ANNUAL
OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES
AT CEU

VOL. 6   2000

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 6   2000

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 6   2000

Edited by
Katalin Szende and Marcell Sebők

C E U

Central European University
Budapest
Department of Medieval Studies

Cover illustration
Floor tiles from the royal palace of Buda, second half of the fifteenth century

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

The sixth volume of the *Annual* is marked by significant changes, not only in its outward appearance, but also—and even more—in its contents. The aim of the editorial board is to develop our yearbook into a regular scholarly journal. Our unique position, which enables us to bring together students from all parts of this region, also imposes on us the obligation of providing both a forum for the exchange of ideas and achievements for all medievalists dealing with topics related to Central and Eastern Europe, and a showcase for ongoing research and debates. Therefore, beside a selection of papers presented by our alumni at conferences and the abridged versions of the best MA theses from the 1998/1999 academic year, we have also included a sample of contributions to two workshops organized or co-organized by our department: one entitled "Constructing and Deconstructing Frontiers" and one on "The Caucasus: a Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures." These contributions were edited by us only to a limited extent.

To make room for the articles, some items which may be familiar to you from our previous Annuals have been omitted. Since the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU has established itself within the academic network of the region, and the structure of the M.A. and Ph.D. courses has taken a solid shape, we did not feel the need to describe and present them in such a detailed way as before. Beside the *Annual*, the Department is now also publishing its own newsletter, the *Medieval News*, which appears twice a year and gives up-to-date information on the alumni and on recent and forthcoming events (conferences, workshops, publications, and so on).

We also decided to omit the Alumni Directory which—in spite of its representative character—can hardly keep pace with the increasing number and mobility of our former students. Nevertheless, we would like to encourage all our alumni to keep in touch with us and inform us about the development of their academic careers, since we intend to link the directory to our homepage. We would also welcome a copy of your publications, both for our library and for reviewing them—among other journals—in the *Annual* from the next year onwards.

Finally, the editors should like to thank all the contributors of this volume for their cooperation. Mark Peterson and Finn-Einar Eliassen helped us to improve the clarity and fluency of the texts, our students, Nada Zečević, Cristian Gaşpar, Ágoston Schmelowszky, and Matthew Suff assisted in copy-editing and proofreading, and the Archaeolingua Foundation & Publication House created an impressive publication from the manuscripts.

.

PART I.
Articles and Studies
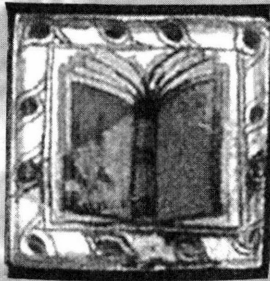
HERMITS MURDERED BY ROBBERS: CONSTRUCTION OF MARTYRDOM IN OTTONIAN HAGIOGRAPHY*

Marina Miladinov 📥

In 861, hermit Meginrad, whose "desert" was the wilderness where almost a century later the abbey of Einsiedeln was to be founded, was cruelly murdered by two vagabond robbers greedy for the treasure they thought he was keeping in his cell. His sanctity was unquestioned, die care of his cult undertaken by the monks of Reichenau, and his *vita* written within one generation.[1] But although he had allegedly spent almost twenty-six years in solitude and asceticism, engaged in austere fasting and incessant prayer, fighting temptations and resisting the assaults of the devil, his hagiographer comprised this aspect of sanctity into a few paragraphs; the major part of the *vita* he devoted to that which, according to his own words, he actually wanted to describe: Meginrad's "passion and death."[2] And he described it in full detail, including a dramatic dialogue between the hermit and his murderers and covering the entire development of the event from the morning, when the robbers started to look for his hermitage, until the crucial evening scene, described at length, including the accompanying miracles and the evil end of the assassins.

It has been observed that this accent on martyrdom makes the *Passio Meginradi* a very early example marking the beginning of the peculiar predilection for martyrdom in the works of authors of the Ottonian cultural domain.[3] Even though not absent as die ultimate—and for the most unattainable—ideal throughout the post-persecution history of Christian religiosity, its rise in importance is recognisable dirough the emphasis it gains with respect to the other merits of the particular personality. During the Carolingian period, even if a man actually did die

---

[1] BHL 5878, quotations according to PL 142, 1177-84. Hereafter: *VM.* A detailed list of manuscripts and editions, as well as an overview of the different opinions regarding the dating is to be found in Theodor Klüppel, *Reichenauer Hagiographie zwischen Walahfrid und Berno* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1980), 45-50. The dating options currently vary from the last third of the ninth to the first third of the tenth centuries, even though the PL edition mentions Bern of Reichenau as the author.

[2] *passionem et obitum. VM,* Prologue, PL 142, 1177. Nevertheless, Meginrad's clear classification as hermit is visible from the fact that in two of the earliest manuscripts, Sangall. 577 and MS 7666-71 of the Bibliothèque royale Belgique, his *vita* was placed directly after that of the hermit Ermenland from the Merovingian period. Klüppel, 52.

[3] Klüppel, 55.

a violent death and was subsequently proclaimed a martyr by his community (in the monastic or simply local sense), his *vita* or *passio* would be slanted towards his religious life: his asceticism, charity, missionary work, or a particularly engaged episcopacy.[4] The fact that even Meginrad's eremitic asceticism, a tendency in piety that was brought back into the focus of religious life precisely in this period, is overshadowed by his martyrdom, demonstrates the importance of the latter in securing salvation. Meginrad's hagiographer sees the real sign of his sanctity in the combination of violence and ritual in which the hermit's death is carried out, and in which he appears to take part as actively as his murderers.

Throughout the Ottonian period, this tendency to search for an ever more secure path to salvation will permeate—with varying intensity—all aspects of religious life: while laymen will offer donations to monastic or ecclesiastical institutions or even saintly individuals, dead or alive, in order to obtain memorial masses or other types of intercession with God, clerical and monastic circles will correspondingly enhance their penitence and asceticism, frequently engaging in the more exclusive and dedicated forms of eremitism and reclusion. The culmination of this ever greater strife to achieve salvation is observable in another thrilling description of hermits murdered by robbers: the *passio* of the Five hermit-brothers of Poland (*Vita quinque fratrum*), composed by Bruno of Querfurt around 1008, also only a few years after the event.[5] Except for the fact that this piece of hagiography is significantly longer than the *Passio Meginradi* and therefore allows for more of an introduction into the episode of martyrdom, the pattern is very similar and permits us to establish several points of hagiographic procedure by means of which the death of the hermits is presented as martyrdom. This paper aims at a brief analysis of three main points, after which I will proceed to the discussion of the factors which brought martyrdom back into the limelight at the end of the ninth and tenth centuries.

It is the explicit labelling of the hermit's death as martyrdom that leaves no doubt about its character. The author of the *Passio Meginradi* promises martyrdom in the Prologue, and the *Vita quinque fratrum* presents asceticism almost as a mere preparation for martyrdom: the hermits have "after white heart and good deeds received the golden ending of crimson-red martyrdom."[6] Instead of refering to the eremitic authorities of the past, Bruno relates their death to that of Adalbert of

---

[4] Such is the case of the first *vita* of the missionary Boniface, which accentuates his achievements in the field of missionary work and the organization of the ecclesiastical structure in the Christianised area. About the difference in later *vitae*, see below.

[5] BHL 1147, quotations according to MGH SS 15, 716–38. Hereafter: *VQF*.

[6] *post album cor et opus bonum acceperunt purpurae passionis aureum finem. VQF*, Prologue. MGH SS 15, 716.

Prague, who was killed during missionary work in 997 and whose first *vita* Bruno wrote some years before that of the hermit-brothers.[7] This element is more significant than it might appear at first glance, for a genuine martyr preferably died at the hands of a pagan, not a fellow-Christian, however evil the latter might be. I would like to draw attention here to the argumentative writings of the *incentor martyrii* Eulogius of Cordoba[8] from the end of the ninth century, in which he appears repeatedly compelled to defend the martyrs of his own times against the accusations of the main-stream Christians that they were not "genuine": even though they were murdered by Muslims, their martyrdom was not as uncontested as one might expect, for they were, in the words of the contemporary sceptics, killed not by pagans adoring idols, but by people "abiding by God and the Law": certainly a very dangerous point of view.[9]

In many cases, the murderers and plunderers were certainly pagans and thus the martyrdom corresponded better to its primary meaning of a confessional conflict.[10] In our two cases, where the robbers were presumably Christians, the hagiographer had to justify the religious significance of their deed. He accomplished this task by presenting them as the agents of the Devil; in this way, he was able to view the death of the ascetics as the final battle with the forces of darkness, in which the hermits do not lose but win through their final confirmation of faith. Thus, Meginrad's robbers were "inspired by the one who had entered the serpent," "incited by the one who filled them with the most hateful spirit," "vexed by the

---

[7] BHL 38 and 39, quotations according to MPH 1, 189–222. Hereafter: *VA*. This text is a most valuable source for Bruno's view on missionary activity and martyrdom, in particular when contrasted to the earlier *vita* by John Canaparius (BHL 37), where these aspects are left in the background with respect to the monastic values of charity, humility, and obedience. An exhaustive list of manuscripts as well as the critical analysis of the editions is to be found in Richard Wenskus, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt* (Münster and Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1956), 7–68. Cf. Mathilde Uhlirz, *Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Adalberts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957).

