubstantual, and, thus, a legitimate image.

The Gospels depict the body, particularly of Christ, as a house or a tabernacle ("We heard him say I will destroy this temple that is made by hands, and within three days I will build another not-made-by-hands" (Mark 5, 58). "If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house *not made by hands*, eternal in the heavens" (2 Cor. 5–1–10)). In calling the Eucharistic gifts after the consecration both the *antitypoi* (images offered instead of something) and *not made by hands*, the Iconoclasts seemed to imply that the properties of Christ's body after the Resurrection is essentially different from the properties of the

consubstantual but circumscribable host, sharing, the common quality of being *not made by hand*. Thus, Christ after the resurrection abolished his earthly existence according to flesh. Iconodules (Theodore the Studite, Nicephorus) particularly combated this position. Thus, we may assume that the Iconoclasts accepted the Scriptural quote: "If we knew Christ according to flesh, now by no means we know Him (as such)" (2 Cor 5, 16) in a sense that Christ's present condition in a resurrected body is radically different from that before the resurrection. The theological interpretation of the Chalce inscription (dated by us to the first Iconoclasm on the basis of textual parallels in St. John of Damascus, St. Germanus and *Vita Stephani*) seems to confirm that thesis. This position can be also correlated with the Antiochean doctrine of the two *katastasies* or two states of reality: the state of mortality, corruption, and corporeality in the present age, and the state of immortality, impassibility, and spirituality of the future Kingdom in which Christ entered first as into the Holy of Holies beyond the curtain of the Tabernacle.

In this case the removal of anthropomorphic images in churches during the reign of Constantine V may be interpreted as an attempt to create a coherent image of the Tabernacle (Holy of Holies, *aditon*, represents the noetic reality, whereas the holy represents the sensible one): the altar, the Holy of Holies, represents the noetic reality with the image of the Cross, and the naos stands for sensible (aesthetic) reality with its images of trees, birds, animals, and secular human activities.

We can find the traces of the same doctrine earlier, in the time of Constantine's father Leo III. In the letter of the Pope Gregory II (715–31) to Leo III, if we are to accept its authenticity challenged by J. Gouillard, Gregory quoted for polemical purpose Leo's previous letter: "one should not venerate things *made by hands*, as well as any kind of likeness neither in the sky nor on earth as God said..." "let me know who taught us to venerate and bow down to things *made by hands* while God legislates us not to do so?" (Mansi. vol. 12. 959E). In this context the formal prohibition of images by the Second Commandment can be considered as having elaborate theological background from the beginning of the Controversy since the term "made by hands" is emphatically added to the phrasing of the Commandment.

The characteristic feature of Origen's doctrine concerning Christ's changing appearance for those beholders with different merits can also be traced to the Iconoclasts' time. The notion of the spiritual contemplation for the perfect and sensitive (i.e. iconic) for simple believers can be seen in Origen, Pseudo-Dionysius, Hypatius of Ephesus, and Iconodulic Patriarch Germanus. St. Germanus though mentioning that icons testify to real, and not docetic Incarnation, nevertheless states that: "One should depict the image of the Lord in icons in his fleshly form...also as a

direction for those who cannot lift themselves to the height of spiritual contemplation but have a need for some fleshly adoption of what they have heard, inasmuch as it is useful and permissible" (Letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis). It was St. John of Damascus who created a completely different concept which was to be followed by the Second Council of Nicaea: icon is the principal witness of Cyrillian doctrine of the *kenosis*, emptying of the Word of God in flesh.

Origenism was by no means a dead issue by the eighth century. Through St. Maximus the Confessor (580–662) the corrected version of Origenism was intertwined with the Orthodox teachings. St. John of Damascus knew the Origenist tradition and also attempted at its correction. In *The Library* of Patriarch Photius we have a description of a treatise by Patriarch Germanus against Origen. However, the hypothesis on the Origenist influence on the Iconoclastic doctrine still lacks firm textual evidence.

Methods and Groups of Sources Employed

My research during my first PhD year has proved that such evidence can be gathered from the writings of the contemporaries of the First Iconoclasm (St. Andrew of Crete, St. Germanus of Constantinople, St. John of Damascus) insofar not treated in relation to the Iconoclastic Controversy.

My investigation is primarily concentrated on the writings of the Palestinian monk, hymnographer, and theologian St. John of Damascus who witnessed the early stage of the Iconoclasm while living, as tradition holds it, in the Laura of St. Sabas in the first half of the eighth century. His writings show, as I intend to prove in my thesis, that he was very well informed about the policy and theology of Byzantine Iconoclasts. Although we have the attested visit of a monk of St. Sabas to Constantinople at the early Iconoclastic period, a very important question still remains open: what were the channels of information for the Palestinian Iconodules concerning the doctrines of the Constantinopolitan Iconoclasts?

The scarcity of the sources from the Iconoclasts' side preconditions the method of my research. The doctrines expressed in the Iconoclastic genuine writings, patristic florilegia attached (sometimes in a distorted way) and, particularly, the doctrinal terms employed, should be juxtaposed with the previous theological traditions as well as with contemporaneous Iconodulic polemics which can tell much about the positions held by the opposite side. In my dissertation I am planning to reconstruct several aspects of the premises upon which the Iconoclastic notion of image was based: the interpretation of Trinitarian and Christological doctrine, the knowledge of the divine, the view on the divinization of Saints, the nature of virtues

and angels, and the Iconoclastic Anthropology. In each chapter corresponding to the listed topics, I will try to expose two theological traditions which for the sake of clarity we may brand "iconic" and "non-iconic," traditions, in their development in the eighth century controversy, represented by the Iconodules and the Iconoclasts respectively.

My research will also be directed to trace changes of the artistic traditions during the time of the Iconoclastic Controversy. The Iconodules worked out specific artistic responses to Iconoclastic doctrines: for example, the prominence of the historical image of dead Christ on the Cross in the post-Iconoclastic period can be understood as an opposition to the "cosmic" image of the Iconoclastic Cross. The subject of the Resurrection, expressed in a non-anthropomorphic manner in the scene of the Visitation of the Myrrh-bearing Women is changed in the Post-Iconoclastic period into an anthropomorphic image of Christ descending to Hell.

Two important groups of sources that I am planning to use are inscriptions and liturgical poetry (for which the eighth century was especially fertile). Albeit they often present serious problems with dating, they are invaluable witnesses of doctrine since both constitute in a certain sense a condensed "manifesto" of policy or beliefs. Therefore, almost every term employed in an inscription or in a piece of liturgical poetry has particularly great "weight" and is especially significant when compared with the same terms in other textual sources which often help to reveal its precise connotation. In general, I will have to use a comparative philological method along with comparison of doctrines. I am planning to read and (possibly) edit several unedited manuscripts of St. John of Damascus, Patriarch Nicephorus and St. Andrew of Crete.

Origen and the Young Augustine

György Heidl

1. Justification

Quellenforschung represents one of the most important fields in Augustinian studies. Augustine's accounts of the intellectual experiences which determined his path in life and exercised significant influence on him before his conversion in Milan, have received particular attention from scholars since the last decade of the 19th century and have served as a starting point for the investigations of Augustine's sources. Some (e.g. Nörregard, Grandgeorge, and O'Connell) argue for a powerful Plotinian influence on the young Augustine, some (e.g. Theiler, O'Meara, DuRoy) maintain that it was Porphyry, one of Plotinus' disciples, whose

writings assisted Augustine in creating a special synthesis of Christian theology and Neoplatonic metaphysics. Testard and Doignon emphasize that Augustine adapted, first of all, Cicero's and Seneca's ideas to Christianity, whereas patrologists (Holte, to a certain extent McCool, Teske) argue for defining theological sources, such as Ambrose and the Alexandrine fathers, whose teachings the bishop of Milan transmitted to the young Augustine. All of these approaches aim at mapping the intellectual sphere that one should be familar with in order to understand Augustine's theology and philosophy which left indelible marks on western thought.

Nevertheless, Augustine is still a mystery. In fact, it is not clear how to understand the expressions "creating a synthesis," or "adaptation," and how to interpret Ambrose's mediating role while at the same time, his theology differed remarkably from that of the young Augustine, his supposed pupil.

Therefore, the dissertation intends to discuss a seemingly very simple question: What Christian works did Augustine read in Milan in about 385–386 AD which made possible the "adaptation" of Pagan philosophical ideas to Christian theology possible for him? This question has never been raised because in the *Confessions* Augustine did not refer to any Christian writings he had read. Yet, in his first dialogues, written at Cassiciacum, two or three mentions are made of books which strongly influenced Augustine and which, at the same time, seem to have been Christian writings. Whose books did Augustine read, and why did he not refer to them in the *Confessions?*

In the dissertation, I attempt to answer these questions and will argue that before being converted, Augustine read some writings by Origen, the Alexandrine theologian and exegete whose principal ideas were attacked and rejected by some authorities, such as Epiphanius and Jerome, at the end of the 4th century.

2. Sources

The major primary sources for this study will be the works of

a) Augustine (with particular attention to the so-called early writings composed before 400 AD)
Contra Academicos; De ordine; De beata vita; De libero arbitrio; De musica; De quantitate animae; De immortalitate animae; Soliloquia; De moribus; De genesi contra manichaeos; De vera religione; De diversis quaestionibus 83; De genesi ad litteram, imp.; De sermone Domini in monte; De fide et symbolo; Ad Orosium; Epistulae; Confessiones; De civitate dei; Enarrationes in Psalmos; Sermones. Critical editions available in the series of *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*

Latinorum; Corpus Christianorum. The critical edition of *De genesi contra manichaeos* (crucial for the dissertation) is prepared in Vienna.

b) Origen

Homiliae in Canticum Canticorum; Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum; Commentarius in Iohannem; Homiliae in Exodum; Homiliae in Lucam; Homiliae in Numeros; Homiliae in Psalmum 36; Homiliae in Jeremiam; Homiliae in Ezekielem; Homiliae in Izaiam; Homiliae in Genesim; Homiliae in Leviticum; Dialogus cum Heraclide; Contra Celsum; De principiis; De oratione; Exhortatio ad martyrium. Critical editions: *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhundert; Sources chrétiennes.*

c) Ambrose

Exameron; De Abraham; De Isaac vel anima; De bono mortis; De paradiso; Epistula; critical edition in the series of CSEL.

d) Basil

Homiliae in Exameron, Sources Chrétiennes 26 (2nd), Paris: Cerf, 1968.

e) Philo

Legum allegoriae; Quaestiones in Genesim; De opificio mundi; Vita Mosis, critical edition by Cerf, Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrine.

f) Jerome

Contra Ioannem, Apologia adversus libros Rufini, Commentarius in Galatam; Epistulae Critical edition of the Letters can be found in the series of *CSEL*, but the Commentary on Galatians is only available in *Patrologia Latina* 23.

g) Plotinus

Enn. 1.6; 3.5; 2.4; 4.3; 4.4; 5.1; 5.9; 6.9., Oxford Classical Texts (P. Herny-H. Schwytzer, 1964); Loeb Classical Library (with English translation by A.H. Armstrong)

3. Procedure

The first point which will be clarified is the role that certain books played in Augustine's conversion. In *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5 Augustine mentions certain *libri pleni* which deeply influenced him immediately before his conversion and which have been generally regarded by modern interpreters (e.g. Hadot, Courcelle, O'Connell, Madec) as Neoplatonic works.[1] Examining the traditional arguments for

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[1] The only exception is O'Meara who revising his earlier view, in 1970 published a paper (in *Revue internationale de philosophie* 24) in which he argued that the libri pleni is a term for Christian writings that Augustine had heard about.

this view and the metaphore Augustine used in describing the books, I will point out that they can be identified as Christian writings read by Augustine. This assumption will be confirmed through comparing the different narratives of conversion in *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5, *De beata vita* 1.4., and *Confessions* 7–8. A reconstruction of the stages of the conversion makes it plausible that after having encountered Neoplatonic writings, Augustine also read Christian exegetical works.

Special attention will be given to the role that Simplicianus played in Augustine's intellectual quest. Some chapters of the *Confessions* and *De civitate Dei* suggest that in spite of Ambrose's episcopal authority, Simplicianus is to be regarded as the spiritual leader of the Milanese circle in which Augustine happened to find himself in 385 AD. I hope to decide, therefore, whether it was Simplicianus who initiated Augustine into the Alexandrine type of Christianity which, in some substantial points, differed from Ambrose's theology.[2]

A detailed analysis of Augustine's first exegetical work (*De genesi contra manichaeos*, written in 388/389 AD) provides solid arguments for the main thesis of the dissertation.[3] On the basis of this work, I intend to compare Augustine's protology, ontology and eschatology with those of Ambrose and Origen. Textual parallels will be presented, showing that Augustine did make use of Origen's homilies on Genesis when composing his allegorical commentary. I will focus on their understanding of Gen. 1:1–2; 1:26–27; 2:7; 3:21 that is to say, the verses which determine the framework of a thorough interpretation of Genesis. This analysis aims at revealing not only the kinship of Augustine and Origen's exegesis but also the philosophical presuppositions they had in common.

It is crucial for the present discussion to examine Augustine's interpretation of Paradise and to compare it with that of Origen. As far as the latter is concerned, I must rely upon fragments, since the keenly criticized Origenian explanations have not survived. However, some sporadic remarks in the extant corpus, important catena fragments, and references and quotations by later authors (partly Origenists, mainly anti-Origenists) appear to be a satisfactory basis for such comparisons.[4] One of these documents, a papyrus fragment from Giessen, will be carefully investigated because it seems to come from Origen's homily on Paradise that Augustine utilised for his commentary.

Finally, the dissertation will continue a scrutiny of the terms *"origenianus," "origenista," "origenistes"* as they were meant by Augustine and his contemporaries, such as Epiphanius, Jerome, Faustinus, Orosius, Pelagius and the author of

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[2] For this, I can rely upon the contributions of Holte and Solignac.

[3] Concerning this subject, important papers have been published by Altaner; Pépin, Teske, and Vannier.

[4] These records have been collected and interpreted by C. Bammel.

Praedestinatus. The theology of the young Augustine will be paralleled with the doctrines that these authors (including Augustine himself) attributed to the so-called origenists.

4. Methods

The dissertation will be based on careful analyses of texts. I will use critical editions except for *De genesi contra manichaeos* which has not yet been issued in *CSEL*. When it is published, I shall check the different readings. In some cases the text variants will be consulted and arguments will be presented for the most probable version.

Regarding the textual parallels, I intend to follow the methods elaborated by distinguished French (Courcelle; Pépin) and German (Altaner) scholars. This refers to the juxtaposition of the Latin and Greek texts under discussion and the marking of the philological and terminological parallels between them. Quotations will be followed by explanatory paragraphs in which the marked parallels will be thoroughly discussed. Nevertheless, I will translate every quotation from the original into English for the sake of readability; extant English translations will be used with circumspection.

5. Working hypotheses

a) In *Contra Academicos* 2.2.5. the term *libri pleni* refers to a collection of Christian books including Origen's homilies on the Song of Songs.
b) It was Simplicianus who gave some books by Origen to the young Augustine.
c) One of the members of Simplicianus' circle, if not he himself, translated some of the works of Origen into Latin.
d) Augustine read Origen's homilies on Genesis, including the interpretation of *Hexameron* and Paradise.
e) The papyrus of Giessen comes from Origen's homily on Paradise.
f) Augustine accepted Origen's ideas concerning the original and final state of the creatures.
g) Just like Origen, Augustine hesitated whether the original and final state was corporeal or incorporeal.
h) Augustine's *De fide et symbolo* reflects the Origenian understanding of *resurrectio carnis*.
i) Jerome's charges against "origenists" are also valid for Augustine.

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Byzantine Coin-Finds from Macedonia and Surrounding Regions – Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries

Katerina Hristovska

The subject of my Ph.D. research centers upon twelfth and early thirteenth century Byzantine coin finds from Macedonia including 15 hoards and numerous single finds, all found either as stray finds or during archaeological excavations. The research has two aims: the first is to bring together an extensive and mostly unpublished numismatic material that consists of approx. 25,000 billon trachea, 20 electron trachea and several golden nomismata, consecutively issued by the emperors John II Comnenus (1118–43), Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80), Isaac II Angelus (1185–95), and Alexius III Comnenus-Angelus (1195–1203). The second is to analyse them from several different points of view, attempting at the same time to examine the extent to which the coins and coin finds can be used as evidence for identifying the processes and changes in the monetary, economic and political life of twelfth-century Byzantium.

I. Coinage in the western Byzantine provinces after the Emperor Alexius' monetary reform of 1092

The Byzantine coinage of the twelfth and early thirteenth century has been thoroughly studied in the last few decades. As a result, there are a number of general numismatic publications and coin collection catalogues which treat different aspects of coin production, mint organisation, and monetary economy. However, this chapter will rather focus on creating a broad distribution map of the published twelfth and early thirteenth century coin finds from the south-eastern Balkans (finds from Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia). It will serve to define the distribution patterns and to analyse the differences that occur in different regions in connection with the changes in the twelfth and early thirteenth century Balkans' political map. The results of the analysis will help in defining the general picture of the circulation areas and will permit further research on the presence of an especially controversial group of trachy coins of lower quality, value, and weight.

II. Twelfth and thirteenth-century Byzantine coin-finds from the territory of Macedonia

This chapter will include a thorough numismatic analysis of the coin finds discovered within the political borders of the Republic of Macedonia. The purpose is

to define the coin types present, their attribution and dating, as well as the weight and the fineness of the alloy. In all cases the standard numismatic methods will be employed and the catalogue of the finds will contain an attribution (emperor, mint, coinage and variant), weight, the dimensions of each coin individually, and a metal content analysis for a selected group of coins.

Since we have to deal with finds of a different nature, the additional analysis will be applied for each type separately. In regard to the hoard finds, there will be an examination of their internal composition (quantitative analysis, frequency of weight and types, and chronological structure) and a study of the general pattern of hoarding from both chronological and geographical points of view. This should hopefully provide information on the nature of each hoard ("currency" or "saving" type) that can additionally open a discussion concerning their possible owners and their place in twelfth-century society. The single finds discovered during archaeological excavations will be examined as regards their stratigraphy and frequency, and their particular archaeological context which could serve as evidence not only for the monetary, but also for certain aspects of the economic history of the region. So-called votive offerings or grave coin finds will be considered as a separate group of finds, which will be entered into the catalogue, but which will be discussed in the context of Christian burial rituals and general coin availability.

In addition, the chapter will particularly deal with the problem of the questionable "imitative" (or official) trachy coinage of lower weight and value from the early thirteenth (or late twelfth) century that frequently appears in the hoards from south-eastern Balkans, and which so far have raised many debates among the scholars in the field. The aim of this analysis would be to answer the questions concerning their origin and date of issue and eventually to shed new light on the chronology of the Imperial billon issues.

III. Geographic distribution of the finds and the circulation-areas in Macedonia

On the basis of results from the previous chapter, I would like to examine the presence of certain types of coins and hoards within both a narrow and broad geographic context in order to define the local coin-circulation areas. It will be an attempt to connect the historical and economic circumstances that caused the appearance or/and disappearance of certain denominations in certain regions. Yet, as this kind of statistical analysis often yields fairly limited information, the results will be compared with Byzantine official documents that contain instructions to tax-collectors, military treatises that contain information on the salaries of the soldiers

and the trade documents that mention use of coins as media of exchange in economic transactions (mostly the *Typica* of the monasteries).

IV. Mechanisms of coin circulation and the use of coinage in the twelfth-century Byzantine western provinces

This chapter will include a discussion on the mechanisms through which the Byzantine state was putting high and lower value traches into circulation and will try to answer the question concerning the extent to which money was used in everyday life: in economic transactions, fiscal procedures, and military payments. However, as it was not the only function the coins had in medieval societies, I would also examine their role as means of political propaganda carefully designed at the Byzantine court and its use as an apotropaic object in popular beliefs.

1. Coinage as money

a) Economic transactions

As it was first suggested by M. Hendy and recently developed by A. Harvey, the twelfth century in Byzantium was rather a period of economic expansion and not decline, which certainly impacted on coin usage and coin circulation in the provincial regions of the Empire. In this respect, I shall use both the coin evidence and the written records of purchases and sales in order to understand the level of monetarization in the region and the use of coinage as media of exchange.

b) Fiscal procedures

The fiscal procedure also provided an important mechanism for putting lower value coinage into circulation. In this part I shall examine the coin evidence in comparison with the records on tax-payments and denominations used in the procedure, as well as the impact of chronic twelfth-century coin debasement on the system of tax-collecting.

c) Military payments

It has been suggested that the large number of copper coins that are present in the hoards implies a military character, but this assumption certainly needs further explanation. Thus, it seems reasonable to examine written records on military payments and soldiers salaries in order to reveal additional aspects of coin circulation processes.

d) Imperial gifts

In this part, attention will be paid to the records on *solemnia* or the large grants of cash that were made from fiscal revenues by the emperors to favored monasteries as conduits for putting the coinage into circulation.

2. The other use of coinage

a) Means of political propaganda

The core will include iconographic analysis (the inscriptions, figures of the emperors and saints, costumes and insignia) of the coin types that will aim to define the role of the coinage in creating a positive public image of the Byzantine emperors of the Comnenian dynasty. The choice of the inscriptions and figures depicted will be discussed in the context of contemporary political events, and an accent will be laid on Imperial costumes in comparison to the written records on ceremonial court procedures (Constantine Porphyrogenetos: *De Ceremoniis* and Pseudo- Codinus: *De Officiis*). The Imperial insignia used *(labarum, globus cruciger, stemma, anexikakia, etc.)* will provide a vehicle for discussion the way the Emperor was intended to be perceived by the ordinary people.

b) Coins and magic

The use of coins as a supernatural means to confer protection upon their owners or wearers was condemned by the church father John Chrysostom, but it seems that this apotropaic function still survived into the latter period of Byzantium. Evidence for it can be found in Byzantine secular art. I would like to examine the numismatic evidence that would confirm this practice (perforated coins, pseudocoins and medallions and the coins depicted in the manuscripts), and also the written sources that would explain the popular and official attitude of the church towards this practice (the letters of Michael Italikos and Michael Psclos).

After the Conclusion, the Appendix will provide a fully detailed catalogue of the finds.

The Iconography of the Uta-Evangelistary

Irina Kolbutova

In my Ph.D. dissertation I intend to continue the research started in my M.A. thesis which, even though it was dedicated to the iconography of a particular manuscript, the Uta-Evangelistary (Munich, Clm 13601), raised various problems concerning the sources and development of Christian iconography in the sixth-eleventh centuries. First, since the *tituli* of the Codex still contain undeciphered terms and sentences and, consequently, the meaning of the pictures should be considered more carefully, much work still remains in reconstructing the sequence of ideas in this literary-pictorial theological treatise. For example, the identification of the second meaning of the word *corollarium* in the *titulus* of fol. 2r as a logical corollary,

besides the generally accepted meaning of embellishment, allow us to understand the choice of *bonus, sapiens, est* in the triangle within the circle on fol. 1v.

The main result of the previous work was that the overall program of the iconography of the Codex is based, on the one hand, on the theological system of Eriugena, in many cases referring to reformulated ideas borrowed from Maximus the Confessor and Pseudo-Dionysius, and, on the other hand, on the system of decoration typical of eleventh-century Byzantine churches. One such literary reference can be found in the Homily of Leo VI on the consecration of the church built by magister Stylianus, which, in turn, also contains Dionysian terminology and ideas. Therefore, it would be very interesting to reconstruct the manner in which the images and their meaning in Christian iconography developed in reference to this triangle of literary sources.

One of the important stages of this process is represented by Carolingian iconography. The connection of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram of the court school of Charles the Bald which contains both Eriugenian ideas with the Uta-codex is generally accepted by scholarly opinion. One of my working hypotheses is that the iconography of this manuscript as well as some other iconographic patterns in the art of this period bear witness to an acquaintance with Eastern iconography while the earlier Carolingian art adapted and reformulated images and meanings of Western (particularly Italian) iconography. An example for this might be that the post-iconoclast iconography of Cherubim and Seraphim seems to derive from the "Eastern" tetramorph (e.g. in the Ascension in the sixth-century Syriac Rabbula Gospel) while in Italian monuments the four living creatures are placed separately. It is probable that the tetramorph in the early post-iconoclast Chludov Psalter with its four wings and four faces joined at one point with the human face set frontally and symbolizing the Ascension has the same function as the Cherubim in the Ascension scenes from the same manuscript. In early Carolingian art (e.g. in the apse of the oratory of Germigny-des-Prés) the Cherubim on the corners of the Arc of the Covenant have the shape of human-like personifications with the wings, but in the iconography of the *Majestas Domini* in Charles the Bald's Coronation sacramentary or the San-Paolo Bible there are "Eastern" Seraphim.

Regarding this problem, it might be useful to follow the traces of this influence in Ottonian art. Moreover, there could have been direct borrowing from Eastern iconography during that time. This concerns, particularly, the *Majestas Domini* iconography, its shape and the changes in the meanings of the sphere and the mandorla as well as of the tetramorph. This includes also the highly debatable question of the Apocalypse frontispieces of the Touronian Bibles and the meanings of their *tituli*.

On the other hand, post-iconoclast church decoration retained established structures of the early (especially Justinian-age) iconography albeit in a changed shape. Therefore, it seems promising to explore the connection between early Christian vault and apse decorations (Albenga, Kartamin, Archbishop's chapel in Ravenna, San Vitale, Dormition at Nicaea, St. Catherine in Sinai and some others) and the Plotinian and Dionysian metaphors and their meaning, in particular as concerns light and the angels-theophanies. Literary sources can also be of help in reconstructing the story of various iconographic solutions to the dichotomy of representing God as the centre of radiating circles and the beginningless and endless circle encompassing the whole universe.

The symbol in the narthex of the church of Dormition in Nicaea seems to reflect the image on the vault of the presbytery of the same church with the throne in the circle above a cross with four rays issuing from behind the centre of the cross. In turn, this image is a development of similar examples of the cross with the rays in the radiating circles, where the intensity of colour gradually decreases, as one can see on the vault of the church in Kartamin or in the conch of the apse of San Sergio in Rusafa.

In my M.A. thesis, I tried to establish the connection of this iconographic formula with the Dionysian image of the radiating lines and the decreasing colour of the circles with the transgression of the divine intellects. In my future work I will make an attempt to explain the rays coming from behind the cross and the connection of this iconography with the image in the Eriugenian verse *Aulae Sidereae*, that is, The Sun, connecting the radiating circles and the months, fitting them for the earthly use.

The light is the measure and the number of hours, days and all our time (τοῦ καθ'ἡμᾶς χρόνον), because this light, although it was formless (ἀσχημάτιστος), as the divine Moses said, the first triad of our days (τῶν καθ'ἡμᾶς ἡμερῶν) was defined. The scholion to this place explains that the sun illuminated three days before its own creation, being formless (ἀσχημάτιστος), and the first-born light (τό πρωτόκτιστον φῶς) on the fourth day was transformed (μετασχηματίσυη) into the sun.

This theme of the sun which is the opaque image of the Good, measuring our time, seems to correspond to the theme of time in Plato's *Timaios*, appearing together with the visible sky and being the image of eternity. In the passage, preceding the sentence about the archetype, manifested in the light-image, which describes the periodical circulation of the whole sky with the stars, constellations, the sun and the moon, of which the cause is the Good (DN 4.4), the phrase in the αἰ παρ'ἡμῖν καὶ νύκτες ὁριζόμεναι καὶ μῆνες καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ μετρούμενοι almost

repeats the phrase in the *Timaios* ἡμέρας γὰρ καὶ νύκτας καὶ μῆνας καὶ ἐνιαυτούς about which it is said that they did not exist before the appearance of the sky. And this sky is visible in the middle of the invisible celestial spheres, while the σύστασις of the world soul took the shape of the letter C.

Thus, connecting the two literary images, one can try to explain the iconography of the cross with the rays in the circle. The rays from behind the cross in the shape of the letter C might be the invisible light, image of the Good the archetype, while the cross might symbolize the sun, the opaque image, which evolved from the invisible light on the fourth day of the Creation.

The formula of the cross with the rays went through different modifications in the iconography of the mid-sixth century. On the vault of San Vitale four rays follow the ribs of the vault and the four personifications standing on little spheres are placed in the shape of the cross around the centre with the Lamb in the medallion. The Sun-Star with eight rays within the radiating circles losing its color intensity is held by two angels on the triumphal arch. The iconography of the vault can be explained by another passage from Dionysios (DN 5.8) concerning the καθ' ἡμᾶς ἥλιος, but introducing a new theme into the construction: the archetype-image.

If we accept that the cross, which is the καθ' ἡμᾶς ἥλιος, existing in time as we comprehend it, corresponds to time, the image of eternity in *Timeos*, then the rays, replaced by the personifacations on the vault of San Vitale would correspond to eternity with the world soul in the shape of the letter C in *Timaios*, the eternity, which is the pattern (παράδειγμα) the begetting father (ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ) intended to follow in the completion of his work.

In the monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, the formula of the cross with four rays in radiating spheres, were transformed into the shape of the mandorla, is used in the apse with the Transfiguration, where the human image of Christ replaced the speculative centre of the previous examples. The meaning of the sun and the light, supposedly contained in the formula of the cross with the rays, could correlate with the description of the Transfiguration in Mt. 17:2 *and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.* This image is placed below the cross in the circle with the radiating spheres and the medallion with the Lamb on the triumphal arch is flanked with two winged personifications, probably, keeping the connotation of the personifications on the vault of San Vitale.

Now, returning to the Codex Aureus and the supposed iconography of the chapel described by Eriugena, one should consider the *Majestas Domini* page (fol. 6v). Unlike what may be found on other Carolingian *Majestas* pages, the mandorla appears in its correct shape, similar to that of the Sinai apse, and both it

and the sphere on which Christ is sitting contain the radiating circles, like the circles on the *Incipit* page of the Gospel of St. John, beginning with the words *In principio*. The *titulus* of the *Majestas Domini* page contains the line about St. John *scribendo penitras coelum tu mente, Iohannes* and at the beginning of the *titulus* there is a play on the symbolism of the numbers four and eight (*ordine quadrato* and *proceres octo*), which are important for understanding the meaning of the star on the *recto* page of the same leaf, if we accept its connection with the image of the sun in *Aulae sidereae*. Thus, the star and the image of Christ in the mandorla on both sides are interchangeable.

Thus, could it not be that the *Majestas Domini* page of the Codex Aureus has, perhaps, an exceptional connotation of the Transfiguration in Carolingian art, and this is reflected in the decoration of the royal chapel of Charles the Bald with Christ in mandorla in the apse, the Lamb (on the Adoration page of the Codex Aureus on the rainbow) on the triumphal arch and the star-sun in the radiating circles on the vault? One can see a similar program in the Romanesque Cluniac church Berzé-la-Ville, with Christ on the throne in the mandorla flanked by the apostles in the apse, the Lamb in the circle on the triumphal arch and the two angels in the gable above it. The similarity can be supported by the mentioning the *coetus apostolicus* in the *titulus* of the Adoration of the Lamb page (fol. 6r) of the Codex Aureus, not presented in the manuscript, but, probably, depicted in the chapel.

The symbolism of the cross, one of the themes of fol. 3v of the Uta-codex, revealed through the quotation from Augustine, also goes back to early Christian iconography. Probably, a similar meaning for the cross is contained in the iconograhpy of Santa Pudentiana, Santa Maria Maggiore, and the Transfiguration in San Apollinare in Classe. Another related problem is the interchangebility of the cross and the image of Christ surrounded by the tetramorph or/and the winged personifications (including the uniconic solution of the crosses in the circle in Kartamin) which is connected with the closely interlaced problems of the theophanies and the vision of God (with material eyes as well as the eyes of the intellect). A correlating theme also includes the ascent of the souls through acquiring virtues by way of identifying with them and then through the *formae rerum* to God, reflected in Maximus the Confessor, in particular in his *Mystagogia*, directly connected with the symbolism of the liturgy and the church which is the main subject of foll. 1v–2r in the Uta-codex. Thus, the whole spectre of iconographical and theological problems is embraced by the Ottonian manuscript almost as a kind of the table of contents for the history of Paleo-Christian and Early Medieval visual expression of thoughts.

Court, Fashion, and Representation: Costumes as Symbols

Annamária Kovács

Costumes used as symbols or expressions of certain ideas in courts: this part of costume studies has not really been researched in Hungary. Moreover, most scholars dealing with questions of costume, regard their research as a solved question, relying on those old studies made either at the turn of the century or in the thirties. The main virtue of these lay in the collection of the materials, but the studies lacked coherent terms and descriptions and often comparable Western material. Being, however, the only existing compilations, they most often quoted each other word by word. Ernő Marosi and Dóra Mojzsis still use these as sources although the latter author provides a critique concerning the statements, along with Éva Kovács, who traced Hungarian garments in French inventories.

My planned dissertation intends not only to give a general sketch of garments, cuts, materials, colors existing and in use in fourteenth century Hungary, but to place the subject within the greater framework of Western and Central European costume history, utilising the tools and approaches of recent Western scholarship of costume studies.

I plan to use one particular example, the fourteenth century manuscript of the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle to show how the connection between dress and late medieval courtly culture, as well as the usage of costumes as symbols in Hungary and in the surrounding countries during the second half of the fourteenth century can be justified. The manuscript, commissioned by King Louis the Great from the Hungarian branch of the Angevin (Anjou) dynasty (1342–1382), is presently kept in the National Library of Hungary (Széchényi Library). Apart from the manuscript that is now called *Chronicum Pictum*, the text of the chronicle can be found in the Csepreghy Codex, written around 1431, but preserved only in an eighteenth-century copy; the Teleki-codex from 1462; the Béldy-codex, around 1500; and the so-called Thuróczy-Codex from the second part of the fifteenth century. The text is incomplete–but the illustrations are not. From the 230 illustrations there arc 142 with figures: scenes of battles, events from the life of royal houses, burials, weddings, etc. are shown. The manuscript itself was studied widely from many points of view: questions of authorship, artistic origins and influences, etc. From these aspects, one may say, the Chronicle can be considered the "chewed bone" of Hungarian art history, history of medieval literature or codicology. My planned dissertation, as a continuation of my MA thesis, attempts to add another "angle of interpretation", to have a more complex picture of the manuscript, or, more precisely, its figural illustrations. For this, I use the tools of

costume studies, a strange field belonging neither to art history, nor to archeology, nor to history in its classical sense, but swinging and balancing somewhere between them.

As costumes in the Middle Ages bore definite meanings for those who could read the signs, upon reading the Chronicle, or "reading" those contemporary works of art, or archeological remains, one could see–and still can see–certain ideas embodied in the dresses of the figures.

Researches on costume can be seen as a part of the field called "material culture" or "everyday life": the various garments, made of different cloths, are obviously "materials", and they belonged certainly to the everyday life of the medieval man. To begin any kind of research on this topic, one has to investigate the three major fields of material culture studies in order to acquire detailed, accurate, and reliable information, namely, those of the written, pictorial and archaeological sources.

Charters of the fourteenth century contain an increasing amount of information about garments and other dress elements. The study of everyday life is never possible without written sources, and the same applies to the field of costume studies closely connected with this area. Therefore, it is of primary importance to study the most important charter editions of Hungary in order to find information concerning certain questions already mentioned above.[1] As certain terms of clothing appeared in Latin texts, written in the vernacular during late thirteenth century and mainly during the late fourteenth, it is necessary to check which garments or dress accessories and materials our sources denote.

A significant number of sources have already been collected which contain information on clothing habits of late thirteenth and fourteenth century Hungary, with special regard to certain issues within my topic, such as Eastern elements. In this context the following sources are planned to be investigated: the text of the Illuminated Chronicle, or its facsimile edition; certain paragraphs of the sentences of the *Synodus Budensis*; the Chronique des Religieux de Saint Denis; the chronicles of Anonymus Leobiensis, and Peter von Zittau; parts of Heinrich von Mügeln's *Chronica Rithmica*, the *Österreichische Reimchronik*; the *Annales Praedicatorum Vindobonensium* and the *Continuatio Vindobonensis*; the traveller's

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[1] An increasing proportion of the charter collection of the National Archives of Hungary is now available through the Internet, with continuously updated summaries. The address is *http://www.iif.hu/db/dipl/* with search functions according to old catalog numbers (Dl.), issuer names, or keywords. Beside this facility, the editions of the charters of the Angevin era, *Anjoukori Okmánytár 7 vols. Codex Diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis,* ed. Iván Nagy and Nagy Gyula (Budapest, 1879–1920), and the first volume of *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* ed. Elemér Mályusz (Budapest, 1951–58) is to be surveyed. (See Zsolt Hunyadi's article in this volume–*the Editor.*)

descriptions of Rubruquius and Carpini; the Cuman laws of King Ladislas IV, issued in 1279; or the Villani Chronicles, especially their references to the Naples campaigns of King Louis.

The usage and study of certain manuscripts which are claimed or supposed to be in connection with the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle are further steps towards the dissertation's goals. Parallels from surrounding countries and from Western Europe are needed to understand the place and meaning of the costumes in the Illuminated Chronicle within the greater framework of European costume history and for further investigations extending this topic.

The surviving murals of medieval Hungary are also to be studied, mainly by using the collection of Dénes Radocsay, and other scholarly works and collections. The other source of parallels can be the image collection of the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* in Krems. I have access to the material of the *Mátyás Király Múzeum* in Visegrád as well. The remains of the famous 14–15th century royal palace are excellent for studying the material culture of a royal court. The finds associated with garments are not too numerous, but there is a group of finds which can be useful. The stove tiles of the Angevin period represented knightly figures in courtly dresses. Since these stood in the royal palace, they can obviously be used as comparative material to courtly clothing habits known from other pictorial sources. Beside the sources mentioned above, mainly concerning the problem of orientalism, it is necessary to consult those publications and materials which testify the late thiteenth-fourteenth century existence of Cuman and Petcheneg inhabitants of the Alföld region.

I intend to build a computer-aided database, using the possibilities available in the Department's Visual Lab. The first step of this work, fortunately, has already been done. After having the pure art historical description (i.e. scene identification, dimensions specification, etc.) of all pictures, my main task was to make a description of all the figures of all miniatures and initials, from costume studies' point of view, describing their dress elements with colours, and, if possible, cuts. This textual description, then, was ready to be entered and transformed into a computer database. I chose the database system KLEIO of the Krems Institute. Its structure and its focus on material culture make it especially suitable for my purposes. After this, and the collection of the written sources (which will also be entered into a database for more convenient usage and cross-references), the processing of the archeological material will be followed according to the basic methods of archeological data management.

Some of the most relevant questions to be investigated, and tested, applied to the different types of sources outlined above:

- What was needed for the service in court in terms of dress elements, outfit, equipment etc.; how was it achieved (own sources, royal grants, estate exchanges etc.)?
- What kind of dress elements were worth mentioning in written sources in specific cases, such as legal cases, testaments, inventories, *trousseaus*? Some reasons may lead people to overestimate or oversize the value of wealth in textiles and garments, (i.e. raids and pillages) while in some other cases certain elements are simply left out from the text (too small value of simple shirts, bedcloth, etc.)
- What kind of very fashionable 'trendy' upper garments of the century (such as *jaque*) can be found and testified in sources (mainly pictorial, but evidences already were found in charters)? What was their name? Who wore those?
- How did a given manuscript/painting characterise its figures through dresses: i.e.
    - the young and the old
    - the noble and the merchant
    - the rich and the poor
    - the different nations
- Were there any examples of the mixture of Eastern and Western dress elements? Evidence of this was found in the Illuminated Chronicle, and which needs either proof for a relatively wide-spread usage of this, or on the contrary, would justify the theory of Hungary's special nature, as a realm between East and West?
- How did a given manuscript/painting use certain color patterns for characterising? What was the situation with the usage of yellow? (In the Western sense it was a negative color, but it appears in the garments of some prominent figures of the Chronicle such as King Béla IV and Prince Géza.)
- As to female garments: what was the situation in the given manuscript or painting regarding the fashionable dress elements, such as *surcot ouvert*? If there is any, in which country do these appear? Are there any of the special headdresses termed in research as "East-European" ones, i.e. *Kruselers* and *cornettes*? Is it possible to justify traces of the idea that these types indeed could be derived from Hungary?
- Concerning weaponry: the problem of coat armours should be clarified. What are the terms used in fourteenth century charters and in Western research? What are the terms used in KLEIO for these? Or is there any developed terminology for this? If not, is it needed? Is it the same situation as in Western Europe concerning the popularity of brigandine armour in the middle of the fourteenth-century? Also, at what time did breastplates appear?

– Checking the images available, (referring here both to manuscripts of the region, or the collection in the Krems Institute) what is the observation concerning the so-called "transitional-period" in the development of coat armour? Is the development the same as given in Western Europe?

Putting together the three types of sources, and adding the survey of the scholarship, the main questions concerning the problem of courtly fashion outlined above would at least partly be answered. The database can be used as one possible research basis not only for costume studies in Central Europe, but for several other fields like social history, military history, art history, to ease the study of this valuable but not easily accessible manuscript outside Hungary. As one born in the region of East-Central Europe, where possibilities for international studies and connections are re-developing again, in history of the Middle Ages as well, I feel it important to give a chance with my planned work for researchers inside and outside the region to become familiar with a part of our common medieval cultural heritage.

Grand Duke Vytautas: Establishing Vytautas the Great

Giedré Mickūnaitė

> "Non ad exterorum instituta, ac leges, ratio gerendi instruenda erit, sed ad Lituanorum morem, Vitoldique exemplum; a quo si inlatus alterutrum deflexeris, Nos, Teipsum, Rempublicam præcipitabis,"[1]
>
> from the acclamation of Grand Duke Alexander of Jogaila, 1496.

Arranged by rulers and battles, historical tradition usually chooses particular persons or events as being most significant for a certain nation or country. More-over, nations and countries also associate themselves with persons and events, and frequently person and event are joined together. In the case of Lithuania, such a person is Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas[2] (b. ca. 1350, grand duke from 1392, d. 1430); and the event is the battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg (15 July 1410). Both, the duke and the battle, are viewed as a culmination of Lithuanian history.

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[1] Albertus Wiivk Koialowicz, *Historiæ Litvanæ*, pt. 2, *Sev de rebvs Litvanorvm, a coniunctione Magni Ducatus Regno Poloniæ ad Vnionem eorum Dominium libri octo* (Antwerp: Apud Iacobvm Mevrsivm, 1669), 260.

[2] Hereafter the names of the persons of Lithuanian origin are used in their Lithuanian, however imagined, version. Christian names are anglicised. The names of early modern writers referred to further are left the same as on their publications. The following are more widely spread Polish versions of the names of historic personalities mentioned henceforth: Vytautas–Witold; Radvila–Radziwiłł; Jogaila–Jagiełło; Skirgaila–Skirgiełło.

In the history of the grand duchy, Vytautas takes his place amongst those late medieval European rulers who are commonly accepted as the great heroes of their nation. Generally, such rulers have several common features: long reigns, political achievements, and military victories; their deeds and lives are well known and widely approved of. Vytautas has all these features and also matches the other characteristic of a national ruler-hero: he was disliked by the neighbours. This negative attitude is later quite profoundly exploited by popular culture, which, in short, can be summarised as "the years when we were lead by Vytautas were great and we terrified all the world."

The goal of this project is to construct the process of creation and functions of the image of Vytautas the Great throughout the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Even though the adjective "great" was applied to Vytautas as late as the nineteenth century and most extensively exploited in the Lithuanian Republic of the inter-war period, it was not by accident that Vytautas was to become "the Great." All throughout the history of the grand duchy, he served as an embodiment of the best qualities of a ruler: a fighter for statehood, promoter of the Christian faith, skilful military leader, and internationally recognised political authority. Moreover, his image was not only kept alive by the ducal court and aristocracy, but was also supported by the Church and found its way into popular culture.

The two principal issues that the proposed study is to focus on are the activities of the duke and the making of the image of a great ruler. The goal of the research is to establish a link between the facts of Vytautas' life and the features of his image. More precisely, the investigation aims to trace and highlight the actions of the grand duke aimed at personal propaganda and those that could be interpreted as having contributed to it. One more noteworthy aspect of the image is its reception or rather the demand for it. The appropriation of Vytautas' image by various strata of society, and the national identification with the grand duke is intended as an integral part of the whole argument.

Although the study is concerned with the image, it does acknowledge that in addition to the propagandistic efforts the grand duke was in fact a successful ruler. Moreover, rather typical pre-modern (and even contemporary) attitudes to the past suggest that the more distant the time, the more favourably it is regarded. Therefore, it is understandable that in the eyes of posterity the golden age of Lithuania was associated with Vytautas' reign. A specific role played here is that of the Christianisation of the country. Though Vytautas was not the one to introduce Christianity, he ruled the country for four decades immediately after its introduction.

As to the method, the dissertation will approach medieval and, to a lesser extent, early modern evidence with present-day concepts of propaganda, publicity, ideology, altogether resulting in another present-day concept of image-making. Moreover, it will use conceptual structures for a milieu in which they were not perceived as such. However, as the idea to start this research is inspired by the success of Vytautas' image, such a method was chosen deliberately and partly imposed by the sources. It is clear that in order to accomplish the project each concept must be separately defined and the reservations in applying it for each time period precisely indicated. Finally, the method could be modified or refocused as the research proceeds.

Provisional Outline

The dissertation will start with the early-modern image of Vytautas because during this period the parts of the image were not strictly separate, but were shifting and fluid and utilised for a great variety of purposes. Later I intend to return to the beginnings of the creation of the image, and shall try to establish the link between its original, late medieval, and early modern parts.

I. Introduction

Concerning the topic and the method (as above). Sources and earlier research.

II. The early modern image of Vytautas

This part should reveal the image as it was presented by different forms of early modern "media," and its perception and sustenance by the population, meaning both the "public opinion" and individuals. The research will be based on sixteenth-eighteenth-century texts (histories, plays, poems, panegyrics, dedications, etc.), visual materials (imaginative portraits, spectacle arrangement), and folklore (mainly historical and military songs).

Early modern texts create a heroic image of Vytautas. Most of his activities are viewed in light of statehood and are regarded as just and courageous. The variety of cases in which Vytautas appears is also noteworthy: starting with historical writings and ending with the panegyrics for nobility.

The sixteenth-century authors writing in the spirit of Renaissance, compare medieval Lithuania with ancient Rome. In this comparison Lithuania under Vytautas is regarded a better state because the good order inherited from Roman ancestors was improved by the Christianisation of the country (Michalonus

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Lituanus, 1550). Augustinus Rotundus (1576) tries to ground his urge to return to the Latin language on the argument that this was the language of Vytautas' writs, when Lithuanians lived in justice and prosperity until Sigismund the Old introduced the Ruthenian language. Maciej Stryjkowski (1582) refers to Vytautas' inborn spiritual power (inherited from his chivalrous father and vestal mother) due to which each and every action of the grand duke is praiseworthy.

The prominent Baroque historian Albertus Wiivk Koialowicz is especially significant in the image-making of Vytautas. The two parts of his Lithuanian history (1650–69) encompass the period from the Roman arrival till the death of the last Jagiellonian king, Sigismund August. When describing the times of Vytautas, Koialowicz accuses him of being ambitious and striving for honours; the duke is at fault for the assassinations of relatives and compatriots on his path to the throne. Nonetheless, when writing the history of a more recent past, the author admires the rule of Vytautas as a period of flourishing statehood and contrasts it to later years viewed as a decline from the heights to which Vytautas once elevated the country. Besides the historical literature, the idea of Vytautas' large and strong state is also present in the map of the grand duchy from 1613: the explanation why the Dniepr is included on the map says that it appears there not only because it is such a long river, but also because in this way the borders of Vytautas' dominions may be shown. A similar attitude is also present in an anonymous address to the diet (*Philopartis ad senatum*, 1597). Its author refers to the Tatars of Perekop who are nostalgic about the glorious past of Vytautas and are eager to fight against Muscovy on the side of the grand duchy. The Radvila family tries to base their ambitions on Vytautas' image. In the panegyric to the family Radvila called the Thunder meets Vytautas in his dream. The duke is returning from the battle of Grunwald and he reproaches Lithuanians for the decline of the state entrusting Radvilas to guide the country (Johan Radvanus, 1592). Radvila called the Brown is compared to Vytautas and encouraged to seek the renown the duke once earned (Andrzej Rymsza, 1585).

The other early modern materials to be presented are imaginative portraits of the grand duke which, most likely, appeared in the seventeenth century. The portraits were commissioned by the churches which were (or claimed to be) founded by the duke as well as by noblemen for portrait-galleries. There is no evidence that a portrait of Vytautas which could have been copied by later masters was ever painted during duke's lifetime. All the portraits are similar and most probably were made after Dlugosz's description of Vytautas' appearance. They depict the duke in armour wearing a purple mantle and a ducal cap. Other visual sources are spectacle arrangements which predominantly represent Vytautas leading his army (*Bellaria*,

1717) or are based on his intended coronation *(Iter ambitionis,* 1694). However, these materials have not yet been sufficiently analysed.

III. Vytautas as the creator of his own image

This chapter will concentrate on the lifetime of the grand duke. It will be carried out using a joint chronological-spatial order: starting with Vytautas' early years and his patrimonial duchy of Trakai it will develop as the territory was expanded and activities and claims broadened during his reign. Regarded as the most extensive part of the dissertation, this section will, unavoidably, be a partly biographical study. Nonetheless, the principal goal is to shed light on Vytautas' personal efforts to build up his image and, if possible, trace features of his self-perception in exercising ducal office and authority.

The best examples upon which to base the assumption that Vytautas worked on his own image-making are the following: first, during his escape to the Teutonic Order in Prussia, Vytautas blamed his cousins Jogaila and Skirgaila for depriving him of the patrimony. This complaint *(Dis ist vitoldes sache)* is also known in contemporary Latin *(Origo)* and Ruthenian *(Letopis')* versions. Second, after having been recognised as grand duke, Vytautas frequently accused the Teutonic Order of issuing letter-pamphlets addressed to all Christian rulers. These accusations constitute a clear example of political propaganda.

A significant part of the dissertation will be based on extensive correspondence and numerous legal documents. However, these materials are omitted here as it is impossible to introduce them in brief. The same holds true for the narratives, such as Russian annals and Prussian chronicles.

As to the visual sources, numismatic and sigillographic evidence has not been investigated yet. However, wall-paintings from the palace of Trakai island-castle (Vytautas' main residence) may shed light on the courtly life of the duke. Though these murals are known only from fragments copied in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the narrative of some scenes can partly be reconstructed. The two scenes depicted in the reception-hall are worth mentioning: the central one, showing a ruler exercising his authority and the so-called Tatar scene, which gives a sence of actual or imagined atmosphere at the ducal court.[3]

IV. The fifteenth century: shaping of the image.

The focus on the years immediately following Vytautas' death is based on the hypothesis that this was the period when the image was detached from the actual

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[3] See the article in this volume pp. 249-264.

person of the grand duke. The sources for this research are predominantly textual ones, commemorating or referring to "the years of the blessed memory of Vytautas": panegyrics and sermons, narratives and histories, legal documents and other records. Two noteworthy texts are the sermon following Vytautas' funeral by St John of Kęty and the anonymous panegyric on Vytautas *(Pokhvala)*. Both of them glorify the deeds of Vytautas while alive and urge subsequent rulers to follow the path of the grand duke. However, John Długosz is the principal author of this part of the dissertation. In general, Długosz was rather positive about Vytautas (in contrast to the duke's principal rivals, the brothers of Jogaila) and though his perception of the grand duke is dependant on the context of his writings, actually the only remark that the historian makes concerning Vytautas is a reproach for being a womaniser. Significantly, Długosz was to associate Vytautas and Alexander the Great.

V. Image and image

This part will be based mainly on the results achieved during the investigation. It will compare and contrast, feature by feature, the two images of the ruler, medieval and early modern. In addition, it is going to present Vytautas in the context of other medieval rulers. Russian, Polish, and German material, as directly related to Vytautas through family tighs and historical situation, is viewed as providing parallels and indicating influences and borrowings. Sources and scholarship on the Duchy of Burgundy under the Valois will be used for more distant and wider contexts. The reasons for the latter choice are the following: (1) the time period is the same; (2) the legal situation is similar: Burgundy was dependent upon the king of France as was Lithuania upon the king of Poland; (3) both courts had contacts; and (4) the Burgundian court was much more advanced in terms of cultural and political achievements and was copied in other parts of Europe; thus, it can be used as an illuminating parallel to clarify certain aspects of Lithuanian court culture.

VI. Conclusion

The research will be summarised. It is expected that light will be shed on issues such as personalisation of history, inventing of tradition, and demand for a heroic past, all these applied to and illustrated by Lithuanian material.

Medieval Manorial Complexes in Central Europe:
The Hungarian Case in a European Context

Gábor Virágos

The question of how medieval noblemen lived has mainly been investigated only for fortified sites. The example of the manor of Pomáz provides evidence that aristocratic families could also have their place of residence in non-fortified buildings. Considering its purpose, the building complex at Pomáz was richly ornamented, full of high-value import artefacts and pieces of knightly equipment. However, in addition to these indications of courtly culture, the place also served as an agricultural-industrial economic centre. Moreover, it was connected to the church of the surrounding village, which, therefore, served as both the private and the parish church. A complex investigation through detailed and less-detailed case studies of such non-fortified, but residential building complexes and the use of comparative methods will remove a gap in our understading of medieval history.

Goals of the dissertation and preliminaries:

The research task I will set forth here concerns the investigation of the problem of medieval noble residences in Central Europe, with special attention to the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom, that is, the area which predominantly falls over the present-day territory of Hungary, Transylvania, and Slovakia. The main periods of interest are the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I began to conduct research on medieval noble residences some three years ago with the investigation of an excavated site (its documentation and finds) in Pomáz, close to Budapest. The principal aim of the general project was to discover new sources that might help to solve the problem of noble residences, that is, what kind of *curia, castellum,* or *castrum* buildings belonged to certain classes of noble society. In June 1997 I defended my M.A. thesis entitled "Noble Residences in the Middle Ages: Pomáz and Its Owners (a case study)" at the Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University. This thesis included a complete investigation of an archaeological site (a noble residence, churches, cemetery, village and associated fields) and an historical study of the family who owned the properties (a genealogy of the owners and their social status), which was based upon excavation materials, maps, and the written evidence. This research provided the foundation upon which my Ph.D. dissertation on medieval noble residences in Central Europe will be built.

The archaeological site in Pomáz has always been known by the local people. It was already mentioned by Flóris Rómer as early as the 1860s, when he made

some drawings of the site during his travels. Still, the place was excavated only in the 1930s and 40s. The archaeologists Lajos Nagy, Sándor Domanovszky, and Árpád Bottyán carried out this work with the help of Sándor Sashegyi, a local inhabitant. The results were published only later in two minor pamphlets (together with some serious misinterpretations) and in volume 7 of the Archaeological Topography of Hungary (MRT) series. Certain finds were also published, although without their archaeological context limiting their scientific value.

The research on noble residences in general tends to focus on castle buildings both in Hungary and in Central Europe. Only a few of the known examples are interpreted as non-fortified or slightly fortified residential places, and even fewer investigations are published. The subject of noble dwellings other than castles has been raised and predominantly investigated by Tibor Koppány. László Vándor created a complex catalogue of such places for the territorial unit of County Zala. A new system related to family history research was developed by Erik Fügedi, providing a background for the social context of these buildings.

The research in Transylvania is not yet sufficiently developed. However, several such residential dwellings are known (e.g. Cris, Manastirea, or Lazarea). The case in Slovakia is the same as that in Hungary: only a few non-fortified residential buildings have been uncovered and published, such as Zalužany (the closest parallel to Pomáz), Zambokreky nad Nitrou, or Parizovce. Such research is also less developed in most western countries. Along with Austria, Scotland, Italy and France, England is a good exception, since there is a developed school for the study of different settlement types (among them the manorial sites). Therefore, England is the best place to learn methodology. The very developed German "school", the so-called *Residenzforschung*, focuses exclusively on fortifications.

Because of the external relations of the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom and the international features of noble dwellings, research on Medieval Hungarian manorial complexes must remain comparative. It must be comparative within a Central European context because of the close historical connections between Hungary and its neighbouring countries and their similar historical development. On the other hand, the more developed research and the higher number of sources available from the West have created a foundation for a methodological comparison with other European territories.

Work which has been done or is in process:

Most of my work has been concentrated on the primary site in my research, Pomáz. The documentation and the finds from the old excavations (1937–44) were inspected and minor control and rescue excavations were carried out between 1995

and 1998 in the residence, in the cemetery, and in the village. The research also included key surveys using information from the natural sciences. An exhibition was made from the available material. In addition to analysing the relevant literature, related charters, chronicles, maps, drawings, and coat-of-arms were surveyed for any small piece of information concerning the site or its owners, predominantly the Cyko family. Supplemented with parallels, the results of the whole investigation were presented at national and international conferences in both history and archaeology.

Concerning present-day Hungary, the research, naturally, had to be predominantly concentrated on the published special literature supplemented with consultation on methods, sites, excavations, finds, or other sources with experienced colleagues, among others Gergely Buzás, Pál Engel, Tibor Koppány, András Kubinyi, Beatrix Romhányi, Ilona Valter, László Vándor, István Vörös and Judit Tamási. To the great advantage of the continuation of my dissertation, I was given the opportunity to work with the material from two sites similar to the one at Pomáz. The excavator of Kisnána, Nóra Pámer, gave me permisson to publish her finds from that gradually fortified manorial complex and I shall also probably "inherit" the ongoing excavations of Judit Tamási at the Báthori residence at Nyírbátor. Adding the well-published examples of Tar and Botszentgyörgy, the summarised case studies of these five sites will provide a basis for my dissertation which will place the Hungarian case in a European context.

Central Europe is not, and for particular reasons it is not going to be, as respected as it should be. Here, even more than in Hungary, I would need to rely upon the published material, but because of the "close" ties between scholars and publication in this part of the world, this would not be a satisfactory solution. For this reason I have tried to get support for research trips to neighbouring countries to gather information from local scholars about the progress they have made and to visit sites and inspect excavated materials (e.g. Slovakia, the Transylvanian part of Romania, and Bohemia). However, Poland, Croatia, and Austria are still excluded, and the trips I have made so far were less fruitful than I expected. To get an overview of the decade-long job of several archaeologists, art historians, and historians is almost impossible in a few days. The recent publications and tendencies in Bohemia and Slovakia are, however, much more promising.

Western Europe seems far less influential in this respect, although the study of results has primary importance. It is not because of their similarity to the Hungarian case or because the excavated places may have parallel traits to those found elsewhere in Central Europe, but because of the well-developed methodolgy employed based on a non comparable number of excavated or otherwise surveyed sites.

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From this point of view, England is definitely the best place for studying the kind of manorial structures the English used, and the kinds of questions scholars ask concerning their material. It is rather surprising to see how different the whole concept of research into seigneurial residences is in England.

In general, a comparative study on architectural, historical (family history, history of the sites, etc.), and cultural (meaning material culture) bases would promote further research into manorial sites in Hungary. The most neglected part, the functional analysis of architectural units, deserves special attention.

The expected results and answers to the most crucial questions:

Although the English case suggested that terminological questions receive undue attention, it seems to me that in many cases research still needs to be completed or restructured there as well.

Questions, such as What is a residence?; What is the difference between *curia, castellum,* and *castrum*?; or What counts as fortification?, are practically un-definable. Nevertheless, they are worth dealing with so that we know what we are referring to in the first place. Well studied sites (the five case-studies) placed within their social contexts, that is, the owner families, are similarly well-known, and will certainly add new information to the more or less incomplete picture of the term "residence." The three names of seigneurial dwellings known from the written record–without the ability to connect them to excavated sites–have been accepted in the scholarly terminology in Hungary, but not in the West. Therefore these need better explanations than they have previously recieved. A new book by Tibor Koppány will surely help in this respect.

The recently very popular topic of the relations between and the place in the network of various settlement types would also benefit from this research. I hope to find answers for example, to the following questions:
1. The problem of burials.
2. Was the manorial complex was located in a settlement, and if yes, what kind of settlement?
3. To what extent could the village church be identified with the private church?
4. Was there a common rule to the territorial pattern of the location of residential buildings?
5. What was located in the surroundings of a manorial site: church, cemetery, chapter, castle, town, or residences of nobles in the same, lower, or higher social positions?
6. What was the distribution of manorial sites in time and space?

Finally, the social connections and economic background represent fertile areas for this research as they seem to be the most neglected. The idea is becoming less vague and can be formulated with the following questions: What kind of *curia, castellum*, or *castrum* can be associated with certain classes within noble society? What kind of economic power was necessary to sustain a particular type of manorial complex, and how was this economic power achieved?

In general, I expect more detailed, more complex, and more reliable results from this dissertation, since the investigation itself is being conducted in a more complex (also including minor details, small finds, use of data from the natural sciences, e.g. geophysical methods, or the compiling of information from various source types) and rigorously controlled fashion. An attempt will be made to create a usable archaeological source collection for historians who are not familiar with archaeology and *vice versa*. However, this may fall beyond the limits of such a work.

RESIDENT FACULTY AND SENIOR INSTRUCTORS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AND ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES IN 1997/1998

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Publications

- ⌀ "P. E. Schramm Percy Ernst Schrammról" (P.E.S. on P. E. S.), in *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. születésnapjára.* J. Kalmár, ed. (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997), 421–31.

- ⌀ "Ungarn: Geschichte und Wirtschaft", "Veszprém," "Visegrád," "Wahl, Ungarn," "Werbőczy (Verbőczy), István." in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. 8 (Munich: LexMA Verlag, 1997)

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Papers and Lectures

- ⌀ "Zusammenfassung und Schlusswort", Ein Eremitenorden aus Ungarn: die Pauliner... Studientagung, Weingarten, 12 May 1997.

- ⌀ "Neue Forschungen über die Sozialgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Adels im Königreich Ungarn", Opening address, Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in

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    "Signs of Conversion in the Laws", International Congress of Medieval Studies, Leeds, July 12, 1997

    "Középkori hatalmi szimbólumok kutatása: P. E. Schramm munkái" (Research on medieval symbology of power: The work of P. E. S.), Ph. D. Seminar, Medieval History, ELTE, February, 1998

    "A hatalom szimbólumai–a szimbólumok hatalma" (Symbols of power–power of symbols), Graduate seminar, Dept. of Social Psychology, ELTE, March 17, 1998

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Publications

    [with Posavec, Vladimir] *Povijesna čitanka za šesti razred osnovne škole* (Historical reader for primary schools) (Zagreb: Profil internaional 1997).

    [with Posavec, Vladimir] *Radanje suvremene Hrvatske i Europe* (Birth of Modern Croatia and Europe–a schoolbook for primary schools) (Zagreb: Profil international 1997).

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Papers and Lectures

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☒ *Changing patterns of Economic integration in Croatia and Slavonia (1450–1650),* Patterns of Economic and Political Integration in Central and Southeast Central Europe, Budapest, 1998

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Publications

☒ [Review of] U. Schweier, *Paradigmatische Aspekte der Textstruktur. Text-linguistische Untersuchungen zu der intra- und der intertextuellen funktionalen Belastung von Strukturelementen der frühen ostslavischen Chroniken.* Sagners Slavistische Sammlung, Bd 23., München, 1995 in *Slavonic and East European Review,* 75: 699–700.

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Papers and Lectures

⌘ *The early printed book as a textual variant,* Text Variety in the Witnesses of Medieval Texts: study from a co-operative writing prospective, Inst. of Mathematics and Informatics, Sofia, 21st September 1997

⌘ *Vokalický systém staroslovienčiny,* public lecture, Slovak Linguistic Society, Prešov, 28th November 1997

⌘ *Slovenské, prevažne levočské učebnice 17. storočia,* public lecture, Matica slovenská, Martin, 1st December 1997

⌘ *Codices, Catalogues and Computers,* 4th International Hilandar Conference, Ohio State University, 14th–15th August 1998

⌘ *Computer applications and the study of early printed books,* 12th International Congress of Slavists, 27th August–2nd September 1998

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Publications

⌘ "'Spekyn for Goddys Cawse': Margery Kempe and the Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy" (forthcoming)

⌘ "Interactive Learning Within the Self: Using the Research Notebook to Enhance Critical Thinking Skills" *Proceedings of the Second Regional Workshop on Teaching Strategies in Higher Education: The Role of Innovation,* edited by Reuben Fowkes, 71–81, Budapest: Createch Ltd., 1998

Papers and Lectures

- "Creating a Conscious Classroom Culture in Multi-cultural Setting," *Civic Education Project Orientation Program: East-Central Europe and Central Asia*, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, July 11, 1998

- "The Vanquished Knight and the Clumsy Servant: Considerations of Human Imperfection," *Aspects of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Europe: An Interdisciplinary Workshop*, Central European University, Budapest, April 2–6, 1998

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Publications

- ed. of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 36–39

- "The Importance of Colour in the Life of Medieval and Early Modern Society in Western and Central Europe", in *Color and Cultural Heritage 95. International Conference Varna 1995. Compilation of Reports*, (Sofia: Color Group Bulgaria, 1998) 11–15 (in Bulgarian translation in the Bulgarian part of the book)

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- "Urban Ways of Life in the Late Middle Ages: The Old and the New, the Traditional and the Progressive", in *Towards a New Time. Changes in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Göran Dahlbäck, (Stockholm, forthcoming)

- "Alltag in der Stadt des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Alltagserfahrungen in der Geschichte Österreichs*, (Vienna, ÖBV Pädagogische Verlag, 1998)

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Papers and Lectures

✍ *Kloster und Handwerk im späten Mittelalter*, conference "Kloster und Eisen", Eisenbibliothek Schaffhausen (November 1997)

✍ *The Image of Historical Images*, guest lectures at the University of Dnjepropetrovsk, Department of History (December 1997)

✍ *Testamente und mittelalterliche Alltagskultur. Das Beispiel des Donauraumes*, "Végrendeletek és hagyatéki leltárak, mint levéltári források." Conference of the town archives Sopron (December 1997)

- *Visual Images as part of the European Manuscript Server,* EMSI-workshop, Ravenna (February 1998)
- *Visual Resources for Medieval Studies in Central Europe,* 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo (May 1998)
- *Visual Representations of Saint Bernard. Patterns and Development,* 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo (May 1998)
- *Searching for the Patterns of Image Language. The Example of Social Groups,* International Medieval Congress, Leeds (July 1998)

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Publications

- *Homérosz: Íliász.* Budapest 1998. Talentum Műelemzések 86p
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- *Antigone et Créon, l'héroisme ans la tragédia de Sophocle.* Caen, October 1998
- *Kirké.* Public Lecture, Ókortudományi Társaság, Budapest, November 1998

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Publications

- "Modeli ženske svetosti u Srednoj Europi i u Italiji tijekom XIII. i XIV. stoljeća" (Models of female sainthood in Central Europe and Italy in the 13th and 14th century), *Otium* 4/1–2 (1996) 12–30. (appeared in 1998)

- "Duh karnevala: Bahtinova teorija kulture puckog smijeha" (The spirit of the Carnival. Bakhtin's theory on the popular culture of laughter), *Knjizevna smotra* 29 (1997) 51–60.

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- "Borselli és Taeggio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával" (The Margaret legend of Borselli and Taeggio with the critical apparatus of Florio Banfi), in *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europaeae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. születésnapjára* edited by János Kalmár, (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997) 11–56.

- "Miraculum and Maleficium: Reflections Concerning Late Medieval Female Sainthood," in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe* edited by R. Po-Chia Hsia and R. W. Scribner, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen Bd. 78. (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1997), 49–74.

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- ✍ "The Common Roots of Europe" by B. Geremek, *Reviews of History*, e-mail publication, March 23, 1998.

Papers and Lectures

- ✍ *A bor a keresztény ikonográfiában és a szentek életében*, (Wine in Christian iconography and in the Lives of the Saints)–Bor, kultúra történelem (Wine, culture, history) ELTE, Budapest, September 1997

- ✍ *Les solidarités médiévales*–Les solidarités en Europe Centrale et du Sud-Est, Université de Bucharest, Monastère de Horezu, September 1997.

- ✍ *Georges Duby et la Hongrie*–Journée d'Hommage à Georges Duby, Musée de Cluny, Paris, November 1997.

- ✍ *Nouvelle histoire, nouveau Moyen Age entretien avec Jacques Le Goff*–Série Les Revues parlées, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, January 1998

- ✍ *Nuns and Princesses: Royal Courts and Female Monasticism in late Medieval Central Europe*–Gendered Communities, The Historical Society of Israel, Tel Aviv, March 1998.

- ✍ *Johannes Nider és a boszorkányszombat mitológiájának kezdetei* (Johannes Nider and the beginnings of the origin of the mythology of witches' sabbath)– A boszorkányhit Közép-Európában, MTA, Néprajzi Kutatóintézet, Budapest, May 1998

- ✍ *Europa als Wille und Vorstellung: Some Reflections by a Medievalist*, Collegium Budapest, June 1998

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Publications

- ☒ "Bevezetés" (Introduction) and a chapter "A honfoglaláskori evés, ivás és vendéglátás történetének és anyagi kultúrájának kutatási lehetőségei" (Research possibilities of the history and the material culture of eating, drinking and reception in the Hungarian Conquest time) In: *"Nyereg alatt puhítjuk" Vendéglátási és étkezési szokások a honfoglaló magyaroknál és a rokon kultúrájú lovasnépeknél. / Kereskedelmi, Vendéglátóipari és Idegenforgalmi Főiskola, Tudományos Közlemények II. = Ómagyar Kultúra, X. évf.* különszám. ed. József Laszlovszky, Budapest, 1997, 24–29.

- ☒ with Tamás Pusztai and Gábor Tomka: "Muhi-Templomdomb. Középkori falu, mezőváros és út a XI–XVII. századból. (Muhi-Templomdomb. Medieval village, market town and road from the 11th–17th century) In: *Utak a múltba. Az M3-as autópálya régészeti leletmentései. (Paths into the Past. Rescue Excavations on the M3 Motorway)*, eds.: Pál Raczky–Tibor Kovács–Alexandra Anders, Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Régészettudományi Intézet, 1997, 144–150.

Papers and Lectures

- ☒ *Maps and Medieval Landscape*, Old Maps in the Heart of Europe, International Map Collectors' Society, 16th International Symposium, Budapest, September 1997.

- ☒ *Palaces in Medieval Hungary*, The Medieval and Renaissance Palaces of Britain and Europe, University of Oxford, November 1997.

- ☒ *Les espaces publics ecclésisatiques et royaux dans les villes médiévales en Hongrie*, Anthropoligie de la ville médiévale–ses aspects matériels et culturels, le Centre de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et l'Institut Historique Allmand de Paris, Paris, November 1997.

- ☒ *The Virtual Reality of the Past*, University Faculty Public Lectures, CEU, March 1998.

Academic and Professional Services

- 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,
  Paris).

- Field survey project in the Upper-Tisza region (co-directing with John
  Chapman, Newcastle).

- Member, Programming Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds

- Organizer and director, CEU/HESP Summer University Course,
  Documentation and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage, July 1998.

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Publications

- "Könyörgés a GULAG-ról" (A supplication from the GULAG), *Pannonhalmi
  Szemle,* 5/3 (1997 Autumn): 106–109.

- "Én nem az ő eretnekjük vagyok" (I am not their heretic: Katalin Vidrányi and
  Christology), *Budapest Review of Books (BUKSZ)* 9/4 (1997 Winter), 437–440.

- "Egyházatyák vagy eretnekek? Patrisztikai antológia" (Fathers or Heretics? A
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- "L'intellect amoureux et "l'un qui est." Une doctrine mal connue de Plotin."
  Revue de Philosophie Ancienne 1997/2, Bruxelles (forthcoming)

- "Szent Simeon, az Új Teológus és az isteni lényeg filozófiája" (Saint Symeon
  the New Theologian and the Philosophy of the Divine Substance).
  Pannonhalmi Szemle, 6/3 (1998 Autumn, forthcoming)

- "From the stories of Abbot Daniel of Scetis." Seven stories with notes and a
  postface (translation into Hungarian from Greek), *Pannonhalmi Szemle,* 6/2
  (1998 Summer): 29–49.

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Publications

- "Aspects of Female Rulership in Late Medieval Literature: The Queen's Reign in Angevin Hungary," *East-Central Europe*, vols. 20–23, part I (1993–1996): 68–86. (appeared in 1998)

- "Aspects de la christianisation des Hongrois aux IXe–Xe siècles," in *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, ed. P. Urbańczyk. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowa Semper, 1997, 53–65.

- "Le baptême de Saint Étienne de Hongrie," in *Clovis. Histoire et mémoire*, dir. Michel Rouche, vol. II. *Le baptême de Clovis, son écho a travers l'histoire*, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997, 437–452.

- "La christianisation de la Hongrie," in *Gerbert l'Européen. Actes du colloque d'Aurillac*, ed. N. Charbonnel–J.-E. Iung, Aurillac: Société des lettres, sciences et arts "La Haute-Auvergne," 1997, 255–262.

- "Power and Poetry: The Epigrams of Pope Damasus on the Tombs of the Martyrs," *Acta Antiqua Hungarica*, Budapest, 1998 (forthcoming)

- "Prayer at the Tomb of the Martyrs," in *Atti del Convegno "La preghiera nel tardo antico," Augustinianum*, Rome (forthcoming)

- "Christian Factionalism in Rome: Pope Damasus and the Saints," *Journal of Roman Studies* (forthcoming)

- "Les femmes de la noblesse hongroise sous les Angevins," in *Actes du colloque La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rome: École Française de Rome (forthcoming)

Papers and Lectures

- *"Prayer at the Tomb of the Martyrs: The Epigrams of Pope Damasus,"* La preghiera nel tardo antico. XXVII Incontro di Studiosi dell'antichita cristiana, Rome, Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, May 1998

Recent Degrees

- Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1998

- Cand. Sc., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1998.

REPORTS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECTS

I. NOBILITY IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CENTRAL EUROPE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

János M. Bak

The project, launched in Summer 1996, arrived to its intermediate stage in the beginning of 1998; therefore, a second workshop was organised on 6–8 February 1998 with the participation of students and researchers from Belarus, Canada, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia, some of whom are studying or teaching at CEU Budapest. After the participants had attended the first Ph.D. defence at CEU (Stanko Andrić's dissertation on the miracles of John Capistrano), the workshop was opened by a short overview of the project's past and present.

János Bak reported on the participation of twelve members of the project at the "Wissenschaftliche Tagung: Mittelalterlicher niederer Adel in Ostelbien und Ostmitteleuropa," in Rostock, Germany, on 12–14 June 1997; the publication of the proceedings is presently contemplated either in English or in German. We also organised a panel at the III. Medieval Congress in Leeds (July 1997), where Andrej Komac, Marija Karbić and Janusz Kurtyka presented their material–commented upon by Martin Aurel–to an interested audience. The publication of a bilingual (Latin-English) annotated edition of the *Tripartitum* of István Werbőczy, the basic legal reference for the status of Hungarian nobles, is now part of our project, in cooperation with the publisher of the *Decreta Regni Medivaevalis Hungariae,* and may be ready by 1999. A revised English translation of Erik Fügedi's "The Elefánthys", the book which was an important point of departure for our project, has been edited by Damir Karbić and is due to be published by CEU Press in 1998.

During the two days of the discussions (chaired by János Bak, Pál Engel, and Damir Karbić) papers were presented by Janusz Kurtyka (Cracow), Jan Wroniszewski (Toruń), Joanna Karczewska (Toruń), Zsolt Hunyadi (CEU), Attila

Bárány (Debrecen), Marija Karbić (Zagreb), Zrinka Nikolić (Zagreb), Andrej Komac (Ljubljana), and Emilia Jamroziak (Leeds). The paper of Witold Brzezinski (Bydgoszcz) was read by the chair, since he could not come to Budapest because of family problems. Gábor Virágos (CEU) presented his material on the subsequent Sunday field trip in Pomáz (Co. Pest), which was followed by a visit to the royal sites and a lunch in the Renaissance Restaurant at Visegrád. Finally, the participants discussed the steps toward the completion of the project.

It was agreed that in 1998 individual short-term projects should focus on two groups of questions:

1. Marriage patterns and customs, dower/dowry, girls' and widows' status (property rights, etc.) and
2. Clientele, retainership, *familiaritas*, and related dependence arrangement among nobility.

Scholars, who intend to join the project at this stage, were requested to select a topic related to these subjects, for which a "very minimalist questionnaire" will be sent out. Research fellows on "old" projects were asked to indicate the time of submission of their final manuscript, preferably before the fall of 1998. A third workshop–probably the last, as the funding of the project is secured presently only till the end of 1998–will be held in early November. The conference closed with a discussion of the proposal of Janusz Kurtyka on publishing a volume with summary reviews on "Research on Medieval Nobility in East Central Europe," if possible, with a bibliography of sources and a glossary of relevant terms.

Summaries of the presentations

Witold Brzezinski: His paper, entitled "Marriage among higher local officials in Greater Poland in the second half of the fourteenth and the first of the fifteenth centuries," is intended to show the functions of this social institution within this community. The marriage of a nobleman served, besides securing the birth of a legitimate heir, the needs of managing the estate, and gained certain benefits for the husband. This marriage strategy *(Heiratspolitik)* is one of the means employed by a given family to promote their career; therefore, it should be examined in this context. The examination of Greater Polish higher local offices shows that their holders represented only a dozen or so families, and they were all connected by marriage ties. The research also established that Greater Poland was a closed region, characterised by in-territory marriages, suggesting the existence of a closed elite within the territory.

Joanna Karczewska: "Families of the Pomian kindred living in eastern Greater Poland." Working up issues regarding family filiation, their financial status, and importance in the region, the paper was focused on presenting the process of gradual increase of the families in their social position as the result of obtaining crucial positions, both secular and ecclesiastical, in the country and abroad. Additionally, the author analysed the rules of inheritance, property administration, and family relationship, that is, number of marriages and children in a family, origin of spouses, and widows' status in particular. She also discussed briefly the foundation actions of the families. Illustrations were a map summarising the spread of properties, which the Pomians possessed, and the coats of arms.

Jan Wroniszewski: The general features of the private and the everyday life of the Polish nobility in the late middle ages was the topic of this paper–a topic, which is fundamental for the research of the knighthood. According to Jan Wroniszewski, this subject can be investigated almost only based on the written sources, mainly charters. The family lineage and the interaction of its members, as the basic characteristics of the private life, are represented by the Rawicz kindred (one of the 300 clans in the fourteenth-fifteenth-century Poland) with its more than 500 male members. The paper also discussed the property base: land (mostly parts of villages with separate locations), one or more residences (following the pattern of the location of lands) and sometimes even a house in one or more town(s). The basic characteristic of the noblemen (following the example of the king) was the territorial mobility, what also was in connection with the residences. The women with the children were, however, rather confined to one of these. The *curia* of a noble was inhabited usually by a few dozen people. Although the nobles lived in the countryside, they were not separated from the wider world, which is also shown by their travels to the holy places and to the royal courts of neighbouring states. The paper also explored the status of women in noble families, which seemed to be a rather independent one both in financial and legal terms; women also had some chance to select their husbands.

Janusz Kurtyka: The essay about "The Lords of Cracow" addressed the relationship between gentry clientele and magnates in medieval Poland in the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. The tool for this investigation was the research on the magnate camp's leadership group, which was a permanent element on the political scene, during different periods between 1327 and 1461: the Anjou faction, the camp of the "Lords of Cracow," and the faction of Lesser Polish oligarchy; other competing magnate groups were less stable and more fluid

concerning the composition of their leadership. The dominance period of the "Lords of Cracow" was represented by members of the Tarnowski, Tęczyński, Oleśnicki, and Kurozwęcki families. The relations between the persons were analysed from the perspective of clientele dependencies. The other question of interest was the cultural and social role of the magnate court and its clientele–the composition of the court ("clientele of service") and the stock of their dependants ("clientele of honour")– which was illustrated by some examples. As a conclusion, the relations in the clientele were established as "horizontal" between clients and as "vertical" between patron and client.

Zsolt Hunyadi: The aim is to investigate the medieval (pre-1526) history of certain "clans" of the Hungarian lesser nobility including, among others, their origin, genealogy, property and wealth, system of inheritance, marriage strategies, social status, following the method worked out by Erik Fügedi, and a set of questions elaborated by the Nobility Project. Accordingly, the history of the lesser noble Szentivány kindred (three branches of the clan: Szentivány, Szmrecsány, Baán-Nádasd) from Liptó County were put under query with special regard to the question of inheritance against the background of the legal principles in Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* and the picture drawn by the charters. The main corpus of the research consists of the charters in the cartulary of the Szent-Ivány family. The documents concern both the genealogical part of the process and the analysis of the different affairs of 7–8 generations of the clan. Regarding the administration, maintenance and inheritance of the clan-properties, the kindred followed Hungarian customary law. Despite the fact that they were engaged in legal proceedings for their own properties against either their relatives or others people outside the kindred, they complied with the customs, that is they did not question the dominant role of the member of senior rank, they provided the dowry and the filial quarter.

Attila Bárány: Behind the title–"Rise to Prominence in Fifteenth-century Hungary: Lesser Noble Careers in King Sigismund's Court"–is a case study, examining the significant change of the relationship between crown and aristocracy, this time for the Pálóci and Berzevici families. It deals with the possibilities of social mobility ("from knight to magnate"), placing special emphasis on the role of royal patronage in the making of an aristocratic dynasty. The cardinal point of the inquiry in this work is "fidelity" to the monarch. Sigismund elevated completely new men (*homines novi*) outside the circle of the traditional aristocracy, being mainly of lesser noble background, to the highest dignities of political power. These people were particularly connected to his person as being royal "favourites," "advisers," or

"companions-in-arms." Thus, the new elite seemed as a kind of informal group of supporters. The Pálóci and Berzevici story shows that the office-holding expert nobility did not "pre-set a bill" for their services and demand lands from the crown; these families were not rewarded with hereditary holdings. Although they were government members, they still remained lesser nobles by status. While still not the official aristocracy of absolutism, in its major characteristic it has the necessary bases to develop into a more modern one.

Marija Karbić: After having presented her results concerning the research of some noble kindreds from *Nobilis Comunitas Campi Zagrabiensis* at previous conferences of the project, she now reported on the recent stage of her study. First, she found that the marriage policy of the community seems to be quite closed. There are exceptions, that is, contracting marriages outside of the *Nobilis comunitas*. Moreover, the same happened even with commoners. Second, the term *quarta puellaris* seems different from the general perception of the same in Hungary. Third, earning nobility by maternal line is not exclusively conditioned with *quarta* given out in land.

Zrinka Nikolić: The relations between bishops and protopatricians of the Dalmatian towns (Zadar, Split, Trogir, Osor) in the tenth and eleventh centuries were investigated. The bishops certainly belonged to the urban elite, although they did not necessarily have to derive from this elite. They were probably the most influential persons in the towns. Therefore, the distinguished families of the towns tried to get their members elected both into the position of the prior (the secular leader of the community) and the bishop. At the same time attempts to obtain these position could lead to conflicts between the important families, however, in the sources there are no explicit data about such events. The bishop's position could become very insecure, if an influential family was rebelling against him (even the excommunication did not help much). The greatest Dalmatian bishops were usually foreigners in their bishopric; therefore, they could have neutral position since they did not belong to any of the local clans.

Andrej Komac: The general topic is the social standing of some Carinthian and Carniolan noble families: what were the attributes (lordship rights, family relations, and relations between provincial nobility and the duke) that were decisive for social ranking? The other important aspect, the estate policy of the Carinthian nobility was the subject of this presentation. Because of the lack of sources (*urbaria*), only certain aspects of this policy can be clarified: the strategy of territorial expansion and the role of fiefs and alods in this strategy. These points were discussed on the basis of

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the representative example of the Carinthian lords of Ostrovica, whose aim was to expand and integrate their possessions scattered in Carinthia and Carniola. Aspects related to kinship and estates were taken into consideration: inheritance pattern, marriage payments, and division of the estates among family members were discussed. The most crucial acquisitions for a family's future were castles as centres of local government. To achieve this goal lesser lords chose the Carinthian dukes as their protector and also tried to buy off all the landed holdings surrounding their acquired castles. The example of the Ostrovica also confirms that freeholding was not a prerequisite to move into the ranks of the most influential provincial nobles. Finally, it was emphasised that marriage strategy was the most important element in expanding.

Emilia Jamroziak: This presentation concentrated on the analysis of the secondary literature involving interdisciplinary research methods: "What Anthropology Can Say about Noble Medieval Monastic Foundations: Some Remarks Based on the Research Scholarship, or What's New in the Research on Monastic Foundations." The studies of gift-giving and its role in the social life, carried out by historical anthropologists, dealt mainly with examples of the so-called primitive societies. Such an approach to medieval matters, such as gift-giving and monastic foundations by nobility, was, however, studied only recently. Socio-economic aspects of foundations and symbolical-ideological dimensions can also be analysed in this light. Although literature of this kind is relatively abundant in recent times, most historians cannot avoid approaching sources of donor–monastery relationship without making judgements, or patronising approach. In-depth analyses can be found only in those studies which are rooted both in historical methods and interdisciplinarity. In that way historical anthropology can offer a tool for understanding a world so different from our own.

Gábor Virágos: The basic idea of this short presentation, held in the small exhibition room at Pomáz, was to call the attention to the non-written sources as an evidence for investigating the nobility. The example of the Cyko family, who possessed most of this village during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, outlines the possibility how the finds of an excavation can correspond with the data of the charters. The unique artefacts, expensive imported wares, items reflecting a knightly culture–all refer to an exceptional position of the family: rich and powerful, but mainly because of the close connection to the royal centres and dynasty. The excavations, paralleling charters and chronicles, provide evidence for both the flourishing and the declining periods.

After the workshop a number of research proposals were submitted and approved:

1. Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu: Clientele, retainership, and *familiaritas* among the nobles of the Hațeg (Hátszeg) area.
2. Zrinka Nikolić: Structure of power of Dalmatian protopatricians in the tenth and the eleventh centuries.
3. Andrej Komac: Certain aspects related to the landed estates of Carniolan nobility: the example of the Auersperg/Turjak family.
4. Nada Zečević: Marriage strategy in the Albanian nobility (case study of three kindreds).
5. Jan Wroniszewski: Umstände des Erb- und Eigentumsrecht der Frauen in Polen: Ihre praktische Anwendung und ihre gesellschaftlichen Kontext. (As a second project.)
6. Emilia Jamroziak: intends to submit a proposal in the near future.

These projects, similarly to the already running ones, have to be completed before the end of 1998.

Excursion to Visegrád.

II. A YEAR IN THE VISUAL LABORATORY

Tamás Sajó

The Visual Laboratory of the Medieval Studies Department has three functions: It organizes various research projects in the field of medieval studies involving students and staff of the Department, it supports education by making students familiar with computerized methods in their respective fields, and it provides library services as the largest local collection of relevant material on CD-s, microfiches and laser disks.

Since its foundation in 1994, the Visual Laboratory has organized a project entitled "Visual Resources in East Central Europe." The first three-year period of this project was completed this academic year, and produced, among other things, an extensive catalogue of those institutions and collections in the region that possess a significant number of photographs concerning the medieval cultural heritage of the region. This list, compiled by several assistants, was edited by Béla Zsolt Szakács, and will soon be published both on the Internet and in booklet form.

Another impressive product of this project was the release of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary CD*, the first electronic publication of a complete medieval illuminated manuscript. This fourteenth-century codex, one of the most precious treasures of medieval Hungarian art, whose 549 surviving illustrations represent the lives of 58 saints, has been scattered over the centuries, and the existing pages are kept in six different collections all over the world, from the Vatican to St. Petersburg, and from Berkeley to Paris. This CD, prepared by Béla Zsolt Szakács and Tamás Sajó, was not only the first virtual unification of the former codex, but it also included a scholarly apparatus, ranging from the complete text of the legends on which the illustrations were based to the detailed iconographic descriptions of the same, and including the biographies of the saints represented, as well as the various reconstruction hypotheses of the original manuscript. The Angevin CD, the fruit of three years of research and technical work, was officially presented to the public on 13 March 1998 in the Széchényi Library, where the Rector of the CEU, Dr. Josef Jařab also offered to the Library a precious donation: the complete facsimile of the pages kept in the Vatican Library, purchased by this project for the purposes of comparative research.

The Angevin CD was prepared in the ORBIS program, a scholarly database program developed at the Department since 1992. The software was originally developed for and used by museums, libraries and archives throughout Hungary and in the region for cataloging and publishing their materials. Due to the support of the

Soros Open Society Institute, a three-year project was launched in 1994 to support the cataloguing of eight important Hungarian collections. The technological assistance for this work–installing the software in the institutions, providing technical advice, working out standards on the basis of similar international projects, scanning slides and photographs, composing the databases and the final catalogues, and so forth–was also largely provided by the personnel and equipment of the Visual Laboratory. On 13 December a one-day Orbis workshop was organized by the Department with the participation of the relatived institutions and external experts, and on this occasion the completed catalogues were also presented to the public. These will be published on CDs, beginning this year with the manuscript collection of the Kalocsa Cathedral Library and the old print library of the Ráday Collection.

The Visual Resources Project also continued during this academic year, due to a generous donation from the HESP. This time, in addition to apart from the development of the equipment and collections of the Visual Laboratory, support was given to four part-time projects. Gerhard Jaritz, professor of our department and senior researcher of the Krems *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences aims at the completion and electronic processing of thousands of high quality photographs of the region's medieval heritage–mostly tableaux and fresco paintings–collected during several seasons of fieldwork from Austria to Romania. The scanned photos are described in minutiae in the pioneering KLEIO historical database program. Béla Zsolt Szakács, assisted by two of our Ph.D. students, Judit Majorossy and Zsolt Hunyadi, collected and processed the material kept in various photo archives relating to the art of the reigns of King Louis I of Hungary (1342–1382) and Emperor Sigismund (1390–1437). The respective image databases are also developed in the Orbis system. Beatrix Romhányi (ELTE University) developed an exceptionally extensive Orbis database on all the monasteries of medieval Hungary. With the assistance of our Ph.D. students, the same work has been extended to Croatia and Bulgaria. Finally, Sergey Sazonov from the Rostov Kremlin Museum processed the rich icon collection of the museum, focusing his work on hagiographic principles.

Students of the Department have always been encouraged to do and present their research with the help of computer technology, as is proved by several databases the Visual Lab produced during the recent years. This year Biljana Bogatinoska (M.A.) prepared her database on "Macedonian Churches A.D. 800–1200", an extensive catalogue of the sites and remains of this fertile period and region of Late Byzantine art, and Adrian Bara (Ph.D.) gave an impressive presentation of his image database on Transylvanian medieval castles. The assistance of the

Visual Laboratory is also appreciated by students from other departments, as is evidenced by the spectacular presentation of the urban development of Skopje prepared by Sofija Maneva (M.A.) from the History Department; this material can be also seen on the Internet. The Summer University program of the Department (Restoration and Documentation of Cultural Heritage) was, as in the two previous years, heavily based on the Visual Laboratory's equipment and work.

The extensive CD, photograph and microfiche collection of the Visual Lab was enriched this year by two important sets of material. On the one hand, with the purchase of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae that complemented the formerly acquired CDs of ancient and medieval texts, we are able to provide our students with a complete library of all ancient texts, whether in Greek, Latin or Hebrew. On the other hand, we have managed to purchase the complete microfiche edition of the Bibliotheca Palatina, the largest late medieval/early Renaissance library, once set up in Heidelberg and now kept in the Vatican Library. This huge collection of more than a hundred thousand medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and early prints is now available for the first time in our region, and will certainly serve as a unique resource for the research of our students, staff as well as the scholars outside the CEU.

VISUAL RESOURCES OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY
FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Béla Zsolt Szakács

The aim of this part-project is to build up computer-based documentation of different types of visual resources of late medieval Hungary, including panel paintings frescoes, books illuminations, sculptures, and minor arts. The project is co-ordinated by Béla Zsolt Szakács.

As a first result, the new Windows/Netscape-based version of the CD-ROM edition of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was published in early 1998. The CD contains all the 545 images of the codex, now kept in different collections of the world. A detailed textual description and commentary as well as two iconographical indexes (ICONCLASS and Thésaurus des images médiévales), related sources in Latin and English, and information on the lives of the saints are attached to the CD. The introduction serves as a guide to the CD as well as the first summary of recent research on the history and iconographical features of the codex.

A presentation of the CD was given within the framework of a conference organized by the CEU Medieval Studies Department and held in the lecture room of the Széchényi National Library on March 11, 1998. The program was the following:

⌀   Josef Jařab, the President and Rector of the CEU donated the precious facsimile edition of the codex to the National Library (*"Ungarisches Legendarium", Vat.lat.8541*. Kommentar v. G. Morello, H. Stamm, G. Betz. Stuttgart: Belser, 1990)

⌀   Gyöngyi Török gave a lecture on "A new unknown page from the Angevin Legendary in the Louvre."

⌀   Tamás Sajó and Béla Zsolt Szakács presented the CD-ROM and an ORBIS database as well as the results of recent research on the codex.

⌀   The Medieval Studies Department participated in the multimedia exhibition "Digital Stones from the Hungarian Cultural Heritage" with the new CD-ROM edition of the codex (March 13–18, 1998).

Three other ORBIS databases are under preparation documenting various periods and aspects of visual resources of late medieval Hungary.

a) *Art under King Louis I of Hungary* 1342–1382 (prepared by Ágnes Berecz, Ph.D. candidate in Art History). This database is the documentation of an important exhibition organised by the Art History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Székesfehérvár in 1982.

b) *Art under King Sigismund of Hungary* 1387–1437 (prepared by Judit Majorossy, Ph.D. candidate in Medieval Studies). This database is the documentation of the continuation of the previous exhibition organised by the Art History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the Historical Museum of Budapest in 1987.

c) *Early Hungarian Panel Paintings*, from the beginning up to 1470 (prepared by Zsolt Hunyadi, Ph.D. candidate in Medieval Studies). This database comprises the first full iconographical documentation of the early panel paintings, based on previous and more recent research (especially Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* (Panel paintings of Medieval Hungary), Budapest, Akadémiai, 1955. and *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Art and architecture in Hungary), ed. by Ernő Marosi, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1987)

The textual parts of these databases are completed in the DOS version of ORBIS database manager software. The Windows version is under preparation together with the collecting and scanning of the illustrations.

As a new field of research, medieval fresco painting was introduced into the project with the help of our two assistants, Judit Majorossy and Zsolt Hunyadi. First, a general overview of late medieval Hungarian murals was prepared in the form of a

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checklist. We have chosen two regions with rich material. Three research trips were organized:

a) *Frescoes of Johannes Aquila and his workshop*: Velemér in Hungary, and Martjanci (Mártonhely), Turnisce (Bántornya), Selo (Nagytótlak), and Murska Sobota (Muraszombat) in Slovenia, 1st campaign, September 15–16, 1997

b) *Frescoes in County Baranya* (Pécs-Málom, Siklós: castle and church of the Augustinians, Mecseknádasd, Cserkút), October 12–14, 1997

c) *Frescoes of Johannes Aquila and his workshop*, 2nd campaign, August 12–13, 1998

As a result of these campaigns, we have prepared a complete photographic documentation of the present condition of the murals. New iconographical identification was necessary in several cases and a full transcription of medieval inscriptions was made for the first time. Photos have been digitised and are now available on CD-ROMs, while the preparation of the databases has been started. The CD documenting the frescos of Johannes Aquila's circle will be completed presumably in the academic year 1998–1999.

III. RESEARCH GROUP IN MEDIEVAL PLATONISM

György Geréby and *István Perczel*

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I) Introduction

From 1998, a new research center was founded at the CEU, the aim of which was to contribute to a better understanding of what Platonism and anti-Platonism meant in the Middle Ages, by analysing certain issues considered as essential in the development of alternative theological and philosophical strategies between ca. 300 and 1300, both in Byzantium and beyond, that is to say, in the Eastern part of the oikumene, and in the Latin West.

Our aim is to build up an international reserch team (partly based on our former students) integrated into the international scholarly network. Since we have already been in contact for some years with the *Centre de l'Étude des Religions du Livre* (CERL) in Paris, a research group associated to the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) and the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, directed by Prof. Alain Le Boulluec, as well as with the *De Wulf-Mansion Centre*, at the *Institute of Philosophy* of the *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, directed by Prof. Carlos Steel, we wanted to give these co-operations a more institutional form. We also wanted to establish a similar co-operation with Italian centers, like the research groups "Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition" and *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e altomedievale. Forme e modi di transmissione*. Our new center also intends to function as a meeting point for East-Central European and Western European scholars in our field and a connecting link between the already existing Western European networks and their Eastern European counterparts which we considered as needing to be created.

II) Report on Recent Activity

A) Connections with the CERL

Our research group received its first allowance in August 1998, so that in principle this team could only function for two months. However, thanks to the generosity of Prof. János Bak, the Director of the Research Project on Central European Nobility, who gave us a loan of 5,000 USD, we could begin to work already in the early Spring of 1998. Even earlier, in January, on the invitation of Prof. Alain Le Boulluec, István Perczel went to Paris to discuss the details of collaboration with the

CERL and also to gather material for a publication mentioned here-below, under paragraph 1/a. We agreed in starting a multifaceted, interactive collaboration, mainly consisting of the following points:

A1) Publications:

A1a) István Perczel is contributing to the publications of the *CERL*. A great encyclopedic work on Byzantine Theology is being prepared by the latter team, with Dr. Giuseppe Carmelo Conticello as editor in chief. István Perczel has written the entry on the anti-Origenist condemnations of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Another paper by István Perczel: *Denys l'Aréopagite, Évagre le Pontique et les condamnations antiorigénistes du Cinquième Concile Écuménique* could be prepared thanks to the collaboration of several members of the *CERL*. Prof. Zénon Kaluza has read and revised it from the point of view of philosophical consistency and French language and Prof. Alain Desreumaux from that of the Syriac, and again of French language. It has also been read by Prof. Alain Le Boulluec and now will be sent to Prof. Xavier Teixidor, a leading expert on Syriac philosophical texts. The paper (ca. 40 pages) became thus a fine example of international team work. It has been accepted for publication recently by the Parisian *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* on the recommendations of Proff. Alain Le Boulluec and Carlos Steel.

A1b) Prof. Alain Desreumaux who is on the editorial board of the series *Apocrypha* has suggested that Irma Karaulashvili, an *alumna* of our department, may prepare the critical edition of the Armenian version of the Doctrine of Addai, an important apocryphal text. A reworked version of the MA. thesis of Miss Karaulashvili, read and highly appreciated by Prof. Desreumaux, may serve as the introduction to this edition.

A1c) Prof. Bernard Outtier, a renowned kartvelologist (that is, specialist in Georgian studies) has proposed a similar project to another *alumna* of the CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Victoria Jugeli. She would take part in the edition of the *Lives of the Prophets* in a Georgian version.

A1d) The *CERL* is open to further collaboration of the kind. We have also proposed to prepare joint publications through the CEU Press or other publishers in Hungary. The attraction of such a proposal may reside in the fact that the waiting period for publication in France, as elsewhere in the West, is quite long, at least one year. The proposal was favourably received, even if further details should still be clarified. A pioneer publication of this kind may be the one that we plan to edit in connection with a Summer University program co-organized whith the *CERL*.

A2) Summer University

We have agreed with Professor Le Boulluec that, taking advantage of the facilities provided by the CEU Summer University (SUN), we would propose to the SUN a co-organized course on "The Many Cultural Centers of the Medieval Oikumene." We had originally planned a workshop on the same subject one year ago, but we realized that the SUN would provide much more efficient means for realizing our aim: bringing to Eastern Europe new ideas emerging in Western scholarship, on the one hand, and fostering the emergence of such ideas by organizing encounters between Western and East European scholars, on the other. Our proposal for a joint SUN course received most enthusiastic answers from several research centers, that is, besides the *CERL,* also the De Wulf Mansion Center in Leuven and *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e altomedievale. Forme e modi di transmissione* which unites several researchers scattered all over Italy. Together, we elaborated a SUN course proposal which was recently accepted by the SUN board. We intend to publish a volume on the same subject with the contributions of the SUN professors.

A3) Conference on Eucharist and Philosophy

We have also agreed to co-organize a conference in Budapest on "Eucharist and Philosophy", a topic widely discussed in the West during the Middle Ages. The special feature of the conference will be that it would treat the same problem also in the Byzantine and Syrian cultures. The conference will be held in November 1999.

A4) Joint research on manuscripts

During discussions with Prof. Alain Desreumaux it became clear that we have many common interests, one of them in manuscripts: Latin, Greek, and Syriac. Prof. Alain Desreumaux, a member of the *CERL,* is also the head of the French mission, sponsored by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for the exploration of Syrian Christianity in India, embracing its monuments, inscriptions, and manuscripts. Since István Perczel has already planned a field trip to India for mapping up, describing, and microfilming Syriac manuscripts, we were only too glad to agree on a joint mission. The French team has already made very good progress in exploring the Syriac manuscripts in Kerala, but there is an immense amount of material and still a lot of work to do, for which international cooperation is needed. István Perczel went to Kerala in September 1998, and began his work. Thanks to the information generously supplied by Prof. Alain Desreumaux, he was able to discover an important manuscript, containing an entire translation of the Dionysian Corpus in Syriac, with running commentaries (Kuriakos Bar Shamuna's version written in

AD. 776, in a XIXth century copy). He has also made a microfilm copy of a treatise *On the angels (Al malakhê)*, inspired by Pseudo-Dionysius. But this is only the beginning of a long work, which will take many years. The Syriac manuscripts in the Kerala libraries–numbering several hundreds–should be systematically catalogued and microfilmed. At the same time there arose the idea that the most urgent task would be to do something for the manuscripts of Tur Abdîn (East Turkey), where one finds the most important collections of Western Syriac codices. A joint field trip to Tur Abdîn is planned by French, Syrian, and Hungarian scholars.

B) Connections with the De Wulf Mansion Center

György Geréby and István Perczel visited Leuven in May, 1998, and discussed further collaboration with Professor Carlos Steel, President of the Institute of Philosophy and of the Medieval Institute. The opportunity was provided by a conference organized by the De Wulf Mansion Center and the Parisian publishing house *Les Belles Lettres* on "The Platonic Theology of Proclus." István Perczel was an invited speaker at the conference. In fact Professor Steel has been for many years an ardent supporter and benevolent mentor for both of us.

B1) SUN course and conference

Professor Steel expressed his willingness to take part in the organization of both the SUN course in July 1999 and the conference on Eucharist and Philosophy in November 1999.

B2) Research grants in Belgium and Holland

Moreover, Professor Steel proposed us that we draw up a list of Hungarian researchers associated with the Medieval Platonism Research Group and submit an application to the Cornelia De Vogel Foundation in the Netherlands for research grants in the Netherlands and in Belgium. In case of research done in Leuven this would mean that the trip would be financed by the De Vogel Foundation and accomodation in Leuven would be provided by the De Wulf Mansion Center. Professor Steel is on the board of the De Vogel Foundation; he has already discussed the question with other members and received positive feedback.

C) Connections with the Italian reseacrh group "La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e altomedievale. Forme e modi di transmissione"

We also began collaboration with the Italian Research Group *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e altomedievale. Forme e modi di transmissione* through Professor Giusto Traina at the University of Lecce. We made the acquaintance of Professor Traina when he acted as a resource person in a former SUN course on the Medieval Caucasus organized by us. Ever since he has been serving as the expert of our department in medieval Armenian topics. The Italian research group is also a co-organizer of the SUN course on "The Many Centers of the Oikumene." Further co-operation will be discussed when we attend the annual conference of the group, which will be held in Sorrento in October 29–31. 1998.

D) Connections with Eastern European collegues

Our intention is, of course, not only to establish contact and co-operation with Western centers of research, but also to start co-operation with Eastern European collegues and thus to act as a connecting link between East and West. We have started to make steps into this direction.

D1) Research on Albanian manuscripts

In 1983, a group of Bulgarian scholars went for a fieldtrip to Albania. They visited libraries and archives, looking for Slavic manuscripts. Although they could not find any Slavic manuscript, they have found 102 Greek, 6 Latin, and ca. 1100 Oriental (Arabic, etc.) codices. These still await to be catalogued, described, and microfilmed. We have invited a member of the Bulgarian expedition, Professor Klementina Ivanova from Sofia University, to come to Budapest and to discuss a possible joint expedition to Albania, in order to see the manuscripts and to begin to process (eventually to microfilm) them. Of course, for this new expedition, we have to wait, until the political situation becomes somewhat more stable. Professor Ivanova accepted our invitation. We still have to agree on the precise date of her visit.