[8] The expression was used by his hagiographer (BHL 2704).

[9] *ab hominibus Deum et legem collentibus*. Eulogius of Cordoba, *Liber apologeticus martyrum* 12, PL 115, 857. Cf. 3, PL 115, 853–4 and also *Memorialis sanctorum* 1, especially chapters 18, 21, and 26 (PL 115, 751, 754–5, and 758), where he enumerated various objections of contemporaries to the character of the martyrdom of their times. His own repellence at establishing parallels between Christianity and Islam is exposed in the invective chapters 3, 12, 16, and 19 of the *Liber apologeticus martyrum* (PL 115, 853–4, 857, 859–60, and 861–2). Many bishops openly collaborated with the Muslim authorities, claiming it to be the right way to avoid persecutions, and provocations aiming at martyrdom were condemned at the synod of Cordoba in 852; criticism of this attitude as the betrayal of Christian ideals is found in the *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis* (BHL 4396, quoted according to MGH SS 4, 335–77, hereafter: *VIG*), written by a younger contemporary. An Ottonian ambassador to the caliphate, John was shocked by the readiness of the ecclesiastical structures to compromise. *VIG* 123, MGH SS 4, 372.

[10] Such was the example of the recluse Wiborada, murdered by Hungarians in 926 at St Gallen. *Vita s. Wiboradae* by Hartmann (BHL 8866), dated post 973; *vita* by Hepidannus (BHL 8867), dated to 1072.

demon" and "blessed by the Satan;"[11] the robbers in the *Vita quinque fratrum*, again, are presented as demonic creatures, whose "liver is craving, lips are trembling, nostrils steaming, entrails drawing blood..."[12] Meginrad is contrasted to them as a "strong athlete, ready for the battle with the help of God's comfort,"[13] and the brothers as a "heavenly division."[14] This selected vocabulary enabled the hagiographer to depict the robbers as destroying the hermits as Christians, as saintly, and not ordinary men, which was a point of primary importance if the act was to be understood as directed against the faith itself and if the hermits were to be seen as victims of persecution.

Related to this is the insistence of both hagiographers in question that the robbers came with an explicit intent to kill, a desire which appears even stronger than their greed for treasure. Thus, the murderers of the five brothers came in order to "harm, as a robber in the night, in order to close up the day of life, without a cause, to the bodies of the innocent."[15] They were led by instinct, like "dogs to the blood, wolves to their prey,"[16] and the robber conversing with hermit Isaac declares: "Truly, we want to murder you. That is the reason for which we came."[17] While relating the events around the robbery and the homicide, the texts are thus constructed to convey the atmosphere of persecution and martyrdom in a similar apologetic manner found in many lives of the ascetics: not only by applying to the actual story the vocabulary of the arena, but also by forcing the protagonists into the corresponding roles in the ritual. The small dialogues in both lives, even though void of the great exhortative or confessional utterances characteristic of acts of martyrs, still create a situation in which the hermits can be shown in their transcendental light, assisted and substituted by Christ in their suffering.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the appearance of the robbers in the eremitic context could be additionally interpreted as a response of the devil to the hermit's sanctity. In this respect, an unexpected act of violence could be seen rather as the final act of the long struggle between the holy man and the forces of evil, in particular if we view the retreat into the desert as a provocation on the

---

[11] *eo inspirante qui serpentem intravit... agitante qui eos impleverat teterrimo spirito... daemone tandem vexati. VM* 10, PL 142, 1180–1; *benedicente Satana. VQF* 13, MGII SS 15, 731.

[12] *iecur hiat, labia tremunt, nares flant, precordia sanguinem trahunt... VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 730.

[13] *athleta fortis, Deo confortante, pugnaturus egreditur. VM* 12, PL 142, 1181.

[14] *diva cohors. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 732. It should, however, be noted that Bruno utilises little military terminology, concentrating rather on words implying fervent desire and longing for Christ.

[15] *venerunt nocentes, ut fur nocte, corporibus innocentium sine causa claudere diem vitae. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 730.

[16] *canes ad sanguinem, lupes ad predam. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 730.

[17] *Verum occidere vos volumus. Ecce causa, pro qua venimus. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 731.

side of the hermit and the challenge to the devil for a combat on his own ground. Meginrad had successfully resisted the assaults of the demons before; his long life of austere asceticism made him fit for this battle. Eventually, the entire story appears reversed in soteriological light, for the hermit is not weak because he lives unprotected in solitude and is not therefore attacked by robbers, but on the contrary, he grows ever more powerful by means of his ascetic exercise and his minor battles with demons. The final attack is sent to him only when he is sufficiently armed to turn it into his own triumph.[18]

Secondly, both hagiographers accentuate that death was offered to the hermits by God as an act of grace. Bruno places this attitude in the mouth of hermit Isaac: "How good it is for us that… this happy hour, which we never merited by ourselves, we have encountered by the sole mercy of the Saviour."[19] What is given to the hermits is not only the opportunity to earn the crown of martyrdom, but also the readiness for it and the strength to endure the suffering. It is significant that one of the five hermit-brothers, Christianus, tries to defend himself with a piece of wood and is therefore at first not buried together with the others, which is meant to point out that in him God's grace did not operate to such a perfect degree, but more probably reflects also his lowly status as their servant and cook, since Bruno says: "Do not bind an ox with an ass," explaining it as "a wise man with a stupid one."[20] Nevertheless, Christianus is soon rehabilitated and rejoins his companions in their tomb, which Bruno comments with another appropriate passage: "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the slave and the free man, we are all one in Christ."[21] Moreover, somewhat earlier Bruno compares him to the fifth wound in Christ's side, out of which came blood mixed with water and which is thus particularly associated with the Redemption.[22]

Related to this is the behaviour of the hermits towards their murderers, as well as the symbols and rituals they impose upon the situation, thus turning the robbers

---

[18] Nevertheless, some difference should be observed with respect to the assaults of the devil himself, in his various disguises, since his purpose is to draw the solitary away from God and from his *propositio*. Cf. Maria-Elisabeth Brunert, *Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994), 374–6. The assassins, on the other hand, as well as the persecutors of the early Church, are perceived rather as being instigated by the devil, which was ultimately considered directed by God for some hidden purpose.

[19] *Bene… nobis, qui tam bonam noctem et sic felicem horam, quam numquam pro nostris meritis meruimus, sola misericordia Salvatoris invenimus. VQF* , 13, MGH SS 15, 732.

[20] *Non iungas bovem cum asino, hoc est: sapientem cum stulto. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 713.

[21] *Non est distinctio Iudei et Greci; servus ac liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 734. *Rom* 10, 12.

[22] *Qui supradictus Christinus… super quattuor occisos sanctos impio vulnere quintus interfectus accrevit magno illius beneficio, de cuius quinto vulnere in latere salutis, per quae remittuntur peccata hominibus, exivit sanguis et aqua… VQF,* 13. MGH SS 15, 732. *John* 19, 34.

into mere tools of their fulfillment in *imitatio Christi*. In both *vitae*, the hermits address their murderers as "friends" (*amici, socii*).[23] Meginrad reproaches them for not having come earlier to celebrate the Mass with him before realizing their intention; he offers them his tunic and mantle, bread and drink, asks them to light two candles when he is dead, one at his head and another at his feet; he urges them to hurry in order that they should not be caught and punished; and the brothers bless their murderers as well.[24] This view of an evil deed, which is at the same time directed by God, is expressed perfectly concisely by Bruno saying that the robbers were "wishing to be harmful, but compelled to be useful."[25] At the same time, it is related to the fine, but important line which separates the voluntary submission to martyrdom from provocation, the line that the martyrs of Cordoba obviously did not always succeed in maintaining. The attitude of a genuine martyr was expected to be a non-defensive, but certainly not an offensive one.

Thirdly, in both cases miracles take place while the robbers are still present and this fact underlines God's command of all events, whereby even those apparently evil are in fact directed to a good purpose. The moment Meginrad exhales, the oratory is filled with a "smell of such mildness as if fragrances of all sorts were spreading their sweet odour around the place."[26] The ravens, sensing the presence of the devil just like the chicklets, which Meginrad had been feeding and which we met running frantically around the hermitage before the robbers entered the cell, pursue the two men so closely and raise such a clamour that these are soon caught and burned alive.[27] Bruno tells us that the murderers of the five brothers, having left the scene of their crime, hear from the inside "a sweet melody and a voice singing."[28] When they re-enter to see whether anybody has been left alive, they discover that Benedict, who lay dead "as if he were asleep," has put his hood on and turned towards the wall.[29]

All these elements of hagiographic procedure unite to complete the picture of the hermits' death as meriting the label of martyrdom. It should be observed,

---

[23] *VM* 12, PL 142, 1181; *VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 731.

[24] *VM* 12, PL 142, 1182. *VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 732.

[25] *volentes nocere, coacti prodesse. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 730.

[26] *Egrediente autem iam anima... tantae suavitatis odor progrediens totum cellulae locum compleverat, ac si omnium pigmentorum odoramenta ibi diffusa fragrarent. VM* 13, PL 142, 1182.