D2) Colloquium in Bucharest

We also made contact with Mr. Sorin Dumitrescu, head of Anastasia publishing house. He is at present organizing a small colloquium with the participation of Romanian philosophers, perhaps also theologians, on the Romanian side, and György Geréby and István Perczel on the Hungarian side. This will take

place during October 1998. During this visit we also intend to gather some information on Greek manuscripts in Romania.

A distinguished Romanian philosopher, Virgil Ciomoş, will act as resource person in the SUN course, "The Many Centers of the Medieval Oikumene."

D3) Connections with Georgian Researchers

For many years already we have had excellent relationships with researchers working in the Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi. One among them, Professor Tamila Mgaloblishvili, is one among the resource persons of "The Many Centers of the Medieval Oikumene." Co-operation with this institute should, however, be broadened still.

E) Forthcoming publications

István Perczel has finished "Le Pseudo-Denys, lecteur d'Origène et de Proclus" part I (40 pages in print). It will be published in *Origeniana Septima* by Peeters in Leuven. The proofs have already been corrected. His "L''intellect amoureux' et 'l'un qui est': une doctrine mal connue de Plotin" (30 pages) was recently published by *Revue de Philosophie Ancienne*. He has completed in essence "Denys l'Aréopagite, Évagre le Pontique et les anathèmes antiorigénistes de 553," another study of fourty pages in print. The study was accepted by *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, Paris, but some new findings now prompt him to rework the paper. This will somewhat delay its publication. He has also finished two other papers on related subjects: "Pseudo-Dionysius and Palestinian Origenism" (29 pages), which will be published in 2000 in the Proceedings of the Conference on "The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church," held in Jerusalem in May 1998, and also "La deuxième controverse origéniste" (27 pages) written for "La théologie byzantine," a volume edited by members of the *CERL*. Two other papers are close to completion: "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Platonic Theology of Proclus," a paper read at the conference "The Platonic Theology," held in Leuven, in May 1998, and "The beginning of the first Syriac translation of Pseudo-Dionysius found in a Paris manuscript," a paper read at the 4th Syriac World Conference organised by SEERI in Kottayam, Kerala, India, in September 1998.

The promised publications of György Geréby, papers on the Platonism of Boethius and his medieval critiques, on the natural philosophy of Proclus and its reception in the medieval Latin world, on how philosophical Platonism was rejected in the West, are under way.

György Heidl (Ph.D. student at our department), besides many publications in Hungarian, completed two studies in English: "Did the Young Augustine Read

Origen's Homily on Paradise?" which will be published soon in *Origeniana Septima* (proofs corrected), and "The Letters of St. Antony and the Young Augustine" (11 pages), published in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU. 1996–1997.* His monograph, *The Young Augustine and Origen,* for Oxford Early Christian Studies, is in progress; he intends to finish it before the end of this year.

István Bugár (Ph.D. student) has finished an important study, "Epiphanius: Iconoclast and Origenist?" which proves the inauthenticity of the "iconoclast fragments" attributed to Epiphanius. The study is ready for publication, and we are looking now for an appropriate review.

The monograph of Levan Gigineishvili (Ph.D. student), *Ioanne Petritsi: His Place in Neoplatonic and Byzantine Philosophical Traditions,* will also be finished in this academic year. Simultaneously, he is working on a translation from the Georgian of the *Seven Letters* of St. Anthony. The translated text will be commented upon by István Perczel.

Irina Kolbutova (Ph.D. student) is now preparing her first publication on the metaphysical world-diagrams contained in the *Uta Evangelistary* (eleventh century), in collaboration with István Perczel.

IV. RESEARCH PROJECT ON COMPUTER SUPPORTED PROCESSING OF SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

Ralph Cleminson

The research project on Computer Supported Processing of Slavonic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books funded by the CEU Research Board has been a co-ordinating operation based in the department of Medieval Studies of the CEU uniting various projects related to this area of research. Its object has been to assist specialists both from Central and Eastern Europe and from the West working in the field of Slavic studies in three principal ways: first, by researching and developing computer tools suitable for solving specific problems of entering, storing and re-trieving Slavonic texts in manuscripts and in early printed books; second, by col-lecting data on applicable computer tools and providing guidelines and resources for computer-assisted research and education; third, to improve the dissemination of information by hard publications and internet resources and by bringing together interested scholars for the exchange of expertise.

Though the study, description and cataloguing of cyrillic MSS and early printed books has a long tradition, the proliferation of information has brought with it new methodological problems. Research in any field of manuscript studies (textological, linguistic, historical, art historical or any other) is facilitated by and indeed demands meticulous collation of sources. This is no easy task, involving as it does a detailed manual search through publications which are frequently not easily accessible on account of their number and dispersal and as often as not sheer physical unavailability. The resources of information technology provide the best means of addressing these problems, but require considerable development before they are easily usable with this type of text. There has been an increasing awareness of the need for increased co-operation and communication between scholars working in the field in different locations, and with the removal of the political obstacles which until lately made such an initiative impossible, this project has represented a first step towards a genuine internationalisation of the field.

The development of techniques has throughout been tied to actual practice, with participants in the project being involved in three major initiatives involving medieval texts, viz. the encoding of manuscript miscellanies in Sofia, the descrip-tion of the cyrillic manuscripts of Lviv, and the Anglo-Irish union catalogue of early printed cyrillic books. The project's outcomes, moreover, are designed to be univer-sally applicable, being based on the following principles: standardisation of the file

format; multiple use (ensured by the separation of data from processing; portability of electronic texts (independence of local platforms); necessity of long term preservation of manuscripts and early printed books in electronic form; orientation towards well-structured divisions of data according to established traditions of codicology, orthography, palaeography, textology, etc.

It was early decided that Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) and its application according to the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) correspond most adequately to these principles. (Anyone interested in the details of what this means may find out more at their respective home pages, viz http://www.oasis-open.org/cover/sgml-xml.html and http://www.uic.edu:80/orgs/tei/.)

The progress of the project during the past year was considerably hampered by the inefficiencies of the system for disbursing research monies at the CEU, where the budgetal system was undergoing reorganisation. Nevertheless, we can derive considerable satisfaction from the fact that all the individual initiatives connected with the project have benefited tangibly by their mutual association, not only in terms of direct contact between participants, but also through exchange of experience and expertise. Much of the project's work has naturally been conducted in "cyberspace", but one major event in its operation in Budapest was the workshop which took place on November 11th–17th in the department (see pp. 197). This was arranged to co-incide with a CRC visit to the Department which brought together participants from ten countries, both project members and outsiders, to consider some basic and more advanced aspects of text encoding and its application to their immediate research interests. This had a considerable success in disseminating the achievements of the project, heightening awareness within the region of the existence of this type of research, and establishing contacts between individuals working within the field who had previously been operating in relative isolation.

Results from the project were also presented at an international forum at the Twelfth International Congress of Slavists in Cracow, in the form of a panel on computer applications to medieval texts, the papers from which were published in *Palaeobulgarica* xxii/2.

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SUMMER UNIVERSITY COURSE

DOCUMENTATION AND RECONSTRUCTION
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

József Laszlovszky

The 1998 Summer University Course, "Documentation and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage", was envisioned as a follow-up to the 1997 Summer University course, "Cultural Heritage in Danger." The great interest in, and response to, this course shows that this is an issue which continues to remain the joint concern of the Central and Eastern European region. Intended to contribute to solving the manifold problems encountered in the field of cultural heritage preservation, the course was in part based on the responses to the Cultural Heritage Information Centre, a regional cooperative network created as part of the SUN '97 course. The main emphasis was again on the presentation of institutions involved in, and projects designed for, the documentation of cultural heritage.

One of the key issues in this respect is the adequate documentation of the region's cultural heritage. A great deficiency in this field is the lack of a uniform documentation system. We hoped to contribute to the latter by presenting various approaches and philosophies of documentation, as well as the different documentation techniques, and by raising awareness of the need to document the endangered cultural heritage, both architectural and artistic. The threats to the latter are especially acute owing to the growing illegal export of cultural objects. The documentation, both textual and visual, of cultural objects is crucial to their protection and to the prevention of their illicit trade.

The need for the "complete and lasting documentation of sites, structures, cultural landscapes, objects and cultural systems" was one of the main issues discussed at the CSCE's Cracow Symposium. Recent military conflicts have also posed a serious threat to the cultural heritage, and the lack of an adequate documentation was heavily felt. The catalogue of losses is especially extensive in former Yugoslavia, and underlines the need for documenting what still remains of the cultural heritage.

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A total of twenty-eight students were selected from over one hundred applicants, from almost all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Beside receiving a higher number of applications, and from many more countries than in 1997, we also found that the applicants' academic level was in general higher than last year. Most of the applicants who had been accepted to the course came from institutions involved in the protection of cultural heritage, national and regional archives, and national and regional museums, and they were invariably also involved in education on various levels. We therefore feel that the course which had many lectures focusing on these issues had both theoretical and practical relevance for the participants.

We also asked course participants to prepare a summary of their work and of the cultural heritage projects they were currently involved in. Most of them sent this material well in advance of the course and this offered us an opportunity to schedule specialized consultations and, also, to organize individual meetings with Hungarian specialists working in the field of heritage documentation.

The lecturers invited to the course covered many aspects of this complex issue. Although the main emphasis was on documentation, some lectures were devoted to conservation and reconstruction techniques based on the still available evidence, as well as to the presentation of cultural heritage to a wider audience (e.g. in museums).

Most of our lecturers came well equipped with visual material (slides, CDs, transparencies, etc.), and this meant that almost none of the lectures were of the "speaking heads" type since our lecturers were able to illustrate the points they wanted to impress on the participants. Since a great variety of visual material was presented, this allowed our participants to compare them and, indirectly, to learn about the different possibilities of creating visual material for cultural heritage presentation.

We tried to offer a wide variety of lecture types. Some were regular lectures in the classroom, some were held in the computer lab and called for greater interaction between participants and lecturers, some involved visits to museums and public collections, and we also organized a so-called heritage walk around the centre of Budapest, pointing out monuments and offering a practical discussion of preservation issues.

Based on our experience from last year, we also organized two field trips, one to Esztergom and Pannonhalma, the other to the medieval monuments at Visegrád. Both field trips were designed to illustrate specific points in heritage preservation (such as digital cataloging and monument preservation). The field trip to Visegrád

also offered an excellent environment for the discussion of reconstruction theories and their practical implementation.

Jointly with the Hungarian Oxford Society, we organized a public lecture, given by John Steane on the monuments of Oxford. The lecture was attended by many other people beside our participants. Since the audience included the German Ambassador to Hungary and an MP of the Hungarian Parliament, this event also illustrated how influential public figures can be drawn into cultural heritage issues. The other social event of the course was the Renaissance style farewell dinner at Visegrád at the end of the second field trip, a good example of heritage tourism in practice and of how the larger public can be made aware of heritage issues.

As part of the course, we organized a visit to the CEU-ELTE Medieval Studies Library. We also received quite a few book donations from the participants, most of which were fairly inaccessible publications. Our Cultural Heritage Archives were also enriched by various legal heritage texts and project descriptions.

Both last year and this year our experience was that the participants were very enthusiastic about preparing various materials for the course. This year we also asked our applicants to translate a so-called Object ID Checklist (prepared by the Getty Information Institute and useful for recovering stolen antiquities and artworks) into their respective mother tongue. In the end, we received translations in almost ten languages.

Program of the Summer University Course
July 6–17, 1998

Monday, July 6

☒ *Course Introduction*
Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)
Renata Mikolajczyk (Ph.D. student)

☒ *Cultural Heritage in Denmark: Medieval church frescoes on the Web*
Axel Bolvig (Professor at the Department of History/The Visual Construction of Reality, University of Copenhagen)

☒ *SUN Cultural heritage programmes and CEU Cultural Heritage Information Centre*
József Laszlovszky (Associate Professor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)

☒ *Visit to the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library*
Balázs Nagy (Library curator, CEU-ELTE Medieval Library)

☒ *Visit to the CEU Medieval Studies Visual Lab*
Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)

SUMMER UNIVERSITY COURSE

Tuesday, July 7

- *Digital documentation of cultural heritage*
  Axel Bolvig (Professor at the Department of History/The Visual Construction of Reality, University of Copenhagen)
- *Visit to the CEU Central Library*
- *Visit to the CEU Computer Lab*
- *Visit to the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library*
  Balázs Nagy (Library curator, CEU-ELTE Medieval Library)
- *Visit to the CEU Medieval Studies Visual Lab*
  Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)

Wednesday, July 8

- *Course-oriented Internet session*
  Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)
- *Visit to the Hungarian National Museum (multimedia & exhibition)*
  József Laszlovszky (Associate Professor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
- *Visit to the Ráday Collection (Digital Catalogue of Books & Manuscripts)*
  Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)

Thursday, July 9

- *Course-oriented Internet session*
  Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)
- *Medieval material culture and its visual sources*
  Gerhard Jaritz (Professor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
- *Digitization of visual sources*
  Gerhard Jaritz (Professor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
- *Cultural heritage walk in the city centre of Budapest*
  Pál Ritoók (Research Fellow, Museum of Hungarian Architecture)

Friday, July 10

- *Field trip*
  Esztergom, Christian Art Museum (Digital cataloging of the museum collection)
  Dóra Sallay (Ph.D. student, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
  Tamás Sajó (Research Project coordinator)
  Pannonhalma, Medieval Benedictine Abbey, UNESCO World Heritage site (Museum, Library, Art Collection, Monuments)
  József Laszlovszky (Associate Professor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)

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✍ *Monuments of Oxford*
John Steane (Lecturer, University of Oxford, Department for Continuing Education)

Monday, July 13

✍ *Digitization of manuscripts and other documents*
Manfred Thaller (Professor, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen)
✍ *New advances in monument protection*
John Steane (Lecturer, University of Oxford, Department for Continuing Education)
✍ *International projects on manuscript digitization*
Manfred Thaller (Professor, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen)

Tuesday, July 14

✍ *Planning digitization projects*
Manfred Thaller (Professor, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen)
✍ *Writing on cultural heritage issues (research plans, grant applications)*
Mary Beth Davis (Senior Instructor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
✍ *Consultancy work in monument preservation*
John Steane (Lecturer, University of Oxford, Department for Continuing Education)

Wednesday, July 15

✍ *Architectural conservation studies*
Jaroslav Kilian (Programme Director, Academia Istropolitana Nova, Bratislava)
✍ *Presentation of cultural heritage to a wider public (writing CD-ROM texts)*
Mary Beth Davis (Senior Instructor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
✍ *Monument documentation*
Jaroslav Kilian (Programme Director, Academia Istropolitana Nova, Bratislava)
✍ *Academic writing workshop based on individual research material*
Mary Beth Davis (Senior Instructor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
✍ *Cultural heritage legislation*
Katalin Wollák (Director, Hungarian Cultural Heritage Directorate, Hungarian National Museum)

SUMMER UNIVERSITY COURSE

Thursday, July 16

- *Cultural heritage legislation*
  Katalin Wollák (Director, Hungarian Cultural Heritage Directorate, Hungarian National Museum)
- *Monument documentation*
  Jaroslav Kilian (Programme Director, Academia Istropolitana Nova, Bratislava)
- *Academic writing workshop based on individual research material*
  Mary Beth Davis (Senior Instructor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)
- *Visit to Hungarian cultural heritage institutions*

Friday, July 17

- *Field trip*
  Documentation and reconstruction of medieval monuments at Visegrád
  József Laszlovszky (Associate Professor, CEU Medieval Studies Department)

- *Renaissance style farewell dinner*

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

I. IMCOS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
25–28 September 1997

OLD MAPS IN THE HEART OF EUROPE

Program:

Friday 26th September

Session I.

- Zsolt Török (ELTE, Budapest): *The Lazarus Map and the Beginnings of Modern Cartography*

- Szilvia Holló (Historical Museum, Budapest): *Old Maps in Hungary*

- Dubravka Mlinaric (CEU - Zagreb): *Croatian Contributions to 17th Century Cartography*

- Wolfgang Scharfe (Freie Universität, Berlin): *Autochtonous and Heteronomous Carthographic Periods as metholological Approach*

Afternoon:

- Visit to the Map Collection of the Széchenyi National Library

- Guided tour of the Buda Castle District

- Visit to the Map Room, Military Historical Museum

Saturday 27th September

Session II.

- László Gróf (Oxford): *Hungarian Maps in Ortelius Altases*

- József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest): *Maps and Medieval Landscape*

- Ingrid Kretschmer (Universität Wien): *Early Highlights of Thematic Cartography*

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- Antal András Deák (Duna Museum, Esztergom): *Antecedents of the Hungarian Map of J. C. Müller*

Afternoon

- Visit to the exhibition "Budapest on Old Maps", Budapest Historical Museum
- Visit to Cartart FacTsimile workshop to explore old map-making technologies in practice
- Visit to the Department of Cartography to explore present day methodologies (digital cartography, multi-media, WWW)

Sunday 28th September

- One-day coach tour Budapest–Danube Bend (Visegrád)–Esztergom (Cathedral, Archbishop's palace)

II. WORKSHOP ON
"COMPUTER APPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL SLAVONIC TEXTS"
11–16 November, 1997

Presented by
Andrej Bojadžiev, Marta Bojanivs'ka, Ralph Cleminson, Milena Dobreva, Nina Gagova, Rumjan Lazov, Anisava Miltenova, Ana Stojkova, Stanimir Velev

Program

Tuesday, 11 November

- Formal opening of workshop
- Workshop Session I: Towards an Electronic Library of Medieval Manuscripts and Early Printed Books

Wednesday, 12 November

- Workshop Session II: Problems and Searching Programmes in Database Systems for Text-Oriented Processing
- Gerhard Jaritz : "A New Image of Historical Images?"
- Tamás Sajó: "Image databases in Hungarian Museums"
- Workshop Session III: Encoding a Complex Medieval Text
- Public Lecture: "Monasteries and Monasticism as Factors of Byzantine Settlement History" by Johannes Koder, Vienna

Thursday, 13 November

- Workshop Session IV: (a) Computer Assisted Textual Analysis; (b) Practical session: How to Create my own SGML - TEI Document (1)

Friday, 14 November

- Workshop Session V: How to Create my own SGML - TEI Document (2)

III. PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Workshop in Budapest, February 21–22, 1998

Erich Landsteiner and *Balázs Nagy*

The workshop brought eleven scholars from seven European countries and a number of guests from Hungarian academic institutions together for an intense discussion of a common theme outlined in a paper by Erich Landsteiner ("Wirtschaftliche Integration und frühneuzeitliche Staatsbildung im mittel- und südostmittel- europäischen Raum, 1450–1650"). It functioned also as a pre-conference to session C4–"Patterns of economic and political integration in central and south-east central Europe, 15th–17th centuries"–at the XII. International Economic History Congress held in Madrid, 24–28 August, 1998.

The organizers of the workshop intend to publish the contributions to the workshop together with the papers prepared for the session at the XII. International Economic History Congress.

Saturday, 21 February

First Session

- Erich Landsteiner (Vienna): *Wirtschaftliche Integration und frühneuzeitliche Staatsbildung im südostlichen Mitteleuropa, 1450–1650 (Thesen).*

- Michael Diefenbacher (Nürnberg): *Der Handel des Nürnberger Patriziats nach Osten am Beispiel der Tucher um 1500.*

- Michael Limberger (Antwerpen): *Die Rolle Antwerpens in den Handels- und Finanzbeziehungen der oberdeutschen Kaufleute, 15–17. Jahrhundert.*

Second Session

- Miroslav Polivka (Prague): *Die politische Entwicklung Böhmens im 15. Jahrhundert und die Handelskontakte zum oberdeutschen Raum.*

- Roman Zaoral (Olomouc): *Long-distance trade of the 15th century Bohemia in the light of coin hoards.*

- Neven Budak (Zagreb/Budapest): *Changing patterns of economic integration in Croatia and Slavonia, 1450–1650.*

✍ Bogdan Murgescu (Bucharest): *Die rumänischen Fürstentümer als Kontaktzone zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und dem südostmittel-europäischen Wirtschaftsraum.*

Third session

✍ Ian Blanchard (Edinburgh): *The long sixteenth century (1450–1650).*

Sunday, 22 February

Fourth session

✍ Balázs Nagy (Budapest): *The attraction of East-Central Europe to Western merchant capital.*

✍ Katalin Szende (Sopron): *Western Hungary–a region on the crossroads between East and West?*

✍ Maria Pakucs (Bucharest): *The Trade of Sibiu in the light of the customs registers of 1540 and 1550.*

Participants of the discussion were, among other scholars: Ágoston Gábor, Budapest, ELTE; Draskóczy István, Budapest, ELTE; Gecsényi Lajos, National Archives of Hungary, Budapest; Hiller István, Budapest, ELTE, Oborny Teréz, Historical Institute, Budapest; Petrovics István, Szeged, JATE; Szántay Antal, Historical Institute, Budapest; Teke Zsuzsa, Historical Institute, Budapest.

IV. ASPECTS OF COURTLY CULTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Third Interdisciplinary Workshop of Medieval Studies, Budapest, April 4–7, 1998

Program:

Thursday, April 2

✍ Jacques Le Goff (EHESS, Paris): *Vers l'étiquette de cour: un dîner officiel de Saint Louis et d'Henri III d'Angleterre à Paris en 1259.*

Friday, April 3

✍ Johannes Fried (J. W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt): *Frederick II Hunting with Falcons.*

✍ Mihail Bojtsov (Lomonosov University, Moscow): *The Funeral of Emperor Frederick III in 1493.*

✍ Elizabeth A. R. Brown (New York University): *Books of Hours, Noble Patronage, and Bibliophilic Envy at the Court of Henri II.*

✍ Peter Schreiner (Albertus Magnus-Universität, Cologne): *Is Byzantine Culture Identical with Courtly Culture?*

Saturday, April 4

Round table: *"Perspectives on Courtly Literary Culture"*

✍ Donald Maddox (University of Massachusetts, Amherst): *Boundaries and Functions of Courtly Literature.*

✍ Sara Sturm-Maddox (University of Massachusetts, Amherst): *Courtly Literature and History: The Romance of Melusine.*

✍ Mária Dobozy (University of Utah): *Expectations and Reflexivity in Courtly Narratives.*

✍ Sylvia Huot (Cambridge University): *The Courtly Context of Devotional Literature.*

✍ Mary Beth Davis (CEU): *Courtly Imagery in the Writings of Female Mystics.*

✍ Ferenc Zemplényi (ELTE/CEU): *Courtly Literature in Central Europe: the Hungarian Case.*

✍ Danielle Régnier-Bohler (Université M. de Montaigne, Bordeaux): *The Renewal of Romance and the Culture of the Court of Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century.*

Sunday, April 5 (Excursion to Visegrád)

✍ József Laszlovszky (CEU/ELTE): *The Angevin and Renaissance Palace of Visegrád.*

Monday, April 6

✍ Ernő Marosi (ELTE/MTA): *Late Angevin Art in Hungary.*

Session for Ph.D. candidates:
✍ Annamária Kovács: *Courtly Costume in Fourteenth-Century Hungary.*
✍ Giedré Mickūnaitė: *The Court of Vytautas: The Wall-Paintings in Trakai Castle of Lithuania.*
✍ Anna Brzezińska: *Polish Courtly Intrigue.*
✍ Hana Hlaváčková (Charles University, Prague): *The Courts of the Luxembourgs in Bohemia.*
✍ Małgorzata Wilska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw): *"Cabinets de Curiosités" in Medieval Courts.*

Special guests at the festive dinner.

V. 33RD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES
MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
May 7–10, 1998

The Department of Medieval Studies organised and/or participated in the following sessions:

Medieval Resources in Central Europe and the Balkans (Session 59)
Sponsor: CARA (Committee on Centers and Regional Associations,
Medieval Academy of America)
Organizer: Christopher Kleinhenz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Presider: Christopher Kleinhenz
Papers:
- Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Budapest/ Institut für Realienkunde, Krems)
  Visual Resources for Medieval Studies in Central Europe

- Zsolt Hunyadi (CEU, Budapest)
  Archival and Manuscript Resources in Hungary

- Richard F. Gyug, (Fordham University, NY)
  Libraries, Archives, and Research Possibilities in Dalmatia and Croatia

Abbas et sui auctoritate freti (Session 283)
Sponsor: The Institute of Cistercian Studies, Western Michigan Univ.
Organizer: E. Rozanne Elder (Western Michigan University)
Presider: David N. Bell, Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland
Papers:
- Daniel M. LaCorte (Fordham University)
  The Feminine Abbot: Smaragdus and the Cistercian Fathers

- Gerhard Jaritz (Institut für Realienkunde)
  Visual Representations of Saint Bernard: Patterns and Developments

- Thomas Sullivan, OSB (Conception Abbey)
  Cistercian Theologians at the Late Medieval University of Paris

Hagiographic Models in Central and South-Eastern Europe (Session ADD-1)
Sponsor: Department of Medieval Studies, CEU
Organizer: Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Budapest)
Presider: Kaspar Elm (Freie Universität, Berlin)

Papers:
- Marina Miladinov (CEU, Budapest)
  Mission and Martyrdom in the Ascetic Program of Bruno of Querfurt

- Maya Petrova (CEU, Budapest)
  Holy Harlots in the Bdinski Zbornik

- Stanko Andrić (CEU, Budapest)
  John Capistran as a Model for Observant Franciscan Sainthood

VI. INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS
University of Leeds, 13–16 July, 1998

The Department of Medieval Studies organised the following sessions:

Depopulation and Settlement Change in the Later Middle Ages (session 119)
Organizer: IMC Programming Committee
Moderator: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)
Papers:
- Terry Barry (Department of Medieval Studies, Trinity College, Dublin)
  Deserted Medieval Villages in Ireland

- Karel Nováček (Museum of West Bohemia, Plzeň) and Pavel Vařeka (Institute for Archaeological Heritage of Central Bohemia)
  A Later Medieval and Post Medieval Village in Bohemia: The Many Dimensions of Changing Settlement Structure

- Gábor Virágos (CEU, Budapest)
  Manorial Complex, Church and Village in the Late Middle Ages

Ways of Daily Life: Representation, Image and 'Realities' (session 514)
Organizer: Gerhard Jaritz (Institut für Realienkunde, Krems / CEU, Budapest)
Moderator: Gerhard Jaritz
Papers:
- Katharina Simon-Muscheid (Department of History, Universität Basel)
  Neighbours, Heirs and the Clergy: 'Ars Moriendi' or the Last Weeks

- Monika Höhl (Universität Bielefeld)
  Life in Time of Death: Coping with Epidemics, Disease and Death in Urban Everyday Life in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hildesheim

- Elizabeth Vavra (Institut für Realienkunde, Krems)
  Late Medieval Fashion: A Field of Various 'Realities'

Archaeology and Settlement in East Central Europe, I (session 608)
Organizer: IMC Programming Committee
Moderator: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)
Papers:
- Ágnes Ritoók (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest)
  Archaeology of Medieval Village Cemeteries

József Laszlovszky
Wharram Percy and the Archaeology of Deserted Medieval Villages in East Central Europe

Archaeology and Settlement in Europe (session 725)
Organizer: IMC Programming Committee
Moderator: Thomas S. Noonan (Department of History, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis)
Papers:

Péter Szabó (CEU, Budapest)
Pilis: Changing Settlements in a Hungarian Forest in the Middle Ages

Brian K. Roberts (Department of Geography, University of Durham)
Cleared Land and Woodland: England AD 600–1850.

Daily Life and Prestige (session 1014)
Organizer: Gerhard Jaritz (Institut für Realienkunde, Krems / CEU, Budapest)
Moderator: Gerhard Jaritz
Papers:

Annemarieke Willemsen (Department of Art History, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen)
Prestigious Toys for Important Children

Daily Life, Law and Order in Medieval Croatia (session 1114)
Organizer: Gordan Ravancic (CEU, Budapest)
Moderator: Norbert Schnitzler (Faculty of Philosophy, Technische Universität Chemnitz)
Papers:

Zrinka Pesorda
Sumptuary Laws in Late-Medieval Dubrovnik

Zrinka Nikolic (CEU, Budapest)
Rejection of Marriages in Medieval Dubrovnik

Gordan Ravancic (CEU, Budapest)
Prostitution in Late Medieval Dubrovnik

Urban Growth and Planning (session 1223)
Organizer: IMC Programming Committee
Moderator: József Laszlovszky (CEU, Budapest)
Papers:
- Brian Ayers (Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Norwich)
  Church Origins and Settlement Growth: An Interrelational Study in Norwich

- Martina Stein-Wilkeshuis (Dutch Working Group for Criminal Justice History, Leiden)
  The Development of a Scandinavian Settlement in Kiev during the Tenth Century

- Wim Boerefijn (Department of Art History, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden)
  The Florentine New Towns: Medieval Urbanistic Design in Relation to the Ideal Society

Food and Nutrition in Livonia and Northern Germany: The Variety of Sources (session 1414)
Organizer: Anu Mänd (CEU, Budapest)
Moderator: Melitta Weiss Adamson (University of Western Ontario, London)\
Papers:
- Anu Mänd (CEU)
  Festive Food in Riga and Reval: Account Books of Guilds and Confraternities as Sources for the History of Nutrition

- Julian Wiethold (Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel)
  Archaeobotanical Investigations in Medieval and Post-Medieval Towns of Northern Germany: The Examples of Lüneburg and Rostock

- Ken Kalling (Museum of History, Tartu University)
  Dental Pathologies as Sources for the History of Nutrition: The Case Study of Tartu

IMAGES AND PILGRIMAGES: ON SOME EVIDENCE BEFORE JUSTINIAN[1]

István Bugár

When Ernst Kitzinger in his renowned article on "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm" enumerated the signs of an escalating image cult, he emphasized the reports about images in accounts of pilgrimages.[2] The rise of images in holy places, says Kitzinger, can clearly be dated to the post-Justinian period. This view provides his main argument in favour of a theory that connects the spread of the cult of images with the cultural and social changes of the era beginning with the reign of Justinian.

André Grabar, who claims to have first suggested this chronology, warns against such interpretation of the evidence that would allow no place for the cult of images before Justinian.[3] Kitzinger himself has nowhere denied the possibility of an earlier image cult. He even quotes the famous story of the statue of Christ at Paneas.[4] In this paper I shall argue that this instance is far from being an isolated case. No one can prudently deny that the age of Justinian brought changes of a large scale in many aspects of culture and spirituality, including the role of images in Christian piety. Nevertheless, I claim that the appearance of images on pilgrim sites is a "Constantinian" or at least "Theodosian" phenomenon. I shall trace the origin of this trend in monastic circles of Palestine, Egypt, and Syria. I readily accept Kitzinger's tenet that pilgrimages are clear indicators of the spread of religious images, especially in popular piety. Thus my examples will support the

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[2] Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 84–150.
[3] André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins*, Bollingen Series XXXV 10 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), 83–6. Hans Belting, from whose bibliography this work of Grabar is curiously missing, explicitly takes the view that the cult of images "started" in the late sixth century: *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* [translation of 'Bild und Kult'], tr. by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 41 and *passim*. The recent book of Hans Georg Thümmel, for example, has an overtone similar to the article of Kitzinger: Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bildestreit*, Texte und Untersuchungen 139 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), *passim*, see e.g. p. 88: "Hier und da tauchen in der Kirche Bilder auf, die dann meist auf den Wiederstand der Theologen stoßen".
[4] See p. 210. below.

view that the period that gave rise to the cult of images was that of Constantine and his successors to Theodosius II, the time of the first century when the Church, released from the menace of persecutions, began to enjoy increasing imperial support.

In my paper I shall examine in detail different sites in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, some, though not all, mentioned by the famous pilgrim Egeria during her journey between 381–4.[5] In each case I shall compare Egeria's testimony with other available sources. Martyr shrines will allow us a comparison with western sites, about which we seem to be better informed concerning both the literary and the visual evidence.

THE HOLY LAND

Images that were shown to pilgrims at holy places and were thought to have a special connection with the event or person for which the site was famous will be called in this paper "image-relics". This special connection can be varied: the image may have been made by an eyewitness, may have mediated a kind of blessed presence of the holy person concerned, or may have originated in a (more or less) miraculous way. Consequently, this type of artifacts can be more properly termed as cultic images than the mural decoration of churches. Nonetheless, the border between the two categories is blurred, as we shall see in the case of martyr shrines.

Paneas (Caesarea Philippi)

The Holy Land is obviously the most sensitive indicator of the nature of the cult attached to pilgrim sites and it is from there that the first account confirming the existence of such "image-relics" comes, namely by Eusebius of Caesarea.[6] He

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[5] The best critical edition: Aet. Franceschini and R. Weber, eds., "Itinerarium Egeriae," in *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175 (Brepols: Turnholt, 1955): 29–103, with an index in *Itineraria et Alia Geographica: Indices*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (CCSL) 176 (Brepols: Turnholt, 1955). The debate on the dates has been settled by Paul Devos ("Ladate du voyage d'Égérie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 [1967]: 165–94): see Adalbert Hamman, "Etheria (Egeria)," chapter in *Patrology* vol. 4. *The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon* ed. Angelo di Berardino, intr. Johannes Quasten, tr. Rev. Placid Solari, O.S.B (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1992).

[6] *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 18: Eusebius, *Werke*, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1903–9), vol. 2/1–3, *Die Kirchengeschichte* ed. Eduard Schwarz, with the Latin translation of Rufinus ed. Theodor Mommsen, 672,3–24. The still authoritative collection of sources on the statue is Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, *Texte und Untersuchungen* zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Neue Folge, III (Leipzig, 1899), 250*–73*; for further literature see Pier Franco Beatrice, "Pilgerreise, Krankenheilung und Bilderkult: Einige Erwägungen zur Statue von Paneas," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991*, ed. Ernst Dassmann and Josef Engemann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Suppl. 20, Studi di antichità cristiana, no. 52 (Münster, Germany: Aschendorfische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995), 524–31.

reports that at Paneas local people display a bronze group that is said to represent Christ and the woman with the issue of blood touching his garment. A healing plant shot forth at the feet of Christ's figure.[7] The statue, which survived until Eusebius' time and stood at the entrance of her alleged house, was claimed to have been made by the haemorrhoissa herself to honour her benefactor. Eusebius does not question the authenticity of this tradition, but adds a comment where he excuses and thus implicitly rebukes the custom of expressing gratitude to the Saviour in this way.[8]

It is Philostorgius (368–439) who informs us about the discovery and the further story of this sculpture.[9] Its inscription, relates Philostorgius, was covered with mud, but when Christians in the city cleaned it, they discovered its origin. This episode may be related to the report of Asterius that already Maximinus Daia insulted the statue. Philostorgius, then, mentions the healing plant. Now, having learnt the story of the sculpture, the citizens took it to the diaconicon of their church and treated it with due honour (πρέποντα ἐθεράπευον). Its veneration was not allowed, but visitors expressed their longing (πόθος) for its prototype by approaching the image joyfully. Under Julian the statue was removed by the pagans, bound, and dragged along the main street. It was broken into pieces, but one devout Christian rescued its head, which was then seen by Philostorgius. Sozomen (c. 400–450) adds that the statue of Julian which was set up instead of Christ's was destroyed by lightning.[10] Rufinus in his translation of Eusebius (c. 400) adds a lengthy clause describing the plant and how its benefits were used.[11] Either he has visited the site himself, or he drew on local tradition which he heard while in Palestine. The frequency of the representation of this Gospel scene in the fourth century may be due to the fame of the statue.[12]

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[7] I do not understand why Kitzinger (94; 106) thought that the Greek of Eusebius is ambiguous and only the Latin translation of Rufinus had made a living plant out of the carved one. The Greek is definitely clear about the plant: «ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης αὐτῆς ξένον τι βοτάνης εἶδος φύειν, ὃ [...] ἀλεξιφάρμακόν τι παντοίων νοσημάτων τυγχάνειν».

[8] The statue has often been believed to have been that of Asclepius, though Wilpert suggested that originally it was connected with the Canaanite women whose daughter Jesus healed in Paneas: see Beatrice, 525–6.

[9] *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 3: Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte. Mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines arianischen Historiographen*, ed. Joseph Bidez, 2nd ed., Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972), 78,1 –79,7.

[10]*Historia Ecclesiastica* V 21,1–4: Sozomen, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Joseph Bidez, intr. and register by Günther Christian Hansen, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller 50 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960), 227,24–228,16.

[11] 673,12–9.

[12] Eva Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image*, (Oxford-Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 95. She quotes four examples from the period: i) the famous fresco in the Catacomb of St. Peter and Marcellinus, Cubibulum of Nicerus, mid-fourth century: see *Age of Spirituality* no 397. (reproduced also in Thomas F. Matthews, *The Clash of Gods: A reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993], fig 43. on p. 63); ii) a sarcophagus in the Grottoes of St. Peter, mid-fourth century (plate 12); iii) a Roman marble relief [sic], around 400, Vatican; iv) she reinterprets a scene on the Brescia casket identified by Grabar (*Christian Iconography*, 138) as the resurrected Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. This is only a selection from a rich material. The subject, for

By the first quarter of the fifth century, the statue was on display again intact, as one can judge from the brief mention by the pilgrim Theodosius.[13] It seems to have not survived the Arab conquest of Palestine.[14]

Abraham's Shrine at Mambre (Hebron)

One of the most popular sites of Palestine was Abraham's shrine at Mambre, a kilometre south of Hebron. Besides the nearby patriarchal shrines,[15] people located here the place where Abraham hosted the three angels.[16] Eusebius tells us that on the spot there is an oak and an image on it depicting Abraham's hospitality.[17] One of the three "angels", who surpasses in splendour the other two on the image, is the Divine Word disguised in human form, as Eusebius interprets the scriptural passage. Here Eusebius provides the correct interpretation of the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore, which, though laid about a century later, gives us some clue about the painting at Mambre. It is not a depiction of the Trinity as Grabar[18] understood it. We can only conjecture what role the composition at Mambre played in the spread of this iconographic theme.[19] The fifth century Palestinian mould, which in all likelihood comes from the site, represents an iconography corresponding to Eusebius

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example, is repeated five times in the same Catacomb of St. Peter and Marcellinus: *Age of Spirituality*, 439. It appears on a sarcophagus in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istambul, as reproduced in Matthews, fig. 41 on p. 61; the *Trees Sarcophagus*, c. 360, Musée Réattu, Arles, as reproduced *ibid.*, fig. 35 on p. 55; on another sarcophagus in the Catacomb of St Callixtus, Rome, as reproduced *ibid.*, fig. 44, p. 64. It appears also on textile: see *Age of Spirituality*, no. 391 (with an inscription εμαρωσα (also in Matthews, fig. 40 on p. 60). A representation particularly true to the description of Eusebius and reminiscent of the fresco in the Cubiculum of Nicerus is on a *Short Side of Sarcophagus*, fifth century, Church of St. Celso, Milan.

[13] *Itinerarium* 2. 138,7–12. p.115–6: "[...] statua Domini electrina quam ipsa Mariosa [=haemorrhousa] fecit." Cf. Gregrory of Tours, *de gloria martyrium* 20. MGH SS. rer. Merov. I,2,50 Krusch (2nd ed.) The latter quotes Rufinus and says that he has heard about the statue from many.

[14] Adomnan (c. 680) does not mention it any more: Beatrice, 531.

[15] Antonius of Piacenza, *Itinerarium* rec. A, 30. 178,22–179,8 (p.144). At Abraham's shrine there was a basilica where Christians and Jews both celebrated. By Adomnan's time the city was already extinct (II, viii, 1–2. p. 209) but the shrines still shown (ix/x. 259,3–61,41. p.209–10) together with the remains of the oak, which, he said, were less impressive than they might have been in Jerome's time (xi. 261,42–2,9. p.210–11, referring probably to Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Onomastikon*: see n. 22. p. 213.). Cf. also the Constantinian *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 599,3–6, CCSL 175,20. Generally about the site see: *DACL* 10–11, s.v. "Mambre"; Evaristus Mader, *Mambre: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im heiligen Bezirk Râmet el-Halîl in Südpalästina*, (Freiburg i. B.: E. Wewel, 1957), vol. 1–2, with the literary sources: 106–7, 307–45.

[16] There may have been a brief report in Egeria's lost part of the diary, as it appears from its reconstruction based on the twelfth century itinerary of Petrus Diaconus, who otherwise takes passages from Bede and Egeria *verbatim*: Egeria, *Itinerarium: Appendix*, N.1 (p. 97). She would have then briefly mentioned the oak, the church and the altar there.

[17] *Demonstratio Evangelica* V 9. Eusebius, *Werke*, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1913), vol. 6, *Die Demonstratio Evangelica* ed. Ivar A. Heikel, 232,5–15.

[18] *Christian Iconography*, 114.

[19] Prudentius also includes the *"ilex frondea Mambrae"* among the subjects of a (real or imagined) cycle of church decoration: *Ditochaeon* 4.

description with a larger central figure.[20] Its counterpart, which is slightly different in size, however, is obviously of pagan origin. It may be a witness of a multi-religious (Jewish, Christian, pagan) cult at the site, as reported by Sozomen.[21]

The origin of the image at the oak, was also non-Christian, as Eusebius' phrasing ("whom even the ignorant honour") reveals. Elsewhere we learn that Constantine erected a church on the spot because he could not suffer impure idolatry and sacrifice at such a holy place.[22] In fact, the image on the oak must have formed a part of a pagan altar. Nonetheless, Chrysostom still mentions this picture saying that the pagans living in Palestine possess an image of the hospitality of Abraham.[23] This image testifies to the factuality of the event described in the Old Testament–testifies for the pagans but not for us, since we do not accept external testimony for the truth of the Scripture, adds Chrysostom. It is a question whether Chrysostom drawing on an older source was simply unconscious of the destruction of the altar, or whether the image itself has not been destroyed. The mould we discussed and Sozomen may indicate that this was the case.

Images from the Holy Land

The image at Paneas, like the one we shall see at Edessa, claimed its authenticity by ascribing its origin to an eyewitness. In the second century the Carpocratians made similar assertions about their images.[24] Now Theodorus Lector (sixth century) in his *Ecclesiastical History*, in a passage excerpted by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulos,

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[20] Sheila D. Campbell, *The Malcolve Collection: A Catalogue of the Objects in the Lillian Malcolve Collection of the University of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985; reprinted in paperback 1997), cat. No. 80, pp. 66–7. a thorough analysis of the object can be read in Margaret Fraser, "A Syncretistic Pilgrim's Mould from Mamre(?)," *Gesta* 18/1 (1979): 137–45 (see also *Age of Spirituality* no. 522.), though she has not connected the representation to the image mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome.

[21] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II,4. Sozomen, from Palestine himself, uses present in his description of the feast and says explicitly that it is celebrated "up till now". In II,4,5, however, he switches to past, to tell what Constantine abolished: it seems that nothing else but the pollution of the well and the cultic statues ($\xi\acute{o}\alpha\nu\alpha$), and also the altars with sacrifices, though, it seems, the latter reappeared by the time of Sozomen (II,4,4). He, however, does not mention the image.

[22] *Vita Constantini* III 51,1–54,1. Eusebius, *Werke*, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), vol. I/1, *Über das Leben des Kaiser Konstantin* ed. Friedhelm Winkelmann, 105,10–107,26. *Cf.* the original and Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Onomastikon:* Eusebius, *Werke*, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1904), vol. III/1, *Das Onomastikon der Biblischen Ortsnamen* ed. Erich Klostermann., 6,12–16; 7,18–24. Jerome already mentions the Church and says that the *quercus* ($\delta\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$) could be seen only until Constantine's time, though the *terebinthos* is still an object of cult. In Eusebius' original, however, the two species obviously denote the same tree.

[23] *De Abraham*, a fragment quoted at the iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (fr. 27): Paul J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St Sophia (815) And Its Definition (*Horos*)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953): 62. Since the *Vita Constantini* and Jerome's translation of the *Onomastikon* imply that the image had been destroyed by Chrysostom's time, and the fragment, which cannot be found in the Migne text of the *De Abraham*, seems to be uncertain whether the image is a painting or a statue, I doubt the authenticity of the passage.

[24] Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 25,6.

reports that Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II (408–50), "sent to Pulcheria from Jerusalem an image of the Mother of God painted by the apostle Luke".[25] One would certainly hesitate whether to accept this testimony, as it stands. However, even if we doubt its reliability, we still have to explain the basis for this reference. We can easily explain how a gloss such as "painted by the apostle Luke" could slip into the text since after the Triumph of Orthodoxy (843) it has become a standard epithet of the *Hodigitria* type icon, an epithet which appeared also in liturgical texts. Nevertheless, even if we supposed such an intrusion, there still remains a betraying phrase in the passage: "from Jerusalem". The Holy Land was probably a place where people looked for authentic images, as implied already by the request of Constantia, the sister of Constantine the Great, to Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine that he should send her an image of Christ. Some of these, like the statue of Paneas, or later the protrait at Edessa, as we shall see, were claimed to have been painted by an eyewitness. It is not impossible that by the middle of the fifth century the protrait of the Mother of God with the Child was one of these.

The Holy Land was not only a source of "true images," but also of numerous artifacts connected with pilgrim sites. Though the majority of surviving "souvenirs" carried to home by visitors of the Holy Land do not predate the sixth century, there are examples showing that this practice is earlier.[26] The analogy of the shrine St Symeon the Elder, which we shall discuss below, also confirms the existence of the practice in the fifth century at least. Gary Vikan has provided an exhaustive analysis of the function of such objects in their evolution.[27] He considered the practice in the earlier (pre-Justinian) period as more magical and less Christianized than later.[28]

From an early date, sites, like the Holy Sepulchre, appear on small-scale objects, which may have direct or indirect connection with pilgrimages.[29] In monumental art we

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[25] PG 86, 156A, translation from Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1483: Sources and Documents*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art, ed. H. W. Johnson (Englewood Cliffs, NI.: Prentice-Hall, 1922), 40. The passage is referred to by Grabar in his criticism of Kitzinger: Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 83.

[26] *Pyxis with Raising of Lazarus and Sacrifice of Isaac*, c. 400, ivory, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, cat. no 694/Biz.2, see *Age of Spirituality* no. 518 (p. 579) where a Syro-Palestinian origin is argued for, since on the sacrifice of Isaac an unusual feature, stairs leading up high, is represented, probably alluding to the stairs that lead to Mt. Gerazim, where contemporary pilgrims situated the event (or to Golgotha, where from the sixth century onwards the scene was thought to have taken place). The *Ivory pyxis with Christ Teaching*, c. 400, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischen Kulturbesitzes, Frühchristliche-Byzantinische Sammlung, as reproduced in *Age of Spirituality*, fig. 86 on p. 597, is closely related to this object.

[27] Gary Vikan, "Early Byzantine Pilgrimage *Devotionalia* as Evidence of the Appearance of Pilgrimage Shrines," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, year 377–89 where he quotes several further articles by him on the subject.

[28] "*Devotionalia*", 384.

[29] Eg. *Holy Women at the Tomb*, an ivory panel, c. 400AD, Milan, Civico Museo dell'Arte, Castello Sforesco, cat. No. 9; *Holy Women at the Tomb and the Ascension*, ivory panel, Munich, Bayerische Nationalmuseum, c. 400 AD.

can detect a similar tendency at least from the first years of the fifth century.[30] Prudentius in the *Dittochaeon*–whether it was composed for an existing or an imagined cycle of church murals–also includes a scene with the column of flagellation in Jerusalem,[31] a key sight shown to pilgrims.[32]

Representational church decoration in Palestine

Egeria, though she describes the magnificent decoration of the Martyrium of the Saviour,[33] does not specify the content of the mosaics. Her silence again provoked a controversy whether there were representational church decorations in the Holy Land before Justinian at all. Following Ainalov,[34] Grabar claimed to have reconstructed the iconography of monumental murals in the pilgrimage shrines of the Holy Land based on pilgrims' ampullae dated to the sixth century. Though he later revoked the thesis that these objects reflect monumental art, Grigg (and renowned scholars, like Weitzmann and Engemann) returned to the earlier view, though with a difference. Grigg doubted that these murals were created as early as Constantine, though does not exclude that they may have predated the sixth century.[35]

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[30] Eg. the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome (c. 420): for recent literature on the interpretation of the mosaic see Frederic W. Schlatter, SJ, "Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana," *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992): 276–95; and Thomas F. Matthews, "Large-than-Life", in *The Clash of Gods*, 92–114. A recent discovery in Greece attests a similar tendency: Peter Marzolff, "Bilder aus dem Heiligen Land: Ein griechischer Wandmalereizyklus des 5. Jahrhunderts," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, 1024–32.

[31] *Epigram* 41: "Columna ad quam flagellatus est Christus [...]". For the *Dittochaeon* generally see Renate Pillinger, *Die 'Tituli historiarum' oder 'Das sogenannte Dittochaeo' des Prudentius: Versuch eines philologisch-archäologischen Kommentars*, Denkschriften (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophishe-historische Klasse), no. 142 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980).

[32] *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* 4. *CCSL* 175, III; Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae* 8. 141, 12–8. *CCSL* 175, 118; Antonius of Piacenza, *Itinerarium* 22. 174,5-II. *CCSL* 175, 140 (cf. 25. 176,20–177,5. ibid 142). There are some traces of the mentioning of the site in the lost part of Egeria's itinerary: Appendix C15. CCSL 175,95.

[33] 25,8–9.

[34] Ainalov used a testimony allegedly by Petronius of Bologna (first half of the fifth century), where it is reported that the basilica on Golgotha is adorned with "beautiful pictures". The text considers them to have been carried out under Constantine: A. Molinier and C. Köhler, ed., *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 2 (Genua, 1885), 146.)

R. Grigg took much effort to refute the reliability of this text, though it is obvious that the hagiographical source, where the reference is contained, is very late (we have to notice only that it refers to *Hungari*, that is to say, it is later than the tenth century). It is only a curiosity that there is nothing anachronistic in the report, contrary to what Grigg has suggested. When the text says that all over the world "ille vero locus [sc. the Golgotha where the cross on which Christ was crucified was placed] variis imaginibus diversi coloris depictus est" (*Itinera*, 145:), it does not refer to representation of the crucifixion, as Grigg takes it: Robert Grigg, "Constantine the Great and the Cult without Images," *Viator* 8 (1977): 13–14. The Golgotha with the cross, as we shall see, appears on mosaics "abroad" at least around 400.

[35] Besides his unpublished dissertation he expressed his views in the article quoted in the previous note. A good summary of the debate can be read in Gary Vikan, "Devotionalia," 377–8.

The creation of representational church decoration was attributed to Constantine already by the Second Council of Nicaea.[36] Patronage of non-symbolic art is ascribed to Constantine also by the *Life of St. Sylvester* in the *Liber pontificalis,* written most probably in the early sixth century.[37] The Old Saint Peter's, erected by Constantine in Rome, is generally thought to have had the Traditio Legis scene in its apse, as it seems to be reflected both in sarcophagi and the mosaics of the mausoleum of Constantine's daughter, S. Constanza, in Rome, and probably those of S. Giovanni in Fonte, in Naples.[38] Here I do not intend to decide the question whether there were symbolic or realistic images in the Constantinian churches, nonetheless I indicate my doubts concerning the validity of Grigg's arguments. He claims that the influential clergyman in Constantine's court, Hosius of Cordova, imposed a strict iconophobic view on Constantine himself, for Hosius took part in the council of Elvira, among the canons of which we find one condemning any kind of depictive art in places of worship. Now firstly, the origin of the section of the "canons of Elvira" where this particular canon can be found is debated. Actually, the complete set does not appear in the oldest collections, and Canon 36 itself may have been added later from the promulgations of another fourth-century council.[39] Secondly, Hosius was present at many councils, some of which maintained widely different theological positions.[40] Even without these weak points, the whole argument about the iconoclastic Constantine is not more than a mere speculation. At least under Damasus the baptistery of Old Saint Peter was decorated by a mosaic of the good shepherd–probably a counterpart of the one in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia–which fascinated Prudentius on his pilgrimage to Rome (402 AD).[41] The reason why

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[36] Mansi XII, 217E–220A.

[37] *Liber Pontificalis,* vol. 1, ed. C. Duchesne (Paris, 1886; reprint, 1955–7), 172. See Sister Charles Murray, "Art and the Early Church," *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): n. 1. on p. 332.

[38] Johannes Kollwitz, "Christus als Lehrer und die Gesetzesübergabe an Petrus in der Konstantinischen Kunst Roms," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 44 (1936): 45–66; his view on the *subject* of the mosaic has been challenged by Walter Nikolaus Schumacher, "Dominus legem dat," *Ibid.* 54 (1959): 1–39, and id., "Eine römische Apsiskomposition," *Ibid.* 137–202, but he was succesfully refuted by M. Sotomayor, SJ, "Über die Herkunft der 'Traditio legis'," *Ibid.* 56 (1961): 215–30. See also Cäcilia Davis-Weyer, "Das Traditio-Legis-Bild und seine Nachfolge," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3 F. 12 (1961): 7–45.

[39] Maurice Meigne proposed a tripartite division of the canons: Canons 1–21 were proclaimed at the council of Elvira, Canons 63–75 belong to other pre-Nicaean councils, while the rest is a collection of different synodical canons that resemble the canons of Arles, Sardika, other fourth-century councils, and the *Apostolic Canons*: Maurice Meigne, "Concile ou collection d'Elvire?" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 70 (1975): 361–87, quoted in Péter Erdő, *Az ókeresztény kor egyházfegyelme (az első négy évszázadban)* (Church orders in the ancient Christian period (in the first four centuries)), (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1983), 377 n. 133.

[40] He played an important role at Nicaea, presided at Sardica, where Athanasius' views were condemned, and [though under pressure] signed the creed of the Anomoeans at Sirmium, which signature he later revoked: Everett Ferguson, ed. *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* s.v. "Hosius of Cordova," by Michael P. McHugh. I owe this remark to Dr. Mark Edwards, Christ Church College, Oxford.) Thus his attendance does not reveal his own dogmatic convictions.

[41] *Peristephanon* XII, 39–44.

Prudentius singled out this picture was the ravishing play of gold, cyan and green as the magnificence of the mosaics was reflected in the waves of the baptismal font. The analogy of the contemporary martyria in Asia Minor, which were competing with sites of the Holy Land, were lavishly decorated with figural art at least in the second half of the fourth century. Lack of evidence from the Holy Land from the period is not a sufficient argument for claiming that such murals did not exist. Both the art of Dura Europus–as already Grabar pointed out–suggests that the gap between this and the fourth-fifth century Western or the better documented sixth century Palestinian art is too awkward. A recent finding in a synagogue in Sepphoris (c. 400 AD), the religious and for a long time administrative centre of Galilee[42] points also into the same direction: in all likelihood the Christian places of worship were similarly richly decorated with representational art. Contemporary depictions of the Holy Sepulchre suggest that the artist at least imagined the walls and the door of the shrine decorated with reliefs of Gospel scenes or busts.[43]

Egypt

It has been noted that Egeria does not mention images in the Holy Land. This, however, is true only about the second part of her diary, where she describes litur- gical life in Jerusalem. The itinerary proper is the first part of the surviving text, which contains the account of four pilgrimages that Egeria undertook starting from Jerusalem. Now here, describing the first of these journeys, Egeria informs us that at Ramesses in Egypt:

> There is nothing today except a single enormous Theban stone on which are two holy men Moses and Aaron. It is said that the children of Israel placed them there in honor of them. In addition, there is a sycamore tree, which was planted, it is said, by the Patriarchs; the tree is very old now and therefore rather small, but it still bears fruit to this day. Those who are ill go there and take away twigs, and it helps them. We learned this from the holy bishop of Arabia who spoke about it. He told us the name of the tree, that it is called in Greek *dendros alethiae*, or, as we would say, "tree of truth".

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[42] Zeev Weiss and Ehud Netzer, *Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*, Katalog (Muzeon Yisrael (Jerusalem)), no. 378 (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996), cf. the pavement mosaic in Hammat Tiberias, which, however, does not represent biblical subjects: M. Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias: Early Synagogues and the Hellenistic and Roman Remains*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983). I am extremely grateful for professor Martin Goodman for these references and for letting me see the typed version of his paper on "The Figure of the Divine in the Imagination of Late-Antique Jews," *Images of God* Seminar, University of Oxford, 1998.

[43] See. n. 29. on p.214. above.

> This saintly bishop graciously came to meet us at Ramesses. He is an old
> man, very devout indeed, a former monk, a gracious man who receives
> pilgrims very hospitably; and he is very learned in the Sacred Scriptures.
> Since he had kindly taken the trouble to come to meet us there, he
> pointed out each place there, and he spoke about the figures which I
> mentioned as well as the sycamore tree.[44]

Therefore, we do not have to wait till Justinian to see images playing a significant role in pilgrim sites. This simple bishop, conceivably an "anthropomorphite", was in all likelihood not the "single swallow" for the further two hundred years.

Carneas

Egeria's third pilgrimage lead to Job's tomb at Carneas "in the land of Austis on the frontiers of Arabia and Idumea".[45] In the surviving fragment of this part of her itinerary she only speaks about a lamp that was burning on the spot where Job had been sitting on the dunghill.[46] St. John Chrysostom, however, reports also about a statue of Job that stood at the site of Job's passion.[47] George E. Gingras, who still situated Egeria in the fifth century, reviewed the evidence on the question of the priority of Egeria's version to Chrysostom or vica versa.[48] The difficulties are caused by the fact that Egeria's fragment speaks about an "empty place" surrounded by railings. Neither is the statue mentioned by Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (A.D. 392).[49] However, it is again very difficult to judge what we can infer from the silence of Egeria and Jerome, especially in relation to the fact that one folio is missing from Egeria's report and Jerome probably did not have strong reasons to add the statue to the original of Eusebius that he was translating.

Syria: Edessa

The fourth holy place outside Palestine that Egeria, like all contemporary pilgrims of the Holy Land,[50] wished to visit was Edessa.[51] She desired to see the ascetic communities there and the martyrium of apostle Thomas–whom she obviously confused with Thaddaeus, one of the seventy and apostle to Edessa, who was in fact

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[44] *Itinerarium* 8,2–4, l. 7–24, p. 48–9. Translation from: Egeria, *Diary of a Pilgrimage,* tr. and annotated by George E. Gingras, Ancient Christian Writers 38, ed. Johannes Quasten, Walter J. Burghardt and Thomas Comerford Lawler, (New York N.Y.-Ramsey, N.J.: Newman Press, 1970) chapter 13. p. 62–63.
[45] *Diary* 16,4.
[46] A fragment from c. 16 of Egeria's *Itinerarium*: apparatus ad p. 57.
[47] *Homilia ad populum Antiochienum* 5. PG 49, 69
[48] Egeria, *Diary*, 201 n. 189.
[49] *Onomastikon* 112,3–5.
[50] *Ibid.* 17,2.
[51] *Itinerarium Egeriae* 19. pp. 59–62.

commissioned by the apostle Thomas according to local tradition.[52] Egeria had already been well acquainted with the famous correspondence between Jesus and Abgar, king of Edessa, which story we know from Eusebius' *Church History*. She had been in possession of a version of the narrative, probably a translation of the passage from Eusebius made before the complete translation by Rufinus in 403. In Edessa Egeria found a devout guide in the person of the local bishop, who presented to her a "more complete" version of the legend and was keen to point out the marble statue of king Abgar. Having learnt all this, we are surprised that Egeria has nothing to say about an incomparably more famous image at Edessa: that of Christ. We first learn about this portrait from the *Doctrina Addai*, for which now a date in the beginning of the fifth century is preferred.[53] The author tells us how king Abgar's keeper of archives, when he was commissioned to invite Christ to Edessa, was unable to persuade him to come in person and so painted a portrait of him instead. This officer, adds the narrative, happened to be Abgar's court painter at the same time. Abgar received the image with great joy and displayed it with great honour in his palace.[54]

The end of the episode reminds us of the later festivities for the transfer and reception of celebrated icons. It is more than significant that the author here uses the phrase "with/in great honour" (*bîqrâ rbâ*), which he usually applies to describe the honour due to the true cross,[55] which according to a contemporary slogan, took the

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[52] See Paul Devos, "Égérie à Édesse: S. Thomas l'apôtre, le roi Abgar," *Analecta Bolandiana* 85 (1967): 381–400 (esp. 381–93).

[53] Alain Desreumaux has recently argued for the work as a whole a later date, the second half of the fourth century: *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus: Présentation et traduction du texte syriaque intégral de 'La Doctrine d'Addai'*, [Appendix 1: Traduction d'une version greque par Andrew Palmer; Appendix 2: Traduction d'une version éthiopienne par Robert Beylot]., Apocryphes: Collection de poche de l'aelac (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 33–6, esp. 36; also id., "La doctrine d'Addai: L'image du Christ et les monophysites," in *Nicée II, 787–1987: Douze siècles d'images religieuses: Actes du colloque international Nicée II tenu au Collège de France, Paris*, ed. E. Bœspflug and N. Lossky (Latour-Marbourg: du Cerf, 1987), 75, though he acknowledged that the sources–including the story about the image–were earlier. I personally doubt that the *Doctrina* would reflect Monophysite teaching. Desreumaux himself quotes a case when the complete St Petersburg manuscript writes that Christ "humbled his divinity in the body which he assumed," while a fragmentary text preserved in the early sixth century manuscript of the British Library (no. 14654) has "humanity" instead of "body": *id.*, "La doctrine d'Addai, essai de classement des témoins syriaques et grec," *Augustinianum* 23 (1983): 184. In my opinion it is a clear sign that a later recension corrected the "teaching of Addai" with a view of the terminological accuracy that was evolving during the Christological controversies from the second quarter of the fifth century. The *Doctrina* is defending Trinitarian orthodoxy (and possibly, as Desreumaux points out, may reflect the Origenist controversy, as far as the teaching about the resurrection of the body is concerned: *ibid.*, 185.)

For the sources on the Edessan image the best is still to consult Dobschütz, 163˙sqq.

[54] Labubna bar Sennak, *Mallepanuta d-Addai Sheliha*, tr. George Howard (with the Syriac text of George Phillips, ed., *The doctrine of Addai* ... (London: Trübner and Co., 1876) reprinted), Texts and translations 16 (Early Christian literature series 4) (Chico, Calif: Scholars Press, 1981), 4,20–5,4 (Phillips).

[55] 15,13, cf. the verbal forms of "honour" (*iaqar*) used as terminus technicus for the same purpose: 15,9; 13, see also next note.

place of the idols, since "the idols of paganism are despised, the cross of the Messiah is honored".[56]

In fact the author is consequent not to use the stronger verb "worship/prostrate" (*sg⁰d*) in connection with the cross, though "honour" (*iaqar*) is used with it *hen dia duoin* for denoting the cult of idols.[57] These terms correspond to the Greek «προσκυνέω» and «τιμάω» respectively, which were used in the late fourth century to distinguish between the absolute worship of God from the veneration paid to created beings, for example, saints,[58] a distinction played by the terms «λατρεύω» and «προσκυνέω» from the seventh century onwards. Besides the revealing terminology, the episode with the portrait shows icons in a role as transmitting the presence of the person depicted, though, as Desreumaux remarks, in the *Doctrina Addai* the image only precedes the receiving of the true teaching,[59] as if it were only for the "beginners", as many theologians of the pre-Justinian period argued. Nonetheless, I do not believe that this interpretation reveals the conscious intention of the author. One can though agree with Kuryluk who sees in the *Doctrina Addai* a document of a transitory period from verbal to iconic discourse, with the final stage coming when the Edessan image replaces the alleged letter of Christ as a warrant for the security of the city.

Now, how do we explain Egeria's silence about the portrait? Eusebius has also nothing to say about the image, although, hostile as he was to representations of Christ, he did not miss the opportunity to mention the statue at Paneas.[60] It is unlikely, contrary to the suggestion of Stephen Runciman, that Eusebius censored out the episode about the image from the text of the Edessan archives that he was using.[61] Another easy explan-

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[56] 27,8, Howard's translation.
[57] The author does use (*sg⁰d*) when describing how Abgar received the envoy promised by Jesus, Addai. He expresses his honour by prostrating before the apostle, who voices no objections to this although soon thereafter he gives a lengthy sermon condemning the veneration of any creature (23,19–25,23). The apostle may be tolerant with Abgar before he received proper instructions. Nonetheless there is some inconsistency in the terminology, since in this sermon he says that

> if created things were to perceive your honours (*bîqraykûn*) toward them, they would cry out calling for you not to worship (*tesgdûn*) your companions, who like you were made and created because created things which are made should not be worshipped.

even if we could do away with it that "*iaqar*", like its Greek and Latin equivalent has a broader meaning, while "*sg⁰d*" is more specific, "absolute".
[58] *Panarion* 79,4,4–5. III,479 Holl. The terms *veneratio* and *adoratio* are used for the same purpose by some contemporary Latin authors, while the Greeks distinguish at this early stage between «προσκύνησις» and «τιμή». Nonetheless in Greek milieu «προσκυνέω» is already becoming usual for the veneration paid to the cross already in the late fourth century and by the early sixth century the same role is paid by the dual concept of «προσκύνησις» and «λατρεία». I am preparing a paper under the title "Zacchaeus and the Images: Image of the Emperor–Image of a Saint" on this subject for the Patristic Conference to be held at Oxford, 16–21 August, 1999.
[59] *Histoire*, 39–42.
[60] Above p. 210.
[61] Steven Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931): 241–46.

ation seems to arise from the presently accepted chronological order of our sources: Eusebius, Egeria, *Doctrina Addai*. They may well represent different stages in the development of the legend: as, for example, Christ's promise to the city that it will never be seized by enemies, does not appear in the text of Eusebius but is already there in Egeria's–according to her own words fuller–report. There remains, however, an obstacle to this explanation, a fact already noticed by Runciman: the striking brevity of the relevant episode in the *Doctrina Addai*. It does not appear to introduce a fresh sensation: on the contrary, it seems as if the image could not be seen by the time of the composition of the text. Thus Runciman concludes that the image had been destroyed and was only known from the descriptions of the archives. Eva Kuryluk similarly remarks that the image in question probably existed only in legend.[62] But when did this legend arise and how if there was no image to connect it with?

Now, however enigmatic our sources are, I do not think that one can ignore the testimony of the *Doctrina Addai*, as Belting did writing about the Edessan image or like Kitzinger, who, though mentioning it, had nothing to say about it. Though I am not going to solve the puzzle, I am going to indicate the probable context where the legend originated. This indication for the origin of the legend comes from the later sources.

We hear very little about the image again before the siege of Edessa in 544.[63] Now after this date it emerges as a portrait not made by human hands.[64] The Greek Apocrypha that contain the Abgar legend are most probably later than the siege of Edessa, too.[65] According to these versions, the painter was not able to complete his task because of the radiance from Christ's face. Thus Christ asked for a towel and, having wiped his face, left the imprint of his features on it. After receiving the image, Abgar venerated it and so

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[62] p. 46.

[63] A possible reference is suggested by Andrew Palmer in a manuscript of Jacob of Serug ("Life of Daniel of Gbash," Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate MS 12117 fol. 99r,2; Bibliothèque Nationale MS Syr 235 fol. 165r,2), which he promised to publish: Andrew N. Palmer and Lyn Rodley, "The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia at Edessa: A New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 129, n. 14. Runciman (238–52) suggested that the Monophysite theology, which came to prevail in the region may have been less friendly towards images. This view, which seems to be based on an inference from the fact that Monophysites put the emphasis, like Eusebius, on the divinity of Christ, and Eusebius in the *Letter to Constantia* argues against the depiction of Christ from this theological viewpoint. Some Nestorian authors, however, suggest that Monophysites did have images: Stephen Gero, "Cyril of Alexandria, Image Worship, and the Vita of Rabban Hormizd," *Oriens Christianus* 62 (1978): 77–97; and Runciman's view seems to be outdated today: Desreumaux, "l'image du Christ," 73–4.

[64] Evagrius PG 86,2, 2748–9 and many other later Byzantine and Armenian sources, especially during the Iconoclasm: Kotter, Bonifatius, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. III. *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, Patristische Texte und Studien 17 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973) I 33 (henceforth Damasc., *Apol.*); vol. II. *De fide orthodoxa,* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973) 4, 16. 89; Nicephorus, *Antirrheticus* PG 100, 461; *Vita Theodori*, PG 99, 177.

[65] *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha,* after Constantin Tischendorf ed. by Ricardus Adalbartus Lipsius and Maximilianus Bonnet, vol. 1, *Acta Petri, Acta Pauli, Acta Petri et Pauli, Acta Pauli et Theclae, Acta Thaddaei*, ed. R. A. Lipsius (Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1891), 273–83.

was healed from his disease–not as reported by the *Doctrina Addai*, where the apostle Addai cured the king after Christ's ascension. The later version of the legend is a–not necessarily direct or conscious–response to Eusebius' argument that it would be imposs-ible to make a portrait of Christ because of the shining of his glorified body. The fact that this argument was set forth already by Eusebius and then repeated many times before and during the Iconoclastic Controversy (and perhaps by the Monophysites) shows that it is difficult to situate the legend in a time period.

An indication, however, for the origin of the legend is that in the West an exact parallel story, that of Veronica's towel, is preserved among the acts of Pilate.[66] As later sources identify the haemorhoissa,[67] the patron of the statue at Paneas, with Veronica, the legend of her towel, as well as that of the Edessan image, may have been disseminated in the same milieu as that in which the statue at Paneas was "discovered". This supposition can be well supported by the fact that Macarius Magnes writing around 400 AD indeed confuses the two scenes and images and speaks about a brazen statue commissioned by Veronica in Edessa.[68] In this light the fact that Addai came from Paneas does not seem to be incidental either, as Desreumaux remarked.[69] It may be an instance of an authentic image imported from Palestine.[70] Nonetheless, it is probable that the episode was a coun-terpart of the image of Mani, and played a role in anti-manichean propaganda. Similarly the Christian imagery of Edessa may have developed in concurrence with the Manichaean propaganda,[71] as has already been suggested by Grabar in general terms about Christian art.[72] Since Averil Cameron convincingly pointed out that the later celeb-rated portrait of Edessa was not a piece of cloth, but probably an old icon on panel[73] (? on

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[66] *Mors Pilati*, in Constantin von Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., (Leipzig: n. p., 1876), 456–8 and the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* or *Vindicta Salvatoris*, *ibid.*, 471–86 *Cf.* Felix Scheidweiler and A. de Santos Otero, "Nikodemusevangelium, Pilatusakten und Höllenfahrt Christi," in Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 6th ed., vol. 1, *Evangelien* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1990), 423–4. Runciman (242) refers to the *Mors Pilati* as from the fourth century but Kitzinger vehemently refuses this supposition relying on Dobschütz (n. 123 on p. 114). Kuryluk (120) accepts a sixth century dating for the *Cura*, the earliest manuscript of which is from the eighth century.

[67] *E.g.* "Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί," in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Theodorus Preger, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901), vol. 1, 55. c. 48. For a commentary see Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin et al., eds., *Constantinople in the Eighth Century: The 'Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai'* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 237–8. The author relies on John Diakrinomenos (c. 500). Without mentioning the statue, already the *Acta Pilati* (fourth century) in chapter 8 identifies the haemorrhoissa as Berenike: in Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, 215–86.

[68] See Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 257*.

[69] *Image du Christ*, 76; 78.

[70] *Ibid.* 76 though he thinks of Jerusalem or Eleutheropolis ('where Hannan met Christ and where Epiphanius had his monastery'), in the neighbourhood of which he tore down a curtain with an effigy of "Christ or a saint."

[71] *Ibid.*, 77. n.21: this view has been advanced by Hendrik W. J. Drijvers in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (vol.9, 1982) s.v. "Edessa."

[72] "Christian Iconography," 27–30.

[73] Averil Cameron, "The Sceptic and the Shroud," in *Continuity and Change in the Sixth Century Byzantium* (London: Variorum, 1980), chapter V, 11.

canvas), it is plausible to think that it was the same image that at some point has been associated with the Abgar legend (made by an eye-witness) and later was claimed to be not made by human hands, thus marking three stages in the history of Christian images.[74]

MARTYRIUM

In his famous *Martyrium*, André Grabar described how the image of the saint near the shrine, one of the first locations of Christian images, had grown out of ancient Christian symbolic representations and had gradually assumed a role similar to that of the relic.[75] We may support this suggestion to look for the origin of icons in martyria with the fact that in the fourth and fifth centuries the references to depictions of martyrs are far the most common of all references to Christian images. Most of these testimonies are well known, so I shall confine myself to presenting a thus far lacking comprehensive collection from sources from both the East and the West and highlighting some aspects of the imagery to which they bear witness, aspects thus far unexploited by scholarly literature. Because of the brevity and the scarcity of references to images in the Holy Land proper, it is exactly the other martyria that convey to us an idea about the role of images at pilgrim sites.

Didactic and Emotional Function

One of the sites that Egeria visited on her last journey was the martyrium of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon. Asterius of Amasea (330/5–420/5) in his sermon on St.

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[74] The two stages are represented also in the Armenian tradition. After a revised translation and under the influence of the *Doctrina* around 500, Moses of Khoren in the *History of the Armenians*, II, 32 reports about the "Saviours portrait from life, which has remained in Edessa up to the present day": *History of the Armenians*, tr. and comm. by Robert W. Thomson, Harvard Armenian texts and studies 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 169; for the Armenian see Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire d'Armenie*, ed. and tr. P. e. Le Vaillant de Florival (Venice: Saint-Laurent, 1841), vol 1,221. In the shorter version of the *Geographica*, earlier attributed to him, now generally ascribed to Ananias of Shirak, the image already bears the attribute "not made by human hands": *The Geography of Ananias of Sirak (Asxarhacoyc): the Long and the Short Recensions - Introduction*, tr. and comm. by Robert H. Hewsen, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, ser. B, Geisteswissenschaften Nr. 77 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1992), 71A. The "revised abridgement" of the *Geography* is dated some time after the 640s, while its original must have been composed between 591–641: Hewsen, 16–27; esp. 33. The date of Moses' *History* is highly debated, though the eighth century is generally preferred (Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, CCSO, Turnhout: Brepols, 1995, 156), in which case it is surprising, why does he not know about the *acheiropoieton* image, even if he draws on the Armenian *Doctrina*. The adjective, however, which Thomson translates as "from life" is a peculiar compound of the stems "life" and "to draw" and may even hint to the legend of the miraculous origin.

I am grateful to professor Ödön Schütz for calling my attention to Hewsen's publication as well as for letting me use his library, and for advising me on the Armenian of Moses.

[75] André Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, (Paris: Collège de France, 1946), vol. 2, *Iconographie*. On pilgrimage see pp. 19 and 81–5.

Euphemia describes the cycle depicting the martyrdom of the saint in this martyrium.[76] Tired of reading Demosthenes, Asterius finds repose in gazing at this work of fine art. After briefly recalling the events of the annual feast in honour of the martyr, the whole sermon is in fact a description of the pictures "delineated [...] on canvas [...] in proximity to the tomb."[77] Asterius wonders how the painter was able to express every detail and is deeply moved by the depiction of Euphemia's suffering. Evagrius[78] provides details about the construction of the building complex of Euphemia's martyrium: to a basilica a rectangular atrium of the same size was connected from the East and a rotunda containing the shrine from the North. Asterius situates the paintings in the atrium and the rotunda.

Now Egeria has nothing to say about the frescoes that fascinated her contemporary, Asterius. Was such a kind of decoration just too common for Egeria for it to be mentioned? I think it was. The testimonies convince me that these narrative cycles were equally present in the East and in the West,[79] where Egeria came from. Moreover, frescoes like the one at Chalcedon had no reliquary aspect and thus had not attracted her curiosity. With this remark, I think, we do away with the *argumentum ex silentio Egeriae*.

Asterius' western contemporary, Prudentius (b. 348) is deeply moved by two such narrative frescoes at pilgrim sites: one in Rome,[80] another at Forum Cornelii (Imola, near Bologna).[81] A statue coming down to our time may have belonged to the former site.[82] It

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[76] Asterius of Amasea, *Homilia XI, in laudem S. Euphemiae*, PG 40,335D–337C, C. Datema, ed. (Leiden, 1971) 153–5. For an analysis of the text see Grabar, *Martyrium* 72–5. Egeria, *Itinerarium* 23,38–40, p. 67.

[77] «ἐν σινδόνι χαράξας... περὶ τὴν θήκην ἀνέθηκε θέαμα», the translation is that of Mango (p. 38.).

[78] *Historia Ecclesiastica* II 3, quoted in Mango, 30.

[79] On the basis of the same material I am also convinced that in the fourth and early fifth centuries–in the time of a still more or less unified Christian empire–this is true also about other phenomena connected with images. Grabar has drawn similar conclusion on the basis of the archaeological material: *Martyrium* 28 and *passim*.

[80] Searching among the innumerable martyr shrines of Rome, he finds the subterranean sanctuary of St. Hippolytus. It is apparently the expressive and naturalistic painting on the wall above the tomb that informs Prudentius about the events of Hippolytus' martyrdom. The frescoes depict also the faithful collecting the parts of the martyr's body and his blood with sand or sponges (*Peristephanon XI. Ad Valerianum episcopum de Passione Hippolyti beatissimi martyris* 123–44). Prudentius describes how multitudes of pilgrims (*peregrinos*) visit and venerate (*adorat*) the tomb at the altar every day and especially on Hippolytus' feast (*Ibid.* 175–230). A huge basilica has been erected on the spot to receive the devotees.

[81] *Peristephanon IX: Passio Cassiani Forocorneliansis*. He introduces the description with these words (l. 7–11.):

> I was bowed to the ground before the tomb which the holy martyr Cassianus honours with his consecrated body; and while in tears I was thinking of my sins and life's distress and stinging pains, I lifted my face towards heaven, and there stood confronting me a picture of the martyr painted in colours, bearing a thousand wounds [...]

The warden then explains the "vision" relating the story of the saint to Prudentius.

For the archaeological research carried out on the site see Alejandro Recio Veganzones, "Prudenzio «Poëta Peregrinus» e promotore di pellegrinaggi," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, 1139–59.

is likely that though originally depicting a pagan Philosopher, the sculpture has been identified as that of St. Hippolytus by an inscription of the list of Hippolytus' works. The statue of Christ at Paneas has been suspected to have had a similar origin. Job's image at Carneas however has many parallels on early Christian sarcophagi and frescoes in catacombs, thus it is more likely to have been an originally Christian artifact.

St. Gregory of Nyssa at St. Theodore's martyrium[83] and the unknown but probably contemporary author of the *Homily on the Martyr Barlaam* of Antioch[84] also compares the power of these images to those of words. Speaking about demons "shivering before such signs of glory" the latter gives also a clear parallel to the apotropaic function of images on medallia carried by and later buried with the owner.[85] As we may put it, icons do not function as mnemonics for us alone, but for the demons as well.

We can continue this list from the first years of the next century with Paulinus of Nola[86]–who is the first from the ranks of the hierarchy about whom we definitely know that he sponsored ecclesiastical art–and St. Nilus of Ancyra[87] (d. 430), a disciple of St.

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[82] It has been found in 1551 alongside the Via Tiburtina: Vanyó László, *Az ókeresztény egyház irodalma* (Literature of the Early Church), 2nd. ed. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1988), 332–3, relying on M. Carducci, "La statua di 'Sant'Ippolito,' in *Ricerche su Ippolito*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 13 (Roma, 1977), 17sqq.

The statue bears an inscription from sometime before 237 AD containing a list of works by the ancient Christian writer Hippolytus, with whom Prudentius identifies his martyr. In this respect he may rely on an epigram by Pope Damasus which was inscribed on a stone in the same sanctuary: *Epigram 37: Damasii epigrammata*, ed. Maximilianus Ihm, Anthologiae Latinae Supplementum (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895), 42. Its fragments were in the fifteenth century incorporated in the pavement of the Lateran basilica.

[83] The main function of these representations is to inform the spectators, like a book, about the events of the martyr's life–or more properly those of his martyrdom: *Panegyric on the Martyr Theodore*, PG 46, 739D.

[84] PG 31, 489. It is not any longer thought to have been written by St. Basil, to whom it was attributed. St. Barlaam's cult, local as that of almost all saints in the fourth century, was tied to Antioch. Though well informed about the life of St. Basil, we know nothing about his activities in Antioch. Nevertheless, the sermon was probably composed in the fourth century: Dom Ed. Rouillard, for example, attributed it to St. John Chrysostom: "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des *Homélies diverses* de saint Basile," *Revue Mabillon* 48 (1958): n. 5. on p. 81. Its author calls on painters to surpass his poor eloquence.

[85] Grabar, *Martyrium* 12.

[86] He describes the frescoes and reliefs in the building complex of the martyrium of "his St. Felix": *Carmina* 27 (403 AD), 511–635; 28,1–36: Paulinus of Nola, *Opera*, ed. by Guilelmus de Hartel, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, no. 29–30 (Prague-Vienna-Leipzig: F. Tempsky, 1894), vol. 2. These representations of Old Testament scenes and martyrs, reports Paulinus in his poem, were executed on his initiative "*raro more*". The expression is usually taken to mean "in an uncommon fashion", but, as Bevan (p. 124) remarks, it rather means that the execution of the decoration was "uncommonly good", and the parallels provide us with good reasons to assume that such decoration was not unusual in Paulinus' time. The purpose of this art was to awaken rustic pilgrims from their torpor, who came and celebrated the festivals in drunkenness.

For the archaeological site see Dieter Korol, "Alcune novità riguardo alla storia delle tombe venerate del complesso centrale nel luogo di pellegrinaggio di Cimitile/Nola," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, 928–40; and Thomas Lehmann, "Der Besuch des Papstes Damasus an der Pilgerstätte des hl. Felix in Cimitile/Nola," in *ibid.*, 969–81.

[87] In a letter to a notable called Olympiodorus, he advises his follower to decorate the new martyrium with scenes taken from the Old–and also the New–Testament and with a single cross instead of rich secular embellishments. The reason why he should do so is that the illiterate by gazing at the pictures become mindful

John Chrysostom. What should strike us, however, is the quantity of these pieces of evidence, especially if we keep in mind that all the early murals of the martyria in the East were destroyed with the single exception of St. George and Hosios David in Saloniki and that even including the West the earliest surviving example of such narrative cycles in a martyrium dates from the eighth century.[88] There is, however, a different type of evidence for these images that has not been taken into consideration so far. Deducing the iconography of Christ from imperial imagery, Grabar–in the absence of surviving imperial portraits–refers to the sixth century consular diptychs of Anastasius. The consul is depicted as the umpire of the games organized on the occasion of his appointment to the office.[89] The ivory image corresponds exactly to the frescoes described by Gregory and the author of the *Homily on Barlaam.* Both frescoes depicted the victorious conflict of the martyr in front of Christ presiding over the games. Moreover, the same subject survives also on two ivories from around 400.[90]

Votive Images

Besides their didactic function, images at martyr shrines were considered as sacral offerings. Grabar holds that votive images–which he, from the viewpoint art history, defines with the inclusion of the representation of the donor–appear relatively late, in the sixth century, because of the reservation of Christians against having themselves depicted.[91] Nonetheless, he quotes earlier examples of a similar genre: medallia representing a person making an offering at a saint's shrine. Moreover, he is aware that while the representation of the donor is a mark of a votive image, it is

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of the deeds depicted and, thus, may emulate them. Georg Thümmel questions the authenticity of the passage: Hans Georg Thümmel, "Neilos von Ankyra und die Bilder," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978): 10–21, but the passage all too well fits into the early fifth century milieu, as the parallels show. Thümmel does not take the Western evidence into consideration.

[88] Grabar, *Martyrium*, 101. The earliest archaeological evidence for such representations are with St. Lawrence: a medallion before 432 (Grabar, *Martyrium*, 13–14; 27; 77–8); cf. a *Bottom of a Bowl with St Lawrence*, guilded glass, Rome, fifth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, no. 1918, 18.145.3, as reproduced in *Age of Spirituality*, no. 511, and an approximately contemporary mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia. From the east see eg. a *Roundel with St. Thecla*, limestone, Egypt, fifth century, Kansas City, Nelson Gallery-Attkins Museum, no. 48.10, as reproduced in *Age of Spirituality*, no. 513, and a *Relief with St Menas,* marble, Alexandria (?), fifth century, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, no. 13.860 (found close to the shrine of the saint), as reproduced in *Age of Spirituality*, no. 512. See also a *Portrait of a Saint*, encaustic on wood, Egypt, fifth-sixth century, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, no. J 68825, as reproduced in *Age of Spirituality*, no. 496.

[89] Cf. The similar diptych of Aerobindus, as reproduced in Alice Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums*, 2d ed. (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1985), plate 32–4.

[90] *Kaiserpriester*, ivory, West, c. 400, Paris, Louvre; *Consulardiptych*, ivory, West, beginning of fifth century, Bourges, Museum: Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd ed., Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer, no. 7 (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976), no. 58 and 36, with plates 31 and 20.

[91] *Martyrium* 81–3. 87–104.

not indispensable.[92] Belting's recent monograph ignores this possibility and dates the appearance of votive images to around 600.[93] Some two hundred years earlier, however, St. John Chrysostom's words imply that votive images were common by his time. These "offerings" were identified by an inscription: "so and so has offered it".[94] Sozomen uses the same expression for the statue at Paneas,[95] and Asterius in his sermon on St. Euphemia also calls the paintings at the shrine an offering ($\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$).[96] Already Eusebius uses the term for the decoration executed at the command of Constantine in the newly built martyria.[97] Unfortunately, we cannot tell for sure what these decorations looked like.

Gary Vikan provides a comprehensive overview of this usage.[98] He in fact suggested that votive images may have dominated the imagery of early Byzantine churches, as opposed to monumental murals.[99]

Apotropaic Function

The account of St. John Chrysostom on the behaviour of the faithful after the death of St. Meletius reflects further developments.[100] According to this account, as the citizens of Antioch constantly remember and invoke the name of their martyr bishop "in order to possess him in their souls" and use his name for protection against evil thoughts and passions, so they preserve his image on rings,[101] chalices, and on the walls of their rooms in order to obtain double consolation. The text seems to imply that the "imprint of his [i.e. St. Meletius'] body" was believed to have the same "apotropaic" effect as his name, similarly conveying a kind of presence of the saint himself. Here we can observe the genesis of devotional icons. We may also infer that

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[92] *Ibid.*, 101–2.

[93] *Likeness and Presence*, 82–88.

[94] Jean Chrysostome, *Commentaire sur Job*, ed. intr. tr. and notes by Henri Solin with Louis Nayrand S.J, vol. 1, Sources Chrétiennes 346 (Paris: Cerf, 1988), I,26,4–6; Damasc., *Apol.* III 75 gives an ampler text. *Cf. Contra Iulianum* (fragment in Damasc., *Apol.* III 121, listed under No. 4495/27 in the CPG), where, however, the "$\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \dot{\alpha}\gamma\dot{\iota}\omega\nu$" that are said to be venerated and to manifest the former tribulation are probably relics.

[95] p. 228,2

[96] See above p. 223.

[97] About the decoration of the Martyrium of the Anastasis: *Vita Constantini* III 37–38; 40, pp. 100,21–7; 101,1–6; of the Church of the Nativity and of the Ascension: III 43, p. 102,2–4; 11–12; generally: I 42, p. 38,1–4; IV 44;46, p.139,7–8;25–6. (about the church of the Anastasis itself: IV 47, p. 140,9–11, and of Nicaea: III 50, p.104,26–7). Otherwise he uses the expression in connection with the imperial image: I 8, p. 19,2–3; IV 50, p. 141,1–2 ($\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\hat{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\dot{o}\nu\omega\nu$ and $\dot{\alpha}\delta\rho\iota\dot{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$) and esp. IV 69, p. 149,5–8; for the human custom of erecting memorial images in general: I 3, p. 16,16–18 ($\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\dot{o}\nu\omega\nu\ \dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$); and about pagan votive offerings: I 27, p. 29,5 and III 1, 81,6–8 (in the latter case contrasted with alms).

[98] "*Devotionalia*" 381–2.

[99] *Ibid.*, 388 with n. 54.

[100] *Homilia in Meletium*, PG 50, 516,15–32

[101] For archaeological examples see Grabar, *Martyrium*, 79.

pilgrims also brought back small images (like those of St. Meletius on rings) from the sacred places in order to remember them, but also to preserve the presence of the grace that emulates from the sacred bodies and sites. Some early examples of such objects do survive from at least the early fifth century.[102] The Stylites consciously promoted such devotion in a sphere of pilgrimage which we have not mentioned so far but which was no less vital in the period discussed and ever since: pilgrimages to visit holy men.[103]

Miracles

We have discussed the first reports about miracles in connection with images in the accounts of the statue at Paneas. Not much later, Euodius (d. 424), the bishop of Uzala, reports how a velum depicting a miracle performed by the relics of St. Stephen was delivered to the sanctuary by a man "if not by an angel" on the next day.[104] At the end of the same century, now in the East, Theodorus Lector informs us about an image that commemorated a miracle that proved the case of the Orthodox against the Arians in the year 498.[105] The image was created at the command of Emperor Anastasius (491–518) by the deacon of the church of St. Stephen, under the altar of which was the spring supplying with cold water the public bath where the miracle had taken place. The icon was set up in the above named church. Later than the events discussed in that book, says Theodorus, the Arians bribed the warden of the palace of the Helenians, to which property the bath belonged, to hide the icon under the pretence of restoration. During an imperial visitation, however, on the Emperor's command the image was returned to the church. The warden contracted a deadly disease, and after spending a week before the relics of SS.

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[102] See n. 88. The dating–as, I should add, with most such objects–is uncertain, as Grabar himself remarks *(Martyrium,* 14). *Cf.* also the later ampullae with St. Menas *(ibid,* 27) and the oriental pectoral crosses or encolpia from the Holy Land with the image of a saint on the reverse: *ibid.* 51–2.

[103] Theodoret of Cyrrhus is perhaps the earliest witness to this: *Historia religiosa* 16. PG 82, 1473A4–7. Karl Holl has treated this phenomenon in his article on "Der Anteil der Styliten am Aufkommen der Bilderverehrung," in *Philotesia, P. Kleinert zum lxx. Geburtstag dargebrach,* ed. A. Harnack (Berlin, 1907), 51–66. See also Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), esp. 121. Grabar, completing Kitzinger's list of sources, enumerates both the passage from Theodoret and from Chrysostom among the four important testimonies to the cult of images before Justinian: *Christian Iconography,* 83–4. For a recent and fuller analysis of both texts and the archaeological material see Vikan, "Devotionalia". He quotes a surviving object with Symeon the Elder witnessing to this practice already from the fifth century: plate 52/c. For archaeological evidence see also Grabar, *Martyrium,* 83–4, and M. Jean Lassus, "Images de Stylites," *Bulletin d'études orientales (Institut Français de Damas)* 2 (1932): 67–82, though probably neither of his examples is earlier then the seventh century.

[104] *De miraculis sancti Stephani* II 4,2, PL 41, 850–1, mentioned by Kitzinger though confined to a note: n. 25 on p. 92, and referred to on p. 113.

[105] Theodoros Anagnosthes, *Kirchengeschichte,* ed. Günther Christian Hansen, Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1971) 131,10–133,32, quoted by Damasc., *Apol.* III 130.

Pantaleon and Marinos, it was revealed to him that he would never recover because his sin was too grave. He then had a dream revealing that the only hope for salvation for him would be to die in front of the icon.

In this story the emphasis is not on the image, so it could be substituted by any other object that would testify to the miracle in question. Still, as the climax of the story indicates, the image, even if only in virtue of the miracle represented, can play a role comparable to that of relics. We can see how images had been fully integrated into the life of the church and were charged with special tasks and took part in religious controversies with the obvious approval of the clergy.

CONCLUSION

During his visit in Palestine, St. Epiphanius tore down a curtain in a church at Anablatha because Christ or a saint (he could not or did not want to recognize the figure) was depicted on it. It is not lawful, writes Epiphanius apologizing to the local bishop, John of Jerusalem, his opponent in the Origenist debates, to have such images in Churches. This incident again bears witness to the attachment of local people–perhaps as contrasted with those of Cyprus–to images. All the more was it true of the visitors to frequented pilgrim sites, concievably less under the control of local ecclesiastical authorities unlike churches, even that of a small provincial community like Anablatha.

If one accepts also the authenticity of the rest of Epiphanius' fragments on images, which I do not,[106] one should not be surprised by my claim that the cult of images spread rapidly in the fourth century and was welcomed, or at least understood, by such renowned churchmen as St. John Chrysostom. It is another question whether images had yet assumed a liturgical role, which, I surmise, they did not generally assume in Byzantium before iconoclasm,[107] except in some monastic communities.[108]

In his pamphlet against the Manichaeans, Augustine admits that even among the Christians there are plenty who worship *(adoratores)* "pictures" and shrines, and hold luxurious feasts at the tombs of the martyrs.[109] The tone of the passage is apparently

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[106] I have delivered two papers at the Patristic Seminar of Durham University and the Byzantine Seminar of Oxford University on the authenticity of these fragments. I am working on publishing this material.

[107] The seventh century the *Doctrine of Jacob* (I 34) reports that in Carthage the veneration of the cross caused offence for the converted Jews but says nothing about images: "Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati," ed. and tr. by Vincent Déroche, commentary by Gilbert Dragon, *Travaux et Mémoire* 11 (1991): 121.

[108] Anastasius Apocrisiarius, *Acta Maximi Confessoris* II 18, PG 90,156A11–B4, quoted in Damasc., *Apol.* III 131.

[109] *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* I 34, 75, PL 32,1342. Kitzinger (92), while referring to this passage, omits the expression *"multos"*, and thus he can easily claim that this may refer only to occasional excesses. Belting (59) misinterprets the phrase as if it referred to pagans. In my MA thesis I have collected material proving that the origins of venerating images have to be sought for in the fourth century and this practice had been deeply rooted by the end of the fifth century. See my paper under preparation referred to in n. 58. above.

disapproving. The fact, however, that Augustine did not object to the cult of martyrs and relics,[110] contrary to what this passage could imply *(sepulchrorum adoratores)*, takes the edge off this disapproval. Moreover, the main target of his criticism are the gluttonous banquets, a vicious custom against which Paulinus also fought. One thing is certain: for Augustine the popular cult of shrines was inseparably merged with the cult of images.[111]

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[110] See *Confessiones* IX 7.16
[111] Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 83.

"…SCRIPTA MANENT" ARCHIVAL AND MANUSCRIPT RESOURCES IN HUNGARY[1]

Zsolt Hunyadi

This paper is to provide an outline of the available written sources of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary for any kind of scholarly work in the Hungarian archives, libraries and to illustrate the situation concerning the amount, character, and accessibility of our medieval holdings. Since so many of the Hungarian medieval sources have been lost, some research projects, concepts, and methodologies developed in Western European and North American scholarship are simply impossible to pursue. Whereas others developed by Hungarian scholars have proven fruitful as they have been accustomed to the local circumstances. Thus, this survey attempts to shed some light not only on what is impossible to accomplish but also what is eminently feasible to achieve in Hungary. By summarizing the characteristics of the different archival and manuscript resources and their editions or accessibility, this paper and the bibliography included in the notes should provide a useful tool for medieval scholars.

It is important to clarify that Hungarian medieval scholarship regards the year 1526 (the Battle of Mohács which the Hungarians lost against the Ottomans) as the dividing line between the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Most of the written sources produced by the kingdom's central governmental organs vanished from a considerable part of the country during the following 150 years of Ottoman occupation. The extent of the destruction of the sources will never be fully known to scholars, and it is difficult for Western researchers to understand its gravity. This loss of records concerns not only the number of the sources, but the fact that almost entire types of documents were lost such as official or private letters sent to the Hungarian kings, many drafts of legal documents, accounts of the *magister tawarnicorum* or, later, that of the Treasury.

These circumstances have shaped the development of the Hungarian National Archives collection in Budapest and the various archival collections throughout the country.[2] Collecting of medieval written sources began as early as the end of the

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[1]   This paper was read at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo (USA), May 7–10, 1998, Session 59: Medieval Resources in Central Europe and the Balkans; Organizer and Presider: Professor Christopher Kleinhenz, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

[2]   On the development and the content of the collection, see I. Borsa "A Magyar Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltára I. A gyűjtemény kialakulása" (The collection of original charters of the Hungarian National Archives I. The formation of the collection), *Levéltári Közlemények* 40 (1969): 289–323; I. Borsa, ed. *Magyar Országos Levéltár. A Mohács előtti gyűjtemény.* (National Archives of Hungary. Collection of Pre-Mohács {1526} records) (Budapest: MOL, 1972); I. Borsa, "A magyar medievisztika forráskérdései

seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. A number of diligent historians/copyists, for instance, Gábor Hevenesi, Márton Czeles, and István Kaprinai collected and copied medieval charters into modern *chartularia*. It was Márton György Kovachich who espoused the project and announced his scholarly purposes at the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, a considerable part of the original sources is not extant and, moreover, the undertaking of the copyists falls short of the modern standards of source criticism. Most of these copy-collections were published in György Fejér's *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae* (1829–1844),[3] a monumental undertaking which is still not entirely replaced by new editions. Yet, Fejér's edition simply preserved the fundamental scholarly problems inherent in the copyists' work. Apart from the shortcomings of the *Codex*, Fejér's pioneer work was followed by several source-editions published from the mid-nineteenth century up to the Second World War. After a long hiatus, the work of source edition as such regained its former status. The best example is the monumental project initiated by Gyula Kristó and his colleagues, which is going to publish the calendars (*regesta*) of all documents issued during the Angevin rule in Hungary (1301–1382).[4]

Thus at present, there are three main groups of sources at the scholar's disposal: (1) the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century copy-collections, (2) numerous published sources, and (3) the surviving archival resources. Before surveying the published sources, let us review the depositories of the medieval, namely, the pre-Mohács (i.e. 1526) collections (the *Collectio Antemohacsiana*) and their development. In order of importance, it consists of the medieval collection of the National Archives of Hungary (MOL, Budapest) subdivided into the Diplomatics Archives (DL), which was established in the early 1880s, on the basis of the former Hungarian Chambers' Archives. At first, the nineteenth-century collection contained some 25,000 medieval records, but the criteria for selection were not clearly defined, and it included all the different types of documents which were issued in the period in question: letters of mandate, letters of relation, private letters, accounts, drafts, original and copied materials. This heterogeneity has led to certain misunderstandings during the last hundred years. Nevertheless, the DL grew

(Medievisztika és a levéltári anyag)" (Resources of medieval studies in Hungary. Medieval studies and the archival resources), *Levéltári Közlemények* 44–45 (1974): 103–121; I. Borsa, "A Magyar Országos Levéltár Mohács előtti gyűjteményei 1882–1982" (The *Antemohacsiana* collections of the National Archives of Hungary) *Levéltári Közlemények* (1982): 3–19; I. Borsa, "A Magyar Országos Levéltár középkori gyűjteményei" (The medieval collections of the Hungarian National archives), *Erdélyi Múzeum* (1996): 314–321.

[3] G. Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 43 vols, (Buda: n. p., 1829–1844).

[4] *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*, ed. in chief Gy. Kristó, vols. 1–5, 7–9, 11 (Budapest and Szeged: n. p., 1990–, in progress).

steadily in the decades following 1890 through several depositions and purchases. In 1934 the DL was merged with the collection of the Hungarian National Museum which mostly consisted of family archives left in its safekeeping. Thus, prior to the Second World War, the new DL counted more than 70,000 original pre-1526 items arranged in chronological order. During wartime, the Hungarian National Archives (MOL) began microfilming its holdings for preservation; nonetheless, many records burned to ashes in 1945, and another set during the 1956 revolution.

The last significant stage in the major acquisitions of the MOL was the process of establishing of public ownership of all the archives in Hungary–ordered by the new regime at the beginning of the 1950s. Besides the original medieval records which counted 90,000 at that time, the MOL continued microfilming its own Diplomatics Archives and initiated the acquisition of microfilmed and/or photographed *"Hungarica"* materials from abroad, primarily, from the surrounding countries/regions that once belonged to Hungary. As a result of the cooperation with Austrian, Romanian, and present-day Slovakian and Croatian archives, the MOL acquired some 70,000 copies of original materials with reference to Hungary. This corpus became the core of the Diplomatics Photocopy Collection (DF). The DF includes photographs of the medieval records deposited outside the MOL even of those documents found within the borders of present-day Hungary but outside the capital. Archivists still expect to find some more records, primarily from Ukraine, since the archives of the regions east of the Carpathians have yet to be processed.

In addition to the collection of the Hungarian National Archives, the municipal, ecclesiastical, local public archives, and local libraries should be taken into account.[5] These archives, with a few exceptions, have also separated their pre-1526 materials from their main corpus. Thus, it was easy to integrate the microfilms of these materials into the structure of the MOL. Although these archives retained the original documents in their possession, scholars can work with the photocopies and microfilms kept in the MOL. Nevertheless, those who plan to investigate the original materials can find some 9,000 documents in municipal archives, ca. 10,000 in ecclesiastical collections, and some 2,000 items in different libraries.

Today, there are about one hundred and eight thousand original medieval records (DL.1–ca.108100) and ninety-two thousand photographs (DF. 200001–ca. 286000) in the MOL. These some 200,000 records contain the text of ca. 318,000

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[5] P. Balázs, *Magyarország levéltárai* (Archives of Hungary) (Budapest: Franklin, 1983); M. Veres, L. Nagy and K. Dóka, eds., *A magyarországi egyházi levéltárak fondjegyzékei* (A catalogue of ecclesiastical archives in Hungary), 4 vols (Budapest, 1976–1987); L. Blazovich and V. Müller, eds., *Magyarország levéltárai* (Archives of Hungary) (Budapest: Szignatúra, 1996).

charters. This collection, in its present stage, incorporates the archives of the former Hungarian Chamber; the archives of the Hungarian and that of the Transylvanian Chancellery; the archives of the Treasury; archives of governmental organs in Transylvania; documents originating from the archives of Vienna; the *Regnicolaris* archives; judicial archives; family archives; institutional archives (especially places of authentication); and other miscellaneous collections. The vast majority of the records is written in Latin, while–especially from the later Middle Ages onwards–a significant amount is in German, several Hungarian, Slavonic (e.g. Slovakian), and Greek manuscripts can also be found.

The MOL's inventories contain the most important pieces of information about each document such as its reference number, inventory number, dating, surviving form, remarks, original signature, issuer/grantor, and seal. Moreover, extracts have been prepared and attached to 70% of the collection–unfortunately they are available only in Hungarian. A new initiative plans to merge the inventories of the Diplomatics Archives and the Diplomatics Photocopy Collection which were hitherto been separate. The inventories have been digitized (BRS: full-text data-processor system) and made available on-line through the Internet along with the traditional finding aids, 10,000 extracts from the period of 1438–1453 are also accessible on-line.[6] The reasons why archivists prepared the extracts of these particular charters of this period leads us back to the field of source edition.

One of the most serious criticisms concerning the medieval collection is that the Hungarian National Archives itself lacks an inventory that allows scholars to determine whether the given document has been published, and if so where. In the notes, the major source editions can be found, starting with Fejér's *Codex diplomaticus* up to the most recent volume containing the charters of the Sigismund era (1387–1437).[7] In addition, three comprehensive bibliographies contain almost all the published sources: Emma Bartoniek's manual of historical scholarship contains the pre-war titles (collected in the 1920s, reprinted and edited by I. Gazda, 1987);[8] the relevant chapters of D. Kosáry's general work[9] provide the most detailed list, while I. Draskóczy's article (1990) summarizes the recent charter editions.[10]

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[6] Accessible at http://www.sztaki.hu/db/dipl/index.html or via telnet://helka.iif.hu.

[7] E. Mályusz and I. Borsa, eds., *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár* (Charters of the Sigismund-era), 5 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951–, in progress, presently: 1387–1416).

[8] E. Bartoniek, *Magyar történeti forráskiadványok* (Hungarian historical source collections) (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1929), repr. in I. Gazda, ed., *A magyar történettudomány kézikönyve.* (A manual to Hungarian historical scholarship) (Budapest: Könyvértékesítő Vállalat, 1987).

[9] D. Kosáry, ed., *Bevezetés Magyarország történetének forrásaiba és irodalmába.* (Introduction to the sources and literature of the history of Hungary), 3 vols. (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1951–1958, 1970).

[10] I. Draskóczy and I. Soós, "Középkori oklevélpublikációk Magyarországon 1945–1990 között" (Medieval charter-publications in Hungary between 1945–1990), *Levéltári Közlemények* (1990): 9–55.