[27] *VM* 15, PL 142, 1182–3.

[28] *dulcem melodiam et vocem cantantium intus sonantem audierunt. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 732.

[29] *Solus Benedictus... sicut dormiens jacebat... cum venirent ipsi occisores videre, mirantes, si adhuc viveret, qui in Dei carminibus indesinentes voces deintus sonare audiebant, sanctus ille Benedictus cucullam capiti imposuisset et mutato latere ad parietem converteret, qui cum illis omnibus mortuus erat. VQF* 13, MGH SS 15, 732–3.

however, that there are points in which the *Vita quinque fratrum* adopts a significantly different tone than the *Passio Meginradi*, which is in my opinion not to be attributed only to authorial differences, but is to be seen as a result of a more than a century long development of the worldview that stands behind Bruno's work, revolving around two main points: the Christocentricity and the crucial importance of salvation, in the first place personal, but through that of collective salvation as well. The examples in the *Vita quinque fratrum* are so numerous that I will restrict myself only to the most important ones.

The author beseeches the Lord as *restitutor innocentiae, salvator* and *Redemptor mundi*. Benedict, one of the brothers, begins in his infancy *philosophare in Christo* and, for Bruno, the highest grade on the way to salvation is to "depart from the world and be with Christ," by which he means both evangelization and martyrdom.[30] Benedict rejoices in suffering for the love of Christ according to the Apostle: "For me to live is Christ and to die gain";[31] and the syntagm *pro amore Christi* is encountered in almost every paragraph. It is understandable that Christ plays a special role in the lives of the martyrs, since they are identified with him both in his passion and his triumph, the two aspects highlighted as well in the Christocentric art of the tenth century. Christ on a gemmed cross inspires as a symbol of suffering and victory joined together, as the *auctor crucis*,[32] and in order to present the death of their heroes as the emulation of Christ, hagiographers develop a predilection for having them take a posture of the cross before dying. Thus, Adalbert of Prague falls dead on the ground extending his arms in the shape of the cross,[33] and Lambert of Liège prostrates himself on the floor in the same position, in which he is then discovered by his assassins and murdered.[34]

Regarding more particularly salvation, Bruno incorporates the story of Romuald of Ravenna, who threw the abbatial staff at the feet of the Emperor since he found the discipline in the monastery too lax, in order that "he should not be lost himself, who could not gain any other"[35] and somewhat further "so that he would in friendly seclusion save at least himself, since in that monastery for the reason of

---

[30] *dissolvi et esse cum Christo. VQF* 2, MGH SS 15, 719. This active understanding of the quotation from *Phil* 1, 23 is striking with respect to its usual passive meaning such as, for example, in Odilo of Cluny's epitaph to Adelheid. *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis* (BHL 63), PL 142, 981.

[31] *Mihi vivere Christus est et mori lucrum. VQF* 4, MGH SS 15, 721. *Phil* 1, 21.

[32] *VIG* 26, MGH SS 4, 344.

[33] *VA* 33, MPH 1, 221.

[34] *Vita Lamberti episcopi Traiectensis* 3, 36, PL 132, 659 (the tenth century *vita*: BHL 4683).

[35] *ne forsitan se perderet, qui alium lucrari non potuit. VQF* 2, MGH SS 15, 718.

disturbance of secular matters he could not merit any gaining of the souls."[36] Personal salvation plays a crucial role in evangelization as well, which is seen by Bruno as a quest for the remission of sins (*remissio peccatorum*), which are "washed off in baptism and completely extinguished in martyrdom."[37]

This counterposition of sin and salvation, as well as the establishment of martyrdom as the highest grade in the career of an ascetic, create the impression that Bruno regarded the active quest for martyrdom as complementary to God's grace in securing the eternal life. The question to be asked is: what factors worked upon the idea of martyrdom in order to shift it from the means of resistance against religious laxity or from the patient and joyful acceptance of violent death to the triumph of exclusivity it attained as the path to salvation? Adding this problem to the other manifestations of tenth-century spirituality, such as eremitism and reclusion, monastic reforms, clerical asceticism, or royal sanctity, is bound to increase our understanding of the causality that governed man in his passage through his earthly life and his efforts to achieve the eternal one.

In the first place, I would like to point out that we must begin our research in the ninth century, which brought martyrdom back into the focus of attention by means of two correlated processes: an increased traffic in relics and pagan incursions. Whereas the first answered to an augmented need for spiritual protection, the other contributed considerably to the creation of that need, and towards the end of the century monasteries had armed themselves with numerous relics from most various regions, inventions filling the gaps. Literary production became more abundant, probably as a result of great losses of collective memory because of the destruction of monastic written documents. History rewritten took its chance in being better and more significant than its previous versions and the *vitae* and *passiones* of saints who died centuries before and might have never existed were intended to prove the great value of the relics obtained or discovered. For example, if we look at Reichenau, the hagiography of which has been analysed by Theodor Klüppel, we can find the accounts of translations and miracles of Genesius, Aurelius, Valens, Iannuarius, Fortunata, Verena, Heraklius, Iustus, Maurus, Mark the Evangelist and some others. For all of these the hagiographers had to strain their imagination in order to provide the accounts. It is not incidental that the major martyrologies were composed precisely during this period: those of Florus of Lyon, Ado, Usuard, and Hrabanus Maurus.[38]

---

[36] *ut in amico secreto saltem se solum salvaret, qui propter inquietudinem secularium in illo monasterio nullum lucrum animarum facere meruit. VQF* 2, MGH SS 15, 718.

[37] *in baptismo lavantur, in martyrio vero omnia extinguuntur. VQF* 2, MGH SS 15, 720.

[38] For the rise of "historical martyrologies", see Jacques Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Age latin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978).

Such intense veneration of old Christian martyrs brought from faraway regions prepared the ground for creating one's own, local martyrs, who would be remembered from the previous or one's own generation and thus provide not only more data for the creation of the story, but certainly also more feeling of saintly protection for the community. The incursions of Saracens, Danes, Normans, and Hungarians thus indeed not only contributed to the need for the creation of local martyrs, but also helped to provide the martyrs themselves, and their fame was spread throughout Christian Europe.[39]

The tenth-century martyrs were immediately commemorated in hagiography. Besides the ones mentioned above, we should note as well Pelagius, a young Christian nobleman of Galicia who refused the advances of Caliph Abd-ar-Rahman, as well as conversion to Islam, and was thrown off the city walls in 925. His story must have been known throughout Christian Europe; certainly it was known at Gandersheim, where Hrosvitha recreated his *passio* in dramatic verse form.[40] The examples of extraordinary individuals and their heroic deeds should be considered among the strongest incentives for producing further martyrs, particularly in an age when the Christian church was recovering from a crisis and experiencing both material and spiritual revival. Emulation to the letter was, however, not required: as the real martyrdom was becoming more and more rare and at the same time the need for such accounts was increasing, a hagiographer himself could, so to say, place the crown on the head of any victim of violence. It can be observed that the post-Ottonian period demonstrates less preoccupation with martyrdom even in cases extremely similar to our two main examples. Benedict, a disciple of the hermit Zoerard-Andreas, was also murdered by robbers and approximately at the same time as the Five brothers. His *vita*, however, written by Maurus, the bishop of the recently founded diocese of Pécs in Hungary half a century afterwards, will accentuate his teacher's ascetic heroism, describing in details all the devices he used to mortify his body, but will spend no more than a sentence to inform about Benedict's death.[41]

Hermits murdered by robbers were far from being the only type of such martyrs. We can notice this tendency in other cases of individuals from most diverse backgrounds, and even in the poetic *passiones* of Hrosvitha, the variety of which encouraged an interpretation of her *opus* as presenting various aspects of humanity

---

[39] Particularly famous were the martyrs of Cordoba because of their number and the provocative heroism that led to their execution; but the fate of the martyrs of Pavia, Lindisfarne, of the abbot of Monte Cassino Bertharius, and other individual and group martyrdoms suffered during the pillaging of monasteries, would have been known as well.

[40] BHL 6617 and 6618.

[41] *Vita sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti auctore Mauro episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi*, BHL 452.