I would like to point out the most important characteristics of this list. Certainly, the least problematic period is the Arpadian Age, that is, from 1001 (the beginning of literacy in the Kingdom of Hungary) up to 1301. Even if some editions fall short of modern scholarly standards, the works of Wenzel,[11] Szentpétery/Borsa,[12] F. Kubinyi,[13] Marsina,[14] Nagy,[15] Györffy,[16] Theiner,[17] Smičiklas,[18] Jakó,[19] and others contain the majority of the extant charters. The documents from the Angevin and the Sigismund periods (i.e., 1301–1437), however, are only partially published. A selected number of documents issued between 1301–1365 and 1387–1416/20 have been published or calendared (mainly in Hungarian) by Wenzel,[20] Imre Nagy et al.,[21] Iván Nagy,[22] Jakó,[23] Smičiklas, Sedlák,[24] Mályusz,[25] Borsa,[26] and Kristó's team.[27]

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[11] G. Wenzel, ed., *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus,* 12 vols. (Pest: n. p., 1860–1874).

[12] I. Szentpétery and I. Borsa, eds. *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica* (Budapest: MTA, 1923–1943, 1961).

[13] F. Kubinyi, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus (1095–1301).* (Pest: n. p., 1867).

[14] R. Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae,* 2 vols. (Bratislava, 1971–1987).

[15] I. Nagy et al., eds., *Hazai Okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius,* 8 vols. (Győr and Budapest: n. p., 1865–1891).

[16] Gy. Györffy et al., eds., *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima ab anno 1000 ad annum 1131,* vol.1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992). Its second volume (1131–1196) is forthcoming.

[17] A. Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia,* 2 vols. (Rome, 1859–1860).

[18] T. Smičiklas and M. Kostrenčić, eds., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae,* 18 vols. (Zagreb, 1904–1998).

[19] Zs. Jakó, ed., *Erdélyi okmánytár: Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez. Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae: Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997).

[20] G. Wenzel, ed., *Magyar diplomácziai emlékek az Anjou-korból. Acta extera Andegavensia,* 3 vols. (Budapest: n. p., 1874–1876).

[21] I. Nagy, ed., *Sopron vármegye története. Oklevéltár.* (A history of county Sopron. Charters), 2 vols. (Sopron: Liftass Károly, 1889–1891); I. Nagy, et al., eds. *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár.* (A History of County Zala. Charters) (Budapest, 1886–1890).

[22] I. Nagy, and Gyula Tasnádi Nagy, eds. *Anjoukori Okmánytár/Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis.* 7 vols. (Budapest, 1878–i920).

[23] Zs. Jakó, ed. *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei. (1289–1556)* (Records of the Kolozsmonostor convent), 2 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990).

[24] V. Sedlák, ed., *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae,* 2 vols. (Bratislava: AScS, 1980–1987).

[25] E. Mályusz and I. Borsa, eds., *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár.* (Charters of the Sigismund-era), 5 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951–, in progress, presently: 1387–1416)

[26] Recent editions: I. Borsa, ed., *A Szent-Ivány család levéltára 1230–1525* (The archives of the Szent-Ivány Family, 1230–1525) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988); I. Borsa, ed., *A Balassa család levéltára 1193–1526* (The archives of the Balassa Family, 1193–1526) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990); I. Borsa, ed., *A Justh család levéltára 1274–1525* (The archives of the Justh Family, 1193–1525) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991); I. Borsa, ed., *Az Abaffy család levéltára, 1247–1515. A Dancs család levéltára, 1232–1525. A Hanvay család levéltára, 1216–1525* (The archives of the Abaffy Family: 1247–1515. The Archives of the Dancs Family, 1232–1525. The archives of the Hanvay Family, 1216–1525) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993).

There are two on-going projects which plan to publish the extracts of all the documents of the Angevin and Sigismund periods. The Angevin series contain already nine volumes (1301–1320, 1323–1325, 1327) and several other volumes are forthcoming. The fifth volume of the Sigismund series was published recently, thus, it contains documents up to 1416, and the volumes up to 1420 will be in print soon. Apparently, the published "kindred" archives may reduce the lack of source publications of both the previous and subsequent periods. However, it cannot replace the missing editions. For this reason calendars were prepared to be available, principally, for the period from 1438, that is, the archivists attempted to bridge the striking gap between 1438 and 1526.[28] Unfortunately, most of these projects gave up the long-lasting tradition of publishing the sources *in extenso*. Instead, extracts now replace the full text of the documents, and these extracts are usually written in Hungarian. Unfortunately, the choice of Hungarian as the language for these publications represent a serious language-barrier to non-Hungarian scholarship. This is particularly unfortunate if one considers the fact that both the Angevin and the Luxembourg dynasties played important roles throughout Europe, and therefore numerous comparative, cultural, institutional and other projects could yield important results. Finally, the exclusive use of summaries deprives the researchers of the formulaic sets. For the moment, the translation of these editions does not seem feasible regarding that the Angevin series alone will amount to some seventy volumes.

The vast majority of the codices and incunabula made, copied, printed or simply kept in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary also perished during the last four centuries. According to fairly cautious estimations there must have been at least 45–50 thousand medieval codices, though some scholars put this number over one hundred thousand. Today, less than thirty-five hundred remain extant, and less than 1,500 of those can be found in Hungary. In addition, many of these codices have been brought to Hungary as late as the nineteenth century. Recent studies, on the basis of certain book-lists found in charters, reported more than 3,000 lost titles. However, it is quite difficult to estimate the number of volumes in which these works were included. Turkish wars and occupation of the country imperiled book-collections, moreover, Protestant literate believers recycled liturgical manuscripts for binding materials–from time to time.[29]

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[27] *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia,* ed. in chief Gy. Kristó, vols. 1–5, 7–9, 11 (Budapest and Szeged: n. p., 1990– , in progress).

[28] This ongoing project, led by Gy. Rácz, is about to publish the digitised calendars (1438–1526) on CD-ROM in February, 1999.

[29] Cf. Cs. Csapodi and K. Cs. Gárdonyi, eds., *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (Codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526), 3 vols. (Budapest: MTAK,

The first attempts to gather and catalogue the manuscripts and codices took place in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, only the second half of our century yielded satisfactory and concise catalogues of the holdings of Hungarian collections or general "*Hungarica*" materials abroad. The first main group of these works would be the general ones which include all opera of a particular collection or which are kept in Hungary. The list represents the most important collections or holders: the Hungarian National Library (OSzK);[30] the University Library, Budapest (ELTE);[31] the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTAK);[32] the Library of the Esztergom Cathedral and the Simor Library; the Library of the Kalocsa Cathedral; the Episcopal Library of Székesfehérvár; the Central Library of the Benedictine Order in Pannonhalma and the Library of the Episcopal Seminary, Győr.[33] The manuscripts preserved by these institutions are mostly Latin ones, nevertheless, a good number of codices, incunabula or fragments can be found in (Middle High and Early New) German, Greek, Hebrew and Italian. Fortunately, most of the catalogues or inventories of these collections, from the very beginning, met scholarly standards, that is, the general descriptions, the *apparatus criticus,* and other appendices have been added to the items either in Latin or in Western languages.

The next two groups of items report the surveys which have been accomplished alongside a particular genre or pertinence, namely, the catalogues and descriptions of medieval holdings of liturgical and ecclesiastical nature and the *Bibliotheca Corviniana.* As for the first, Polikárp Radó's activity should be highlighted since his work, especially the revised edition by László Mezey,[34] is still an up-to-date scholarly production. As for the latter one, the Corvinian Library–founded by King Matthias (1458–1490)–has always been treated as a "library" of outstanding value due to its contemporary and present-day European-wide reputation. The extant stock of the Corvinas consists of some 170 authentic codices and

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1988–1994); G. Sarbak, "A magyarországi kódextöredékek kutatása" (Research on fragments of codices from Hungary) *Iskolakultúra* (1997/5); Cs. Csapodi and K. Cs. Gárdonyi, eds., *Ariadne. A középkori magyarországi irodalom kéziratainak lelőhelykatalógusa* (Inventory of manuscripts of medieval Hungarian literature) (Budapest: MTAK, 1995).

[30] E. Bartoniek, ed., *Codices manu scripti latini. Codices latini medii aevi,* vol. 1 (Budapest: OSzK, 1940).

[31] L. Mezey, ed., *Codices latini medii aevi bibliothecae universitatis Budapestiensis* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961).

[32] Cs. Csapodi, ed. *Catalogus collectionis codicum Latinorum et Graecorum. K 393–K 500.* A MTA Könyvtára Kézirattárának katalógusai 16. (Budapest: MTAK, 1985).

[33] L. N. Szelestei, ed., *Magyarországi egyházi könyvtárak kéziratkatalógusai. Catalogi manuscriptorum quae in bibliothecis ecclesiasticis Hungariae asservantur,* 10 vols. (Budapest: OSzK, 1979–1993).

[34] P. Radó, ed., *Index codicum manuscriptorum liturgicorum Regni Hungariae* (Budapest, 1941); P. Radó and L. Mezey, eds., *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

incunabula including Latin, Greek and Italian manuscripts. Unfortunately, only a part of the whole surviving collection is kept in Hungarian libraries.[35]

The printed volumes of the Corvinian Library are also listed in the first complete catalogue of Latin, Greek and Hebrew incunabula of Hungary edited by E. Soltész and G. Sajó. This catalogue describes 3,550 items (7,107 copies) held in 56 Hungarian libraries.[36] Half of these are to be found in three libraries in Budapest. A decade-long survey by a team of the Hungarian National Library (OSzK) endeavored to produce a complete catalogue, and the librarians found that the major collections of incunabula had developed in those libraries established during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[37]

The most recent catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Hungarica* was edited by Csaba Csapodi. It provides a summary of the results of several researches performed on medieval books (codices and printed books) in the last two centuries.[38] This edition also includes the results of the "Medieval Codices" Research Team of the MTA, which was founded in 1978 and is directed by Csaba Csapodi. His book reports that further investigations are needed in foreign libraries/archives and it asserts that approximately 70–80% of all medieval books, which were ever kept in Hungary, are known at the moment.

In 1973, another research team from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences endeavored to catalogue and study the Latin fragments of the Hungarian collections: it is called the *Fragmenta Codicum*, being led by László Mezey, and since his death, by András Vizkelety. The team has catalogued and published a detailed description of more than 700 fragments from the University Library (Budapest), the Pauline Library of the *Seminarium Centrale*, the Esztergom collection, as well as the Episcopal and canons' collection in Győr (the latter one is forthcoming).[39] The

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[35] Cf. I. Berkovits, *A magyarországi Corvinák* (Corvina volumes in Hungary) (Budapest, 1962); I. Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus* (Budapest, 1964); Cs. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

[36] E. Soltész and G. Sajó, eds. *Catalogus incunabulorum quae in bibliothecis publicis Hungariae asservantur.* 2 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970).

[37] See also G. Borsa, "A magyarországi ősnyomtatványgyűjtemények" (Collections of incunabula in Hungary). in *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve 1957* (Budapest: OSzK, 1958); G. Borsa et al., eds., *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok, 1473–1600. Res litteraria Hungariae vetus operum impressorum.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971); E. Soltész, E. Velenczei and Á. W. Salgó, eds., *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár 16. századi nyomtatványainak katalógusa* (A catalogue of printed publications from the 16th century in the collection of the Hungarian National Library) (Budapest, 1990).

[38] Cs. Csapodi and K. Cs. Gárdonyi, eds., *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (Codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526), 3 vols. (Budapest: MTAK, 1988–1994).

[39] L. Mezey et al., eds., *Fragmenta latina codicum in bibliotheca universitatis Budapestiensis*, Fragmenta codicum in bibliothecis Hungariae 1/1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983); L. Mezey et al., eds., *Fragmenta latina codicum in bibliotheca seminarii cleri Hungariae centralis*, Fragmenta codicum in bibliothecis

project is, indeed, interdisciplinary as the fragments concern the history of liturgy, music, canon law and art history. The research fellows of the team are working with the collection of Sopron at the moment.

Although the catalogues and inventories of the manuscript resources are highly regarded, it is hard to say the same about the text editions. Undoubtedly, the most important narratives have already been published, however, hitherto the scholarship lacks most of the critical and/or facsimile editions of medieval (11–14th century) texts. In many cases, scholars still have to rely upon last century text editions. The conditions of late medieval and early modern texts are somewhat better. It is chiefly due to the Renaissance Research Team of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences which continued the project initiated before the Second World War.[40] Several manuscripts are also available in facsimile edition, but the number of such publications is very low; and, in addition, there are no translations into Western languages, or bilingual editions. Nevertheless, an alternative–and promising–way to bridge the gap might be the CD-ROM editions, for instance, the recent edition of the *Chronicon Pictum*, or the Hungarian-Angevin Legendary which is the production of the Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University.

Last but not least, one should also consider the newest medium: the electronic resources and electronic catalogues. First, the inventory of the medieval charter-collection of the Hungarian National Archives might be mentioned which is available via the Internet (both telnet and http) and it provides access to the most important data of some 318,000 medieval records. Hopefully, in the immediate future, the HTML version of the Angevin charter-edition (presently 1301–1328) will be available as well. The description of several collections are also available on the World Wide Web, such as the Sopron Municipal Archives, the Eger Archbishopric Collection and the Benedictine Archives in Pannonhalma. Web-sites exhibit smaller or larger parts of the holdings of a particular institution or collection, for instance, the virtual exhibition of old Hungarian books at the József Attila University, Szeged.

In addition, the main public and research libraries are also accessible from remote hosts either one by one, or via the united catalogue of the nine major scientific libraries of the country. Another recently established collection is the Hungarian Electronic Library (MEK) which includes and coordinates several Hungarian services. This project aims at gathering the most significant works–as

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Hungariae 1/2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988); A. Vizkelety, ed., *Mittelalterliche lateinische Handschriftenfragmente in Esztergom,*. Fragmenta et codices in Bibliothecis Hungariae 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993).
[40] See the series of *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, Series nova*, Institute of Literary History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences–Renaissance Research Team (Budapest).

well as links to works–written in Hungarian or having reference to Hungary, including primary historical works translated into Western languages. The number of the content-providers is fast increasing, so the above list is only a snapshot.

To sum up, it may worth quoting one of the convictions of the Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University: „In spite of enormous losses during the many wars since the Middle Ages, this region is rich in medieval monuments, documents and vestiges of the past yet to be unearthed. Neither the artistic and architectural monuments nor the collections of ancient documents in archives and libraries have been exhaustively examined with up-to-date methods or analyzed from the perspective of modern scholarship."[41]

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[41] A detailed bibliography on source editions and finding aids is available on the homepage of the CEU Medieval Studies Department: http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/

CHANGING ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS AND THE WATERLEVEL OF LAKE FERTŐ (NEUSIEDLER SEE) BEFORE THE DRAINAGE WORK (13TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Andrea Kiss

The Lake and its Hinterland

Lake Fertő (Neusiedler See), the second largest lake (309 km²) in the Carpathian Basin, is situated in the border area of northeastern Austria and northwestern Hungary. Before the twentieth century, the lake and its surroundings were part of the former Hungarian Kingdom.

The lake is very shallow; it has a comparatively large, extensive water-surface which is very sensitive to changes in hydrology and precipitation. Before the canalisation work, the lake was a deep part of a much larger water-system in the northern Transdanubian (Western Hungarian) region. The shoreline changes of the Fertő, together with the other parts of the former water-system created one, contiguous water surface which was also influenced by the Danube. Thus, changes in lakelevels are good indicators of any climatic changes which have taken place in the northwestern part of the Transdanubian region. On the other hand, the weather conditions in this part of the Small Hungarian Plain (the area both north and south of the Danube between Vienna and Győr) are more related to the climate in the eastern parts of Austria than to many parts of Hungary. Thus, climatic changes in the Fertő area reflect various trends found in the northwestern parts of the Transdanubian region and also the eastern part of Austria.

Fig. 1. The map of Lake Fertő in the 1890s.

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In spite of the fact that human influence can be traced from the sixteenth century or even earlier, the first permanent significant changes in the water-system of the lake took place at the end of the 1770s when the canalisation and the separation of the lake from the marshy area of the Hanság (Wasen) got under way. Before this time, the influence of humans was not as important as the influence of the climatic elements and the changes in them. The actual waterlevel and extent of the lake can be followed–in some exceptional cases–from the Middle Ages. Most of the data, however, comes from later, modern times.

The most significant sources of the changes in waterlevel are the archae-ological finds, written sources including diaries, travel descriptions, some landscape painting and modern maps. Although the Fertő is much shallower, the conditions prevailing at Lake Balaton also provide a good parallels, both in terms methodology and trends in waterlevel and shoreline changes of Lake Fertő.[1]

Data on the Waterlevel Trends in the Middle Ages

Because of the relative lack of appropriate contemporary written records and archae-ological sources, no reconstruction exists for medieval climatic conditions in the former Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, the evidence of some medieval shoreline changes at the lakes in the area should provide a good source of data for any future discussion of the climatic conditions of the Carpathian Basin in the medieval period.

Some of the possible medieval shoreline changes which have occurred around the lake could be reconstructed from the contemporary landscape conditions in the area. This reconstruction was made on the basis of contemporary written sources (mainly charters) and the results of some archaeological research which has been carried out in the region. These results were compared to the present situation, as well as to the eighteenth-century situation. In some exceptional cases, the database from Antal Réthly's source collection[2] had to be applied; although the exact years of these records–because of the relative lack of comparable contemporary sources–are still questionable.[3]

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[1] Károly Sági, "A Balaton vízállás-tendenciái a történeti és kartográfiai adatok tükrében" (Waterlevel trends of lake Balaton in the mirror of historical and carthographical data). *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Közlemények* 7 (1968): 441–68; Károly Sági and Miklós Füzes, "Újabb adatok a Balaton 1863 előtti vízállás tendenciáinak kérdéséhez" (New data on the question of waterlevel trends of lake Balaton before 1863) *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 1 (1973): 247–60.

[2] Antal Réthly, *Időjárási események és elemi csapások Magyarországon 1700-ig* (Weather events and natural disasters in Hungary until 1700) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962).

[3] These uncertain dates were marked by question marks (?) on Fig. 2. See also: László Aujeszky, Ferenc Schilling, and Sándor Somogyi, *A Fertő-táj Monográfiáját előkészítő Adatgyűjtemény* (Preliminary database

Year	location	waterlevel of the lake	notes
1217	Illmitz		existence of reeds along the eastern-south-eastern shoreline
1270			winter: covered by ice
1281	from Homok and Hidegség towards Sopron	low–for a long period before	road, meadows and fishery in the southern basin of the lake
1335	Széplak	low–for a long period before	meadows in the southern basin of the lake
1429	at the boundary between Balf and Boz	medium, not low	reed-belt at the edge of the southwestern shoreline
1443?		high	
1451?		high	
1460?–1462?		decreasing	
1466?		decreasing	
1479?		decreasing	
1504?		decreasing	
1512?		high	
1535?		high	
1541?–1544?		decreasing	
1549?		high	
1559?		decreasing	
1568		decreasing, low	
1585		low	
1594?–1595?		decreasing	
1616		decreasing, very low	wide reed-belt around the lake
1646		high	
1676–1677		high	
1683	Boz, Rákos region	very low	meadows and landmarks in the dry south-western parts of the basin of the lake

of the monography of the Fertő area), vol. 2/b (Budapest: Vízgazdálkodási Tudományos Kutató Intézet, 1972).

Year	location	waterlevel of the lake	notes
1689		decreasing	
1693		high	
1694–1695		decreasing	
1700		decreasing	
1727–1728		low, increasing	
1736–1739		decreasing	
1740		low	
1740–1742		increasing	
1773		low	
1782–1783		medium or high	
1786		very high	

Fig. 2. Information on the waterlevel changes at Lake Fertő
until the beginning of the drainage works.

As *Fig. 2* suggests, very little information is available for the possible changes in waterlevel and the shoreline at the lake in the Middle Ages. In 1217, reeds were noted along the eastern shoreline of the lake which fact reflects the shallowness of the water in the area of Illmitz. The lake was covered by ice during the winter of 1270/1271. This information is supported by the fact that the winter in 1271 was also cold in Austria.[4] In 1281, a road and the entities such as meadows were mentioned as occurring in the southern basin of the lake which suggests the idea that the waterlevel of the lake was low at that time. Also in 1335, the existence of meadows in the southern parts of the basin supports the theory that the water did not fill the whole Lake Fertő basin.

For the fourteenth century, there is no more information exists related to the possible conditions of Lake Fertő. However, there are some sources referring to the waterlevel situation of Lake Balaton and also to a number of weather events which took place in the 1330s and 1340s in different parts of the Carpathian Basin.

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[4] Pierre Alexandre, *Le climat en Europe au Moyen Age: contribution l'historie des variations climatiques de 1000 a 1425, d'apres les sources narratives de l'Europe occidentale* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1987), 700.
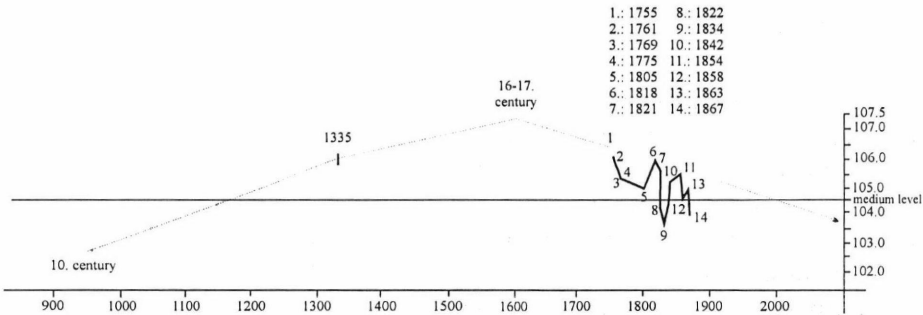
Fig. 3. Reconstructed waterlevel changes at Lake Balaton over the last millennium.
(after K. Sági, 1968.)

As *Fig. 3* shows, until the fourteenth century, the level of the Balaton was low. However, from 1335, the waterlevel of the Balaton started to rise. As an interesting parallel, it should be noted as well that in the same year in April, in the north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, serious floods were reported in the inhabited lower parts of former Ungvár county (at present, it is in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine). In addition, the weather conditions in the summer of 1335 were cold and wet in the Czech lands as well.[5]
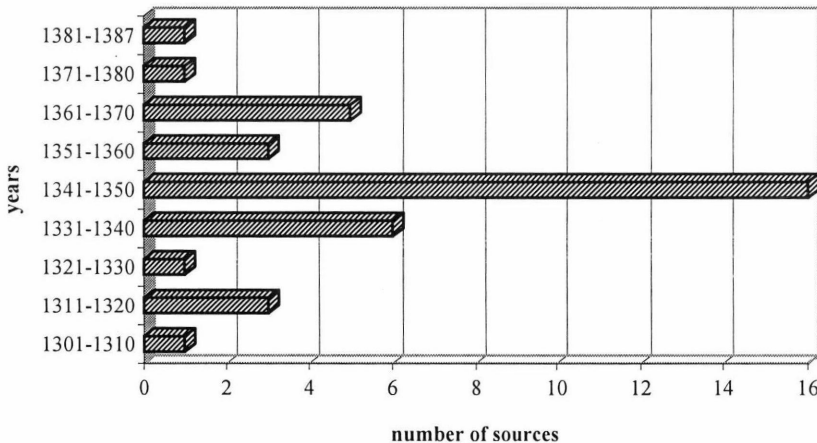

Fig. 4. Recorded floods and high amount of precipitation
in the Carpathian Basin during the angevin period.

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[5] Rudolf Brazdil and Oldrych Kotyza, *History of Weather and the Climate in the Czech Lands Vol. 1. Period 1000–1500* (Zurich: Geographisches Institut ETH, 1995), 235.

This time (mid-1330s) and the following decade–as illustrated in *Fig. 4*–seems to have been a period of higher precipitation activity in the region. From the middle of the 1330s, in different parts of the Carpathian Basin, a growing number of contemporary sources refer to the more frequent large floods or higher amounts of precipitation. Also, most of the 1340s were connected to the great floods and possible cooler and wetter weather conditions of 1342 over the whole of the kingdom.[6] This theory is supported by the pollen-analytical research carried out by Magdalena Chernavskaya in the Transcarpathian region (see *Fig. 5*),[7] and also by what we know of contemporary weather conditions during the 1340s in most parts of Europe.[8]
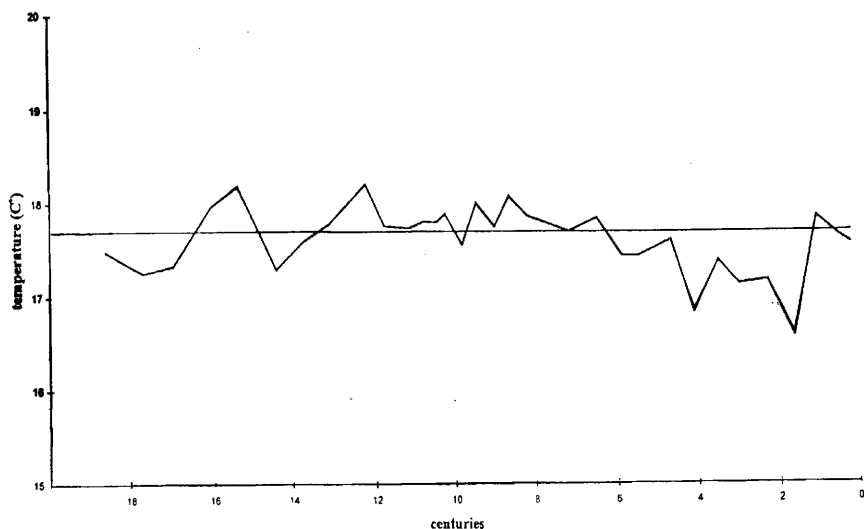

Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the July mean temperature in the Transcarpathian region for the last two thousand years (made by M. Chernavskaya, 1992).

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[6] Andrea Kiss, "A 14. századi Magyar Királyság klímájának vizsgálata" (Study on the climate of the fourteenth-century Hungarian Kingdom) *Egyetemi Meteorológiai Füzetek* 10 (1997): 238–41.

[7] Magdalena Chernavskaya, "Botanical indicators of the Little Ice Age in the Russian Plain," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Little Ice Age Climate*, (Tokyo: Metropolitan University, 1992), 55–60.

[8] Hubert Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World* (London: Blackwell, 1995), 187.

Early Modern and Modern Times

A detailed climatic reconstruction was made by Lajos Rácz for early modern and modern times, which can be used as a comparison to waterlevel changes at Lake Fertő.[9] The trends in waterlevel rather than the actual waterlevel of the lake could be recognised, when such sources are used.

Although Lajos Rácz's climate reconstruction was made for the whole Carpathian Basin and not only for the northern parts of the Transdanubian region, the waterlevel trends display, more or less, the same changes as the climate reconstruction for early modern times. This fact may also be the result of the location of the contemporary sources: most of the records collected by Antal Réthly and analysed by Lajos Rácz, referred to the Transdanubian region, especially to the northern parts.

In addition, more information could be collected from contemporary letters, charters and some later diaries which referred to the weather and climatic conditions in this area. In many cases, the authors of the sources even mentioned parallels between the actual weather conditions and the waterlevel of the lake.[10] On the other hand, there are some cases in which the waterlevel trends for the lake and reconstructed precipitation changes were different. However, it should be noted that using the database from modern written sources, only small differences can be recognised. The waterlevel trends for the lake during early modern and modern times can be followed and a comparison can be made with the climatic reconstruction from modern times. On the other hand, the waterlevel changes of this climate-sensitive lake reflect rather short-term variabilities than long-term ones.

Conclusions

Because of the relative lack of appropriate natural scientific and archaeological research, written sources play an important role in the reconstruction of the waterlevel trends and the climatic conditions in the Fertő area. Although some significant data provide useful information on the lake, only from this database, the medieval conditions cannot be reconstructed. For modern times, more data could be found, which, when compared to the reconstructed climate changes in the

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[9] Lajos Rácz, "Éghajlati változások a középkori és kora újkori Európában" (Climate changes in Europe in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times), in Ágnes R. Várkonyi and László Kósa, *Európa híres kertje* (The Famous Garden of Europe) (Budapest: Orpheusz Könyvkiadó, 1993).

[10] *Die Chronik des Marx Faut und Melchior Klein / Faut Márk és Klein Menyhért krónikája 1526–1616.* ed. József László Kovács (Sopron-Eisenstadt: Soproni Levéltár/Landesarchiv und Landesbibliothek, 1995), 161.

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Carpathian Basin, may display clear parallels mainly referring back to short-term variabilities in the climate.

In the further examination of this climate-sensitive region, the most significant task will be to apply the future results of research in natural sciences (soil science, pollen-analythical studies, geomorphology and so on) which has just got underway in the Fertő-Hanság area. This is only one stage of an ongoing and more complex research program concerned with the lake and its surrounding environs. This work may be followed up by studies employing new methodology including the detailed soil and pollen analysis of the basin of the lake and its surroundings.

THE COURT OF VYTAUTAS: AN EXAMPLE OF WALL-PAINTINGS IN THE PALACE OF TRAKAI ISLAND-CASTLE[1]

Giedré Mickūnaité

The inquiry of this paper focuses on the vanished wall-paintings that once decorated the grand ducal palace of the island castle of Trakai (the town of Trakai, situated ca. 30 km westwards from Vilnius, was the second city of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). Presently these murals are known only from nineteenth and twentieth century copies and descriptions.

Viewed in a wider context, the murals from Trakai belong to the tradition of so-called Greek or Ruthenian monumental painting popular in Poland throughout the fifteenth century. The appearance of such wall-paintings in Poland coincides with the beginning of the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty; moreover, all the pieces are connected with royal patronage. Traditionally scholarship connects these wall-paintings[2] with a strong Ruthenian influence at the Lithuanian court from which the Jagiellonians originate. Regrettably, there are very few examples of these paintings in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the ones in Trakai being the single better-known case.[3]

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[1] This paper was read at the interdisciplinary workshop entitled "Aspects of Courtly Culture" at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, in April 1998.

[2] The best known examples of such paintings in Poland are preserved in the chapel of the Holy Cross in the castle of Lublin and the chapels of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary in the Cathedral of Cracow on Wawel hill.

[3] Recently traces of wall-paintings have been discovered in the palace of the Lower castle of Vilnius, Albinas Kuncevičius, "Pirmieji duomenys apie Vytauto laikų Vilniaus Žemutines pilies rūmus" (The first data about the Vilnius Lower Castle's palace from the Period of Vytautas' Reign), In *Žalgirio laikų Lietuva ir jos kaimynai* (Lithuania and its Neighbours at the time of the battle of Grunwald), ed. Rūta Čepaitė and Alvydas Nikžentaitis, Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis 1 (Vilnius: Academia, 1993), 215–39. Important for this research is the mention of the Greek style paintings in the parish church of Trakai. This church was founded by Vytautas in 1409 (*Vitoldiana. Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae, 1386–1430*, ed. Jerzy Ochmański. (Warsaw and Poznań: PWN, 1986), no. 21, 27. In 1645 Mankiewicz mentioned that the paintings that had once decorated the church vanished during its Baroque restoration, while the ones which decorated the choir remained untouched, *Kosciol farski trocki, cudami Przenasetey Bogarodzice Panny Maryey obideniony a prez xiedza Symona Mankiewicza Biskupstwa Zmudzkiego dyocesiana novo na Swiat wystawiony* (The parish church of Trakai, gifted with the miracles of the Most Holy Mother of God Virgin Mary, and by priest Symon Mankiewicz, diocesian of the Samogitian Bishopric, reconsidered). (Wilno: W Drukarni Ojcow Bazylianow, 1645), sign. A3/r.

The brief history of the castle[4]

The castle occupies an island in Lake Galvė by the town of Trakai and together with the castle on the peninsula compose a fortified system (*figs. a–c*). The present castle was commissioned by Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas (b. ca. 1350, grand duke from 1392, d. 1430) and built during the first decade of the fifteenth century. The castle was used as a grand ducal residence throughout the fifteenth century and is closely connected with two grand dukes, Vytautas and Casimir of Jogaila (grand duke from 1440, d. 1496). Later this residence became less important and in 1522 it was turned into a prison for nobility. The castle was ruined during the mid-seventeenth-century wars. The ruins were partly conserved in the 1930s and in the 1960s the castle was rebuilt.

The nineteenth-century Romantics rediscovered the ruins of the castle and regarded them as a testimony to a glorious past. During this period a number of drawings of the devastated castle were made. For the present inquiry a lithograph by Napoleon Orda is informative (*fig. d*): it depicts the castle from the north-east, thus the ruins of the palace are seen; such were the conditions of the buildings when the murals were discovered in the southern wing of the palace (this is the wing on the left in *figs. d* and *f* and on the right in *fig. e*).

The brief history of the wall-paintings

The opinions on the dating of the murals vary; however, recent investigations of the castle demonstrated that once the entire palace was decorated with murals (the traces of paints were found everywhere where plasterhad survived). Therefore, it is more likely that such a decoration was completed immediately after the construction of the castle, that is, around 1409.[5]

Discovered in the nineteenth century, the murals attracted less attention than the ruins themselves. As far as is known, remnants of the paintings that survived in the window-niches of the reception hall on the first floor and chambers of the second floor of the southern wing of the palace were copied by Wincenty Smokowski (1822), Jan Nepomucen Głowacki (1823), V. Griaznov (1864–65),

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[4] For a recent in-depth study on Trakai in general and castles in particular see Algirdas Baliulis, Stanislovas Mikulionis, and Algimantas Miškinis, *Trakų miestas ir pilys. Istorija ir architektūra* (The city and the castles of Trakai: history and architecture) (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1991).

[5] From 1409 Vytautas mostly took up residence in Trakai, Jerzy Purc, "Itineratium Witolda wielkiego księcia Litwy (17 lutego 1370–27 października 1430 roku)" (The itinerary of Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (17 February 1370–27 October 1430), *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwesytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza. Historia* 11 (1971): 89–109.

Jerzy Hoppen (1933), and few other artists.[6] At the turn of the century the murals were photographed for post-cards.[7] As to the written records, Smokowski and Hoppen made the descriptions of the scenes they copied; the murals were also mentioned by a few visitors of the ruins. In the 1890s the Archaeological Commission made efforts to preserve the ruins and the murals and investigated their conditions.[8]

On the copies.

Despite the fact that there is a number of pictures of the murals, the best known are those made by Smokowski: author's reminiscences about his visit to the castle together with descriptions, lithoghraphs of his drawings (*fig. e*) were published in 1841.[9] The original drawings from which the lithographs were made seem to be lost. The lithograph highly classiczed the paintings but the narrative of the scenes was reflected. On the other hand, the descriptions are rather accurate and made *in situ*. Głowacki's drawings (*fig. f*) [10] are a recent discovery. Mikulionis and Levandauskas, the scholars who published them, argue that these sketches may be a copy from Smokowski's original drawings.[11] Griaznov's water-colours have not yet been published, and had no wider scholarly application.[12] They represent the murals

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[6] Ivinskis refers to water-colours from 1903 by Konstanty Zajkowski, Zenonas Ivinskis, "Trakų Galvės ežero salos pilis" (The Island-castle of lake Galvė in Trakai), *Vytauto Didžiojo kultūros muziejaus metraštis* 1 (1941): n. 32, 198. Hoppen mentions colour drawings by Bolesław Rusiecki, Jerzy Hoppen, "Malowidła ścienne zamku trockiego na wyspie" (The wall-paintings of the Trakai island-castle), *Prace i materiały sprawozdawcze sekcji historji sztuki / Recueil de travaux et comptes rendus de la section d'histoire de l'art* 2.1–4 (1935): 235.

[7] A collection of such postcards is preserved in the Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, however they are not useful source for the purpose of this paper since only the central scene is photographed and the quality is rather poor.

[8] Hoppen, 235 and Baliulis, et al., 199.

[9] W. Smokowski, "Wspomnienie Trok w 1822 r." (A visit to Trakai in 1822), *Atheneum: pismo poswie cone historyi, filozofii, literaturze, stukom i krytyce* 5 (Wilno, 1841): 157–83.

[10] Jan Nepomucen Głowacki, "Remnants of the Wall-paintings in the Palace of Trakai Island castle," pencil on paper, 204 x 324 mm, 1822. MNK-XV-Rr. 506, no 764, in Zbiory Czartoryskich w Museum Narodowym w Krakowe / The Czartoryski Collection of the National Museum in Cracow, photograph of the museum, 1998.

[11] Their arguments are as follows: there is no evidence that Głowacki ever visited Lithuania. The other drawings from Trakai correspond to Smokowski's essay on the visit, the arrangement of the sketches is close in form and sequence to a lithograph made after Smokowski's drawings, Stanislovas Mikulionis and Vytautas Levandauskas, "Trakų pilių ir miesto ikonografija Krokuvos tautiniame muziejuje" (The iconography of the city and the castles of Trakai in the National Museum of Cracow), *Architektūros paminklai* 13 (1993): 68–70.

[12] These water-colours are presently kept in the Art Museum of Simbirsk (Russia). I know of them from L. Žilevičius, "Ikonografinė medžiaga surinkta Uljanovsko dailės muziejuje," (The iconographic materials collected in the Art Museum of Uljanovsk) (Vilnius, 1987), file F5-4210 in the archives of Paminklų Restauravimo Institutas / The Monument Restauration Institute, Vilnius.

in colour, however the narrative of the paintings slightly differs from other pictures. It might have been thus, that Griaznov tried to emphasize the Orthodoxy in the murals. The last set of copies used in this research are made by Hoppen and are the most reliable, regrettably the least numerous.[13]

Fig. a. – Lake-system of Trakai area.
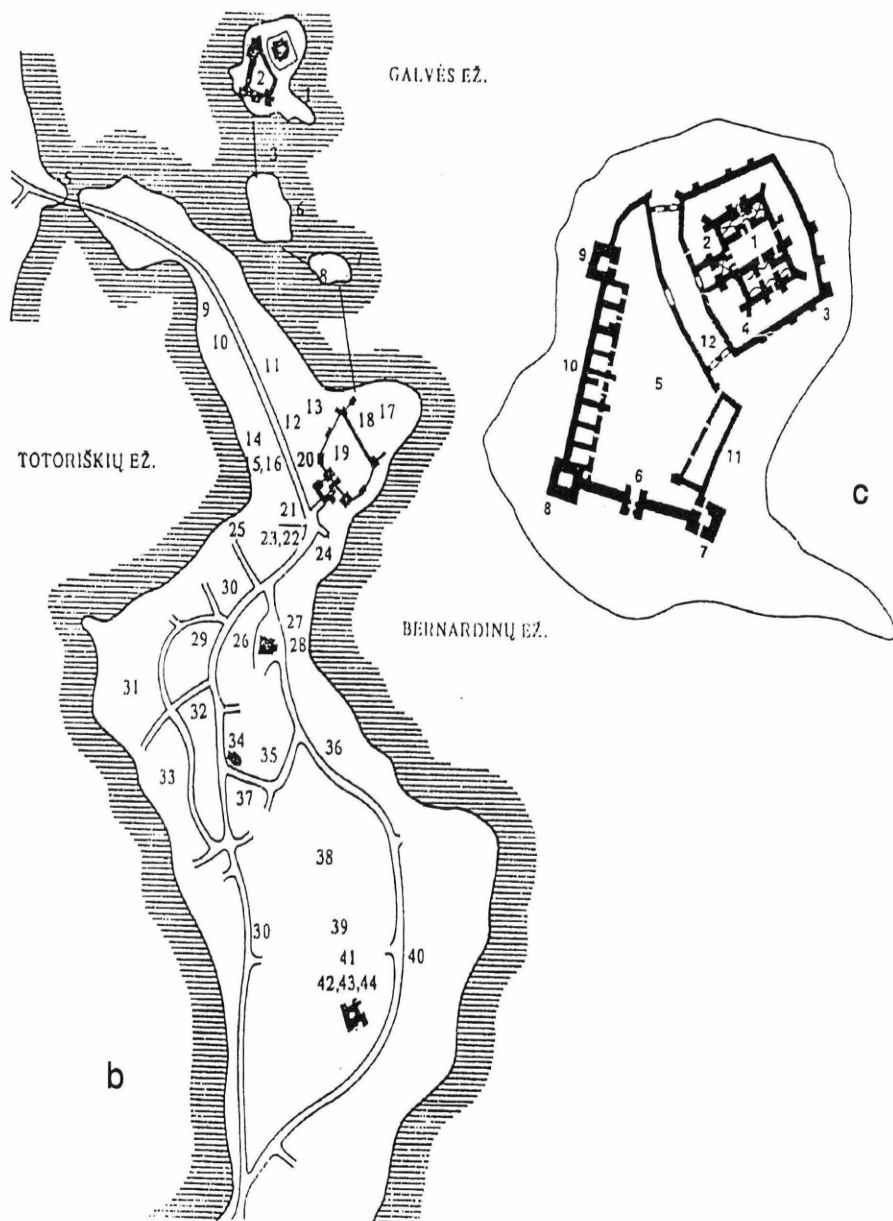
Fig. b. – Trakai: town and castles.

Fig. c. – S. Mikulionis. Trakai island-castle, scheme.
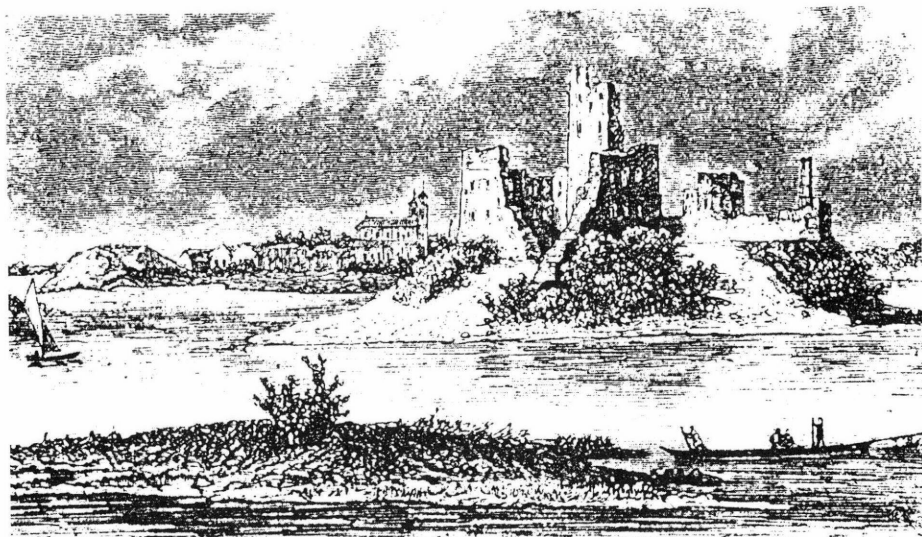
d
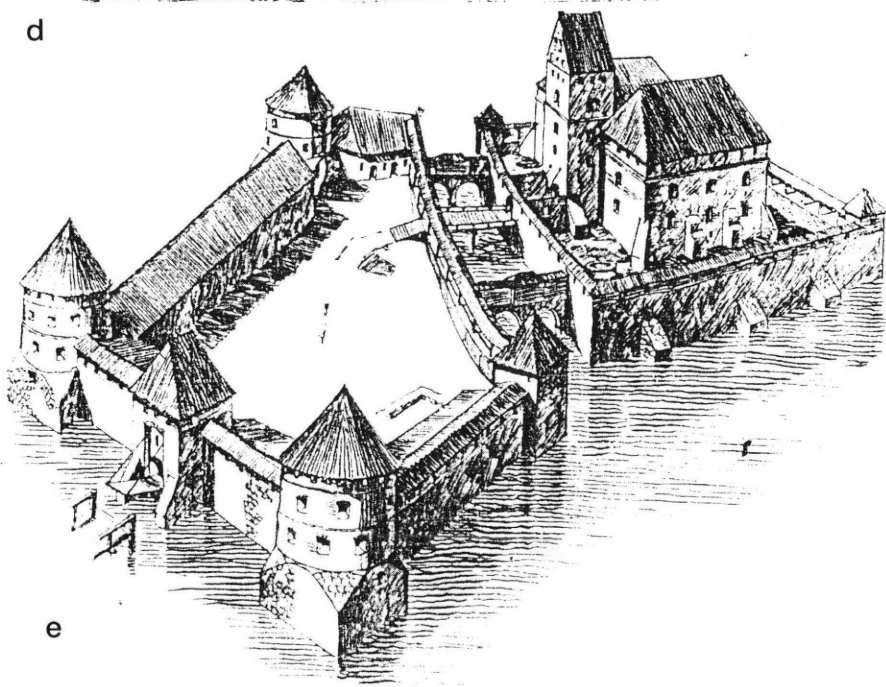
e

Fig. d. – N. Orda. Trakai island-castle, second half of the nineteenth century.

Fig. e. – B. Krūminis. Trakai island-castle, reconstruction.
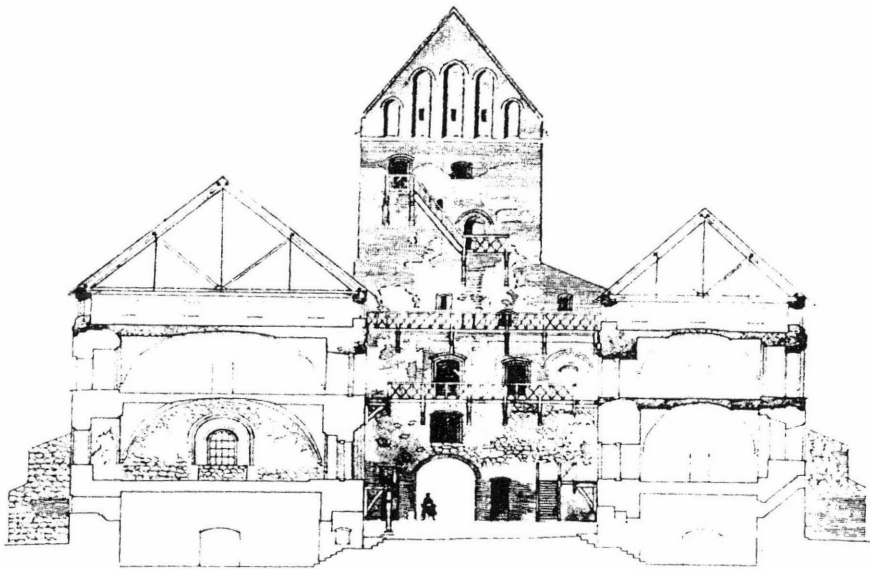
f
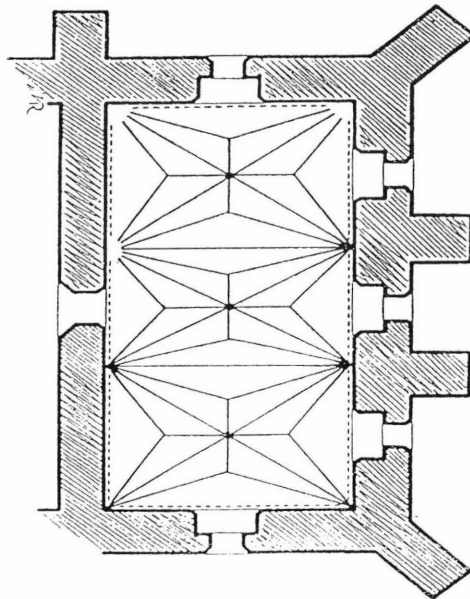
g

Fig. f. – B. Krūminis. Trakai island-castle, reconstruction of the palace, cross-section.

Fig. g. – J. Borovskis. Trakai island-castle, the palace, reception hall, plan.

Fig. h. – W. Smokowski. Trakai island-castle. The copies of the murals. Litograph.

Fig. i. – J. N. Głowacki. Trakai island-castle. Copies of the murals.

GIEDRÉ MICKŪNAITÉ

Scholarship

It has already been mentioned that the wall-paintings of Trakai belong to the tradition of Byzantine monumental art. Though generally this is an investigated issue, Trakai has attr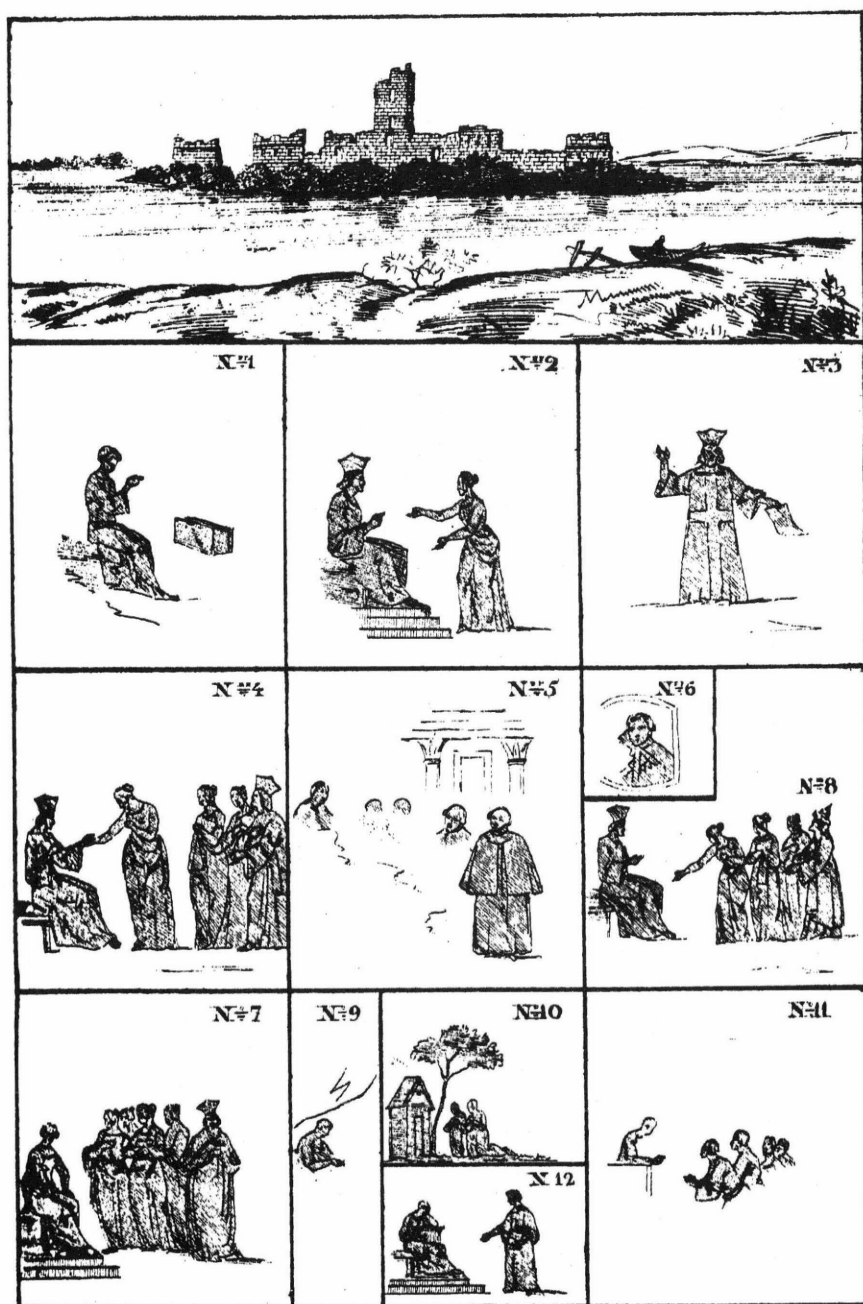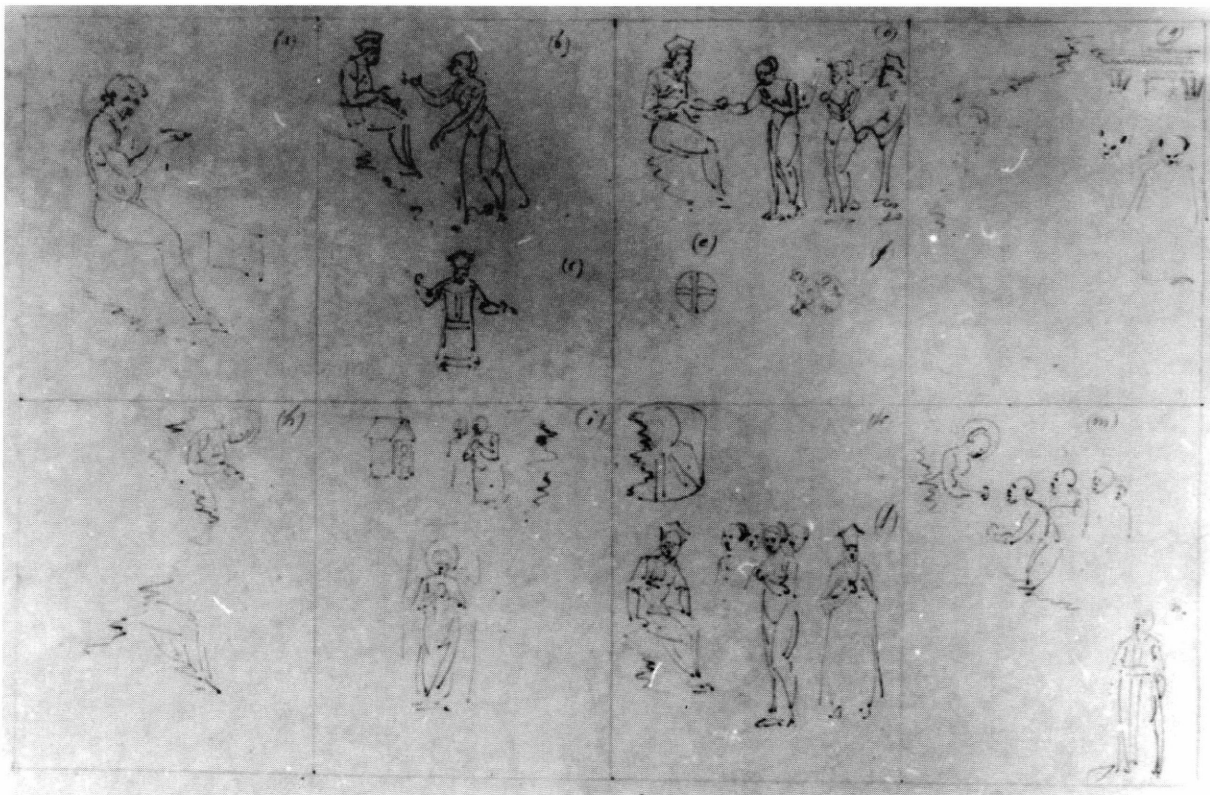acted little scholarly attention so far. In fact, there are only two articles discussing the murals more profoundly: the one by Tadas Adomonis,[14] the other by Anna Różycka-Bryzek,[15] the first is based on Smokowski and Hoppen, the second only on Smokowski's lithograph. Both authors present the murals in the context of Byzantine wall-paintings; however, they give a completely different interpretation. Adomonis regards the murals as an illustration of Lithuanian political realities while Różycka-Bryzek proposes the Biblical cycles of David and Joseph. As to Adomonis' article, the author went too far in seeing Lithuanian politics in nearly each and every mural;[16] nonetheless, his interpretation of some of the scenes seems right. Although Różycka-Bryzek's interpretation is sophisticated, it is, regrettably, erroneous.[17]

The research

The research presented henceforth was carried out in the following steps: (1) collecting visual and written materials on the murals; (2) locating the copies in the window-niches; (3) describing the scenes on the basis of pictorial and written evidence; and (4) interpreting the narrative of the wall-paintings.

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[14] Tadas Adomonis, "Trakų salos pilies sieninė tapyba" (The Wall-paintings from the Palace of Trakai island-castle), *Lietuvos TSR Aukštųjų Mokyklų Moklslo Darbai. Menotyra* 2 (1969): 135–60.

[15] Anna Różycka-Bryzek, "Niezachowane malowidła 'Graeco opere' z czasów Władysława Jagiełły" (The lost 'Graeco opere' paintings from the times of Ladislas Jogaila), *Analecta Cracovoensia* 19 (1989): 307–17.

[16] Adomonis interprets each object instead of describing it, thus the round object becomes the a seal and the person who holds it the grand ducal chancellor; the people kneeling in front of a wooden building are seen as an illustration of neophyte piety for the foreign visitors to the ducal residence, etc.

[17] The author does not consider several significant sources and gives a dubious interpretation of the written records: (1) in relating murals from Trakai with the Biblical cycle of David and Joseph, the author does not follow either the sequence of the pictures, mixing between the first and the second floor, nor is she acquaint with their descriptions; (2) relating the wall-paintings to Vytautas' intended coronation cannot be justified because it is based on erroneous iconographic interpretation and on the travelogue by Ghillibert de Lannoy. As to the travelogue, Ghillibert de Lannoy visited Vytautas twice in winter 1413/14 and in 1421. He described both of his visits in great detail. During his first visit Ghillibert passed by Trakai and wrote about the city and the castles but was silent about the murals. Różycka-Bryzek thinks that this silence suggests the absence of the murals; however, there is no basis to argue that Ghillibert ever entered the palace. For the passage of the travelogue see "Ištraukos iš 'Voyages et Ambassades,' kur kalbama apie Lietuvą" (Extracts from 'Voyages et Ambassades' concerning Lithuania), appended to P. Klimas, "Ghillebert de Lannoy: dvi jo kelionės Lietuvon Vytauto Didžiojo laikais (1413/14 ir 1421 metais) (Ghillebert de Lannoy: his two journeys to Lithuania during the times of Vytautas the Great (in 1413/14 and 1421), *Praeitis* 2 (1933), reprinted in *Lietuvių tautos praeitis / Lithuanian Historical Review* 4.3/4 (1980): 253–56.

First floor: the reception hall.

Fig. 1.1. On the right, a scene in profile. Seated male figure in a long yellowish garment holds a round dark object in his right hand. There is a quadrangular object in front of the figure.

Fig. 1.2. On the left, a scene in profile on an architectural background. Male figure dressed in a long dark garment with a white collar and a belt and with a quadrangle-cap (henceforth called specific clothing) is sitting on something placed on a three-step elevation; female figure is standing in front of the sitting male; conversational gestures.

On the left, deeper in the niche: fragments of a standing figure.

On top a scene en face: male figure in a specific clothing holds a stick in his raised right hand and a light-coloured rectangular object in the stretched left.

On the right a scene in profile on architectural background: male figure in specific clothing sitting opposite to a group of three females and one male figure. The first female gives something to the sitting male. The second female holds a flat object raised in her right hand. The standing male figure wears specific clothing.

Outer wall and vaulting-rib: fragments of meander ornament.
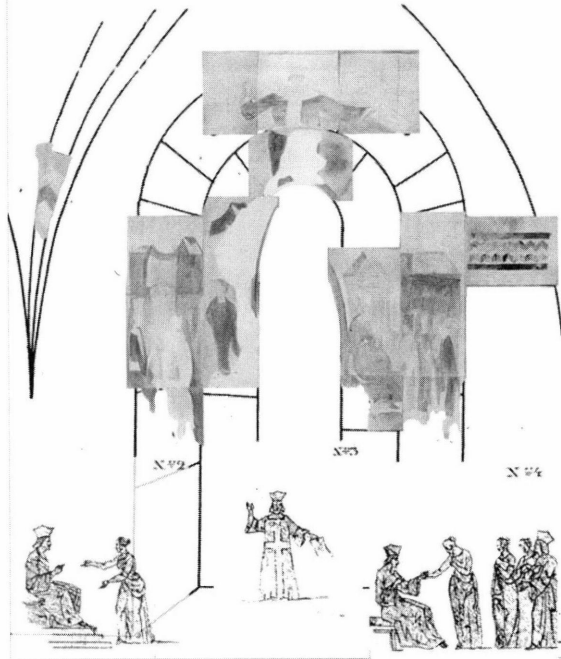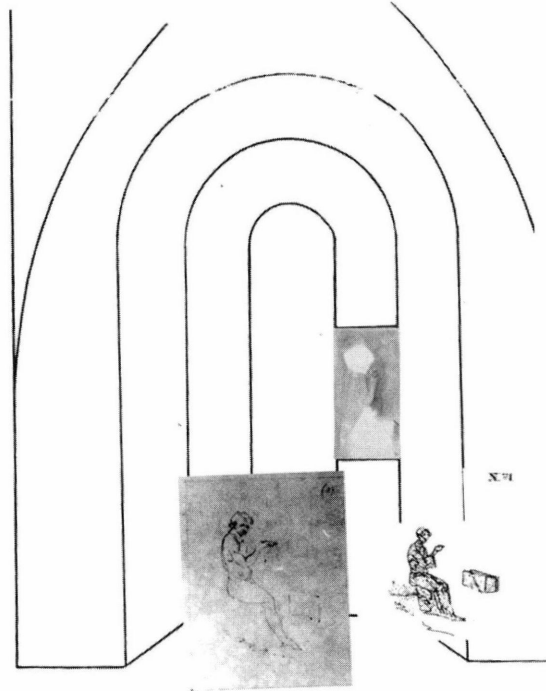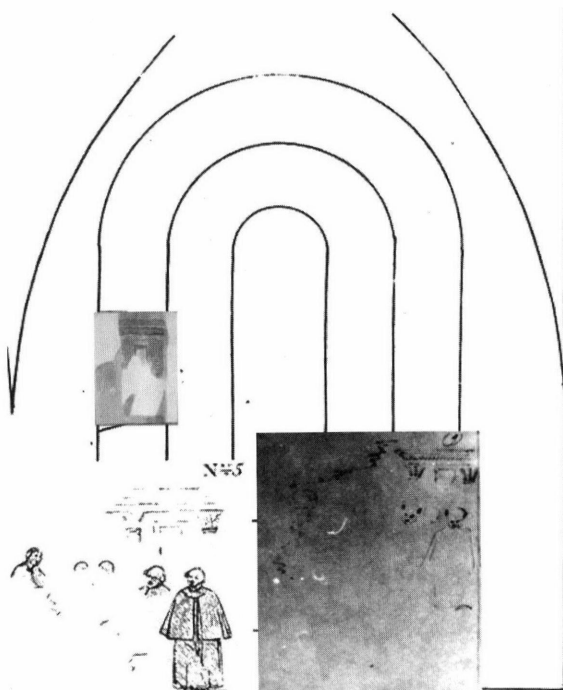
Fig. 1.3. On the left a scene in the interior decorated with columns: a bust of a person turned by three-quarters towards the right in front of four figures, two of which can be seen better. These are male figures with Mongol face features. They wear short mantles over long garments.
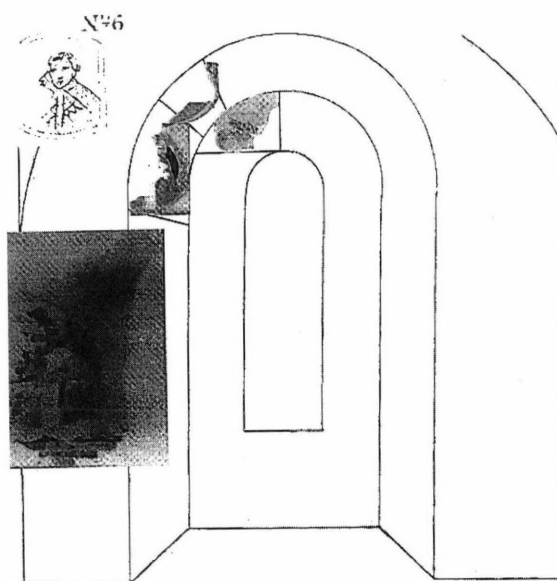
Fig. 1.4. On the left: a bust nearly *en face* with a halo and a rectangular object in the right hand, encircled.
Above: a remnant of a lower part of a circle.
On top, deeper in the niche: a part with a linear yellow and green ornament.

Second floor: three separate rooms.

Fig. 2.1. On the left a scene in profile: an aged male in a specific clothing is sitting in front of three females and one male figure. The first female bends with her right hand stretched towards the sitting figure. The last male figure wears a triangular (Smokowski) or quadrangular (Głowacki) cap and a long garment.
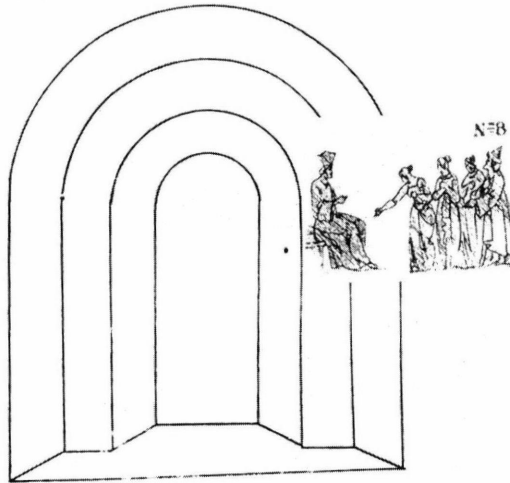
Fig. 2.2. On the top: a leaning bust (with a halo, Głowacki).
On the right above a scene in profile: a bust (with a halo, Głowacki) leaning towards a group of three bending figures.
On the bottom right an outdoor scene in three-quarters profile: two figures kneeling in front of a small building marked with a cross; a tree stands next to the building.
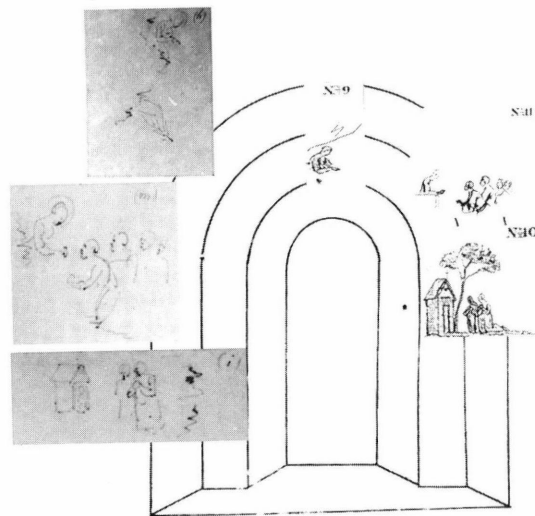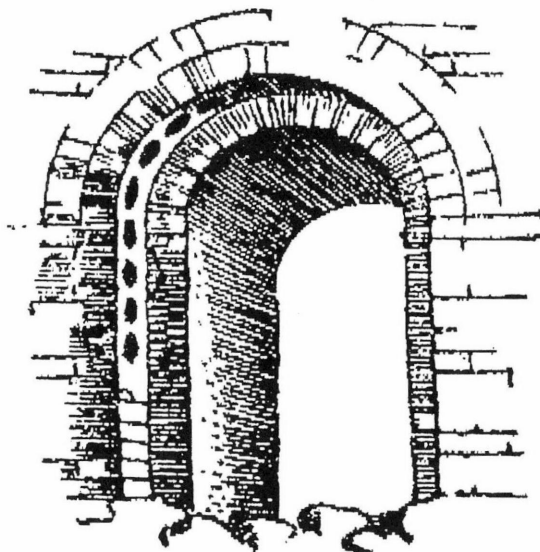
Fig. 2.3. Outer circle of the niche decorated with an elliptic ornament. Borowskis' drawing.
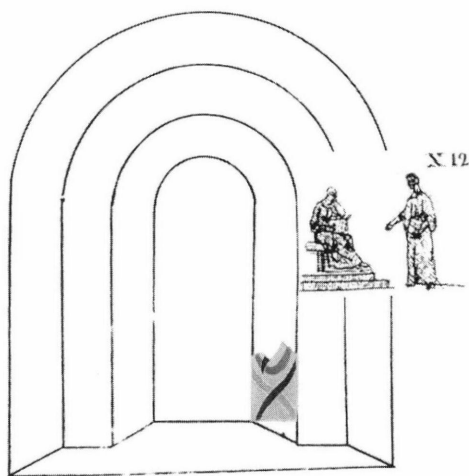
Fig. 2.4. On the right inner circle of the niche: remnants of a (floral, Adomonis) ornament.

On the right a scene in three-quarters profile: male figure sitting in an arm-chair placed on a two-step elevation, his head is leaning on his left arm; another male figure is standing with his right hand stretched towards the sitting figure.

In addition to the scenes which can be located on the plan there are a number of drawings without provenance. In contrast to the opinion that the decoration of the palace was of a secular character, most of these copies depict saints. It is credible thus, that some parts of the palace were decorated with religious scenes. This assumption is also supported by the note of Władysław Syrokomla who wrote that the image of the Virgin Mary fell down from the wall, but the figure in Franciscan clothing remained. All these things suggested to the author that a chapel had once been there.[18]

Interpretation

Considering the above mentioned facts, the murals most likely included both religious and secular subjects. Their proportions and interrelations are unknown due to the fragmentary survival of the paintings and the fact that there is no existing parallel to establish a comparison with. Therefore the interpretations proposed hereafter are based only on the located pieces.

The reception hall was most likely decorated with the scenes representing courtly life. The central scene (*fig. 1.2*) depicted a ruler exercising his authority: the quadrangular cap and the stick can be associated with the grand ducal insignia, the ducal cap and the sceptre. Thus the narrative of the central scene could have been the following: the duke is being asked (on the left), the duke issues a document (top), and the duke is being thanked (right).

The idea that the wall-paintings were to reflect the actual or imagined political life can also be based on the description of the people depicted in the third niche of the hall (*fig. 1.3*). The presence of people with Mongol features most probably refers to Tatars. Vytautas' relations with the Tatars is a well-known historical fact. The presence of a Tatar elite at Vytautas' court is noted by his visitors[19]. Therefore, it is credible that the third scene was intended to demonstrate the scope of the ducal power. The fourth window-niche (*fig. 1.4*) was most probably dedicated to certain saints.

Private chambers. First room (*fig. 2.1*): a scene from courtly life. Central room (*fig. 2.2*): scenes of piety. Last room (*fig. 2.4*): probably another scene from courtly life.

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[18] Władysław Syrokomla, *Wycieczki po Litwie w promieniach od Wilna (Troki, Stokliszki, Jezno, Funie, Niemiez, Miedninki etc.)* (Trips in Lithuania in the surroundings of Vilnius (Trakai, Stakliškės, Jieznas, Punia, Nemėžis, Medininkai, etc.) (Wilno: Nakładem księgarza A. Assa, 1857), 94.

[19] E.g., "Ištraukos," 257–59; and V. Shtil'tberger, *Puteshestvie po Evrope, Azii i Afrike* (Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa), Zapiski Novorossijskogo universiteta 1 (Odessa, 1869), 37 as quoted in M. T. Safragaliev, "Rasspad Zolotoj Ordy" (The collapse of the Golden Horde), in *Na styke kontinentov i tsivilizatsij ...* (At the junction of continents and civilisations), comp. I. B. Muslinov (Moscow: Isnan, 1996), n.1, 440.

In sum, the glimpse into the subject of the wall-paintings of Trakai island castle leads to the assumption that the decoration of the grand ducal palace was predominantly devoted to the public life of the duke, most probably aiming to reflect certain aspects of Vytautas' authority.

THE TRADE OF SIBIU IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY ON THE BASIS OF THE CUSTOMS REGISTERS OF 1540 AND 1550[1]

Maria Pakucs

This paper examines the trade of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) as reflected in the customs register of the towm of 1540 and 1550. The extant customs registers of Sibiu of the sixteenth century are not yet published, only the register of 1500 was printed in 1880.[2] To date there is only one article dedicated to the Sibiu trade in the sixteenth century which gives solely an overall picture of the commercial activity recorded in the twentieth customs registers.[3]

The Town

Throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, the Saxon town of Sibiu was one of the most important commercial centres of Transylvania. Along with Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt),[4] Sibiu benefited from its geographical position on the fringes of the Carpathian mountains since the land trade routes leading from Transylvania southwards or from the south to Transylvania passed through these towns. Thus, Sibiu and Brasov acted as commercial intermediaries between Central-Europe and the Ottoman Empire, but also had significant exchanges with the neighbouring Romanian principality, Wallachia. In a very simplified scheme it can be stated that the towns of Sibiu and Braşov together with the Wallachian principality represented the transit territory for the oriental goods which came via the Balkan land routes or on the Black Sea, and for metalware, such as Styrian knives, which was sent to the Ottoman market.[5]

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[1] Paper read at the international workshop "Economic and Political Integration in East-Central Europe, 15–17th Centuries", co-organized by the CEU Medieval Studies Department in February 1998.

[2] *Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt,* vol. 1 (Sibiu, 1880), 270–301.

[3] Samuel Goldenberg, "Der Südhandel in dem Zollrechnungen von Sibiu im 16. Jahrhundert," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 3–4 (1963): 385–421.

[4] The medieval trade of Braşov received more attention from the scholarly world than the trade of Sibiu. The analysis of the Braşov customs registers can be found in the extended study on the town's commerce by Radu Manolescu, *Comerţul Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Braşovul (secolele XIV–XVI)* (The commerce of Wallachia and Moldavia with Braşov (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries)), (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1965). The Braşov customs registers of the first half of the sixteenth century are published entirely or in summary in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen,* vol. 1 (Brasov, 1886); vol. 2 (Brasov, 1889); vol. 3 (Brasov, 1896).

[5] For the Sibiu trade in 1500 see Radu Manolescu, "Relaţiile economice ale Sibiului cu Ţara Românească la începutul secolului al XVI-lea" (The economic relations of Sibiu with Wallachia at the beginning of the sixteenth century), *Analele Universităţii 'C.I.Parhon' Bucureşti* 7 (1956): 321–34. Zsigmond Pál Pach,

At the customs station of Sibiu, the duty represented the twentieth part, that is 5%, of the total amount of the merchandise. Hence the name of *vigesima* given to the customs duty but to the customs station as well. Generally the duties were levied in goods, which afterwards were sold on the local market.[6] Since the registers record the amounts of goods levied as customs duties, the total amount of the goods which passed through the customs office is to be calculated by multiplying the duties by 20.[7]

Evidence about the trade in spice in oriental goods through Sibiu goes back to the fourteenth century. The formation of the Wallachian principality in the first decades of the fourteenth century clearly played a decisive role in the opening of the land commercial routes from the Balkans into Transylvania, through Romanian territory. The town of Sibiu was granted staple right by the King Louis I. in 1378, a right which banned foreign merchants to trade with their goods in the Saxon territories and forced them to sell wholesale on Sibiu's market. Consequently, the merchants of Sibiu detained the monopoly on trade in the seven Saxon districts. In 1382 King Louis I. issued another charter in favor of the Saxon merchants, banning the exports to Wallachia and reinforcing the staple right of the town.[8] The trade in oriental goods in exchange for manufactured products of Central-European or Transylvanian origin flourished throughout the following century, reaching its peak at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[9]

The Merchandise

The customs registers of Sibiu of 1540 and 1550 record only the traffic in oriental goods brought from south by Levantine and Balkan merchants. Consequently, the analysis of the structure and volume of trade is confined to these types of goods. The commerce with manufactured goods which used to be exported from Transylvania

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"A Levante kereskedelem Erdélyi útvonala a 15–16 század fordulóján" (The Transylvanian route of the Levantine trade at the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century), *Századok* 6 (1958):1005–38.

[6] Samuel Goldenberg, "Despre vama (vigesima Sibiului) în secolul al XVI-lea" (On the twentieth customs (vigesima) of Sibiu in the sixteenth century), *Acta Musei Napocensis* 2 (1965): 674. This practice of levying the customs duties in kind is obvious in the customs regulations of 1552, published in Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. 2 part 5 (Bucharest, 1911), 3–4.

[7] Manolescu, *Comerțul*, 98.

[8] *Nullus hominum mercatorum extraneorum res mercimoniales quas ad ipsam civitatem nostram cybiniensem adduxerit audeat iterum de eadem civitate ad partes transalpinas deportare et eciam quod nullus mercatorum piper, crocum et alia specierum genera in dicta civitate cum ponderibus minutis propinare seu vendere presumant[...],* in Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis,* vol. 9 (Buda, 1834), 571; Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor,* vol. 15 part 1 (Bucharest, 1911), 2–3; Franz Zimmermann et al., ed. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen,* vol 2 (Sibiu, 1897), 555.

[9] The customs register of Sibiu of 1500 and that of Brașov of 1503 show indeed an unprecedented high level of commercial traffic through both customs stations (the case of the tens of thousands of knives is already well-known).

into Wallachia, and which can be followed in the Sibiu customs register of 1500 and in the customs registers of Braşov in the first half of the sixteenth century is no longer recorded in the registers of Sibiu. Therefore, my analysis is limited to the oriental trade of Sibiu and all further comparisons will be made only in this respect.

Given the incipient stage of my investigation on the Sibiu customs registers, there are certain details that would require a more extended study and further research. Here I include the issue regarding the money of account in which the customs officers calculated the value of the goods taken as customs duty, and the devaluation of the money of account throughout the sixteenth century, and the question whether the "price revolution" affected the oriental goods which reached Transylvania or the increase of prices actually followed the devaluation of the money of account. The units of measure are for the time being used in this paper in their original forms, that is the florin, the *denarius* (penny), and the *libra* (pound), without any attempt to offer their modern equivalents.

What kind of goods did the merchants actually bring to Sibiu in 1540 and 1550? The range of the oriental merchandise recorded in the customs registers shows a wide variety. The textiles and threads include cotton, silk and woolen textiles such as *bogasia, domoslia, taffet, bombasium, stramatur,* or *punsa* as well as cotton and silk yarns such as *wetgarren, weisgarren,* or *filum turcicum.* The category of spices comprises pepper, saffron, ginger, muscat flower, and clove. Among the other oriental goods which reached Transylvania and can be traced to Central Europe the registers record the leather products and hides, such as carmine leather *(kermasyn),* the yellow *satyan,* then goatleather boots, hanks made of swine skin, horse bridles, harnesses, or belts.[10] There were also the textile products such as scarves, veils, kerchieves, bedcovers, or trousers. The merchants brought foodstuff as well, although in very small quantities: rice, olive oil, almonds, figs and raisins. Under the category of miscellaneous goods I included for instance the 700 pounds of alum which were brought to Sibiu in 1550, or the 220 necklaces.

The spices are one of the most important components of the long haul medieval trade between East and West and they also represent one of the most "typical" oriental product which reached Sibiu via the land routes of the Balkan Peninsula. This is why it is surprising that in 1550 the customs register of Sibiu does not record any pepper. In correlation, the register of Braşov of 1550 shows the same absence of pepper.[11] It would

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[10] All these goods were traded farther into Hungary and Central Europe and were known as being of Turkish, that is oriental, provenience. See Lajos Gecsényi, ""Török áruk" és "görög kereskedők" a 16–17. századi királyi Magyarországon" ("Turkish wares" and "Greek merchants" in the sixteenth-seventeenth century royal Hungary), in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészet-tudományi Kar, 1998).
[11] *Quellen,* 2, 584–89.

be interesting to examine the pepper routes and to discover the possible causes for the lack of pepper in 1550 at the Transylvanian customs stations. Probably, a shortage of pepper in the Levant could have caused a chain reaction which resulted in this absence of pepper on the land routes of the Balkans. It would also be fruitful to investigate whether this shortage of pepper from the south was covered by imports of pepper from the western border of Transylvania.

In 1550, the case of saffron also yields interesting observations. The merchants who brought saffron to Sibiu were recorded in two entries: the first group arrived on 6 December, and for the second group, the scribe specified that the merchants went through the customs between 22 December 1550 and 7 February 1551. These merchants were recorded as giving only saffron to the customs. The question which thus emerges is whether there is any connection between the arrival of saffron during this certain two month period and any possible fluctuations in supply at the Ottoman commercial centres such as Bursa or Adrianopol, knowing that the Sibiu customs registers of other years record incoming saffron from the south during all year around without any obvious relation to a particular season.

The revenues of the customs station amounted to **614.6** florins in 1540, and **642.5** florins in 1550, thus the total value of the goods which can be estimated to have passed through the Sibiu customs was **12, 293** florins in 1540 and **12, 850.7** florins in 1550. The following table shows the role played by each type of merchandise in the structure of trade.

Table 1: The merchandise (in florins).

	1540	**1550**
Textiles	4 615.6	5 970.4
Spices	5 912.1	3 591.0
Textile products	755.4	1 134.4
Hides and leather products	874.2	1 775.0
Foodstuff and fruits	135.7	168.8
Miscellaneous goods	–	211.2
TOTAL	**12 293**	**12 850.7**

As I mentioned earlier, the customs registers of Sibiu do not record the possible exports of manufactured goods from Sibiu into Wallachia, thus the analysis of the trade is confined to the data regarding the oriental goods. However, the register of 1540 has an entry which records an income of 54 florins received for horses (*percepta de equis*), without specifying the provenance or the destination of

these horses. The customs regulation of 1552[12] also mentions the customs duties which should be levied on animals, although the actual customs register do not reflect any a trade in livestock. There are no reliable or precise data about the volume and frequency of this trade nor on the exports towards Wallachia.

One important aspect of my analysis of Sibiu's trade on the basis of the customs registers regards the prices of the oriental goods and the question whether the movement of the prices followed the "price revolution" which affected mainly the agricultural prices. The table below clearly shows that there was an increase of price in the case of pepper but as I stressed before, this increase may be a direct effect of the devaluation of the money of account. For a more accurate comparison of the prices of pepper I used data from the Sibiu customs registers of 1583 and 1588, although their analysis is not complete, and from the register of 1597 which was the main source material of my B.A. thesis.

Table 2: The prices of pepper and saffron in the Sibiu customs registers.

	1500	1540	1550	1583	1588	1597
Pepper	35 d / lb	34.5 d/ lb	–	50 d / lb	60 d / lb	80 d / lb
Saffron	1.45 f / lb	1.6 f / lb	3.45 f / lb	3 f / lb	3 f / lb	2.5 f / lb

The actual quantities of pepper and saffron which passed through the customs in these years can also yield interesting results.

Table 3: The trade in pepper and saffron at Sibiu in the sixteenth century.

	1500	1540	1550	1583	1588	1597
Pepper	12 690 lb	5 850 lb	–	2 500 lb	920 lb	1 940 lb
Saffron	60 lb	2 240 lb	925 lb	1500 lb	440 lb	400 lb

The absence of pepper in 1550 could be the reason behind the unusually expensive saffron, but on the other hand the quantity of saffron brough to Sibiu in this year doesn't surpass the average of the century.

It is obvious that in order to establish the general trend followed by the trade at Sibiu in the sixteenth century, all the extant customs registers of the town should be analysed. Until such a research will be finalised, the conclusions can be only partial. However, in my M. A. thesis I argued that in comparison with the oriental trade of Braşov which partially lost its significance by the middle of the sixteenth century, the share of Sibiu's transit trade in oriental goods increased. Although both towns failed to maintain the traffic volume of the first years of the sixteenth century, it is

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[12] Hurmuzaki, *Documente* 2/5: 3–4.

certain that the land roads which led to Transylvania were active throughout the entire period. The entries of pepper at the western Hungarian border in 1542 represent 4 894 florins as compared to the 4 671.5 florins worth of spices at Sibiu in 1540 and 31 000 florins and Braşov in 1543.[13]

The Merchants

The foreign merchants coming from south into the Transylvanian principality had to pass through the twentieth customhouses of Braşov and Sibiu. In the sixteenth century, the traders of Wallachia and Moldavia were allowed to trade freely in Transylvania after paying the customs duties but the Levantine merchants had to stop at the staple places and sell their goods to the local merchants.[14] The diet of Alba Iulia of 1581 stated that these foreign merchants could trade only in "Turkish goods" and only at the staple places; they were allowed to do so because their merchandise was needed in the country.[15] The Levantine merchants though found various means of trading freely in Transylvania. They avoided the customs and the staple places, usually using the road of Caransebeş (Karánsebes, Karansebesch), which took more time but offered them the possibility to sell their goods at better prices.[16]

Together with the Transylvanian diet's decisions concerning the status of foreign merchants, the city council of Sibiu also regulated the problem of the foreign traders coming to Sibiu. A council decision of 1540 stated that the Wallachian and the Greek, that is, Levantine merchants (mostly Greeks, Armenians, and Jews) had to sell their goods only to Sibiu's citizens, and that the minimal value of the oriental goods they could sell was of 3 florins: thus, they were not permitted to sell in retail trade. This order was repeated in 1597 by the city council.[17] The justification for this decision was that it allowed the Sibiu merchants to resell the oriental goods in order to supply the town's market with these goods. The Sibiu register of 1550 testifies to the fact that the incomes of the customs were also sold on the town's market.

The bans on the activity of the foreign merchants were reinforced constantly throughout the sixteenth century but one should look at the other side of the medal as well. There were categories of privileged merchants who were exempted from the

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[13] Ember Győző, "Külkereskedelmünk történetéhez a XVI században" (Contributions to the history of our foreign trade in the sixteenth century), *MTA Társdalmi-történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei* 4 (1958): 309.

[14] Lia Lehr, "Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei în a doua jumătate a secolului XVI și prima jumătate a secolului XVII" (The trade of Wallachia and Moldavia in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century), *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 4 (1960): 248.

[15] Ibid. 250.

[16] Samuel Goldenberg, "Contribution à l'histoire du commerce roumano-balkanique au XVIe siècle" *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 3 (1969): 610–624.

[17] See Goldenberg, "Der Südhandel," 418–919.

customs duties. Here are included the Saxon merchants themselves who were granted the privilege of free trade in 1224 by king Andrew II of Hungary.[18] The envoys of the Wallachian princes, trading in Sibiu in the name of their masters, were also freed from paying the customs duties.[19] Then comes the very delicate issue of those merchants whom by their own will exempted themselves from the customs duties and practiced contraband.

In 1540 the customs register of Sibiu recorded 45 merchants with 84 transports. Sarackiss of Rîmnic and Pana of Rîmnic had the highest number of transports: 5, while two other merchants, Opra of Rîmnic and Iwan of Rîmnic came to Sibiu 4 times. There were 6 merchants with 3 transports, 10 merchants with 2 transports, and 25 merchants with 1 transport. The merchants recorded in the register were all trading in oriental goods, and their goods were very diverse: there are no specialised traders, that is, trading only in spices or in textiles. The average value of one transport was 146 florins which shows that the traders coming to Sibiu did not dispose of weighty commercial capitals. The highest number of transports in 1540 was reached in May, November and December.

The register of 1550 recorded 38 merchants who came to trade at Sibiu in that year, in 46 transports. The appearance of specialised merchants can be noticed: the case of the merchants who brought saffron from December 1550 to February 1551 was presented above. Besides these traders, there were several merchants who traded only in rice.

Together with the specialisation of the traders, a new phenomenon is reflected in the register of 1550: the association of merchants. Sometimes the scribes did mention only one of the names, including the others in the expression *und seinen Gesellen*. Angel Mayre, for instance, came to Sibiu 3 times: in two cases he had associates, and once he came alone with a transport of saffron. Stanczwl was recorded 5 times: in 3 cases he had different associates, and, in 2 cases when he brought saffron, he came alone. The case of Ginne Schwarz and his son indicates that the profession of merchant was a family business. The reasons for the merchants associations can be various, such as the need for commercial capital, or the insecurity of roads, although these associations were made on short term according to temporary interests.[20] The need for capital may be a plausible explanation as the merchants who came with their associates had the most impressive values of trade in 1550: Angel Mayre traded for 2,025.2 florins in the entire year, and Stanczwl had 2,096 florins as total value of trade.

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[18] The document is published in Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1: 1191–1342 (Sibiu, 1892), pp. 33–4.

[19] Goldenberg, "Despre vama," 673.

[20] Mihail Dan and Samuel Goldenberg, "Le commerce de la balkano-levantin de la Transsylvanie au cours de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle et au debut du XVIIe siècle," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 5 (1967): 102.

Although the number of traders and transports was lower than in 1540, the actual capital of these traders was more significant. The bulk of the merchants consists of those who had a commercial capital over 100 florins. In 1550, unlike in 1540, there are several merchants who had an impressive value of trade over 1,500 florins. This shows the increasing part of professional merchants who came to Sibiu to trade in oriental goods.

Conclusion

The political and economic integration of Sibiu in the sixteenth century is a very controversial issue. The battle of Mohács of 1526 and the formation of an autonomous Transylvanian principality under Ottoman suzerainty had undoubtfully an important impact on the trade and trade connections of this territory with the West and the East. At this stage of my research I cannot possibly state that this impact was a positive or a negative one, nor to what extent the very troubled political and military situation affected the volume of commercial transactions at Sibiu. However, in the sixteenth century, Sibiu's trade was still a very medieval one: a trade in fine textiles and spices coming along slow land routes with caravans, changing many hands before arriving to their destination. The customs duties are paid in kind, which is hardly a sign of developed commercial transactions. This old trade survived the vicissitudes of the changing political map of the region because it had a separate life of its own: the supply with spices, textiles and leather products met a constant demand on Sibiu's market. The good prices attracted the merchants, and they needed money for their future investments. Long distance overland trade paid back its risks at a good rate.[21]

The road leading from south to Sibiu was a side route as compared to the major trade routes which connected the Ottoman Empire with Europe. Still, Sibiu can be regarded as one of the links between the two world-economies. Bogdan Murgescu puts forward the idea that Transylvania was an area of contact between the Ottoman and the European world-economies, and thus, was not integrated in neither of them but was influenced by their attraction to different degrees in different time periods.[22]

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[21] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 549.

[22] Bogdan Murgescu, *Istorie românească-istorie universală, 600–1800* (Romanian history-world history, 600–1800), (Bucharest: Erasmus, 1994), 32.

HOLY HARLOTS FROM THE *BDINSKI SBORNIK*: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FUNCTION OF THE LIVES OF MARY OF EGYPT, THAIS AND MARIA, ABRAHAM'S NIECE, WITHIN THE SLAVIC TRADITION[1]

Maya Petrova

The *Bdinski Sbornik*[2] is one of the few preserved Slavic *Meterika*, that is, hagiographic anthologies containing legends dedicated to only women saints, and the one and only representative of its kind in the Slavic medieval literature where the origin has been clearly stated in the manuscript itself. According to the colophon attached by the scribe at the end of the *Shornik*, the collection was commissioned by the "pious and holy-born Tsaritsa Anna" of the semi-independent Bulgarian principality of Bdin in the year 1360.[3] Although this note does not specify Tsaritsa Anna's precise role in the compilation of the book, the incorporated texts (all of them translated from Greek much earlier) indicate that their selection was subdued to the

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[1] Paper read at the 13rd International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, May 1998.

[2] Ivan Dujčev, ed., *Bdinski Sbornik. Ghent Slavonic Ms 408, A.D. 1360* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), facsimile edition; J. L. Scharpé and F. Vyncke, eds. *Bdinski Sbornik. An Old-Slavonic Menologium of Women Saints, A. D. 1360* (Bruges, 1973), with an introduction by E. Voordeckers. From the secondary bibliography on the Bdinski Sbornik, see H. Keipert, "Zur Parallelüberlieferung des 'Bdinski Sbornik' (Codex Gand 408)," *Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie* 95. 3–4 (1975): 269–89; C. Карагеоргиева и А. Бояджиев, "Царица Анна и Бдинският сборник" (Tsaritsa Anna and the *Bdinski Sbornik*) Минало 4 (1996): 27–34; А. Ангушева-Тиханова, "По следите на един изчезнал жанр: към типологията на женските сборници," (Tracing an extinct literary genre: on the typology of the collections dedicated to women), in *Медиевисатика и културна антропология. Сборник в чест на 40-годишната творческа дейност на проф. Донка Петканова* (София: Мнемозина, 1998), 282–90; Н. Георгиева, "Съставителската концепция на Бдинския сборник: образованите владетелски съпруги и техните книги" (The concept of compilation in the Bdinski Sbornik: the educated wives of the rulers and their books), in *Медиевисатика и културна антропология...*, 258–81; M. Petrova, "The Bdinski Sbornik, a Fourteenth-century Legendary of Women Saints: a Case Study," *Otium* 4. 1–2 (1996): 1–11.

[3] *Bdinski Sbornik*, fol. 242r: Иꙁволюнниюмь ѿц҃а. и сьвръшенниюмь сн҃а. и сь поспѣшенниюмь ст҃го д҃ха. Въ дни бл҃говѣрнагоо. и прѣвꙑсокаагⷪ. и самодрьжав'наго ц҃ра нашего Їѡанна срацимира бльгарⷪⷪм и грькⷪⷪмь.

Потъца се бл҃говѣрнаа и ст҃ороднаа ц҃рца ан'на. и сь повелѣнниюмь ц҃рⷭтва си. написа сию книгю. рекⷪмое сьбⷪрнⷩ ст҃ꙑⷨ прѣпⷪбⷩнⷶⷨ и страстотрьп'ниⷨ женаⷨ:–Да соуть г҃ноу ц҃рю и ц҃рци и чедⷪⷪⷨ и҃. въ оутврьженїе ц҃рⷭтвоу и҃. тѣлоу вь ꙁравию. а д҃ши въ спасенїе. и написа се въ бдинѣ градѣ. Вь лѣтⷪ. ꙅ҃.ѿ҃.ѯ҃.и҃. бо҃у же ншемⷪу сла́ в' вѣкꙑ ам҃нь. (By the will of the Father and the fulfilment of the Son and with the aid of the Holy Spirit, in the days of our orthodox and supreme and autocratic tsar Ioann Sracimir of Bulgars and Greeks, the orthodox and holy-born tsaritsa Anna took care and at her royal request had this book written under the title "Collection (of Lives) of holy, blessed, and martyred women." May they strengthen the reign of the tsar and the tsaritsa and their children, for the health of the body and the salvation of the soul. And (this book) was written in the town of Bdin in the year 6868. Glory to our God forever. Amen.)

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compiler's ambition to illustrate female sanctity by the diversity of the included narratives.[4]

Among the numerous accounts of women martyrs and nuns, the Sbornik incorporates three of the most well-known examples of holy harlots: Mary of Egypt,[5] Maria, Hermit Abraham's niece,[6] and Thais.[7] The three texts were translated from Greek into Slavonic and have relatively close parallels in Latin.[8] Being typical examples of what M. Bakhtin called "early-Christian lives of crisis" (which passes through two well defined stages: a period of sin and a period of piety),[9] these three *vitae* of prostitute saints at the same time illustrate the entire spectrum of all the possible ways of falling into the sin of fornication. Maria, Hermit Abraham's niece, had been educated since her childhood under the spiritual guidance of her uncle to live in compliance with Christian ideals and to obey to the rigorous rules of asceticism. Succumbing to a momentary temptation, Maria was seduced by a profligate monk and, feeling too ashamed to stay with her uncle any longer, went to another town and became a prostitute. The *vita* of Thais, a penitent courtesan of Egypt, reveals another pattern: that of committing sin under compulsion. Her legend emphasises that Thais who was famous for her exceptional beauty, was forced by her mother to start selling her body. Yet, according medieval law, the trespass of Mary the Egyptian was the most serious. Her Life unequivocally stresses that she became a harlot not coerced by poverty or obeying to somebody else's will, but, on the contrary, submitting herself to her own uncontrollable sexual passions. Thus, albeit in agreement with the general hagiographic pattern, only the path towards salvation of a former prostitute was strictly defined–repudiation of the world, complete neglect of all demands of the body, and candid devotion to the spiritual– the duration of the penance and punishment of a prostitute, as shown in the legends, still depended on the extent of her previous guilt.

Though singled out to exemplify the variety within the hagiographic group of stories about saintly prostitutes, the three Lives of holy harlots in the *Bdinski Sbornik* display one significant formal common feature: out of the total 16 *vitae* in

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[4] Cf. Н. Георгиева, "Съставителската концепция...," 258–81.

[5] *Bdinski Sbornik*, ff. 162–191.

[6] *Bdinski Sbornik*, ff. 1–17v.

[7] *Bdinski Sbornik*, ff. 106v–111.

[8] English translation of the texts with bibliography on Greek and Latin versions are provided in B. Ward, *Harlots of the Desert* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1987). On Mary of Egypt see also M. Kouli, "Life of St Mary of Egypt," in *Holy Women in Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 65–93.

[9] М. Бахтин, "Время и пространство в романе" (Space and time in the novel), *Вопросы литературы* 3 (1974): 161–73.

the collection only these three texts are not ascribed to particular feast dates. This fact is of great importance, since it, along with the character of the MSS where these *vitae* usually appear, is indicative of the way the stories of holy harlots were adopted and interpreted within medieval Slavic literature. To trace the function of these legends, however, I need to make a short survey of the manuscript tradition of each particular text.

The three *vitae* of holy harlots included in the *Bdinski Sbornik* have a very different fate and diffusion within Slavic literature. Among them, Mary of Egypt enjoyed the greatest popularity and was no doubt one of the most venerated saints during the entire Medieval period. Three different *vitae* preserved in numerous copies (one attributed to Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem in the sixth century; a post-Byzantine modification composed by Damaskinos Studitis in the sixteenth century; and a short text of *synaxarion* type) were translated at different times from Greek into Slavic.[10] Mary's wide-spread fame among the Slavs was additionaly due to the fact that within one liturgical year her Life was read several times: on her feast date (April 1); on the 5th Sunday of Lent which was dedicated to her; and, optionally, instead of an instructive sermon, on the Great Wednesday before Easter when the church commemorated the anonymous harlot who, anointing Christ's feet, washed them with tears and wiped them with her hair (Lk 7:37–47).[11] Owing to its use on various occasions, the Life of Mary of Egypt is to be found in different kinds of manuscripts: reading *menaia*, monastic miscellanies, *triodia*, collections of homilies, *paterika* of instructive tales about early ascetics and monks.[12] The earliest Slavonic translation of her legend (a copy of which is preserved in the *Bdinski Sbornik*[13]) was undertaken during the ninth or early tenth century, since the text

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[10] On the Slavic versions of the *vita* of St Mary of Egypt, see И. Шпадијер, "Житије Марије Египћанке у српскословенској рукописној традицији" (The Life of St Mary of Egypt in the Serbian manuscript tradition), *Археографски прилози* 16 (1994): 15–89; ead., "Житије Марије Египћанке у старословенској књижевности (вријеме појављивања)" (The Vita of St Mary of Egypt in Old Slavic literature: time of appearance), in *Зборник посвећен 100 годишњици В. Мошина*, forthcoming; M. Dimitrova, "Mary of Egypt in Medieval Slavic Literacy," *Byzantynoslavica* 56.3 (1995): 617–23; ead., "The *Vita Mariae Egyptiacae* in Medieval and Early Modern Bulgarian Literature," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, 1993–1994*, ed. M. Sághy (Budapest: CEU, 1995): 108–25; Б. Велчева, "Ранният славянски превод на житието на св. Мария Египетска в един ръкопис от 15 век" (The early Slavonic translation of the vita of St Mary of Egypt in a fifteenth-century manuscript), *Palaeobulgarica* 20.3 (1996): 30–54.

[11] В. Измирлиева, "Една гледна точка към понятието "жанр" в старобългаристиката" (A viewpoint on the concept of genre in Old Bulgarian studies), *Старобългарска литература* 25–26 (1991): 34–35, footnote 9; M. Kouli, "Life of St Mary of Egypt...," 68. On the Lenten period when everybody has to commit oneself to fast and penance and to reconsider his own deeds (and esp. on the Passion Week) see C. Кожухаров, "Страстната седмица" (Passion week), *Великденски вестник* (2 април 1991).

[12] И. Шпадијер, "Житије Марије Египћанке у српскословенској рукописној традицији...," 15–16.

[13] The text in the *Bdinski Sbornik* reveals many ommissions and peculiarities. Cf. M. Dimitrova, "Mary of Egypt in Medieval Slavic Literacy..."; Б. Велчева, "Ранният славянски превод..."

bears clear traces of a glagolitic protograph, as well as some grammatical and lexical features of an early Slavic translation from Greek.[14]

Unlike the *vita* of Mary of Egypt, the legends of Maria, Hermit Abraham's niece, and of Thais were never in broad circulation within the Slavic literature. The story of "the venerable Abraham, who tore his brother's daughter from the paths of the Devil,"[15] as this text is entitled in the *Bdinski Sbornik*, is in fact an excerpt from Hermit Abraham's *vita*. Though it is generally accepted by modern scholars that this text is unlikely to have been written by Ephrem the Syrian,[16] the Slavic tradition consistently attributes Abraham's Life to this great poet and theologian. The legend became a composite part of an anthology of Ephrem the Syrian's works translated into Slavonic and gathered under the collective title *Paraenesis*. The Slavic translation of the entire corpus was undertaken during the reign of Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria (893–927). This early date for the Slavic translation is shown by a large body of linguistic evidence, by a manuscript tradition going back to the late tenth-early eleventh century (the so-called Rila glagolitic folia[17]) and by the data of the text-critical analysis: the Slavic texts follow the version preserved in some of the oldest Greek MSS and agree well with the Latin translation made prior to the tenth century.[18]

Most of the Slavic copies of the story about Abraham and his niece Maria that I am aware of are incorporated into Ephrem the Syrian's *Paraenesis*. There Abraham's Life is, as a rule, presented in full as chapter 48 or 49 (this number depends on whether the preface was counted as a single entry or not). However, like many other parts of this collection, apart from their common transmission within manuscripts containing the *Paraenesis*, one may, though rarely, encounter

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[14] Б. Велчева, "Ранният славянски превод…".

[15] *Bdinski Sbornik*, f. 1: Слово блаженаго авраамиа како прижбрѣте дъщере врата своего ѿ поути лоукаваго.

[16] Cf. J. L. Scharpé, "Bdinski Zbornik, I-Ephraim Syri "Slovo Avramia": Auctarium ad editionem a. 1973. Accedit editio e Cod. Serdicensi 297," in *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii*, ed. A. Schoors and P. Van Deun (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Deapartement Oriëntalistiek, 1994), 495–514, and the literature cited there.

[17] И. Гошев, *Рилски глаголически листове* (Rila glagolitic folia) (София, 1956).

[18] G. Bojkovsky, "Vorwort," i-xv, in G. Bojkovsky. *Paraenesis. Die altbulgarische Übersetrzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, vol. 1 (Freiburg: U. W. Weiher Verlag, 1984), in *Monumenta Linguae Slavicae*, vol. 20 (the text is published there as chapter 48, cf. p. 289–321); И. Огрен, *Паренесис Ефрема Сирина. К истории славянского перевода* (Ephrem the Syrian's *Paraenesis*: on the history of the Slavonic translation) (Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, Studia Slavica Upsalensia, No 26, Uppsala: 1989); F. J. Thomson, "The Old Bulgarian Translation of the Homilies of Ephraem Syrus," *Palaeobulgarica* 9.1 (1985): 124–30; П. Петков, "Ново изследване върху славянския Паренезис" (New study on the Slavonic *Paraenesis*) *Palaeobulgarica* 13.4 (1989): 118–20; J. L. Scharpé, "Bdinski Zbornik, I-Ephraim Syri "Slovo Avramia"; D. Hemmerdinger-Eliadou, "Étude comparative des versions greque, latine et slave de la *Vita Abrahamii* (BHG 5, 6, et 7)," *Études balkaniques* 2–3 (1965): 301–8.

Abraham's vita in various miscellanies, the Russian *Uspenskij Sbornik[19]* from the twelfth-thirteenth century being the earliest such example.

It is difficult to judge whether the section about Maria presented in the *Bdinski Sbornik* was detached from Hermit Abraham's legend in the course of the compilation of the anthology. Ignoring the previous deeds of Abraham but leaving intact the episode concerning the repentance of his niece suits the main goal of this anthology very well, as formulated in its colophon: to present stories and deeds of holy, blessed, and martyred women. Contrary to the Byzantine tradition where Maria was separately venerated as a saint, Slavic written sources do not testify her cult. The survey of the preserved Slavic material reveals that in some manuscripts the episode about Maria is visually emphasised by a new title written in somewhat bigger red capitals,[20] so it was obviously perceived as a semi-independent story. The second part of Abraham's Life indeed makes a complete literary piece by itself: it has its own title, inception, plot, and epilogue. Under these circumstances, its actual separation could easily come into being. A proof that such a division of the text had been, in practice, undertaken more than once is the copy in a fourteenth-century Serbian MS[21] where the part about Maria is placed within a context of homilies and instructive tales.

The Slavonic text of Thais' legend raises more problems.[22] First, contrary to the Greek and Latin tradition, in Slavic literature the story of Thais was never widespread. The few preserved copies of her *vita* date back to the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries and are incorporated into reading *menaia* and homiletic collections of the *Chrysorrhoas* (*Zlatostruj*) type. They all represent one single Slavic translation and evidently derive from the same protograph. Notwithstanding that the preserved copies date from a relatively late period, their language retains archaic. traits which clearly indicate that the Slavonic translation of Thais' legend appeared much earlier. Yet Thais is not mentioned in any of the early Slavic calendar lists of celebrated saints. Her *synaxarion* notice first appears (under October 8) in the Verse *Prologue*, a collection completed in fourteenth-century Bulgaria. Furthermore, the Slavic vita of Thais remains floating through the church

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[19] State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal MS 1036, ff. 292v–303v. The manuscript is published: *Успенский сборник XII–XIII вв.*, ed. S. I. Kotov (Москва: Наука, 1971), 474–90.