17

and its sinfulness purified by martyrdom.[42] The most extreme case is certainly that of Gongolf, a nobleman killed by his wife and her lover after he discovered their affair. While the wife ended up in madness, exposed to the ridicule of the crowd, Gongolf was indeed venerated as a martyr. Hrosvitha's metric *passio* describes at length his coronation in heaven, accompanied by the sound of angelic hymns, and the mournful funeral on earth, followed by the miracles and the rapid spread of his cult even outside the community.[43]

In addition, a number of political murders were interpreted in terms of martyrdom, and royal sanctity was often legitimised precisely in this way. This was the case not only when the king was murdered by pagans, as for example Edmund of East Anglia, but also in the case of political murder, like Wenceslas of Bohemia, who in the *vita* by Gumpold of Mantua, written during the Ottonian period, spends a night in fervent prayer and expectance of martyrdom and in the morning offers a weapon to his assassin himself.[44]

Finally, the tendency to accentuate martyrdom is visible in the re-writing of existing saints' lives. It has been observed by Ludwig Zoepf that the third *vita* of Liudger, re-written at the turn of the ninth to the tenth century, suddenly mentioned his longing for martyrdom,[45] which is especially interesting since this re-writing occurred only a short time after the previous one and in the same monastery of Werden, which dates the change of taste to this period just as the *Passio Meginradi* does. Also, Radbod's vita of the missionary Boniface accentuates his desire for martyrdom in several places, whereas in his previous *vita* there was no mention of it —a free interference of the hagiographer, since Boniface's letters leave no impression of his mission as a quest for martyrdom.[46]

Furthermore, martyrdom as desire appears in the lives of saints who never even suffered violent death, as in the cases of Lebuin, Berlendis, or Odilia.[47] Admittedly, the motif of the saint replacing his martyrdom through asceticism because of living in peaceful times appeared sporadically throughout the earlier periods. However, in the Ottonian hagiography it appears as if the saint needs to be

---

[42] Heinz Hofmann, "Profil der lateinischen Historiographie im zehnten Jahrhundert." *Il secolo di ferro: Mito e realtà del secolo X. Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 38, 19–25 aprile 1990* (Spoleto, 1991), 2: 892–3. Cf. E. Dorn, *Der sündige Heilige in der Legende des Mittelalters* (München, 1967).

[43] BHL 3328 and 3329. The mentioned passage is found in PL 137, 1092–4. Cf. Ludwig Zoepf, *Das Heiligen-Leben im 10. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1908), 127.

[44] *Vita Wenceslavi auctore Gumpoldo episcopo Mantuano* (BHL 8821) 19, MGH SS 4, 220.

[45] Zoepf, 126.

[46] Zoepf, 126–7.

[47] Zoepf, 129.

excused for not having suffered it, and this excuse appears to be the reason for the re-writing of a number of *vitae*.

Nevertheless, it should be observed that not all authors of the time were that quick to ascribe martyrdom to victims of Christian homicide, especially when compared to the "genuine" martyrdom. While telling of the murder of Adalbert's brothers, Bruno of Querfurt is careful to point out that their death was not as worthy as that of Adalbert himself, a fact which "everybody understands who knows that he died for God, whereas they fell for the world and defending their lives."[48]

We can draw the conclusion that the construction of martyrdom did not develop in an atmosphere of decay and desolation accompanying the collapse of Carolingian central political power and the ravaging of the pagans, even though it might be said that these events helped create a new awareness of human sinfulness and the consequent loss of favour with God, with which especially the expected forerunners of Christianity, monks and clerics, were burdened. Stability was needed to spur spiritual effort, to create the theology of salvation that would help construct martyrs in an elegant and vivid, heroic prose. The Ottonian dynasty, although by no means undisputed in its rights and deeds, apparently provided such an impression of stability. From the very beginning, it worked on its image as God's deputy on earth and the protector of the Church, which reached its peak during the second half of the tenth century and then lost its power with the growth of pre-Gregorian tendencies. The enlargment of the Empire under the Ottonian dynasty, combining conquest and missionary activity in what was perceived as the triumph of Christian faith, the Christ-centred representation of the imperial power, reflected in iconography, rituals, and ceremonies, the sanctification of a number of members of the imperial house, that is, the entire building up of the sacrality of the Ottonian dynasty obviously created the impression of an advance towards collective salvation. In spite of criticism of this or that aspect of rulership, the overall impression of the century, in particular contrasted to the previous one, is not only that of the deep piety of the religious elite, both monastic and clerical, but also that of order.

This is the spiritual atmosphere in which the preoccupation with salvation starts taking its accentuated form. The tendency of medieval men to view the trials of humanity as divine punishment for its sins is biblically based and contained in the core of Christian perception of the self and its role in the surrounding world, but this basic fact cannot be taken as a satisfactory explanation for the rise of the fear of one's insufficiency in attaining salvation, nor for the fact that increasingly broad layers of society devote themselves ever more intensely to increasing their chances.

---

[48] *mors sua quam praestantius foret... omnis intelligit, qui ipsum causa Dei, illos causa seculi et defendende vite cecidisse cognoscit. VA 22, MPH 1, 210.*

Despite the atmosphere of "permanent anxiety"[49]—and scholars are still debating on how much it might have been due to millenarian expectations—the eschatological perspective is certainly the principal concern shaping the character of piety. In my opinion, the theological discussions of the ninth century have often been undeservedly ignored in this discussion. I am speaking, of course, primarily of the predestination controversy, the outcome of which absolved the man, for good or for bad, of his double predestination and placed his salvation in his own hands, thus enlarging his chances for attaining eternal blessedness and damnation alike. Man was left to his own devices and at the same time made fully aware of his sinfullness and personal insufficiency in this strife for the eternal life. The anxiety resulting from this situation is best reflected in Bruno's words: "Other saints, even if they led the purest and most sweet-smelling of lives in the eyes of God, do not depart from this world secure, but suffer from infinite anxiousness around the final hour, not knowing whether their clean life will be considered worthy by the one in comparison with whom everything is unclean."[50]

The "final hour" thus becomes the breaking point, the moment of judgment, in which a real saint actually does become certain of his salvation as soon as he "closes for a moment his eyes, with which the men and the world were seen, and at once opens the interior ones, with which angels and God are seen,"[51] so that he is able to "speak with Christ face to face, like a man to his friend."[52] The successfully attained salvation of a saint gains an additional meaning with respect to a less perfect, ordinary Christian of whichever social order: as the soul of the latter, certainly unable to reach Christ at the moment of death, enters the intermediate state in which it must wait for the final judgment and in which it is too late to repair any damage it had done, the intercession of a saint can still make a difference. Eventually, personal salvation functions at the highest eschatological level of the salvation of the Christian Empire—one Empire under a single head—that is to be saved by means of its individuals as well as in its totality.

This discussion of the subtle factors forming the complex ideology of martyrdom revealed in the writings of the Ottonian cultural domain aimed at demonstrating its specificities with regard to previous sporadic occurrences in

---

[49] George Duby, *Adolescence de la chrétienté occidentale (980–1140)* (Genève: Éditions d'art Albert Skira, 1967), 113.

[50] *Ceteri sancti quamvis candidam et odoriferam vitam ante oculos Dei habuerint, de hoc seculo securi non recedunt, sed circa extremam horam infinita angustia laborant, nescientes utrum eorum munda vita ab eo iudicetur digna, cuius comparatione sunt inmunda omnia.* VA 31, MPH 1, 218.

[51] *claudere in momento oculos quibus homines videbantur et mundus, et aperire statim interiores ut videantur angeli et Deus...* VA 31, MPH 1, 219.

[52] *loquere facie ad faciem, quasi homo ad amicum suum.* VA 33. MPH 1, 221.

written sources. In particular, I sought to illuminate the process of the "construction" of martyrdom, the building-up of the hagiographic devices by means of which a homicide—in my examples performed by robbers on hermits—could be transformed into an outright testimony in blood. This process reached its pinnacle in the glorification of martyrdom in the writings of Bruno of Querfurt, who developed this theme on the basis of the contrast between sin and salvation, the former being the oppressive human condition, and the latter the main human goal, attainable through the uncompromising imitation of Christ in his passion. In this sense, those hermits, who started their way to the remission of sin through daily martyrdom of asceticism, and ended it by obtaining the crown of martyrdom in blood, can be seen as a vivid reflection of the Christianity of effort, a sign of the times of the Ottonian period.

Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphmim01@phd.ceu.hu

LEARNING IN THE NINTH-TENTH CENTURY
SLAVIA ORTHODOXA

Tanya Ivanova 📥

Introduction

Literacy is one of the important constituents of medieval culture within the frames of die Latin and the Orthodox Christendom. The transition from the ancient cultural model to the medieval one in both Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox manifestations has been viewed as both continuity and innovation in the sphere of literacy. The methods and goal of learning have been investigated and emphasized in the works of literary critics, anthropologists, and historians.

The problem of literacy and education in the newly Christianized states in die early Middle Ages still remains insufficiently studied, the main reason being die lack or scarcity of primary sources. In the Balkans the deficiency of primary sources to educational activity among the Southern Slavs has discouraged scholars from investigating this particular problem. In an attempt to change this situation, this contribution investigates die Bulgarian cultural practices related to learning and literacy.

The strategy adopted here is juxtaposing different kinds of sources: the evidence of hagiography, where the narrative reveals the function and role of learning in the Christian world, and the evidence of such phenomena as Greek and Glagolitic *abecedaria* graffito-inscriptions. Generally, die sources present, more implicitly dian explicitly, some learning practices in the form of memorizing, reading, teaching, and training. Beside the fact that the sources vary in ge'nre and function, they also provide textual and archeological data for the purpose of this historical-cultural analysis.

What I argue here is that learning was a significant part of the catechetical process and cannot be separated from it. In die particular historical and cultural situation of die Balkans in die nindi and die tenth century, the practice of learning letters and instructing in faith simultaneously was a way of adapting Christian culture quickly to the needs of the Slavs. Although it is difficult to say to what extent the Slavic educational activity differed from contemporary Byzantine practices, it is sure that the Slavs had the Greek example as a model and they were able eidier to accept or to challenge it.