[20] Cf., for instance, the so-called *Lesnovo Paraenesis* dating from the middle of the fourteenth century: National Library, Sofia, MS 297 (151), f. 109v, where the story about Maria is presented under the title чюдо ѡ дьщери авраміїва врата.

[21] Patriarchal Library, Belgrade, MS 219.

[22] The Slavonic translation of Thais' legend is examined in detail by M. Petrova, "Житие и жиѕнь прѣпбѳвнию ѳаисие in medieval Slavic literature," forthcoming in a miscellany dedicated to Prof. D. Trifunović (Belgrade, 1999).

calendar: in most of the copies (including the *Bdinski Sbornik*) no date is specified; the only two copies which point to a date, actually refer to different dates (July 10, November 13), which do not coincide with the Greek feast date of the saint.

To sum up, the literary tradition of the saintly prostitutes, as revealed in the preserved Slavic manuscripts, further emphasises the paradox already implied by the lack of feast dates in the titles of their legends. In the Middle Ages the ritual celebration of saints for whom no individual texts were translated or written was possible through their ritual commemoration and the citation of their names during the service. The opposite case witnessed by the diffusion of the *vitae* of Maria, Abraham's niece and of Thais, neither of whom were included in the church calendars contemporary to these *vitae*, is rather uncommon. How, then, to explain this situation?

In my view, the *vita* of Mary of Egypt provides the key to the problem. As indicated by the manuscript tradition, the text of Mary's legend was used without any alteration both as a *vita* commemorating the deeds of the saint and as an instructive sermon aiming at illustrating an important theological truth: the extreme mercy of God who is ready to forgive even the greatest trespass and to elect among his closest associates even the greatest repentant sinner. It has already been shown that the *vita* of Mary of Egypt influenced in many ways the the narratives of the holy harlots and became an authoritative model for this hagiographic group.[23] It seems to me, however, that, at least what concerns the Slavic tradition, not only the plot but also the function of the stories of reformed prostitutes were patterned after the example of Mary the Egyptian. If this observation is true, it would require a simultaneous use of these legends as *vitae* and as sermons. In medieval Slavic literature, evidence of such double use may be traced both in the structure of the texts themselves and in the content of the manuscripts where the legends come from. In addition, the multifunctional application of the examined texts in Slavic literature was probably favoured by the circumstances under which they were translated: as the linguistic peculiarities of the legends reveal, they became part of the Slavic literature at a relatively early phase in its existence when texts were not yet available on every particular occasion. Last, but not least, along with telling the stories of three famous holy women, these legends elaborate on concepts which were crucial to be adopted by a newly-converted society: the ideas concerning God's never-ending mercy and the Holy person as mediator and universal helper leading man's road towards salvation.

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[23] Cf. B. Ward, "St Mary of Egypt: the Liturgical Icon of Repentance," in B. Ward, *Harlots of the Desert ...*, 26–35; С. С. Аверинцев, "Мария Египетская," in *Мифы народов мира* (Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1988), 116–17.

The didactic function of these legends is usually already pointed out in the introduction of these texts. In the *vitae* of Thais and Maria, Abraham's niece, the opening sentence is developed as a direct address to the audience, designed explicitly to point out how one could profit from listening to these stories:

> I would like, my dearly beloved, to tell you about the wonderful thing that Abraham did in his old age. For the wise and the spiritual these are wonderful and full of use and penance.[24]

> My true brethren, I want to tell you the holy and wonderful story of the venerable Thais, how [she] began and completed her life, and became famous. For those who want very much to repent of evil they had done, this speech is useful [and consoling] and dear.[25]

Thus, the very beginning of the *vitae* clearly indicates already two different levels of interpretation for these texts: the level of the retold story (how a harlot repented and became a saint) and the semantic level standing above the first one, raising the complicated theological question about sin and penance. In this way, for the reader or listener the *vita* as a whole immediately acquires a new meaning–the retold story becomes a mere illustration of the truth that there is no sin which cannot be forgiven where the harlot is only the symbol of the sinfulness. Using the image of the harlot, the hagiographer tells the story of the salvation of the sinner who has the lowest status in human society and suggests the idea that by penance even the greatest sinner can be elected to the status of a saint, that is, to travel all the way from the bottom to the top of social hierarchy. As it has been thought that all the earthly things have their prototype in the Scripture, the story of the harlot from the Gospel of Luke who had prepared Christ for his funeral (identified in the Latin tradition with Mary Magdalene) served both as a proof that forgiveness is possible and as a model which shapes the lives of holy harlots.

The sinful woman from the Gospel of Luke was saved through Christ. Under his influence she repented and became his follower. In the *vitae* of the holy harlots we can see exactly the same model. Thus, the texts tell about two parallel lives,

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[24] *Bdinski Sbornik*, f. 1–1v: Хощю же любимици мои. повѣдати дивноую вещь. еже сътвори на старость сво abraham. разоумнымь иво и дховнымь си дивна соуть. испльн' же пол'зе и покаанїа.

[25] *Bdinski Sbornik*, ff. 106v–107: Братиа моа прида, хощу ва повѣствовати житие свѣтлое и дивное. блаженние фаисие, какко наукн'ши и скон'чавши житие и прослави се. зѣло во и хотещи покаати се, ѡ нихже и сътворихоѓ злыхь дѣль. польз'но ѥ слово се, и оумилено. The last sentence is corrupted in the *Bdinski Sbornik*. Cf., for example, the same phrase in MS 95 from the collection of Dečani Monastery, fourteenth century (now in the National Library of Serbia, Belgrade): ... какко начеть и како кон'чавши прослави се. зѣло во хотещимь покаати се О нихже сътвориша злихь дѣлѣхь. пользно ѥ слово се. и оутѣшно и оумилено.

simultaneously telling the stories of a sinful woman and of her saviour. This is obvious even in the composition where equal attention is paid to both, and both of them are equally glorified:

> Come, my dear ones, to marvel at this second Abraham. The first Abraham, entering the battle with kings, won a victory over them and brought out his son Lot. This second Abraham began a war with the Devil himself, in order to overcome him and to return back the daughter of his brother.[26]

The repentance of the harlot is presented as due not only to her perseverance in penance, but also to help from outside. The person of crucial importance for converting the female sinner is usually male and is usually a holy man: a monk (like Paphnuntius in Thais' Life) or a hermit who afterwards became a saint (like Abraham). Reclaiming the harlots from their fallen life and showing them the right way, these holy men imitate Christ not in suffering (as early martyrs and ascetics did), but in the core of his mission–as Saviour of the sinners. So this, I think, is the second important idea which these lives suggest–the idea of the Holy as helper in the salvation of the soul. The stories of holy harlots illustrate very well one of the main functions of the holy man–as "one who allays of anxiety" who is able to measure the penance and to make the sinner sure that forgiveness is possible.[27] Even more, as P. Brown suggested, in these vitae the holy man was described acting "as garantor with God for the forgiveness of their sins."[28] In the *Bdinski Sbornik* Abraham comforts Maria saying: "Your sin falls upon me, my child, as to be absolved by God from my hand."[29]

The life of St. Mary of Egypt deserves a special attention: although the person of the intercessor is missing, the story, as P. Brown suggested, does not deviate from the scheme, for, according to Byzantine dogmas, the icon is magically identical with the holy being. Being a manifestation of the saint in the physical world, icons had the same function: "to fill the gap between Heaven and Earth."[30] Standing in front of the icon was considered the same as standing in front of the saint and the easiest way of coming into contact with him or her. St. Mary of Egypt turned with a prayer

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[26] *Bdinski Sbornik*, ff. 6v–7: прїидѣте поюдиаг̇ се любимици семоу второом авраамоу. Онь во прьвыи шедь на врани кь цремрь. и повѣди й. и вьзврати лота с'новы своюго. сьи же втоорїи авраамь изиде на врань самого дїавола, повѣдити юго. и вьзвратити дьщере врата своюгоо.

[27] P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in the Late Antiquity* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1982), 145–46.

[28] P. Brown, "A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of Iconoclastic Controversy," ibid., 273.

[29] *Bdinski Sbornik*, f. 12v: гла юи на мнѣ грѣхь твои чедоо мою. ѿ рѫкѫ моюю да вьзищеть бь грѣха сегоо.

[30] P. Brown, "A Dark Age Crisis…," 251–30[?].

to the icon of the Virgin, who, because of her blood relation with Christ, was regarded as "the most successful mortal's intercessor."[31] Mary of Egypt asked the Virgin for help and promised that she would do what the Virgin would order her to do: "Give an order, oh Lady, so that the doors open for me as well, so that I may make a bow to the holy rood. Be my garantee and lead me to the one who was born through you,"[32] says Mary in her prayer. Thus, as pointed out by P. Brown, she "had gained from the icon precisely what the Byzantine layman gained from the interview with the holy man–confidence in approaching the Holy of Holies."[33]

Viewed in this way, the subject, purpose, style and effect of the legends of holy harlots coincide with those of the *paraenetic* (didactic) sermon, as defined by K.-D. Seemann.[34] The legends of holy harlots treat the problem of virtue and vice, which is at the same time the most common topic of the didactic sermon. They also suit to the sermons' main intention: to instruct the audience, while summoning every individual listener to reflect upon his own deeds and to repent for his sins. Just as with sermons, the Slavic versions of the Lives of Thais and Maria, Abraham's niece, are rather short texts. The stories of Thais and Maria imply stylistic features characteristic of sermons, including direct addresses to an audience and various rhetorical devices which presuppose that these texts were delivered orally in front of assembled listeners. Furthermore, as Seemann proved in his study, in the Orthodox tradition sermons by others (for instance, the Fathers of the Church) were delivered much more often than original ones written by the local church hierarchs. The absence of feast dates in the titles, as well as the absence of the saints from the ecclesiastical calendar point in the same direction: the Orthodox sermon was never a fixed but an rather optional part of the liturgy which was often delivered only at the end of the service.[35] Last but not least, the content and the organisation of the manuscripts where the legends appear suggest that, without alternating their original text, they were simultaneously used as *vitae* and as instructive tales. The three texts examined here were equally distributed in anthologies of lives of saints and in collections of homilies, with the Slavic *Paraenesis* and the *Chrysorrhoas* being the most telling examples. It seems that, due to their didactic message, the legends of holy harlots were initially interpreted mainly as instructive narratives[36]

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[31] Ibid., 273.

[32] *Bdinski Sbornik*, f. 176: повели ѡ влчце да и минѣ двери ѿврьзоутъ се. и стоолиѕ крстоу поклонити се. и ты ми боуди пороучница. и приведи ме кь рождшоомоу нсʼ тебе.

[33] P. Brown, "A Dark Age Crisis…," 273.

[34] K.-D. Seemann, "Genres and the Alterity of Old Russian Literature," *Slavic and East European Journal* 31.2 (1987): 247–50.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Similar is the function of the numerous naratives about repentant harlots preserved in the various *Paterika* collections.

and that, paradoxically enough, were only later reconsidered as connected to the cult of the saints they were telling about. Up to the fourteenth century, however, the stories of Thais and Maria were read primarily on any given occasion, presenting to the listeners an elaborated model of sincere repentence, humility, and spiritual quest for chastity through which salvation was accessible to every believer. Simultaneously, these legends articulate the model behaviour of the "man of God," the solicitous spiritual father of a religious community. Yet, as the insertion of these texts in the *Bdinski Sbornik* suggests, these stories of reformed harlots still did not lose their special attraction for lay women.

PILIS: CHANGING SETTLEMENTS IN A HUNGARIAN FOREST IN THE MIDDLE AGES[1]

Péter Szabó

Pilis is a still visible forest in the heart of historical Hungary, covering an area of approximately fifty-five thousand hectares. In the Middle Ages, it was surrounded by the most significant lay and ecclesiastical centres of the Hungarian Kingdom: Esztergom, where one of the archbishops of Hungary is based; Buda, the most important royal centre from the thirteenth century on; and Visegrád, a royal castle of primary importance. Including a fourth town (Fehérvár) at a relatively small distance, the territory was called *medium regni* in the Middle Ages. Although the history of the four towns has been studied often and from many points of view,[2] not much has been said about the territory that lies among them: the Pilis forest.

The region comprises two separate mountains, one is called Pilis, the other one Visegrádi mountain. Nevertheless, the traditional usage is to refer to the whole area as Pilis. To the north and east, its boundary is the Danube, whereas to the southwest the border-line is the valley of Pilisvörösvár, enclosing a triangularly shaped territory, with the three castles on the edges.

Before one attempts to examine the settlement structure of Pilis, some preliminary remarks on the history of the area are inevitable. The most important fact is that Pilis was a royal forest all through the Middle Ages, which means that it was under deliberate protection and control of the royal family, and also served as a most favoured hunting preserve. The second significant element in the history of the region was the strong presence of two monastic orders: the Cistercians and the Paulines, with one and three monasteries, respectively. These orders, although formed on different bases and for different purposes, both had a somewhat similar relation towards the Pilis forest, namely that they exploited rather than cleared it.[3]

The time scope of this paper covers approximately five centuries, starting from about 1000, that is from the formation of the kingdom of Hungary and ending around the middle of the sixteenth century with the Ottoman invasion, which basically destroyed the whole medieval settlement structure of the territory.

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[1] This paper was presented at the *International Medieval Congress,* July 13–16, 1998, in Leeds.
[2] On the subject as a whole, see *Medium Regni: Középkori magyar királyi székhelyek* (Medium Regni: medieval hungarian royal residences) (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1996).
[3] On the subject of the royal forest, the monastic orders in Pilis, and on other issues of this cultural landscape, see my MA thesis, submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU in 1998, entitled *Pilis: A Hungarian Forest in the Middle Ages.*

PÉTER SZABÓ

The source base I have consulted is twofold. The written sources I have used are charters of various origins, but mostly royal ones; and perambulations, mainly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The archaeological evidence was collected into two volumes of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*.[4] Evidence in this case means dated potsherds collected during extensive field surveys, by the help of which Hungarian archaeologists established the locations of as many sites and settlements as possible. Here, I do not intend to go into a detailed discussion of the limitations of fieldwalking techniques, but I would like to emphasize that fieldwalking is barely possible and thus is hardly ever carried out in wooded areas, which is yet another consideration when drawing conclusions about the settlement structure of Pilis.

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The settlements that appeared in documents were in most cases connected to archaeological sites, with the single exception of Dersülése.[5] Altogether thirty-seven settlements were mentioned in documents, written from 1009 up to the Ottoman invasion (from 1526 onwards) and beyond.[6] It is worth taking a look at the first and last appearances of these settlements in the charters, supposing that most of them existed in between the two. (*Figure 1* – black lines)

The shape of this chart would suggest that the number of settlements was constantly growing in the Pilis area. If we compare the year 1100 with three settlements mentioned with the year 1500 with twenty-eight, the growth seems striking. However, the value of such a chart is highly questionable, considering the fact that the number of written documents that survive today shows the same numerical development. In other words, this chart may well be taken as an illustration of the growing production and survival of charters during the Middle Ages in Hungary.

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[4] *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* (The archaeological topography of hungary), vol. 5, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája: Az esztergomi és dorogi járás* (The archaeological topography of county Komárom: the Esztergom and Dorog districts), ed. István Torma (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979) and vol. 7, *Pest megye régészeti topográfiája:A budai és szentendrei járás* (The Archaeological Topography of County Pest: the Buda and Szentendre Disricts), ed. István Torma (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986). Hereafter referred to as *MRT-5* and *MRT-7*. In addition, I will not cite the page number (with the one exception of Dersülése, where it was necessary), but the internal reference numbers of the books, which makes any inquiry easier.

[5] *MRT-7*, p. 205.

[6] Peszér, Fenyérd, Úrkuta, Bajon, Nyír, Ákospalotája, Szamárd 1, Marót, Bitóc, Dömös, Kesztölc, Üllökő, Bogud, Várad, Bogdán, Tah, Szamárd 2, Leányfalu, Kékes, Szentendre, Szencse, Pomáz, Aszófő, Dersülése, Kovácsi, Szántó, Boron, Kande, Fedémes, Káloz, Borosjenő, Üröm, Garancs, Kürt, and Királyszántó. For further data and references, see the Database attached to my MA thesis, which was too lengthy to be included in this paper.
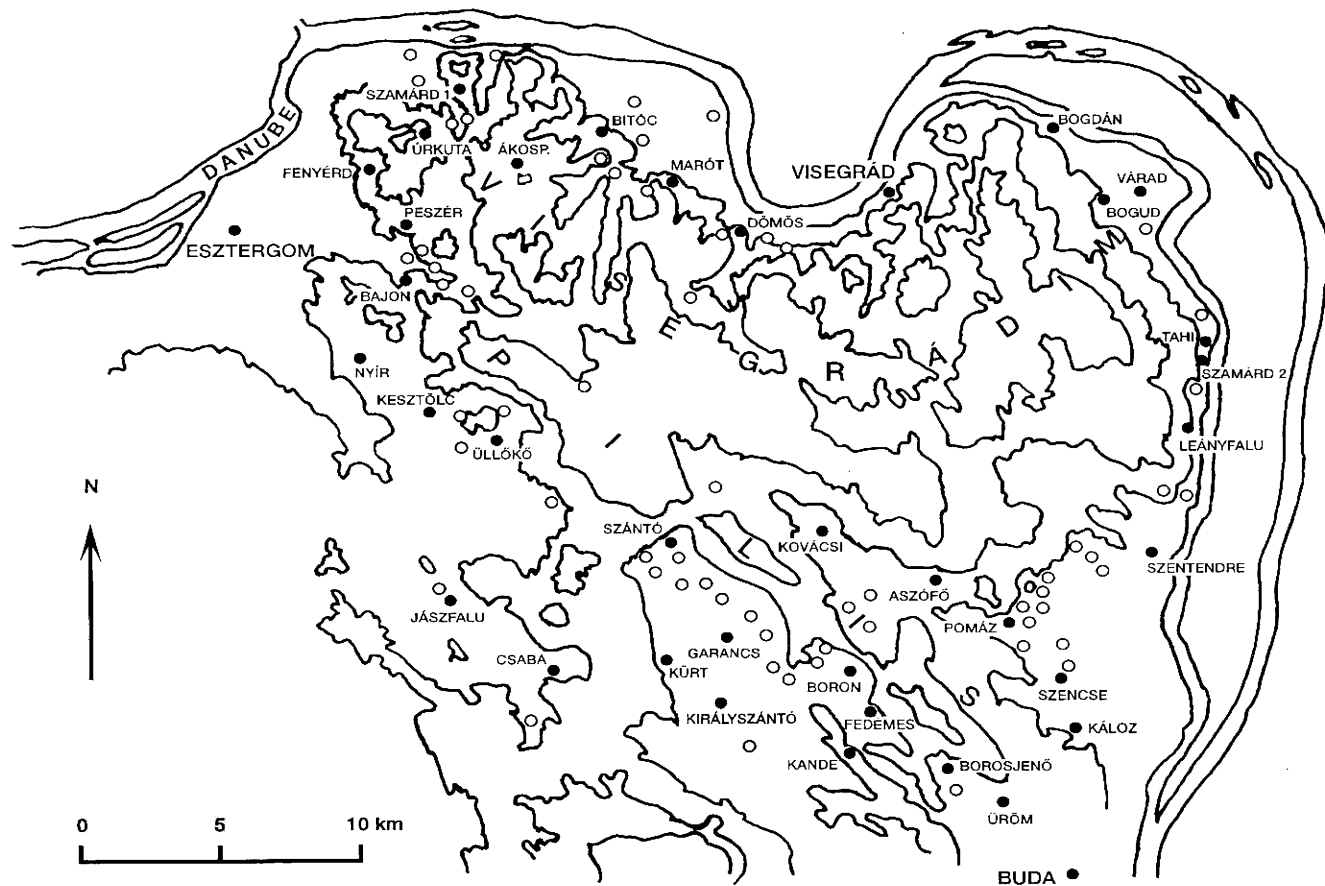
Map of the Pilis region

• Settlements mentioned in written documents

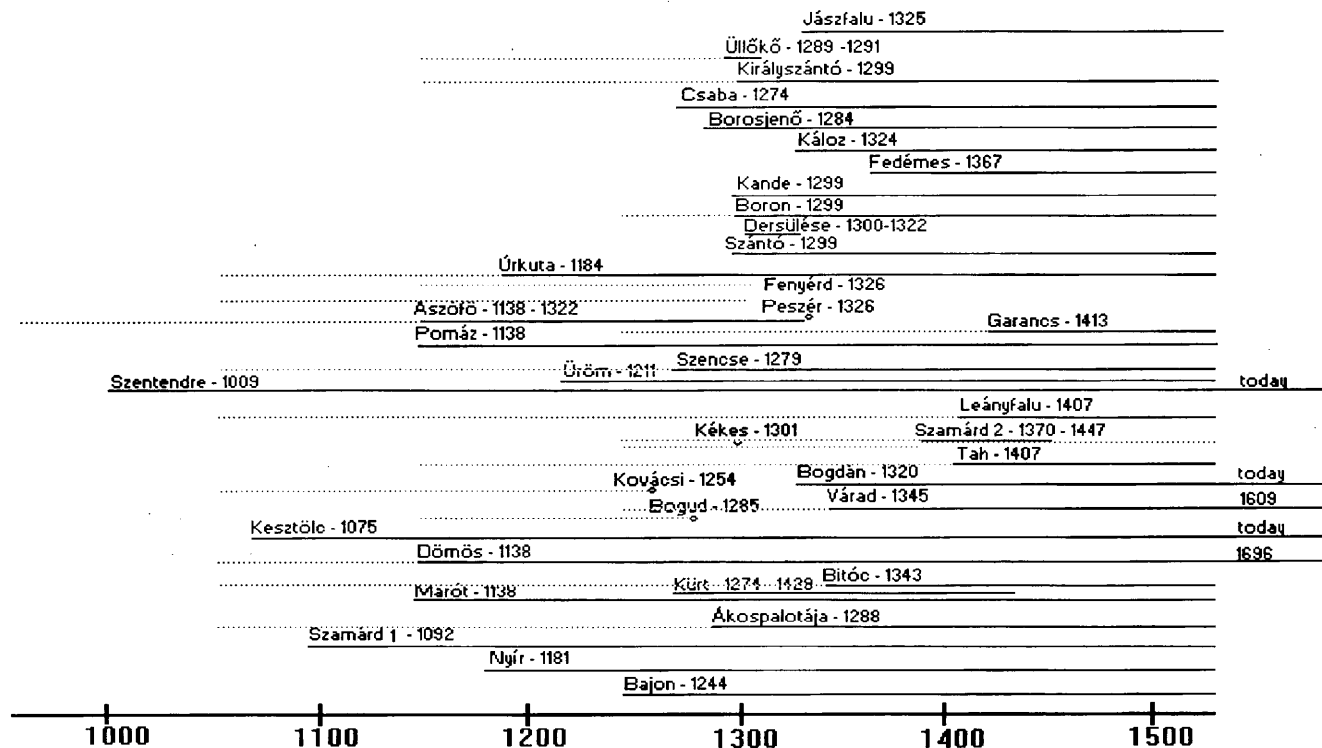° Settlements with archaeological evidence only

Figure 1. Settlements recorded in written documents. The dotted lines indicate archaeological dating.
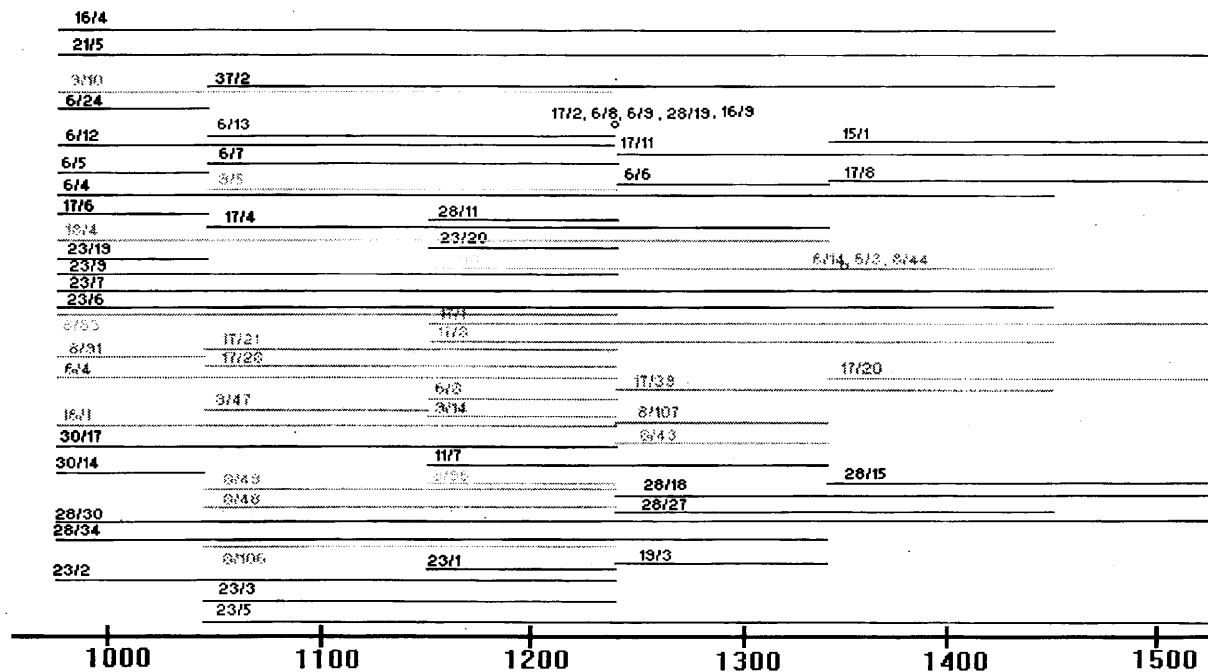The settlements ceased to exist during the Otteman invasion, unless indicated otherwise.

16/4
21/5
3/10   37/2
6/24
                              17/2, 6/8, 6/9 , 28/19, 16/9
6/12   6/13   15/1
       6/7   17/11
6/5   6/6   17/8
6/4   3/5
17/6   17/4   28/11
18/4   23/20
23/19   6/14, 6/2 , 9/44
23/5
23/7
23/6
6/65   11/1
8/31   17/21   1/3
6/4   17/20   17/20
                  6/3   17/39
       3/47   26/14   8/107
16/1
30/17   8/43
30/14   11/7
       9/43   3/22   28/18   28/15
       9/48   28/27
28/30
28/34
23/2   8/106   23/1   19/3
       23/3
       23/5

1000   1100   1200   1300   1400   1500

Figure 2. Settlements not mentioned in written sources.

Dotted lines – *MRT-5*; Black lines – *MRT-7*.

The archaeological finds in many cases prove that a particular settlement had existed long before its first appearance in written documents. (*Figure 1* – dotted lines) Out of the thirty-seven settlements in the Pilis region, eighteen can be antedated in this way. In five settlements no information is available due to the fact that they lie in an area which is inaccessible to archaeology (Bajon, Nyír, Bogdán, Kande, and Fedémes). The above mentioned Dersülése cannot be located, which leaves eighteen alterations out of thirty cases, precisely sixty percent. Nevertheless, the distribution does not change. One can still find twenty-seven settlements in 1500 but only twelve in 1100. However, the number of villages existing in 1100 can be multiplied by four when archaeological evidence is included. The overall picture was also modified by adding archaeological evidence to the written one. As illustrated in *Figure 1*, after a smaller number of settlements there was a sudden "boom" in the thirteenth century, and then the number remained basically the same until the Ottoman invasion of the sixteenth century.

When we take a look at the chart which shows the settlements of the region attested only by archaeological evidence (*Figure 2.*) we see a different picture. This chart, although it is similarly structured to the previous one, cannot be interpreted in the same clear way, for example by counting the settlements in a certain year. It shows tendencies only. But the tendency is clearly the opposite to that seen in *Figure 1*. There are many settlements in the eleventh century, another peak in the thirteenth century, and then the number decreases. At this point the two basic questions that emerge are whether this discordance between the charts is specific to the Pilis region, and if so, what are the reasons for this.

All that I have written so far is related to the general problem of medieval Hungarian settlement structure and its changes through time. The most influential historian in this field is István Szabó, who published two books entitled *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon. X.–XV. század* (The formation of the village-system in Hungary: X.–XV. centuries) and *A középkori magyar falu* (Hungarian villages in the Middle Ages).[7] In the former volume, he presented his view concerning changes in the settlement system of medieval Hungary, a view now commonly accepted. It may be summarized as follows: After the Conquest of the country, the Hungarians settled down, and a fairly stabile settlement structure[8] was set up during the eleventh century. The twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth

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[7] István Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása Magyarországon. X.–XV. század* (The formation of the village-system in Hungary: X.–XV. centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966); idem, *A középkori magyar falu* (Hungarian villages in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969).

[8] I am using the word "settlement", instead of "village", which is used all through Szabó's book. My intention is to be very careful with using the term "village".

centuries were the period that Szabó called the time of "excessive disintegration and spread"[9], that is, the settlements became smaller and more numerous. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this process was reversed, and many settlements disappeared, either by becoming parts of a bigger village, or deserted. The reasons behind their disappearance are manifold: economic, social, the change in the agrarian structure of the country, wars, poor living conditions of the peasantry, natural catastrophes, and epidemics. This process was a general European phenomenon, Szabó claims, in accordance with the population decrease of the continent in the same period.[10]

Bearing in mind Szabó's theory, we can see that the settlements of the Pilis region (especially those without written documents) do not present an exception to the general medieval Hungarian trend. However, one may observe that the settlements with written documentation increase in number, which does not fit Szabó's pattern.

One cannot assume that every single settlement that was recorded in writing was necessarily bigger or more significant than those that survive only in archaeological finds, but in general this seems to be the case. In other words, these were the settlements that formed the "backbone" of the settlement structure of the Pilis region; they were the solid ground in the tumultuous appearance and disappearance of smaller settlements. The stability of the settlements recorded in writing is reinforced by the contributions of linguistics. Miklós Kázmér, in his book–*A "falu" a magyar helynevekben* ("Falu" in Hungarian place-names)[11]–established that the word "falu" ("village" in Hungarian) was first used to describe settlements of the country in the early thirteenth century.[12] Prior to that, most names of settlements derived from pure personal names, because this was the most practical technique to denote moving settlements. When "the previously moving settlements took root, they kept their original name."[13] Thus when the Hungarians settled down, they did not change their settlement names rapidly, and for a long time the old (personal name based) type was used. However, this type became less and less suitable for the new settlements, thus many of these were given the name "falu", as a sign of the structural changes. Consequently, a high number of the settlements that were named "village" do not actually represent the larger nucleated settlements that would be called villages nowadays, because they came into being

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[9] Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása*, 186. Translation by the author of this paper.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Miklós Kázmér, *A "falu" a magyar helynevekben. XIII–XIX. század* ("Falu" in Hungarian place-names: 13–19. Centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970).
[12] Ibid., 56.
[13] Ibid. Translation by the author of this paper.

during a time (thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries) when the number of settlements was rapidly increasing, although they decreased in size.

Twelve out of the thirty-seven settlement-names in the Pilis region originate from pure personal names.[14] This would suggest that they came into existence in the early period of the Hungarian Middle Ages, and did not change their names.[15] In fact, out of these twelve settlements, Bogdán seems to have been settled at the latest date (1320), but in this case we can only rely upon written documents, as archaeologists could not examine the territory for signs of a possible earlier habitation. The majority of the twelve settlements were established at least as early as the eleventh-twelfth centuries. But the other side of the coin is that many settlements recorded in writing can be dated to the thirteenth century, and after that the number of settlements with written documents remains approximately the same. The year 1300 sees thirty of those settlements with written documents in existence, there are also thirty settlements in 1400, and twenty-seven in 1500. If we compare this with the information available about the settlements without written documents (a decreasing number in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), it is again suggested that the settlements with written documents were more stable than the ones about which we have archaeological evidence only. During the turmoil of the Late Middle Ages, settlements with written documents belonged to the type that did not disappear, but formed the centre of a region, "joined" by many smaller settlements.

The settlements that do not appear in charters and perambulations are more problematic. First of all, their dating can only be imprecise. Secondly, one always has to be cautious about the size and significance of these settlements. The biggest mistake would be to call all of them villages, but in many cases even the term *settlement* needs further explanation. As illustrated in *Figure 2*, the largest number of these archaeological sites can be dated to the Árpád age (from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.) What János Makkay wrote about late medieval County Békés applies to the Pilis region as well: "The stray finds and the sites referring to smaller settlements are almost entirely missing."[16] As a result, I will focus on the settlements

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[14] See Database to my MA thesis. The categories with the second and third most settlements are the ones referring to geographical features and the ones referring to the occupation of the inhabitants, with six and five settlements, respectively. In addition, three more villages are combinations of pure personal names and common nouns.

[15] However, the fact that place names based on pure personal names were formed in the early Árpád age has been questioned. Kristó claimed that such precision in dating is not possible. Gyula Kristó, "Szempontok korai helyneveink történeti tipológiájához" (Aspects of the historical typology of our early place names), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* 55 (1976): 38.

[16] János Makkay, introduction to *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* (The archaeological topography of Hungary), vol. 8, *Békés megye régészeti topográfiája.* (The archaeological topography of county Békés), ed. László Gerevich (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 31. Translation by the author of this paper.

of the Árpád age. Within these settlements, we can distinguish two major types.[17] "Village settlements"[18] are ones with rich find material, often the remains of a church, covering a larger territory. In other words, these settlements resemble the majority of ones with written documents. The other type is "habitation-like settlements,"[19] usually situated over a smaller area, with a few sherds. At present it is difficult even to decide whether they were parts of a bigger community or independent. Jankovich suggested the following possibilities: They were 1. part of a spacious village with loose structure, 2. straggling germs of villages 3. dwellings (a. summer dwellings, b. dwellings of herdsmen, c. dwellings of nomads.)[20] Similar options were presented by József Laszlovszky in 1986, who, in addition, described a characteristic feature of these smaller settlements, namely that they were often situated in a chain along rivers and streams, which was also typical of the Pilis region.[21] All three options are possible in each case, and one has to investigate and decide for every individual site, as I tried to do in the Database. But let me stress again that the Pilis region (and its forests) were not an exception to the general rule that these settlements were characteristic of the Árpád age.

If we observe the location of all possible settlements, we can conclude that along the Danube their distribution seems even, and they seem not to have entered the depth of the Pilis forest. However, as we have already seen, this may well be the result of the fieldwalking technique applied in the Pilis area. This drawback would not affect the settlements that have written documents, because charters and their survival do not depend upon geographical features, forested lands in this case. Nevertheless, the settlements that have charter evidence basically surrounded the Pilis forest. Out of the thirty-seven settlements, a maximum of ten may be considered to be within the area of the Visegrádi and Pilis mountains.[22] It appears that the people at more stable settlements preferred to stay outside of the forest, or vice versa, that those settlements that managed to survive longer were the ones that were not within the Pilis forest.

There are two places where "purely archaeological" settlements largely outnumbered the documented ones. One of them is in the region of today's Pomáz, the other is the valley between the middle part of the Pilis mountain and the

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[17] Ibid.; B. Dénes Jankovich, "Archaeological Topography: Theoretical and Practical Lessons," *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1985): 285–7.

[18] Ibid., 286.

[19] Ibid., 285.

[20] Ibid., 286.

[21] József Laszlovszky, "Tanyaszerű települések az Árpád-korban" (Farm-steads in the Árpádian Age), in *Falvak, mezővárosok az Alföldön* (Villages and Towns in the Hungarian Plain), ed. László Novák and László Selmeczi (Nagykőrös: Arany János Múzeum, 1986), 137–8.

[22] *MRT-5*, 9/7, 8/59, 8/63, 8/116; *MRT-7*, 20/1, 23/13, 23/26, 6/10, 6/26, 17/9.

southeastern end of it together with the northern part of the valley of Pilisvörösvár, which is on the southwestern side of Hosszúhegy. Both of these locations are on the very edge of the forested areas. In the Pilis region, the general tendency of the settlements to break down into more numerous and smaller units was directed towards the forested areas. This phenomenon suggests that people tried to "conquer" the forest, but their attempt was temporary. Most finds end in the thirteenth century, which means that in these two regions, in accordance with the general Hungarian trend, many smaller settlements were formed in the Árpád age, which had ceased to exist in the Late Middle Ages. However, this does not mean that the population of the area became smaller. Most probably the bigger villages[23] took over the functions and population of the smaller settlements. In the Pomáz and southern Pilis regions this resulted in two possible models. One of them was created when a settlement, previously formed along with many others in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "took the lead," and became the most important village of the territory, as in the case of Szántó (*MRT-7*, 17/9) or Boron (*MRT-7*, 6/10.) The other model is represented by Szencse (*MRT-7*, 23/8) or *MRT-7* sites 6/4 and 23/5, where an early settlement survived the "latecomers."

I also have to try and answer the question of whether there is anything specific to the Pilis region in terms of the disappearance of settlements in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Since no precise information is available, I can only speculate about possible causes. One may have been the Mongol invasion of Hungary (1241). Since the Pilis forest is situated in a highly important geographical region (surrounded by three of the most significant towns in the kingdom), the invaders necessarily had to cross it. It was the main army, lead by Batu khan that conquered the region.[24] However, although it may be true that some settlements became deserted and were never repopulated, it would be dangerous to attribute too many of the changes in the settlement structure of the Pilis region to the Mongols. Firstly, the effect of the Mongol invasion on the settlement system of Hungary is considered to be less significant than in previous historiography.[25] The other objection to this view comes from the very fact that the Pilis region was largely forested. In times of temporary trouble (and the Mongols spent only a few years in Hungary marching up and down ravaging the countryside) the forest was the best hiding place for the

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[23] *MRT-7*, 7/9, 6/10, 23/8, and from the "purely archaeological" settlements 6/4, 23/5, 23/7.

[24] *Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig* (The history of Hungary. Antecedents and Hungarian history up to 1242), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 1425–40.

[25] Szabó, *A falurendszer kialakulása*, 177–80.

locals. Jenő Szűcs claimed that the "devastation in forested mountains was around ten percent, or even less."[26]

It is reasonable to propose at this point that the Pilis region with its mountains and forests was not an exception to the general patterns of change in the medieval Hungarian settlement structure. The process had some local colour because the disintegration and spread of the settlements was directed towards the forest. As I suggested, in the Pilis region the Mongol invasion of the mid-thirteenth century did not destroy the settlement structure. The forest most likely protected the people so there must have been other reasons for these changes. The fact that many settlements disappeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is a general feature of Hungary, but the reasons must have always been local.

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[26] Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* (The last Árpáds) (Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), 5. Translation by the author of this paper.

ELTE CODEX GRACEUS 2 AND SOME PROBLEMS
OF EDITING A CHRYSOSTOMIAN TEXT*

Zvetlana-Michaela Tănasă

Codex Graecus 2, located in the E.L.T.E. University Library in Budapest, is described in two catalogues of the Budapest libraries: *M. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvtár Codexeinek Czimjegyzéke, Budapest: Nyomatott a magyar királyi egyetem nyomdájában* (1881) and *Libri manuscripti graeci in bibliothecis budapestiensibus asservati; descripsit Marie Kubinyi* (Budapest: 1956; 66-70).

This codex is an eleventh-century parchment manuscript, containing a part of the first section of St. John Chrysostom's homilies on the Book of Genesis. The earlier catalogue description is approximate, providing only an external view of the manuscript.[27] The later description is very good, providing briefly all the necessary information about the exterior aspect and the text contained. This catalogue establishes the order of the folios and identifies the fragments with reference to the edited homilies in the Patrologia Graeca[28] (see Appendix 2). In Maria Kubinyis description, she has dated the codex "saec. XI/XII".

However, for a thorough manuscript study, an extensive external description is required which would serve to establish the position of this manuscript within the text tradition and its possible history which would allow a more accurate datation of the codex. The codex is written on parchment, 340/248 mm; it has ninety-eight folios randomly bound in an eighteenth-century

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[27] "Cod. membr. saec.XI vel XII. binis columnis exaratus, fol 98. 1a - 98b (Init. et finis deest). S. Joannis Chrysostomi homiliae. Incipit cum nona: τούτων φυλακὴν διὰ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντων. expl. in vigesima sept: φόνω τὴν δεξίαν μολύναντα τιμωρούμενος. Homilia XI, XII, XIII et maxima pars homiliae X et XIV desunt, cum post οὕτω καὶ τὰ (in hom. X) et ante ἀξιοὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας (in hom. XIV), id est inter fol. secundum et quod nunc est tertium nonnulla folia interciderint. Membrana in margine saepe recisa, sed ita, ut nullum textui damnum allatum sit"; *M. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvtár Codexeinek Czimjegyzéke* (Budapest: Nyomatott a Magyar Király Egyetem Nyomdáyában, 1881).
[28] PG. tom. LIII.

* This article is a copy of Chapters II. and V. of the original M.A. thesis submitted by Zvetlana-Michaela Tănasă. She was unable to finish her work to prepare the text for publication. For technical reasons and out of respect for the author, no editing of the text has been performed.

leather binding, without decoration. The folios and the pages were numbered after the binding, the figures giving a misleading order.

Kubinyis catalogue determines the fragments in each folio, starting with folio 1 and ending with folio 98, irrespective of the succession of the text itself. It is thus necessary to provide a new description of the text, following the content order of the fragments, rather than the order of the folios, as it is more functional for analyzing the text itself. Hence, the content order starts with homily eight, nine, etc.

hom.8 f.55r. inc. ....ἰσχυρωτέροις ἀπεργάζεται (col.75 lin.42).......des. f.55v. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν (col.76 lin.10).

hom.9 f.55v. inc. Εἰς τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῦ ποιήσωμεν (col.76 lin.12) ......des. ἀπὸ τούτον τικτο[μένα (col.76 lin.21 ab imo);

folio missing;

f.1 - 1v. τούτων φυλακήν (col.77 lin.5 ai).........................ἀρχέτοσαν γὰρ (col.78 lin.5ai);

2 folios missing (col.78 lin 5 ai - col.81 lin.6);

f.2-2v. ἀνάπαυ]σιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς (col.81lin.6), usque ad finem. (col.81lin.48).

hom.10 f.2v. Προτροπὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας (col.81lin.50)........πράγματα οὕτω καὶ τά (col.82 lin.2);

folio missing;

f .56 - 56v. inc. ὁ Δεσπό]της. ἐπεὶ καὶ (col.83 lin.14)....................μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς (col.84 lin. 24).

hom. 11 f.54 - 54v. τὴν ἑαυτῶν συνείδησιν. (col.93 lin.6).............διδασκαλίας μετεχόντες (col.94 lin.17).

hom.12 f. 57 - 57v. συμ]βουλῆς. ἐπείθιμεν μὴ (col.98 lin.23 ai).........ἐκ τούτων τὰ (col.99 lin.16 ai).

hom.13 missing.

hom.14 ff.3 - 5v. inc. ἀξιοῖ τῆς εὐεργεσίας· (col.115 lin.15)..........usque ad finem
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. (col.118 lin.20).

hom.15 ff. 5v. - 12r. Τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὑρέθη (col.118 lin.21)....usque ad finem
(col.125 lin.17 ai).

hom.16 ff.12v.-14v.inc. Εἰς τὴν παράβασιν (col.125 lin.15 ai).......δεσπότης καὶ
δημιουργός (col. 128 lin.48);
folio missing;
ff.15 - 17v. inc. καὶ οὕτως ἀνώδυνον. (col.130 lin. 4 ai)....usque ad finem
(col.134 lin.34).

hom.17 ff. 18 - 23v. Καὶ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς (col.134 lin.36).........ἄνδρα καὶ
τὴν γυναῖκα (col.141 lin.2);
folio missing;
ff.24 - 29r. ἄρχε]ται μέχρις ἄν (col.142 lin.8)............usque ad finem
(col.148 lin.31).

hom.18 ff. 29 - 37v. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδάμ (col.148 lin.33)............usque ad finem
(col.158 lin.27 ai).

hom.19 ff. 37v. - 38v. Εἶπεν δὲ Κάιν (col.158 lin.25 ai).........μιαρὰν. ἀλλὰ τὴν
(col.160 lin. 8);
folio missing;
ff 39 - 43 ἐρ]γόμενος; οὐ λογίζη (col.161 lin.19)...........usque ad finem
(col.166 lin.24).

hom.20 ff.43 - 50r. Καὶ ἔγνω Κάιν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ (col.166 lin.26)....usque
ad finem (col.174 lin 16 ai).

hom.21 ff.50 - 53v. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως (col.175 lin.2)............μὴ δὲ ταῖς
τούτων προσηγορί[αις (col.179 lin.30);
ff.58 - 62v. προσηγορί]αις ἁπλῶς (col.179. lin.30)...............usque ad finem
(col.185 lin.23).

hom.22 ff.62v. - 68v. Καὶ ἦν Νωε ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων (col.185 lin.25)......πᾶσαν
τὴν οἰκουμένην κα[ταλαμβάνειν (col.193.lin.28);

297

6 folios missing.

hom.23 f.69 - 69v. ἔτερα τοιαῦτα εὑρήσετε (col.199 lin.30)..........παρὰ πάντων
εὐφη[μία (col.200 lin.42);

ff.77 - 78v. εὐφη]μία τεκμήριον (col.200lin.42)..........καὶ αυτῶν καὶ τῆς
(col.203 lin.4);

folio missing;

ff.75 - 76v. ἄ]ριστος γενεαλογία (col.204 lin.14).................usque ad finem
(col.206 lin 14).

hom.24 f.76v. Ἐγέννησε δὲ Νωε (col.206 lin.16).............ποιεῖσθαι βουλομένοις
(col.206 lin.31);

folio missing;

ff.79 - 80v τότε ὄντων ἀνθρώπων (col.207.lin.27 ai).........καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ
τῆς (col.209lin.5ai);

folio missing;

ff.70 - 74v. ἑαυ]τούς ὑπευθύνοις (col.211lin.11)........................τοσαύτης
ἠξίωσε (col.217lin.16).

hom.25 f. 97 - 97v. ῥή]ματα ἀκούσαντες (col.219 lin.19ai)............καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ
(col.220 lin.1ai);

9 folios missing.

hom.26 f.98 - 98v. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ ἀνήκεστα (col.230 lin.3)..............μολύναντα
τιμωρουμένος (col.231 lin.10);

ff.81 - 88 φιλανθρωπία τὴν τιμωρίαν (col.231 lin.10)...................usque ad
finem (col.239 lin.16ai).

hom. 27 ff.88v. - 96v. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Νωε (col.239 lin.14ai).......................... περὶ
ταλάντων καὶ (col.249 lin.10ai).

As can be concluded from the description, the codex contains only three
complete texts, those of homilies no. 15, 20, and 21.

I also felt it necessary to restore the quiring, which is missing in the catalogue, according to the quire numbers drawn by the copist on the lower margin of the first recto of the first folio under the left column. Besides this aid to restoring the foliation, quiring provides the first indication about the amount of text in the codex, both missing and preserved.

Generally,of the folios where the amount of text is not diminished by an end or a beginning of a homily, one two-column folio of 33 lines contains approximately one column of text in PG. The endings and beginnings are usually written in a decorative form and thus occupy more space, comprising less of the edited PG text. Misleading also is the fact that towards the end of the manuscript, the letters become smaller and smaller and the text comprised in one folio is thus longer than that in one PG column.

This quiring has been established as follows:

- the first figure indicates the number of the quire in Greek as it is present in the manuscript;

- the Roman letters establish the position of the folios in the quire. As a rule, the quires are quaternios, but there are also two ternios;

- the Arabic letters in parentheses attached to the Roman ones indicate the present number of the folio. Where there is no number in the brackets, the respective folio is missing;

- after the quire I have added the number of folios it was supposed to contain.

- α'-ζ' - missing;..[possibly quires of 8 folios];

- ς'   - I (55) - II( ) - III(1) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI(2) - VII( ) - VIII(56); [8f];

- η'   - missing;...[8f];

- θ'   - I(54) - II( ) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI(57);.............................[6f];

- ι', ια' - missing...[2 quires of 8 f];

- ιβ'   - I(3)...VIII(10); [8f];

- ιγ'   - I(11)..............-V( )-..............VI(16);......................................[6f];

    folio missing between f.14 and f.15;

- ιδ'   - I(17)....................VII(23) - VIII( );....................................[8f];

    folio missing between f.23 and f.24;

- ιε'   - I(24)...........................VIII(31);.......................................[8f];

- ιϛ'   - I(32)...........................VII(38) - VIII ( );..............................[8f];

    folio missing between f.38 and f.39;

- ιζ'   - I(39)...........................VIII(46);.......................................[8f];

- ιη'   - I(47) - II( ) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI( ) - VII(53) - VIII(58);...[8f];

- ιθ'   - I(59)...........................VIII(66);.......................................[8f];

- κ'   - I(67) - II(68) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI( ) - VII( ) - VIII(69);.....[8f];

- κα'   - I(77) - II(78) - III( ) - IV(75) - V(76) - VI( ) - VII(79) - VIII(80);

    ....[8f];

- κβ'   - I( ) - II(70) - III(71) - IV(72) - V(73) - VI(74) - VII( ) - VIII( );[8f];

    three folios missing;

- κγ'   - I(97) - II( ) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI( ) - VII( ) - VII(98);.........[8f];

- κδ'   - I(81)...........................VIII(88);.......................................[8f];

- κε'   - I(89)...........................VIII(96);.......................................[8f].

The quiring shows that the manuscript is irregular, having, besides the regular eight-folio clusters, at least two quires with six folios. It must have been a thick codex, difficult to handle, as the parchment is not of the best quality. According to whether it included thirty or thirty-two homilies, it might have contained between four and seven quires more.

The two-column setting of the page indicates that it was designed for public reading.

The ink used is of brownish color, except for the titles, scriptural quotations, and quire numbering, which are in red. With the same brownish ink, some drawings have been made by the copyist on f.38r. (a sword), f.36r. (a face

of Christ), f.35v. (a hand), and f.93v. (a dragon spitting fire). The only original marginals are written with the same ink and mark the beginning of the moral section of the homily (ἠθικόν) and the numbering of Cain's seven sins, on f.41v. and f.42r.

There are also many other inscriptions in the margins.

a) two monocondylia[29] in a fourteenth-century script are on f.32v. (Καθηγούμενος τῆς ρεθ. . . ἱεράς καὶ βασιλικῆς μεγάλης μονῆς, ἱερομόναχος καὶ ἡ σύναξις) and on f.42r. in blue ink (Κωσταντῖνος. . .).

b) probatio pennae on f.37v., 38v. (two attempts at copying the last line) f.69r. (calculations), f.95r. (an encrypted Greek alphabet and two tables).

c) later Greek inscriptions (eighteenth century?) on f.38v. (καλὰ τὰ κημήλια τις γὰρ ὤφι, ἄνθρωπος γὰρ φύσει παρθένος), on f.41v. (γαληνότατε βασιλεύς τῶν οὐρανῶν), on f.39r. (μέρος πρῶτον εἰς τὸ ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν).

d) the same hand in black ink on f.66r. the first εἱρμός of the first *Ode of the Iambic Christmas Canon:*

'Έσωσε λαὸν θαυματουργῶν δεσπότης
' Υγρὸν θαλάσσης κῦμα χερσώσας πάλαι
Ἑκὼν δὲ τεχθεὶς ἐκ κόρης, τρίβον βατήν
Πόλου τίθησιν ἡμῖν ὄν κατ'οὐσίαν
'Ίσον τε Πατρὶ καὶ βρότοις δοξάζομεν.

e) a Latin magic square with Greek letters is drawn and crossed on f.42r. (σαθορ - αρεπο - θενεθ - οπερα - ροτασ), together with the Latin *Ave Maria,* which is cut by the margin (Sancta maria mater d[ei]/hora pronobis pecato[ribus]/nunc et in hora mor[tis] nostre amen).