Acquiring Literacy

The newly invented Slavic alphabet became the main device for acquiring literacy: the pragmatic and sacred character of this new graphic system found its way into the political life of Byzantium and Bulgaria. The evidence of learning the alphabet is found in both textual and archeological sources: alphabetical acrostics and *abecedaria* graffito-inscriptions from Ravna and Preslav, the north-eastern part of Bulgaria. The alphabetical acrostics, Glagolitic and Cyrillic, found in liturgical and non-liturgical tradition (as the *Alphabetical Prayer*, for example) can be examined in the light of functional literacy–serving as a mnemothechnical device for learning the alphabet. This is a hypothesis which takes into account the presence of acrostics in sixteenth and seventeenth-century primers, as well as the modern practice of learning the alphabet through alphabetical-like acrostics.

The two types of the Slavonic acrostics are letter- and word acrostics; the former provided techniques for memorizing the alphabet based on learning the elements (graphemes and phonemes) of the alphabet in a specific order. This particular use of the acrostics as teaching-aid resembles the characteristics of schedographia,[1] namely, memorizing words and forms alphabetically. The fact that medieval culture was to a great extent based on memorization,[2] also supports such an idea, although the actual procedure of using the acrostics is still unclear. The second dimension of the acrostics reflects its semantic function;[3] in the case of hymnography, it also tests the ability of the reader to find out the sequence of the letters of the alphabet. Using the full names of the letters is a feature of the Greek *abecedaria* from Ravna monastery.[4] The lack of the semantic dimension in this case is due to the peculiarities of the Greek alphabetical sequence where word-acrostics are impossible. In this re-

---

[1] About the popular method of *schedographia* which flourished in Byzantium, see the reference in Boris Uspenskij, *Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (XI–XVIII vv.)* (History of the Russian literary language, from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries) (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1988), 41; and in Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (München: C. H. Beck Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897), 590–3, who gives a brief description of this method together with source quotations. The main texts used as a basis for this method are prayers, hymns as well as some works from "Profanautoren" as Philostratos and Agapetos.

[2] Cf. M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge–New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[3] Roland Marti, "Texte mit Alphabet-Akrostichon in der kirchenslavische Tradition," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 42.2 (1997), 129, 133; and Jolanta Darčevska, "Starinnye slavjanskie azbuki i bukvari: k voprosu o edinoj istorii drevneslavjanskago literaturnago jazyka v areale 'greko-slavjanskago mira'" (Old Slavonic alphabets and primers: concerning the question of common history of Old Slavonic literary language in the "Greek-Slavonic world"), *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie* 4 (1979), 62.

[4] Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Dvuezični nadpisi i abezedari ot starobălgarskija manastir do s. Ravna, Varnenski okrăg" (Bilingual inscriptions and abecedars from the Old Bulgarian monastery near Ravna, the Varna area), *Bulletin du Musée National de Varna* 20 (1984): 65–83.

spect, the *abecedaria* differ from the Slavonic word-type acrostics where the letters of the alphabet organize a text with its own meaning and message.[5]

Learning by heart finds its way also into the early liturgical practice of the Bulgarians. The archeological material from Preslav, a writing tablet with a bilingual text of morning and evening προκείμενα and instructions for their use during certain days of the week, combines writing and perhaps also translation exercises with liturgical training.[6]

Psalms and liturgical information for their use were also discovered among the Ravna findings: a bilingual evening προκείμενον from Psalm 53 along with the name of ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΡΟΜΗΣ and a Greek text derived from Psalm 144.[7] If Popkonstantinov's hypothesis that "the scribe must have written this text from memory and not by dictation"[8] is considered plausible, then the practice of writing verses from the Psalter on tablets appears to be common with the Latin West. There it probably originated in the monastic milieu and has later found its way also into schools and private teaching.

Theodore the Studite's remarks on writing with *styla* on wax tablets may be mentioned as another example of learning practice in the Orthodox world.[9] However, there is no textual evidence in Bulgaria which presents instructions of how to learn in such an explicit form. Nevertheless, it has been assumed on the basis of such archeological finds as *styla* that the method of *schedographia* was used in Bulgarian educational practice.[10] One thing this hypothesis does not take into account is the different purposes of *schedographia* as a technique, in terms of writing ἐπιμερισμοί, thoroughly analyzing a text, or just practising orthography.

An interesting source that deals with the difficult process of learning the alphabet is an apocryphal incantation: егда огун кто книга и не може пръемати (when somebody is learning to read and has difficulties).[11] As "low-brow literature"

---

[5] The magic and sacred functions of the alphabet is another important issue to be discussed but it is not of relevance for this topic.

[6] Stojan Petrov and Xristo Kodov, *Starobălgarski muzikalni pametnici* (Old Bulgarian musical records) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1976), 27.

[7] See Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Za dva pametnika ot 9–10 vek s psaltirni tekstove ot Ravna" (About two inscriptions with Psalter texts from the ninth–tenth centuries from Ravna), in *Prinosi kăm bălgarskata arxeologija*, vol.1 (Sofia: Arges, 1992), 113–9.

[8] As support for this opinion, he considers some slight differences in the Greek text in comparison with the text of the Septuagint: Popkonstantinov, "Za dva pametnika," 117. The practice of dictating texts was popular both in the West and in the East as a teaching method and writing practice.

[9] Pavel Georgiev, "Starobălgarski pisala ot Pliska i Preslav" (Old Bulgarian *styla* from Pliska and Preslav), *Arxeologija* 3 (1980): 43–50.

[10] This is a hypothesis of Georgiev, "Starobălgarski pisala," 48.

[11] The text has been published by Anisava Miltenova, "Sbornik săs smeseno sădăržanie, delo na Ertropolskija knižovnik jeromonax Daniil" (Miscellany of the monk Daniil from Etropole), *Starobălgarska literatura* 9

this text interprets freely the motif of learning through devouring an object which in this case appears to be an apple. This motif has its explicit Biblical models in the Revelation of John (10:8–11) where it is connected with the idea of the gift of prophesy[12] and in the Book of Ezekiel (2:8–10; 3:1–3), in the Psalter (119:103), and in the Book of Jeremiah (15:16). The motif of devouring a book, attested in the Byzantine tradition, passed into Slavonic literature, especially to the *apocrypha*, where it must have been contaminated by old pagan beliefs.[13] This text elucidates a perception of and proposes a technology for learning which makes it a rare instance in Slavic written tradition. The didactic purpose of the text is clearly disclosed in its content and structure although the actual use of the manuscript as a compendium of various texts remains unknown.

The textual and epigraphical material mentioned so far gives a glance at the very first stage of the process of education–learning the alphabet. An instrument of writing and reading, the Slavonic alphabet had something which the Greek alphabet lacked: its spiritual dimension as a way of salvation. This two-dimensional pattern of learning found its expression in the usage of the Psalter, the Gospel, and the Horologion in the monastic learning practice and everyday life. What gives additional support to this assumption is the role of the monastic *Typika* in the regulation of the monks' life. The *Typikon* of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople is a perfect example of such monastic pedagogics in regard to the reading schedule and the habits of the monks. Chapters 28 and 36 provide data about the communal reading activity while chapters 26 and 33 give some indications of the private readings of the monks. There are some references in the Greek Life of Nicholas Studite about the learning curriculum obligatory for the monks: it included grammar (learning how to write correctly and how to read well), philosophical exercises, and learning by heart of the sayings of Church Fathers in order to argue with the heretics.[14]

(1986): 114–25, who thinks that this work most probably was aimed to instruct its readers in the Christian morality, 122. Although the miscellany is very late, this text is dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries, as the author kindly pointed out to me in a letter.

[12] I am grateful to Prof. Ralph Cleminson who shared this idea with me. About the biblical genealogy of this motif, see *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 610. About Byzantine counterparts, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova and Anisava Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata knižnina văv Vizantija i v srednovekovna Bălgarija* (Historical-apocalyptical literature in Byzantium and medieval Bulgaria) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski," 1996), 314–5.

[13] Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata*, 314.

[14] Zinaida Samodurova, "K voprosu o suščestvovanii monastyrskix škol v Vizantii VIII–XII vv." (On the questions of existence of monastic schools in Byzantium in the eighth-twelfth centuries), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 56 (1995), 208.

Some scholars assume that the Stoudios *Typikon* was in use in the Bulgarian monasteries.[15] Even though there are not enough data available to prove this hypothesis, it is likely that this *Typikon* was authoritative for most of the Byzantine monasteries and became a model for their rules. The *Typikon* of Gregorios Pakourianos is the only example of monastic *Typika* found on Bulgarian territory.[16] The remarks in chapter 31 about the education of young boys in the monastery of St Nicholas refer to Greek and Georgian monks and follow in general the model of the Studite *Typikon*. It is said that the young boys (whose number should always be six) must be brought up and instructed in the wisdom of the Holy Scripture by an old man, usually one of the priests.[17] If they were good in learning when they reached the appropriate age, they were compelled to become priests. Those who were not worthy of the priesthood were expelled.[18]

The passage does not tell anything about the particular curriculum used in the educational process[19] and about the way this process was carried out. One hypothesis could be that the books for instruction were well known and there was no need to refer to them in this particular document. Another plausible idea is to assume the implementation of the Byzantine rules in Bačkovo monastery which brings up once again the evidence of the Studite curriculum. The purpose of the training, however, is clear—it was aimed to prepare priests to meet the requirements of the monastery. The Life of Nicholas Studite points out to a similar type of school with the same purpose outside the walls of the Studite monastery which suggests that it must have been a common practice at this time in Byzantium. In the end, it is necessary to emphasize that the available sources do not allow a discussion about the educational

---

[15] Cf. the old but still valuable edition and commentary of the *Testament of Theodore The Studite* and the *Rule* of the monastery compiled by Ivan Gošev, ed., "Pravilata na Studijskija manastir: uvod, tekst, razsăždenija" (The Rules of the Stoudios monastery: introduction, text, and commentary), *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet, Bogoslovski fakultet* 6 (1939/40): 1–74, where comparing the text of the Slavonic *Euchologium Sinaiticum* and the text of the Stoudios *Typikon*, he makes comments about the use of this *Typikon* in the Bulgarian monasteries.

[16] This is the *Typikon* of Bačkovo monastery (near present-day Plovdiv), founded by the Byzantine commander of Georgian origin, Georgios Pakourianos, in 1083. The *Typikon* was written in 1083 in Greek, Armenian, and Georgian. Although until the thirteenth century the monastery was mostly inhabited by Georgian monks, the *Typikon* can serve as a source of information about the level of monastic literacy on the Bulgarian territory at this time.

[17] The abbot of the monastery in the West had the same function, cf. John D. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages: 1000–1300* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1971), 35.

[18] Cf. the text of the *Typikon* at the site of Dumbarton Oaks, http://www.doaks.org/typ010.pdf.

[19] It might be assumed that the curriculum studied follows the one established by the Canons of the Church. Another source of data about teaching material is the *Legenda Bulgarica*: τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν εὐκοσμίαν καὶ ὅσα τῶν Ψαλμφδιῶν τε καὶ εὐχῶν ὑφηγούμενος, Alexander Milev, *Grăckite žitija na Kliment Oxridski. Uvod, tekst i objasnitelni beležki* (The Greek Vitae of Clement of Oxrid: introduction, texts, and commentaries) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1966), 130.

practice in Slavia Orthodoxa in modern terms. For this initial period of establishment of the Christian institutions, education was rather an instruction in Christian faith than secular schooling after classical models.

Enlightenment Through Understanding:
The Example of Slavonic Grammatical Works

The new graphic and semantic system—the Slavonic Written Word—described reality and God through the new concepts of enlightenment and salvation. In this respect, the practice of translation implied among the Slavs a linguistic and cultural shift from the traditions of the Greek model to another one with initially different social and spiritual dimensions. The level of understanding of Greek by Slavs is obscure; still, the possible language situation in the ninth and the tenth century can be described as follows:

1. a state of digraphia which arose from the use of the Greek graphic system in the process of creation of the Cyrillic alphabet. It is very likely that those people who knew the Greek alphabet did not know the Greek language. In other words, they had not reached the next level of literacy—that of using the written language.

2. a relationship between Greek and Old Church Slavonic as coexistence and later on, as a shift from one mental, grammatical, and graphic model to another[20];

3. "*dignitas,*" the prestige of the new literary language relying on the use of a writing system completely new for both Bulgars and Slavs.[21] The question is whether Greek suddenly disappeared from all spheres of Bulgarian life after the Preslav Council in 893, or it was a gradual process due to the increasing role of more comprehensive and more functional Church Slavonic.[22]

A model of intellectual activity of the Slavs regarding the question of the two alphabets is found in the treatise "О пислиенехъ" (On the Letters) by Černorizec Xrabr where the theory of the creation of the Slavonic alphabet is expressed in a clearly ideological way, particularly focusing on the superiority of the Slavonic letters over the Greek ones. Thus the use of an act with non-political connotations, i.e. the creation of the alphabet for the purposes of a political ideology was

---

[20] The use of Greek and Latin *formulae* in Cyrillic inscriptions has been examined in the book of Stefan Smjadovski, *Bălgarska kirilska epigrafika 9–15 vek* (Bulgarian Cyrillic epigraphy: ninth to fifteenth centuries) (Sofia: Studia Classica, 1993), 39–81.

[21] Cf. Fr. Thomson, "SS. Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilinguism: A Contribution to the Study of Patristic and Medieval Theories of Sacred Languages," *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992), 75.

[22] The opinion of Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Razprostranenie na starobălgarskata pismenost prez 9–11 vek po epigrafski danni" (The spread of Old Bulgarian writing in the ninth-eleventh centuries according to the epigraphic data), *Starobălgarska literatura* 17 (1985), 65–7, is that in the administrative sphere the process of replacing Greek with Old Church Slavonic was faster than in the cultural one due to the need of translations of liturgical and other books.

supported by the Bulgarian rulers and institutionalized after the conversion of the Bulgarians in 864. Xrabr's arguments and method clearly show his intention to promote a theory of the development of Slavic literacy in contrast to the Greek one, with two main points: the creation of the alphabet and the translation of the Holy Scripture.[23] Pursuing this strategy, he constructed his ideas placing them in a certain historical[24] and biblical paradigm,[25] since this way the structure of the treatise supported his intentions.

An interesting example of thematic correspondence with this model is an apocryphal narrative from the eleventh century entitled Слово Кирила философа како оув'кри Боугаре (Cyril the Philosopher's Narrative on How He Baptized the Bulgarians), the passage in question being: И видѣхъ голꙋба глаг͠лющи, въ оустѣˣ ношаше ꙁборькь сьчици скокине соупоуль свеꙁаноу, и врьже мнѣ на крило, и прѣꙋтоˣ ихъ, и обрѣтоˣ всехь л͞в и вложихь иˣ въ паꙁоухоу, несоˣ митрополитꙋ. Тогда ѡни въ тело мое съкрише се, и аꙁъ истревихъ гръцки еꙁикь.[26] It should not be an over-interpretation to explain this passage in terms of competition between the Slavonic and the Greek languages,[27] but unlike Xrabr's treatise, the author of the anonymous narrative does not show high literary and historical competence in this field.

The treatise *"O Pismenex,"* on the other hand, draws on such historical data as the *scholia* (commentaries) to the grammars of Dionysius Thrax and Pseudo-Theodosius, Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Graecarum affectionum curatio* and his commentary on the Bible, the Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν of Epiphanius of Cyprus, Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia ecclesiastica,* Clement of Rome's *Recognitiones,* and George the Monk's *Chronica.*[28] Enumerating various Hebrew and Greek

---

[23] This theory and the fact that this treatise can be found in about 100 copies (Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian) from the fourteenth up to the nineteenth century explains its importance for the needs of the Slavs for historical and cultural self-understanding and for modeling the image of the people saved through the Divine Word.

[24] See Giorgio Ziffer, "Zur Komposition des Traktats 'Über die Buchstaben' des Mönchs Chrabr," *Die Welt der Slawen* 58 (1995), 69.

[25] The biblical quotations are from the Psalter 116:1, Luke 1:77, 18:27, and 24:45; Paul's Epistles to 2 Tim 2:7, and 1 John 5:20.

[26] "And I saw a pigeon which was carrying a bundle of fig sticks, bound twice. And it threw them in my lap and I read them and found out that they were 32. I slipped them into my bosom and brought them to the metropolitan. Then they hid themselves in my body and I purged the Greek," Jordan Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini iz Makedonija* (Old Bulgarian literary monuments from Macedonia) (Sofia: Dăržavna pečatnica, 1931), 282–3.

[27] The text of the passage is quite ambiguous. I am using the edition of Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini* where he uses the Tikveški copy from the end of the fifteenth century as a basis.

[28] For the study of the possible Greek sources of the treatise see Vatroslav Jagić, *Codex slovenicus rerum grammaticarum* (Saint Petersburg and Berlin, 1896) and chapter 5 of Kuju Kuev, *Černorizec Xrabr* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1967). The information drawn from these Greek sources concerns the origin of the Greek alphabet and the names of its creators, the translations of the Old Testament in Greek (those of the Septuagint,

cultural achievements, these works were likely to have been utilized in the Byzantine school curriculum.[29]

The structure of the treatise *"O Pismenex"* implicitly resembles some of the formal aspects of the Greek *scholia* (commentaries) it uses. Therefore, it can be argued that its initial variant must have been also in the form of *scholia* to a grammatical work, an idea which takes into account the presence of certain edifying and hermeneutic elements in the treatise. This assumption can be supported by the fact that the treatise of Xrabr was included to a great extent in the East Slavonic Primers of a later epoch, from the sixteenth century onwards. In addition, the structure of the treatise, namely, the dialectical form of thesis and antithesis, parallels to a certain extent a question-and-answer form of the teaching discourse used in classical education.

An estimation of this particular method of teaching occurs in an apocryphal work from the eleventh–twelfth century, entitled "A Discourse Which Has Been Derived From the Book Of Genesis: The Words Of Christ, How God Created Everything." This work deals with questions about the origin of literacy and books and obviously resembles the ideological paradigm of Xrabr's treatise as well as its structure.[30] In the apocryphal text the learning experience is described as less useful than asking questions. The latter one parallels the public dialogues between teacher and students in Western scholastic education:

'Tell me what is better—to ask or to learn?'