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[29] The monocondylia and marginal inscriptions have been deciphered by Profs. Igor Ševčenco and István Perczel.

f) on f.38r. there are two ornate initials (T), drawn in the margins in the "geometric" style of the Italian Romanesque illumination (later called Touronian).[30]

These marginal inscriptions helped Prof. Ševčenko trace an approximate itinerary. The manuscript might have travelled from a Constantinople scriptorium where it was copied and owned by several persons to a South Italian monastery and later on, in the eighteenth century, to a Hungarian monastery. During its travels, the manuscript lost part of its folios and some of the margins were cut (a few also for the binding): f. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 42, etc.

The ruling is accurate and visible, without signs of pricking. The text is neatly and simply written. The title (number) of the homilies and the biblical fragment to be commented upon are written in red ink. Between the title and the scriptural quotation, there is a simple ornamental stripe in light brownish ink of the same style as the capital letters beginning the text of each homily. The end of each homily is also marked by an ornamental design.

The thorough paleographical analysis following leads to a more certain datation. The scriptural quotation used as the subject for each text follows the tradition of writing the Bible with uncials, but it is already a *bastarda* uncial, mixed with semiuncials (i, b, a), pointing to a date after the tenth century. The text is in the common Greek minuscule used in the eleventh - fourteenth centuries,[31] already fixed and mixed with semiuncials (λ, η, ε, θ, c used for final ς). These characteristics again point to a dating after the middle of the tenth century but not later than the eleventh.[32] There are not many ligatures, but all the three kinds of καί are used, together with an attempt at some ornamental letters - a peculiarity of the copyist (μ, ω). The script is variating between the

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[30] Robert Devréesse, *Intoduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1954), 129.
[31] ibid., 33.
[32] ibid., 34-35.

lines or hanging, and the shape of the breathing marks is variating too, slightly inclined towards the square-shaped,[33] pointing to a dating not very late after the tenth century.[34] The punctuation is complex: superior and intermediary dots, semicolons, and marginal dots for marking scriptural quotations. The paragraphs are marked by spacing between the last word of the first and the first word of the following paragraph as well as by the first letter of the next line, which protrudes into the margin. The manuscript seems to have been copied by one hand even though there are visible modifications towards the end. The script becomes more crowded and the letters smaller. The number of uncials also increases considerably in the second half of the codex. However, there are not enough reasons to suppose a second hand. Even with these many peculiarities, the script cannot be attributed to any of the known Greek copyists, being rather the common minuscule in use for three centuries in scriptoria.

This palaeographic analysis posits an eleventh-century dating at the latest. This early date makes the ELTE Codex Graecus 2 important for the manuscript tradition of the Chrysostomian texts. The script can also point to a Constantinople redaction as opposed to a South Italian one as the South Italian script has recognizable peculiarities.[35] The supposition has been presented by scholars that the twofold textual tradition of many of the patristic texts derives from these two medieval scriptoria. However, a detailed textual analysis of Codex Graecus 2 will reveal an alternate assessment.

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[33] B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York, 1981), 49.

[34] "The shape of the breathing marks is square before 1000 and only round after 1300," ibid., 50.

[35] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Constantinople and Southern Italy were the two centres where the copying of Greek manuscripts flourished determining two distinct traditions and possibly two trends in the textual tradition.

CONCLUSION

1) Scribal Errors in Codex Graecus 2; Evaluation of this Manuscript

In my analysis of the texts of some homilies in Codex Graecus 2, I focused on the internal stylistic coherence, leaving aside other aspects, such as spelling and grammatical variants, which were not relevant for my interest. The text of the manuscript is stylistically coherent and consistent in its use of devices required by an oral discourse. Its focus centers on moral relevance and narrativity, and its main characteristic is the fluidity of the discourse. Very few scribal errors break this fluency. Usually they are omissions of particles, articles (CG.1r.I14; CG.1v.II4; CG.56v.I9; etc.) with no great importance for the text, and pronouns (CG.14v.I17; CG.15v.II15; verbal reference ποιῆσαι in CG.20v.I8, etc.), and other small linguistic units (necessary negation in CG.15v.II3-6; the subject πλήρεις in CG.17r.II17; the pronoun subject ἐκεῖνος in CG.23r.I10-12) the presence of which is crucial or necessary for understanding. One group of mistakes refers to the case regime of pronouns and pronoun conjunctives which are sometimes mistakenly used (CG.13v.II28-31 αὐτῷ instead of αὐτοῦ/αὐτῇ; CG.16v.II2ai κἀκείνῳ instead of κἀκεῖνον; CG.19v.20-25 ἑαυτοῖς instead of ἑαυτοὺς; CG.20v.II1-3 accusative indirect object, etc). A few phrases or sentences have been omitted due to the *homoioteleuton* effect (CG.16v.I11-14; CG.8r.II20). There are very few additions (only two significant cases) as compared to the PG text, which are motivated by the context even if not required by the understanding (the augmented title-scriptural quotation of hom.17 in CG.18r.I7ai and CG.14v.I7-6ai - αὐτῆς). These types of mistakes are characteristic to writing after dictation and point to a redaction of a text which was a delivered speech and noted down by stenographers. For this reason I will call this redaction the "stenographers' redaction" to define it in opposition

to the later emendated version of the same text. This fact points also to an earlier stage in the text tradition. The scarcity of mistakes and additions along with the internal coherence indicate a purer version of the text in this manuscript.

2) Corrections Proposed to the Patrologia Graeca Text According to Variant Readings in Codex Graecus

When comparing the text of CG with the PG, one may be amazed by the extensive number of variant readings as compared to the few mistakes in the manuscript. At first reading, the PG text is obviously different in stylistic conception, with different foci and with devices pointing rather to a text designed to be read, rather than to a homily. PG also has many additions as compared to the CG. In addition, there is a large number of obscure passages and semantic mistakes which destroy or modify the meaning. This text also lacks fluidity. In very many cases the CG version offered a clue for the mistaken passages and for many of the obscure ones. As detectable from the CG text, a *lectio difficillior* for other scribes or for the editor, was usually the reason for these later mistakes. Many of my proposed corrections to the PG version can be proposed on the basis of the CG text, the variant readings of which point to a version closer to the original and higher in purity.

There are serious mistakes in PG due most probably to the editor's lack of attention. A simple comparison with CG prunes them out. Such are the mistaken second person pronoun reference, ὑφ 'ὑμῶν in PG.119.33-34, instead of the correct first person reference, ὑφ 'ἡμῶν, the verbal reference ποιῆσαι (CG.20v.26-28) which is missing probably by mistake in PG.137.22 and is necessary for understanding. Such is the grammar mistake in PG.137.26-28 διὰ τοῦτο (accusative) which expresses the reason in a context where the genitive διὰ τούτου with instrumental meaning is required, as displayed by CG.20v.II1-3. Such also are the PG.139.37 omission of the pronoun reference αὐτός, present in CG.22v.17ai as required by the stylistic emphasis of the context and

the addition of the pronoun ἡμῖν, which is lacking in CG.25r.I3 and the presence of which in PG.143.17-18 renders the meaning of the sentence illogical.

There is a range of semantic mistakes due to *lectiones difficilliores* which can be ascribed both to the copyists of the manuscripts used by Montfaucon and to the negligence of the editor who missed the meaning or the semantic coherence. The readings of CG also offer corrections for some of these cases. This is mostly the situation in PG.120-2ai-121.14 versus the one in CG.8r.II20-29. The simple shift of the article case from nominative - τό - to genitive - τοῦ - changes the whole meaning of the text, offering a conclusion opposite to the one intended by the author, despite the grammatical and semantic coherence. The shift is most likely due to the scribes who perceived the *lectio difficillior* of the nominative as a mistake and "corrected" it. In turn, probably due to the manuscript evidence, the editor did not notice the difference. The fact that CG preserves the correct reading despite the fact that this occurence is easily mistaken is another argument for an early, uncorrupted version. Another notable case is the slight phonetic and semantic homonymy between ἤδεισαν (PG.126.34) and εἴδεσαν (CG.13r.I11), a major Chrysostomian reference throughout the text. The CG variant has a conceptual complexity and is consistently used to reveal this while the PG variant is neutral and breaks the inherent textual coherence. Obviously it was a *lectio difficillior* emendated as such by scribes and probably unnoticed by the editor. Therefore, the PG version can be corrected according to the CG variant.

An unnoticed inconsistency in the flow of the argumentation, due most probably to a scribal error subsumed in the edition, also breaks the logic of the fragment PG.128.40-42 which omits Τί ὅτι and by this omission modifies the entire meaning of the sentence. The CG.14v.II18-21 reading offers a correct variant here as well, restoring the balance and truth value of the whole passage.

In addition to the corrections to the obvious mistakes of PG, CG also displays better readings which were emendated by scribes as *lectiones*

difficilliores and assumed into the edited text. Such are the following examples: PG.138.11ai, ἐφικέσθαι versus CG.22r.I4, ἐφίεσθαι; PG.139.26-27, ἔδωκεν versus CG.22v.I6-10, παρείχε; PG.142.2-1ai, ἀναλαβεῖν versus CG.24v.II2 appropriately missing; PG.144.25-21ai, ἀνέπεισε versus CG.26r.I3-1ai ἀπέστησε; PG.147.11-12 ἀλλὰ τῇ σαυτοῦ ῥᾳθυμία πᾶν ἐπίγραφε versus CG.28r.II5-4ai, ἀλλὰ τῆς σαυτοῦ ῥᾳθυμίας τὸ πᾶν ἐπίγραφε. Most probably the version in CG was the original in both Chrysostomian redactions, the one in PG which offers a simpler, neutral meaning being a later scribal emendation. A collation of several manuscripts will support or discard this emendation as belonging to the author in the second Chrysostomian redaction. In any case, the *lectio difficillior* belongs to the first preached text as preserved in CG.

I listed all these corrections and better variant readings displayed by CG in comparison with the PG text as arguments in favour of the use of this manuscript for an eventual new edition. It is closer to the original, it displays a purer stage of the text, and it witnesses to the first redaction of the homilies, that is, to the oral sermon.

3) The Two-Fold Chrysostomian Redaction of the Homilies as Resulting from the Stylistic Analysis of the homilies in Codex Graecus 2

Besides the above mentioned examples there remain a large number of variant readings, sometimes entire passages, with equally good stylistic variants different according to differences in focus or overall conception. Their presence, together with a whole range of emendations consistently made in view of achieving concreteness and a closer textual reference, point to the existence of two original redactions of the same text of the homilies on the Genesis, as asserted by some students of Chrysostom's works.

In their analysis of the scriptural quotations in the homilies on the Gospel of St. John, Boismard and Lamouille, refering to the PG text of these homilies, notify this stylistic difference:

> en relisant les homélies de Chrysostome nous avons vite acquis la conviction que le texte n'en était pas homogène. Une même homélie en effet contenait souvent des contradictions é videntes. Par ailleurs, le style était, tantôt celui d'une véritable homélie, tantôt celui d'un **commentaire exégétique**"[39]

In another passage they note:

> le texte fusionnait en fait 2 oeuvres differentes: des homélies proprement dites et un véritable commentaire exégétique.[40]

Having as aim the analysis of the scriptural quotations, their assertion remains unproved. Nevertheless, their observation draws the attention to a two-fold stylistic pattern. What Boismard and Lamouille noticed while reading the PG text is obvious in a contrastive analysis of the PG with the CG version of the homilies on Genesis. There is a certain consistency in the PG stylistic pattern, even if sometimes the text is obscure and artificial. On the other hand CG has a text simpler in its stylistic pattern but with a better inner coherence and more logical. No obscure passage can be found in it. The differences in style between the two versions are obvious. This difference is surely due to the two-fold redaction as noticed by the above mentioned authors and by Markowicz, as a conclusion of his manuscript collation which resulted in a two-fold list of variant readings:

> there are "two families of manuscripts, I and II which are equally Chrysostom's, one coming from the hand of the scribes who took down his homilies as he delivered them, and the other demonstrating some corrections added by Chrysostom himself to the official scribes' copy. The other

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[39]Boismard - Lamouille, 11.

[40] ibid., 12.

family, family III, represents an attempt to rectify the
discrepancies noticed between family I and II.[41]

Goodall[42] in his article on the text tradition of the homilies on Genesis
reaches the same conclusion:[43]

His favoured practice [Chrysostom's] it would
seem, was, before publishing a set of sermons, to edit carefully
the notes supplied by stenographers and so, produce a polished
version.[44]

The above mentioned opinions are based rather on external analysis of the
manuscripts than on evidences resulted from an internal one.

The internal analysis of the text reveals a whole consistent emendatory
policy which bears Chrysostomian characteristics. This consistent correction and
annotation of the homilies do not violate the peculiarities of the author's style and
is detectable at all levels of the text. All these corrections are meant to enforce
the textual coherence and to make the reference more concrete by explanatory
devices, to define better the idea, concept or reference in the text. These
characteristics are acquired by consistent addition of particles (PG.83.7ai adds
the conclusive γάρ), adverbs (PG.126.44 adds σχεδόν; PG.128.5 adds νῦν, etc.),

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[41] Markowicz, 255.

[42] Goodall, "The Text Tradition of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on Genesis"; reference misplaced

[43] Goodall ascribes a stylistic form of a lower quality to the preached homilies, mostly due to
the inconsistencies in notation of the stenographers: "Where a sermon course has come down
in a stylistically defective form, this may be due to the fact that the surviving text rests on an
uncorrected transcription of the original notes of the stenographers who took it down", 93. My
conclusion is quite different. In the first, preached redaction, the homilies are not stylistically
inferior, but were composed in accordance with the aim and the receptor to whom they were
destined (moral elevation of the public). Therefore this redaction should have a simpler syntax,
a less complex conceptual content, a looser textual coherence in favour of narrativity.
    In addition, stenographers could not interfere too much in the text. The mistakes
produced by them, due mostly to the high speed of notation rather than to intentional
modification, cannot have determined too many inconsistencies as shown by this analysis of
CG. Rather the major inconsistencies were produced by later scribes who had enough time to
think over semantic modifications or uniformisation of variant readings. My opinion is that the
stenographers' redaction is more likely to preserve a purer text than the second emendated
version which "invited", to extra scribal interference in the text because of its increased
complexity .

[44] Goodall, 94.

adjectives (PG.78.44 adds θαυμαστότερον, etc.), nouns (PG.121.46-48 adds καὶ παραφροσύνη; PG.134.4-3ai adds καὶ κείμενον, etc.) and pronouns (PG.125.13, μοι; PG.131.19, ὑμῖν; PG.133.12-14, αὐτῷ, etc.), by verbal (PG.123.17ai μηνύω versus CG.10v.I9, μηκύνω; PG.125.47-49, ἀπολαῦσαι versus CG.12r.15-16, ἐπιτυχεῖν, etc) or noun synonymy (PG.126.20-24, πλοῦτον versus CG.12v.I17, θησαυρόν; PG127.25-26, τῆς μεταλήψεως versus CG.13v.II8-7ai, τῆς θεᾶς, etc), or by simple variation of verbal prefixes (PG.123.24ai, ὑπεισελθούσης versus CG.10r.II6-7ai, ἐπεισελθούσης, PG.126.7-8ai ἀπεργασάμενος versus CG.13r.II14, ἐργασάμενος, etc). Extra colloquial devices are added (PG.135.11-12 adds Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, etc.) as well as many explanatory (PG.125.38-40 adds καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς θεωρίας;PG.127.3-4 adds διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας, etc.) or completing phrases (PG.81.26ai, ὁ μακάριος προφήτης Δαυίδ versus CG.2r.4ai, ὁ μακάριος προφήτης; PG.131.4ai διὰ τοῦτο φηψὶν ἡ Γραφή versus CG.15v.II8, διὰ τοῦτο φησίν, etc.). Considered as alone, these can be easily ascribed to copyists but taken as a whole, they acquire intentional coherence, seen especially in the addition of pronouns, characteristic to any emendatory project. The greatest part of the variant readings while comparing the stenographers' redaction with the edited version in PG (as representative, due to the editorial rules, of the more complex secondary redaction) is made, as we can notice, of the pronoun additions.

A characteristic of Chrysostom's style is his afinity for emphatic expressions. The authorial emendation of the homily adds more such devices to the text: PG.78.52 adds πολλή; PG.131.29 adds τοσαύτης; PG.132.8-6ai adds πολλῆς, etc. Most of the noun and adjective additions are due to the same tendency.

Slight corrections required by the shift from the actual oral discourse to written "colloquialism" are also present as variants of the two redactions. An example is the shift from the singular addressing formula εἶδες, characteristic to the sermon style, to the more correct εἴδετε, preserving orality but more logical.

The fact that the two different versions had in target different receptors is obvious from the changes in focus of the discourse. Many fragments display a parallel series of stylistic characteristics and devices. The usual pattern for the public as receptor requires: simplicity; narrativity; colloquiality; shorter syntactical constructions; focus on context; general focus. the usual pattern for the reader as receptor requires: complexity; conceptual consistence; descriptiveness; increased textual coherence; more complicated syntactical constructions; concrete reference. This paralelism is obvious in variant passages like: PG.83.32-39 versus CG.56r.II12-15; PG.128.29 versus CG.14r.II1ai; PG.132.7-6ai versus CG.16v.I23; PG.133.33-42 versus CG.17r.I7-1ai - II1-10; PG.134.13.19 versus CG.17v.1-10, etc.

The CG/stenographers' text is characterised more by direct reference while the PG/emendated version is more metaphorical: PG 134.13-19, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ τούτου ξύλου (with direct reference to the tree mentioned earlier) versus CG.17v.1-10, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυρου.

Another characteristic of Chrysostom's emendatory policy is the augmentation of the scriptural quotations in the text and the adaptation of the interpretation to the new biblical reference. The reason is obviously the textual complexity and coherence in the intention of modifying the preached homily into an exegetical commentary (see the above mentioned tendency to acquire conceptual consistency). It is also obvious that the scriptural additions do not belong to the scribes for they have consistency throughout the text and the extra inherent commentary is too complex and too well-embedded in the whole to be attributed to scribes. This is the situation of the addition τούτου μόνου which occurs four times in PG (PG.138.22-24, PG.138.32-33, PG.138.36-39 and PG.138.37-38) determining a shift in the interpretation and focus of the discourse as compared to the two CG occurences where the commentary has a completely different focus. Another example is τό καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρόν,

present as reference text only in **PG** (PG.132.7-6ai, PG.133.33-42) while in CG it is not under focus as reference text, and has only one occurence.

The intentional change in focus is also obvious from the word-order, which sometimes shifts the reference from general to concrete: see PG.128.9 versus CG.14r.II10-11.

The complex syntactic structure of the first redaction becomes even more complex due to the change in conception and stylistic pattern, such as in PG.133.33-42 versus CG.17r.I7-1ai - II1-10.

Generally, the first redaction centres its discourse on the moral/theological subject offered by the biblical reference while the second redaction is rather centred on the Chrysostomian topos of the philantropy of God as subject.

These two-fold equally valuable stylistic variants are the main arguments in favour of a double redaction of the texts of the homilies.

4) External Indicators of a Two-Fold Chrysostomian Redaction of the Homilies
To these internal evidences in favour of a two-fold redaction of the Chrysostomian homilies some external ones can be added.

The difference of length in the title-biblical quotation, as shown by our comparison between the CG and the PG text can be one of these indicators. The CG title-quotation of homilies 10 and 15 is longer than the corresponding one in PG.. Moreover, the PG titles are sometimes augmented by an explanatory sentence, such as in homily 9, in accordance with the Chrysostomian emphasis on the ineffable philanthropy of God. It is known the fact that while preaching, the Church Fathers used to indicate only the *locus* from the Bible which they were going to refer to. Besides, it is normal in a written exegetical commentary to quote all the reference text. It is more likely the Chrysostom expanded his titles due to this necessity. The fact that homily 17 has its title longer in CG/first redaction, with very strict reference to the next commentary can only point to other scribal tradition which made an omission or to the editor's inconsistent

notation. This problem can be solved only by comparison with several other manuscripts. I would rather incline towards the CG longer version as original, as it is necessarily required by the subject of the next paragraphs. As a rule, if attested by many manuscripts, the difference in length of the title scriptural quotations can be a reliable mark of the two-fold text tradition.

In the same manner, the external comparison of the endings of the homilies as they appear in the catalogue descriptions included in *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* can be another reference point for the double redaction. The difference in the endings of homily 17 is three-fold. The longest is displayed by PG in conformity with Montfaucon's rule of editing the longer version. Besides this there are two shorter ones. The translation of these endings offer a clue for their redaction. I will note the three endings by using bold for the shortest, italic for the longer and normal for the extra passage ending.

PG.147.4ai - 148.31.

Εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν μνημονεύσατε τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ τῆς κολάσεως τῆς ἐπαχθείσης αὐτῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς νουθεσίας, καὶ οὕτως τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἰρημένα μνημονεύσαντες, καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθόντες, "Ὅτι γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ", ἐτεῦθεν ἐκπλάγητε τὴν ἄφατον τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ὅτι ἡμᾶς τούς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὄντας, καὶ εἰς γῆν διαλυομένους, εἰ βουληθείημεν ἀρετὴν μετελθεῖν, καὶ κακίαν φυγεῖν, τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν ἀξιοῦν ἐπηγγείλατο τῶν ἡτοιμασμένων τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτὸν, *"Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη."* Χάριν τοίνυν πολλὴν ὀφείλομεν ἡμῶν ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Δεσπότῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων εὐεργησιῶν, καὶ μηδέποτε λήθῃ ταῦτα παραπέμπειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς πολλῆς τῶν φαύλων ἀποφυγῆς, τοῦτον ἐξιλεωσώμεθα καὶ εὐμενῆ ἡμῖν καταστήσωμεν. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ πάσης τοῦτο ἀγνωμοσύνης δεῖγμα,

εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν, Θεὸς ὢν καὶ ἀθάνατος, τὴν φύσιν ἀναλαβέσθαι τὴν θνητὴν ἡμῶν καὶ γήϊνον οὐσίαν οὐ παρῃτήσατο, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας νεκρώσεως ἀπαλλάξαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ταύτην ἀναβιβάσαι, καὶ τῇ πατρικῇ συνεδρίᾳ τιμῆσαι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς οὐρανίας στρατιᾶς προσκυνεῖσθαι καταξιῶσαι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτῳ ἀνταμεῖψαι οὐ κατῃδέσθημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀθάνατον ψυχὴν, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, τῇ σαρκὶ προσκολλήσαντες, γήϊνον αὐτὴν καὶ νεκρὰν καὶ ἀνενέργητον γενέσθαι κατεσκευάσαμεν; Μὴ, παρακαλῶ, μὴ οὕτως ἀγνώμονες ὦμεν περὶ τὸν τοσαῦτα ἡμᾶς εὐηργετηκότα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ νόμοις ἑπόμενοι, τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ εὐάρεστα ὄντα διαπραττώμεθα, ἵνα καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους ἡμᾶς ἀναδείξῃ ὧν γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀξιωθῆναι, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ᾽ οὗ τῷ Πατρί, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Thus, from now on, remember the sentence to the woman, and the punishment, or rather admonition, assigned to her. In this way, recollecting what has been said to Adam, and understanding the verdict: "For you are earth and unto earth will you return," be astonished of the ineffable philanthropy of God, by which he promised us who are made of earth and who disolve into earth to deem us worthy, if only we want to pursue virtue and avoid evil, of these ineffable goods which he has prepared for those who love him - the goods *"which the eye has not seen, and the ear has not heard, and which have not reached the heart of man."*

We should, therefore, show much gratitude towards our Ruler for those great benefits and never let them fall into oblivion, but by doing good deeds and striving to keep away from bad actions, let us reconcile Him and render Him favourable to us. For how would it not be a sign of great ungratefulness if while He himself who is God and immortal did not hesitate to assume our mortal and earthly substance, to deliver it from the ancient decay, to uplift it above heaven,

to honour it by enthroning it together with the Father and deem it worthy to be worshipped by all the heavenly army, we will not be ashamed to reward this by the opposite and, as one would say, to stick the immortal soul to the flesh, and make it by this fact earthly, and dead, and inactive? No, I summon you, let us not be so ungrateful to that great Benefactor of ours, but following his laws always do what is pleasant and agreeable to him, so that He may show us worthy of the eternal goods. Of which let all of us be deemed worthy by the grace and philanthropy of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with whom be glory, power and honour to the Father, along with the Holy Spirit, now and forever, and into the ages of ages. Amen.

The two shorter versions seem original while the extra ending passage in PG is obviously added later, most probably not by the author. Though Chrysostomian in style, this fragment unnecessarily prolongs the homily. It is more likely that it has been written by the author but it belongs to another work (possibly to one of the sermons on Genesis or to another homily). It may have been merged here by a compilator. This long version occurs only in one of the manuscripts included in *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*[45] (Ms. B.II.16, Basel) which is of a very early date (tenth century). All the other manuscripts described in this collection have one of the shorter versions with an equal number of occurrences. The shortest (τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτόν), which is also the version of CG, is perfectly coherent and complete. The second shorter one, present in one half of the manuscripts, adds a scriptural quotation from the New Testament as a completion of the previously stated idea. Its presence is not necessarily required by the text; it provides more emphasis in accordance with Chrysostom's style. It is also a custom of Chrysostom to finish his homilies with a conclusive quotation from the New Testament. This two-fold difference can point to a later scriptural addition made by the author.

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[45]CCG III, 68.

The extra fragment is required by the customary structure of the homilies, which is usually fixed. The exegetical commentary of the Old Testament fragment is followed by a moral conclusion based on New Testament quotations. The last part (ἠθικόν) is a sermon composed as an exhortation to virtue and the love of God. Homily 17 is more extensive in the exegetical part than most of the other homilies. This is why it probably omitted the moral sermon. It is a complete structure in itself but is not in conformity with the customary form. Probably this inconsistency caused a scribe to add a Chrysostomian moral fragment in order to restore the rule. Returning to the two-fold shorter versions, the same reason could have caused Chrysostom to add the usual scriptural quotation to the end of the homily in his revised version. There are also three versions for the end of homily 16: a) καὶ δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίας. αὐτῷ δῶμεν δόξαν σὺν τῷ Πατρί (and the philanthropy of the Ruler, to him we give glory; b) τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπιτυχεῖν (to enjoy God's philanthropy...) and c) πέλαγος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν, χάριτι (sea, and to enjoy the kingdom of heaven by the grace of.)

The two-fold ending of many of the homilies included in this cycle (starting usually with hom.16 and ending with hom. 24) can point to the double redaction. The shorter versions are usually associated with the second ending of homily 17 (οὐκ ἀνέβη). Only one late manuscript from the fourteenth century (Cod. gaec.73, Roma, Biblioteca Angelica),[46] associates the short τοῦ δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίας with the shortest τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτόν. There is only one manuscript described in CCG which has the PG version of the endings of the two manuscripts, the above mentioned Ms. B.II.16 from Basel dated to the tenth century. The variant c above appears only in two manuscripts (Selden Archiuum B. 21 olim Selden. 24 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford,[47]and Theol.

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[46]CCG II, 163.
[47]CCG I, 250.

gr., olim 114, Wien[48], from the tenth century). Nevertheless, most of the manuscripts in CCG have the longer version of the ending of homily 16 (the b ending as present in the CG and PG) associated with one of the shorter versions of homily 17 as in CG. This association causes me postulate the existence of an original short ending for homily 16, annotated by Chrysostom, and another stenographers' version. The problem of the endings is complicated by their inconsistent notation of the endings in CCG. A comparison with more manuscripts and with the different ending versions of the other homilies can clarify it. As noted before, the length of the scriptural quotations within the text can also serve as a mark in the same way as the endings and titles.

5) Problems Raised by Editing a Two-Redaction Text

Until now the arguments are clear and convincing in favour of the double redactions. Nevertheless, there are are also problems which can complicate the task of eventual editors who have to discern among the manuscripts the most reliable and to solve the issue of the text tradition.

Even if I did not make an analysis of the grammatical variants and transpositions, noting only those with semantic influence in the text, I must note a consistency in the use of verbal prefixes (PG has generally a prefixed verb where CG has verb with no prefix), in the use of verbal mood (generally PG had subjunctive where CG has optative + ἄν), in the use of cases (usually CG generalised the accusative direct object where PG has the classical standard genitive or dative direct object), in the use of adjectival endings (PG has the colloquial while PG the classical), and of pronoun conjunctives (PG has the later, logical form while CG the classical Attic standard). Wherever I could I added suggestions for these puzzling occurences, without claiming any clarification. A comparison with more manuscripts may provide a clue in this case as well.

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[48]CCG IV, 11.

Another problem which can hinder the choice of a variant in a possible edition is due to the variant readings of the Chrysostomian formulae and topoi, such as PG.124.16 τοῦ Δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπυ ῥᾳθυμίαν καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου βασκανίαν (CG.11r.I4-12 omits καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ῥα.θυμίαν) or PG 126.17 τοῦΘεοῦ τὴν ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν (CG.12v.II11 omits ἄφατον).Their inclusion in one or another of the redactions or their ascription to the author or scribe is very difficult. Their incompleteness in an earlier redaction can not be surely attributed to either the stenographer who might have produced the omission or to the author who renounced it in the delivered speech. Their completeness in a later redaction can also not be surely attributed to the authorial emendation or to scribal addition. The choice is to be made according to the context. I would prefer rather to preserve the Chrysostomian *formulae* and *topoi* in their complete form.

6) Suggestions for a New Editorial Policy

In concordance with the information provided by the existence of two original Chrysostomian versions of the homilies, the editorial policy of these texts should change. Even when scholars noticed the double stylistic redaction, they did not change their approach. Markowicz is satisfied with his two-fold list of variant readings and does not attempt any modification in the actual text. Boismard and Lamouille still adhere to the traditional editing rules, despite their own conclusion. From the two noted versions they choose one, the shorter as being considered more authentic,[49] which can be true, but not in terms of the two redactions earlier mentioned by them. Besides, the choice of one version shows the same unilaterality as Montfaucon's choice to the longest.

In terms of the two-fold redaction of the homilies, the traditional editorial rules are continuing the same scribal error, for centuries. The edition of these texts should not be one text which mixes up and tries to uniformise the two

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[49]"Le texte court se présente avec meilleures garanties d'autenticité," ibid., 58.

stylistic variants as the third family of manuscripts noted by Markowicz does. As proved by the PG text, such an edition cannot have internal coherence and results in mistaken readings and obscure passages. The text is an artificial composite, built up mainly on the basis of the second redaction which ofers a more complex reading, but losing the wealth of information offered by the oral version.

Thus, I would propose a two-fold text, edited in two columns, each with its own apparatus and variant readings. This would also make easier the task of tracing the manuscript tradition and using the whole amount of material at once. On the basis of external analysis, a preliminary division of the mannuscripts into three classes can be made. Manuscripts witnessing to the late, uniformised version would not be used because of their too corrupted form unless they are considered useful for one or the other version. The amount of material for one edited text will thus diminish, being easier to handle.

The necessity of using a *textus receptus* can be supplied by Savile's edition, the readings of which are, in many cases, the same with those in the purer CG version and are usually based on manuscript evidence.

It is also necessary to consider the most original manuscripts, with many variant readings as compared to the extant editions because these seem to be closer to an earlier redaction than the already uniformized ones. Thias would be one reason to include in the "good" manuscripts even fragmentary ones if they are early and original. In this respect, Codex Graecus 2, the study of which has led me to these conclusions, accumulates the qualities of a manuscript useful for an eventual text edition.

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(14 October 1971–28 December 1998)

This is not how things should be, for it is not right for teachers to write obituaries about their students. It should be the other way round. Iliya had every chance to become a respected Bulgarian scholar of his beloved Hugh of Saint Victor, on whose *Didascalicon* he worked so much. It was particularly painful that he never lived to finish his conceived work, to which he devoted so much energy and thought. An academic supervisor of his work can only see his industry and zeal from specific angles. As a more personal way of commemoration, I would like to quote the particularly nice words of Vasco La Salvia, his fellow student and friend, who writes on behalf of all their 1995/95 M.A. colleagues:

"When we met, Iliya was 25. The first thing I noticed about him was his strong respect for feelings. I spent only one year with him but, inside smoky pubs, drinking and eating together or dancing at parties, we had enough time to understand each other and to become close friends. Even if we communicated only in letters after the MA year, our sense of friendship did not come to an end. This was, I think, because of his extraordinary character. He had such a sense of relaxation (considered as an art, and the most important one!) that his irony (also self-irony) and love for his faith made him always appear as the most calm and satisfied person. I think that all the people who had the chance to meet and to know him would agree in the view that he had a special personality. We shall always remember him as one of the few fortunate people who contributed and will still contribute to enhance the quantity of hearty feelings in our painful life. *Sit illi terra levis.*"

György Geréby

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☒ "Sablasti u samostanu: jedna epizoda iz ugarsko-bosanske franjevačke povijesti" [Ghosts in the convent: an episode from the Hungarian-Bosnian Franciscan history], *Gordogan* 43–44 (1997–98): 3–27.

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- "The Medieval Croatian Apocryphal Tradition in the Context of the Old Slavic Patterns: The Story about the Twelve Fridays," in *Prvi Hrvatski Slavistički Kongres* Vol. I. (Zagreb, 1997), 513–19.

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- "Garden of Communication," *Convergence. The Journal of Research into New Media Technology*, Vol. 4, No. 2 .
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- "Nomadism–Primitive Imagery of Art Networks", Paper presented at ATLAS–Rootless '97 Conference, Hull, England, October 1997
- Erdély Miklós: [Járda] - URL: http://www.artpool.hu/Erdely/jarda_txt.html#ertelmezes
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✍ "Nukryziuotojo freska Vilniaus Bernardinu vieuolyne" [Fresco of Crucifix in the
Bernardines' Monastery in Vilnius], *Kulturos paminklai* 4 (1997): 170–81.

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✍ Pseudo Aristotle, "On the World Order," [translation, introduction, and notes]
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Recent Scholarly Work:
- "The 'Proverbes au vilain': a non courtly work at court?" Courtly Culture workshop at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest, 2–6 April 1998
- "Les origines des 'Proverbes au vilain'" International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 1998.

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- Njakoi morfologični osobenosti na knižnite grăcki i latinski zaemki v hărvatskite glagoličeski misali (po materiali ot Njujorkskija misal)." [Some morphological peculiarities of literary Greek and Latin loans in Croato-Glagolitic missals]. In *Prvi hrvatski slavistički kongres. Zbornik radova*. Vol. 1. Zagreb, 1997, 539–547.
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- "The *Komani-Krue* Culture–Another View. An Attempt for the Definition of a Culture and an Ethnic Group as a Contribution to the Political Administration of the Balkans in the Early Middle Ages" *BAR* Series, 1998
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⚄ "A vesztes magasztalása. Giorgio Tomasi históriája Báthory Zsigmondról" [Praise of the looser. G. Tomasi's history on Sigismund Báthory], in R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv, szerk. P. Tusor (Budapest: ELTE, 1998), 258–65.

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- "Family, Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania: The Apafis and Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) Sibiu District in Romania," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum 39* (Krems,1998): 138–57.

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- "Dwie książki o przybyciu Węgrow do Panonii" [Two books about the coming of Hungarians to Pannonia], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 104 (1997): 71–76.
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Recent Scholarly Work:

✍ "The Letters of St. Antony the Great and the Young Augustine", In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1996–1997*. ed. M. Sebők (Budapest: Central European University, 1998), 194–204.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

✍ Edition with S. Sroka, *Štúdie z dejín stredovekého Spiša,* English translation: Studies to the Medieval History of Spiš Region (Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 1998).

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Recent Scholarly Work:
✍ "Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolomitani. A johannita lovagrend regulája." Bilingual edition and commentary with Sarolta Homonnai. In *Capitulum*

I. Fejezetek a középkori magyar egyház történetéből. ed. L. Koszta. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1998., 175–187.

∞ "A székesfehérvári johannita konvent hiteleshelyi tevékenysége az Árpád-korban." [The Hospitaller convent of Székesfehérvár as a place of authentication during the Arpad Age] In *Capitulum I. Fejezetek a középkori magyar egyház történetéből.* ed. L. Koszta. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1998., 35–67.

∞ "Maiores, optimates, nobiles. Semantic Questions in the Early History of the Hungarian Nobility." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1996–1997.* ed. M. Sebők (Budapest: Central European University, 1998), 204–11.

∞ *The Hungarian-Angevin Legendary.* CD-ROM edition. Budapest: CEU Visual Lab, 1998. Transcription and translation of texts missing from the Legenda Aurea; with Judit Majorossy.

∞ Book notices on "Font, Márta. Magyarok a Kijevi Évkönyvben." [Hungarians in the Kievian Annals]; "Pósán, László. A Német Lovagrend története a 13. században." [A history of the Teutonic Order in the 13th century]. In *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* Vol. 2., Warszawa, 1997., 199., 227.

Conference Papers:

∞ "Inheritance and Family. The Szentivány Kindred." *Nobility in Medieval and Early Modern Central Europe II*, Budapest (CEU), February, 1998

∞ "Archival and Manuscript Resources in Hungary", *33rd International Medieval Congress*, (Session 54. Archival and Manuscript Resources in Central Europe and the Balkans) Kalamazoo (USA), May, 1998

∞ "The Knights of St. John and the Hungarian Nobility", *La Noblesse dans les Territoires Angevins aux XIV* et XV* Siècles*, Angers (France), June, 1998

Recent Scholarship:

∞ A. A. Heckman Scholarship, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville (USA), 1998

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- "Foundations of Monasteries by Members of the Twelfth-Century Polish Nobility: A Selection of Cases." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1996–1997.* ed. M. Sebők (Budapest: Central European University, 1998), 183–193.

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- Paper presented a Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, "The Passion Cycle in the Village Church of Gelence (Ghelniţa, Romania)," May 7, 1998.

Awards:

- Short-term Grant, East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, July, 1998: "An examination of the Nekcsei Bible in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C."
- Summer McKnight Crosby Research Grant, Yale University, 1998.

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- "Gospel and Koran: Christian-Muslim Diplomatic Ceremony in the Late Middle Ages", Paper delivered at the XVIII. Medievistic Seminar on *Fête, Loisirs, Bonne Chere au Moyen Âge*, Poznań, 3–4. December, 1997.
- "Queen and King's Favourite: Rulership at the Jagiellonian Court." Paper delivered at the XIX. Medievistic Seminar on *Castle and Court in the Middle Ages (XI-XV centuries)*, Poznań–Marlbork, 23–26 October 1998.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

🖂 "A 14. századi Magyar Királyság klímájának vizsgálata" (Study on the climate of the fourteenth-century Hungarian Kingdom) *Egyetemi Meteorológiai Füzetek* 10 (1997): 238–41.

☒ Climate Changes and the Waterlevel of Lake Fertő Before the "Anti-Inundation" Works. In: The Conference Book of the Pre-regional Conference of the IGU (International Geographical Union), 24–28. August, 1998, Évora, Portugal.

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☒ Commentary in Livländische Reimchronik, Riga: Zinatne, 1998
☒ "Kaut kam jánotiek" [Something must happen] and Brálu draudze [Brothers' Parish], Riga: Gará pupa, 1997.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- ✍ "A Tenth-century Graffito of St. Basil the Great in the Light of His Cult in Eastern Monasticism," *Palaeobulgarica* 1 (1998): 75-96.

- ✍ "Secular or monasic complexes: problems of interpretation." Paper read at the "The Bulgarians and their Neighbours" conference at the University of Veliko Tărnovo, 1998.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- ✍ "Obraz polabsko-baltijskikh slavian v 'Slavianskoi Khornike' Gel'mol'da"[The Image of Slavs in Helmold's Chronicon Slavorum], in *Slaviane i nemtsy. Sbornik tezisov 16 konf. pamiati V. D. Korljuka* (Moscow: Inst. Slav. RAN, 1997), 67–70

- ✍ *Istorija polabsko-baltijskikh slavian v otechestvennoi istoriografii 1917–1997 gg.* [The History of the Polabian-Baltic Slavs in Russian Historiography, 1917–1997] Avtoreferat k. i. n.. (Moscow: Dialog-MGU, 1998), 20 p.

- ✍ "Holy Fools in Medieval Russia: More Questions than Answers," in *Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies 1996/97*, ed. M. Sebők, (Budapest: CEU, 1998), 212-16

- ✍ [Book reviews of] J. Pánek, *Posledni Rožmberk* in *Questiones Medii Aevi Novae* 2 (1997): 226–7; and Ihor Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West* in ibid.: 240–41.

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✍ Paper read at the conference on the Slavic World and Slavonic Studies, University of Tver', "Istorijografija polabsko-baltijskikh slavian v Rosii" [Historiography of the Polabian-Baltic Slavs in Russia], November 1997.

✍ Paper read at the colloquium of the Hagiographic Society, Ammerdown, UK, "Rituals of Defeating Paganism in Missionary Hagiography," June, 1998.

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✍ Cand. Sc. Hist., MGU Moscow, March, 1998

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- ✍ "Pueha Brendani merreis: mueuet ja maastik" [The Voyage of St. Brendan: Myth and Landscape], *Vikerkaar* 4–5 (1998): 105–110.
- ✍ "Muhu vaein. Keskaegne laevatee ja selle kirjeldused 16. Saj" [Moonsound–Medieval Sailing Route and Its Descriptions from the Sixteenth Century], in *Laeaenemaa muuseumi toimetised II* (Haapsalu, 1998), 62–74.

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[Review of] Das New Yorker Missale. Eine kroato-glagolitische Handschrift des frühen 15. Jahrhundert. Kritische Edition von Eve-Marie Schmidt-Deeg *Filologija* 28 (1997): 92–96.

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Recent Scholarly Work:
- "O nekim hagiografskim motivima u 'Životopisu splitskog biskupa sv. Arnira'" [About some hagiographical motifs in the 'Life of St. Arnir, bishop of Split], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 40 (1997): 13–7.
- "O hrvaskom srednjem vijeku u američkoj medievistici" [Croatian Middle Ages in American medieval studies], *Historijski zbornik* 49 (1996): 59–69.
- "O slavonskom plemsvu i svečenstvu u Rimu 1433. godine" [The noblemen and priests from medieval Slavonia in Rome, 1433], *Povijesni prilozi Hrvaskog povijesnog instituta* 15 (1997): 261–71.
- "O najstarijim kotorskim hodočašćima" [The oldest pilgrimages from Kotor], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 41 (1998): 117–22.
- "Odjek pada tvrđave Accon 1291. U Hrvatskoj" [The ech of the fall of the forth in Acre, 1291], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti* 16 (1998): 433–56.
- "Oporuka zadarskog patricija Kreše Varikaše–prilog proučavanju duhovnog života u Zadru u drugoj polovici 14. Stoljeća" [The testament of Krešo Varikaša, Zadar patrician–Contribution to the research of religious life in medieval Zadar], *Rasprave iz hrvatske kulturne prošlosti* 1 (1998): 37–49.

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Recent Scholarly Work:

- "Latinitas et barbaritas: un conflitto ideale, il controllo del confine imperiale" In F. Pompeo ed. *Altri Orizzonti,* Rome: Il Mondo 3 (1998) 181–192.
- (with L. Mihok and P. Roth) "Research of Medeival Smithy Slags." In *Metallography '98. Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium on Metallography, Poprad, 22–24 April 1998.*, Poprad, 1998. 475–477.
- "L'artigianato metallurgico dei Longobardi alla luce delle fonti archeologiche con particolare riferimento alla lavorazione del ferro. Suggerimenti e problemi." *Archeologia Medievale* 25 (1998) 7–26.

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⌀ "Springtime Festivities in Medieval Livonian Towns." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1996–1997*. ed. M. Sebők. Budapest: Central European University, 1998., 217–228.

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> ✍ "Features of Royalty in the Court of Mindaugas and His Succesors," *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis* (1998), forthcoming.

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- "Examples of Medieval Plague Trestises from Central Europe." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU, 1996–1997*. ed. M. Sebők. Budapest: Central European University, 1998., 229–235.

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- *Quod vere sit Deus. Izabrana djela Anselma Canterburyjskog. Svezak prvi: Monologion, Proslogion* [Selected writings of Anselm of Canterbury. First volume: Monologion, Proslogion]. Bilingual Latin-Croatian edition with an Introduction. Zagreb: Demetra, 1997.

Conference Papers:
- "La storiografia di Eugenio Duprè Theseider: temi e problemi." Convegno storico nel centenario della nascita. Città di Rieti, Italy19–22 March 1998.
- "Mission and Martyrdom in the Ascetic Programme of Bruno of Querfurt" Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo May, 1998

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- "Počemu Ibn Fadlan nazyvajet povolzskix bolgar slav'anami?" (Why does Ibn Fadlan call the Volga Bulghars 'Slavs'?), In *Arabskij Vostok,* Moscow: Institut Vostokovedenija RAN, 1997, 100–109.
- Nouvelles données sur l'établissement des Slaves en Asie Mineure en haut Moyen Age." *Byzantinoslavica* 58. (1997): 225–232.
- Information on the Vlachs in Medieval Islamic Literature (Arabic and Persian)." *Romanian Civilization* 6. 2 (1997) 37–56.

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Kako se stvarala Opatija: prilozi povijesti naseljavanja, grada i zdravstvenog turizma [How Opatija has been made: contributions to the history of settlement, the city, and health tourism] (Rijeka: Benja/Katedra Cakavskog sabora Opatija, Grad Opatija, 1998).

✍ [Translation of] Erich Vio, *Irrwege der Freiheit* [*Stranputice slobode*] (Rijeka: Hrvatski lijecnicki zbor-Podru nica Rijeka, 1997).

✍ [Editor of] *Potencijali lovranske zdravstvene ba tine* [Potentials of Lovran's sanitary heritage] (Lovran: Poglavarstvo Opcine Lovran, 1997).

✍ [With Branko Pancic, Lidija Tu kan-Mohar, and Juraj Sepcic] "Is There Semantic Specificity in Overlapping-Figures Agnosia?" *NeuroReport* 9 (1, 1998): 105–7.

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✍ [With Franco Fabbro, Andrea Clarici, and Antonio Bava] "Encoding and Recall of Parsed Stories in Hypnosis," *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 87 (1998): 963–71.

✍ "Zázrakmi proti paralýze" [With miracles against paralysis], Translated by Martin Homza, *Kultúra* (Bratislava) 1, (17, 1998): 6.

Conference Papers:

✍ "On a Possible Role of Temporal-Lobe Epilepsy in Human History: Example of Hildegard of Bingen," Poster presented at the 5th Mediterranean Epilepsy Conference & 1st Mediterranean Neuroscience Conference, Montpellier, France, September 3–6, 1997.

✍ "A Lesion Study on the Role of the Superior Parietal Lobule in Visuomotor Coordination," Paper presented at the XLVIII Autumn Meeting of Italian Society for Physiology, Pavia, Italy, October 6–8, 1997.

✍ "Medicine of Native Soil: Starting Points For the Study of General Medical History," Paper presented at the International Conference on History of Medicine in Medical Education: Retrospective and Prospective, Role and Status, Zagreb, Croatia, December 5–7, 1997.

✍ "Koliko Opatijci duguju Rijecanima za razvoj svoga grada: Petostoljetna medjususjedska bilanca," [How Much the Inhabitants of Opatija Owe to Those From Rijeka For the Development of Their City: A Five-Hundred-Year Interneighbourly Balance]. Paper presented at Scientific Meeting After St. Vitus St. Vitus Again, Rijeka, Croatia, December 1997.

✍ "Du evni plodovi mirisa: skica za neuropsihologiju olfakcije," [Mental Fruits of Odor: A Sketch for the Neuropsychology of Olfaction]. Paper presented at 1st Croatian Symposium on Aromatherapy, Opatija, Croatia, April 5–7, 1998.

✍ "Lovran i Lovranci u osvit XIX. Stoljeca," [Lovran and Lovraners at the Dawn of the 19th Century]. Paper presented at the round table on Lovran in the 19th Century, Lovran, Croatia, April 1998.

✍ "Visuomotor Behaviour Following Induced Lesions in the Superior Parietal Lobule of Monkeys," Poster presented at Forum of European Neuroscience, Berlin, Germany, June 27–July 2, 1998.

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Conference Papers:

∅ "The Bulgars and Christianity in the eighth and the ninth centuries,"Paper read at the Medieval Seminar, All Souls College, Oxford, 18 May, 1998.

∅ "Friend with Aliens and Alien with Friends: Mauros and the Sirmissians among the Avars and the Byzantines," Paper read at the 33 Byzantine Spring Symposium, University of Sussex, 19 March, 1998.

∅ A series of lectures and a seminar on the 7–9th century Balkan history, Second English High School, Sofia, Bulgaria, 15–20 January, 1998.

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Conference Paper:
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PROFESSORI JOHANNI M. BAK SEPTUAGENARIO

**Excerpt from the *Preface* of *The Man of Many Devices,
Who Wandered Full Many Ways.***
Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak for his 70th Birthday
Edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999)

The life of János Bak has been touched by the dramatic turning points of the past seventy years: World War II and the Holocaust, the Communist takeover in 1948, the revolution of 1956, followed by his long life in exile–first in Germany, then in England and Canada. One should add that he was an active participant throughout: he first believed in Communism, then, disillusioned, fought for the revolution and was one of the emigrés who continued to be politically active along the lines of 1956 (we can learn precious details about all this from the accounts by his friends published in this volume). Another thing to be added is that besides his committed political activity, he has always been a dedicated scholar, an ambitious historian of the Middle Ages. After a first guidance received at the University of Budapest from Professor Éva H. Balázs, he became, in exile, the student of Percy Ernst Schramm–thus situating his own academic work within an important German tradition.

Taking all this together, he must have experienced 1968 in its full variety: as a "veteran" of 1956 he turned to the Prague Spring with re-awakened hopes, while as a university professor representing a traditionalist discipline, he may have been marveling at the eruption of student movements in the West. He was then able to contemplate the evolution of the colorful youth counter-culture in America on the far-western campus of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, while doing his best to strengthen the bastion of classical and medieval European civilization in that remote land that once belonged to the Kwakiutl Indians.

During the 1970s and 1980s he was again becoming more and more involved with Central and Eastern Europe, his broader homeland. He regularly visited colleagues in all these countries, carried books, reviews, xeroxes and precious invitations not only to Budapest, but also to Prague (where the situation was especially acute), East Berlin, Warsaw, and Moscow. And, as far as an already stigmatized 1956-er could do, he got involved with the various efforts of the democratic opposition towards making the "iron curtain" more and more porous and

PROFESSORI JOHANNI M. BAK SEPTUAGENARIO

transparent. Then came 1989, his participation in the foundation and work of the Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and our common enterprise–the building up of a Medieval Studies Center at CEU. These two new commitments brought him home to Budapest. I hope the title of this collection of writings being offered to him–*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways*–does justice to this Odyssey.

Let me dedicate a few words to our more recent work together, because this is actually the only part of his life I have closely observed. I am actually convinced that this provided him with an opportunity to make a synthesis of his previous activities. The task was ambitious. We had to design a graduate, Ph.D. curriculum using all his university experiences from Germany, England and America, and all his emotional–though sometimes angry and dissatisfied–attraction to the unexploited treasures of East European scholarship. This also meant the organization of a meeting place for professors and students from the East and the West, making Budapest the center of the world. Working in a close multinational community of scholars and students makes university planning a demanding, fascinating and passionate enterprise–this is what János has stood for during the past seven years of common work, and without his energy, skill and experience, this department would not have become what it is.

Gábor Klaniczay

Professor János M. Bak and Professor Hanna Kassis
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Bibliography of the works of János M. Bak
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ERRATA

to the Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, 1997-1998

p. 18	instead of Elisabeth read Elizabeth
p. 33	instead of visitng read visiting
p. 35	instead of Univesté read Université
p. 65	Ben Schomakers Catholic University, Leuven and not Leyden
p. 67	instead of Slavia Orthodoxia read *Slavia Orthodoxa*
p. 70	instead of Lviv read Łviv
p. 115 caption	instead of committe read committee
p. 119	instead of Palph read Ralph
p. 119	instead of Sevcenko read Ševčenko
p. 120 caption	instead of Margaret Dragonova Dimitrova read Margaret Draganova Dimitrova
p. 205	instead of Nikolic read Nikolić
p. 205	instead of Ravoncic read Ravancić
p. 328	instead of Ara read Bara
p. 385	instead of Acknowledments read Acknowledgements