'The one who learns, is like a flint which stays cold. When you hit it at a stone, it gives sparks, and it is compelled to work. But if you do not force it (the flint) to work, it does not learn. That's why it is better to ask (than to learn).'[31]

The application of this genre in the Latin and the Byzantine teaching tradition reveals its function as an important part of the educational practice whenever some

---

and those of Aquila and Symmachos), the question about the oldest language, and the origin of the different arts.

[29] Kuev, *Cernorizec Xrabr*, 71. The same hypothesis is raised by N. Skalabalanović, "Vizantijskaja nauka i školy v XI veke" (Byzantine scholarship and schools in the eleventh century), *Xristijanskoe čtenie*, 5–6 (1884), 745.

[30] The quotations are respectively, "To whom did God send first literacy?" "To Adam's son."; "Who invented the Latin book?" "Hunail, Umam, and Ispul"; "Who invented the Greek book" "Mercurius"; "Who invented the Bulgarian book?" "Cyril the Philosopher." This example shows a creation of a paradigm of known and mythical names. There the name of the Slavonic apostle St. Cyril was not simply placed as an end of this sequence but the epithet "Philosopher" was added which on the one hand refers to his educational background, and on the other hand praises him as worthy of being the inventor of the Bulgarian alphabet.

[31] See the entire text in modern Bulgarian translation in Anisava Miltenova, ed., *Starobălgarska literatura* (Old Bulgarian literature), vol. 5 (Sofia: Bălgarski pisatel, 1992), 334–50.

of the seven liberal arts had to be explained in a simple way.[32] In Byzantium this particular method of teaching grammar has been suggested by John Tzetzes in the twelfth century to be practiced at the same time as the *Schulkatechismen*.[33]

The Slavonic grammatical works do not share the characteristics of the Greek and Latin grammatical treatises.[34] The example of Xrabr's work mostly illustrates the importance of the creation of the alphabet as an instrument of learning and enlightenment which can be considered a typical trait of this early stage of Slavonic literacy when no need for a pure grammatical description of the language was recorded. In light of such thoughts the grammatical treatises of *Slavia Orthodoxa* from the period up to the fourteenth century can tentatively be defined as that of "pseudo"-grammatical treatises as far as the Greek and the Latin grammatical tradition is taken as a reference point.

Another Slavonic grammatical work, the Prologue of John the Exarch to the translation of John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa*, makes use of the lexeme разоумъ but not in a sense of "understanding": Да никакоже, братьга, не захираите, аще къде wбрaщете не истыи гла, небонъ разоумъ емоу ести положенъ тоджемоцьнъ (Therefore, brothers, do not be dainty about finding somewhere not the same word, because the same meaning (разоумъ) has been put in it).[35] The use of разоумъ here designates a different meaning and exhibits another approach to the Written Word not present in Xrabr's treatise, namely the creation of a translation theory not based on the "word-for-word" rendering, but on "meaning" (разоумъ). The focal point in this theory is that since each word has different connotations, the translators could not rely only on its literal meaning. Such a theory was not an invention of John the Exarch, although he applied it for the first time to Old Church Slavonic; rather, it had been explored much earlier in the works of two Antiochian

---

[32] Cf. the text of one such example in the form of a dialogue on grammar in V.G.Bezrogova and O.I. Var'jaš, eds., *Antologija pedagogičeskoj mysli xristijanskogo srednovekov'ja* (Anthology of the educational ideas of the Christian Middle Ages) (Moscow: Aspekt Press, 1994), 366 ff.

[33] See Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 581.

[34] The grammars of Donatus are not attested in South Slavonic milieu, they were translated in Russia in the sixteenth century, as well as in the *Slavia Romana*, also in the sixteenth century, see Dean Worth, *The Origins of Russian Grammar: Notes on the State of Russian Philology Before the Advent of Printed Grammars* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1983); and Sylvie Archaimbault, "Tradicija Donata i grammatiki slavjanskix jazykov" (The tradition of Donatus and the Slavonic grammars), *Revue des Études Slaves* 1 (1998): 17–25.

[35] The text is quoted after the critical edition of Прологъ сътворенъ иwаноль прехвутерьль ексархоль бъладрьсколь (A Prologue to John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa*). In *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus* "Εκθεσις ἀκριβῆς τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως *in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. Linda Sadnik, (Wiesbaden, 1967), 19–20.

scholars, Theodore, the bishop of Mopsuestia, and Diodorus of Tarsus.[36] There is a similar reference in one of the Epistles of St. Basil,[37] asserting that a word-for-word translation of Holy Scripture is not substantial and that a good translation can denote the signifier without necessarily rendering the literal meaning of the Jewish word. A particular passage of Pseudo-Dyonisius the Areopagite which was translated by John the Exarch was also viewed as authoritative on this topic.[38] It is certain that Basil's and Dionysius' works were known by the bookmen from the Preslav circle,[39] and by using them, the Slavonic *litterati* recognized not just a simple theory of translation but one at the center of which is the concept of "understanding the meaning." This theory can also be found in a grammatical fragment, the Macedonian Cyrillic Folium: "не во сжть нъі на потрѣбѫ глаголи ти и словеса нь разоумь and also разоума сѫ не отьпоуштажште иньмь глагольмь положихъмь.[40] The fact that such a theory of translation exists in this early period indicates a certain level of trained (qualified) clergy willing to deal with semantics of the word.

The creation of this theory can be perceived as a natural continuation of the first stage of the Slavonic literacy—the invention of the alphabet. Its appearance in the educational discourse (in the sense of "enlightenment") articulates its purpose, namely, the establishment of a corpus of writings for the newly enlightened people, the Slavs. This corpus, apart from the purely liturgical works, includes translations of various genres and functions:

1. Monastic (edifying) works: *Sacra Parallela, Pandecta scripturae sacrae Antiochii Monachi*, John Climacus' *Scala Paradisi, Historia monachorum cum excerptis e Historia Lausiaca, Apophthegmata patrum*, John Moschos' *Pratum*

---

[36] According to them, "a word has a semantic field difficult to be reproduced by a single word in another language," see Nigel Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London-Cambridge, MA: Gerald Duckworth &Co., 1996), 30.

[37] It is the First Epistle to Bishop Amphilochius in 374, Canon 15, see it in Ivan Stefanov, ed., *Pravila na Svetata Pravoslavna cărkva* (Canons of the Holy Orthodox Church) (Sofia: T.T. Dragiev i s-ie, 1930), 27.

[38] See the passage from Pseudo-Dionysius in the *Prologue* of Exarch: Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἄλογον, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ σκαιὸν τὸ μὴ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σκοποῦ προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς λέξεσι, Sadnik, *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus*, 21.

[39] This circle is thought to be formed in the court of Tsar Symeon in Preslav in the tenth century and to be the promoter of Preslav literary school.

[40] Because we do not need the mere words but the meaning," and "in order not to give up the meaning, we put another word." The problems of dating and attribution of the Macedonian Cyrillic Folium are discussed by Ivan Dobrev, "Sădărža li Makedonskijat kirilski list otkas ot proizvedenie na Konstantin Filosof-Kiril za prevodačeskoto izkustvo?" (Does the Macedonian Cyrillic folium contain a part of a work of Constantine the Philosopher-Cyril about the art of translation?), *Starobălgarska literatura* 9 (1981): 20–32, where the author lists some opinions about the authorship of the text. I am using the text which was edited and commented upon by Angelina Minčeva, *Starobălgarski kirilski otkăsleci* (Old Bulgarian Cyrillic fragments) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1978), 77–81.

spirituale, the *Protopaterikon Scaligeri*, Ephraim the Syrian's *Parainesis*, as well as works of Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Isaac of Antioch, Theodore Studite;

2. Historical works: Nichephorus' *Breviarium*, George Syncellus' and George the Monk's *Chronica*;
3. *Florilegia*: with the famous examples of the *Izborniki* of 1073 and of 1076;
4. Pseudo-scientific works: Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Topographia christiana*, the *Physiologos*, the *Hexaemeron*, Pseudo-Caesarius' *Dialogi*, a treatise on logic by Theodore of Rhaithou, an astrological treatise about the months, attributed to John of Damascus.[41] It is very plausible that these works were used for edification and as examples of Christian versus classical (pagan) science;
5. Legal texts: *Nomocanon*, *Lex iudicialis de laicis*.

Apparently, the rich Christian culture was acquired not through the contemporary Byzantine works but through those of the patristic period. The translations and literary culture of the South Slavs at this time were connected with the absorption of Christianity in all its aspects simultaneously which had mainly edifying purposes. An indication for these are the translations and compilations from the works of Early Church Fathers (fourth to sixth centuries) not in their original image, but adapted and in the form of excerpts which were easier for understanding and memorization.[42] Certainly, one has to take into account the role of the *Typikon* that necessitated the use of certain readings on a certain date.[43]

The institutionalization and justification of the Slavonic translation activity was accomplished by Tsar Symeon's commission of the *Izbornik* of 1073: повелѣ мнѣ прѣлѣкноу сътворити рѣчи, ннако наеѣдѧѫште тождьство разоумѧ єго. (commanded me to make the change of the language while preserving in another way the identity of his thoughts).[44]

---

[41] These treatises are included in the *Izbornik* of 1073. Their function for the Slavonic literacy is described by Ihor Ševčenko, "Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," *Slavonic and East European Review* 59 (1981), 333: "They gave the tenth-century Bulgarian reader access to introductory material on Aristotelian philosophy and rudimentary astronomy."

[42] A.P.Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 179.

[43] See Francis Thomson, "Continuinity of Development of the Bulgarian Culture during the Period of the Byzantine Hegemony and the Slavonic Translations of Works by the Three Cappadocian Fathers," in *Meždunaroden simpozium 1100 godini ot blaženata končina na sv. Metodij*, 140–153 (Sofia: Sinodalno izdatelstvo, 1989), 143. Also Elena Koceva, "Cerkovnye ustavy i izučenie slavjanskye rukopisej X–XIV v." (The Church *typika* and the study of the Slavonic manuscripts from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries), *Polata knigopis'naja* 13 (1985): 44–50.

[44] The translation follows Francis Thomson, "The Symeonic Florilegium—Problems of Its Origin, Content, Textology and Edition, together with an English Translation of the Eulogy of Tsar Symeon" *Paleobulgarica*

TANYA IVANOVA

Apparently, there were certain people, mainly in the court and among the higher clergy in the monasteries, who did have the ability to read and understand highly theological works and most probably they would have read them in Greek instead of translating them. However, a corpus of translations did exist, adjusted to the needs of a provincial scriptorium, the main purpose of this corpus being most likely to edify the faithful and to open their eyes to the Word of God.

Mastering the Word

The growth in knowledge and faith in the South Slavic culture can be aptly perceived through two concepts overt in the early Church Slavonic literature. The concepts of ꙁнаниѥ (γνῶσις) and мждростъ (φρόνημα, φρόνησις, σοφία) used in one and the same semantic register reveal the yearning for knowledge of the Divine Will. The relationship of faith and knowledge is presented in a quite similar way in the writings of St. Augustine where mastering the meaning of the Scripture as the repository of Christian wisdom was viewed as based on faith and the love of God.[45]

The particular case of *catechumens* instructed in Christian faith and morality through proper examples from the books illustrates a relationship between growing in faith and learning.[46] The authority to regulate this practice was the Orthodox Church whose Canons instructed all bishops to teach the principles of piety through the selection of arguments for the Truth from the Holy Scripture.[47] Teaching through preaching[48] must have been the appropriate and easy way to educate the "illiterate" and the "ignorant" in the Christian faith. The Orthodox Church credited the clergy with teaching duties since these duties originated from the very nature of priesthood.[49] In this respect, the examples from the Latin West point also to the

practice of teaching the alphabet and the Christian virtues simultaneously in the monastic, episcopal, and parish schools.[50]

The semantic field of the word "оуунтель" (teacher) in Old Church Slavonic renders in general that of the Greek word διδάσκαλος but with one additional designation. In the Slavic world immediately after the creation of the alphabet the word "оуунтель" became a *topos* reserved predominantly for Cyril and Methodius and their apostolic activity.[51] Therefore, it reflected both the spirituality (апостольство) and the pragmatics of their educational activity (оуунтельство) among the Slavs. Later on, the word was applied to the semantics of the images of St. Clement and St. Naum as disciples of Cyril and Methodius and as teachers themselves.

St. Clement's teaching activity along with his other skills are at the center of the narrative in his *Vita*: γράφων καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν μαθημάτων τι ὑφηγούμενος (he was writing and teaching the children some knowledge).[52] He was called a "new Paul for the new Corinthians—the Bulgarians,"[53] thus, reactualizing the apostolic *ideologema* of teaching and preaching God's Word. Part of his teaching activity was to find disciples to whom to transmit his knowledge and whom to prepare as his successors: καθ᾽ ἑκάστην δὲ ἐνορίαν τριακοσίοις μαθηταῖς εὐθυνεῖτο (he was helped in each enorios by 300 pupils).[54] The method of teaching Clement undertook probably implied less advanced students to be taught by more advanced,[55] as it was also a practice in Byzantium.[56] Such a method could be assumed also on the basis of the reported number of students (3500) under St. Clement's supervision, Ἔχων δὲ τινας ἐκλελεγμένους τῶν ἄλλων ... εἰς τρισχιλίους γὰρ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἠριθμοῦντο (He had in each enorios (some) chosen people and they were not few, their number was 3500),[57] although some scholars consider this number a *topos*.

---

[50] Robert E. Lerner, "Literacy and Learning," in *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen, (Boston and Atlanta: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974),175.

[51] Cf. the text of the *Alphabetical Prayer, Eulogy* for Saint Cyril by Clement of Oxrid, etc.

[52] The text has been edited and commented upon by Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 126.

[53] Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 133.

[54] Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 126.

[55] The division of the students according to their skills and diligence is clear also in the passage ποιοῦνται δὲ σπουδὴν τοῖς ὀξυτέροις τῶν μαθητῶν παραδοῦναι τὰ θεῖα μαθήματα (and they (SS. Cyril and Methodius) took care of transmitting the Divine knowledge to the more skillful of their students) which refers to Cyril and Methodius' teaching activity, see Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 80.

[56] Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin: notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture: Byzance des origines au Xᵉ siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971), 291, gives as an example the teaching practice of an anonymous Byzantine teacher from the tenth century. In the West there were also many cases like this, see Riché, *Education and Culture*, 476.

[57] Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 126.

The teaching activity of Clement and Naum could be perceived as training in primary literacy together with instructing in Christian faith through sermons and moral examples. However, it is too much to presume here a "large monastic school which was developed into a kind of university center, the first educational institution of such kind in the Balkans,"[58] assuming this only on the basis of few textual and archeological data. Certainly, the activity of Clement and Naum was institutionalized by the cultural policy of Prince Boris and Tsar Symeon but it is hard to define what was the exact scope of this activity and whether it fulfilled the intentions of its initiators.

The preaching activity of the new Slavic apostles also required the creation of rhetorical discourses, homilies, and sermons, which had the task to express the meaning of the Scriptures without oversimplification and still comprehensible for the new Christians. Certain rhetorical skills, therefore, must have been required in order to translate well and to compose original sermons in a new language. The rhetorical skills and knowledge must have been gained primarily from the examples of the Church Fathers' homiletic literature because rhetoric as a part of the *trivium* was not known in the Slavic world either in this early epoch or later. The only example concerning direct instructions in rhetoric is the Slavonic translation of the treatise of the Byzantine teacher George Choeroboscus "О ѡбраꙁѣхъ" (On the tropes).[59] This work contains a list of tropes and figures, together with examples for each of them taken from Homer, the Psalter, and the Gospels. One hypothesis is that it had probably been included in the original Greek copy of the miscellany which the Slavonic translator must have had as a prototype.[60] If we accept the opinion that the *Izbornik* is an entire translation from a Greek miscellany, the conclusion then will be that the Slavonic translator in all likelihood translated everything which was included in this miscellany.[61] If not, then why had this particular treatise been chosen for translation?[62]

---

[58] This is a suggestion of G. Pop-Atanasov, I. Velev, and M. Jakimovska-Tošić, *Skriptorski centri vo srednovekovna Makedonija* (Scriptorial centres in medieval Macedonia) (Skopje: Filosofski fakultet, 1997), 287. The same point of view is supported by Georgi Čavrăkov, *Središta na bălgarskata knižovnost: 9–18 vek* (Centres of Bulgarian book learning: ninth to eighteenth centuries) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1987), 34.

[59] The text is edited by Angelina Minčeva and Rumjana Pavlova, *Simeonov sbornik: po Svetoslavovija prepis ot 1073* (Tsar Symeon Florilegium following the Svjatoslavov copy from 1073), vol. 1 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1991), 668–74. A critique of some of the papers in this edition is the article of Thomson, "The Symeonic Florilegium," 37–53.

[60] There is a debate whether this *florilegium* was possibly translated from one complete Greek *florilegium* or it was a compilation on Bulgarian soil according to the needs of the Preslav *litterati*. For the first point of view see Ihor Ševčenko's article, "Pseudo-Scientific Literature," especially 332. The second opinion is held by Francis Thomson in the article "The Symeonic Florilegium."

[61] Elena Velkovska, "Traktatăt na Georgi Xirovosk *Za tropite,* negovijat slavjanski prevod i vizantijskata ritoričeska tradicija" (The treatise of George Choeroboscus Περὶ τρόπων, its translation into Slavonic, and

What is still unclear is the function of this treatise in the Slavonic milieu. Its content and structure reveal certain educational and edifying purposes which correspond with the utilitarian character of learning in early Slavia Orthodoxa when the "curriculum" was subordinated to the correct understanding of Holy Writ.[63] However, this treatise shows signs of a higher literary culture, which were omitted by the Slavonic translator.

Почитаньѥ и послоушаниѥ книжьноѥ (Reading and listening to the Book)

Apparently, the edifying works were of great importance for the new Christians, the Bulgarians, and especially for the monastic communities where the spiritual life required extensive practice. One way of acquiring this was reading, both privately and collectively. The presence of the motif of "reading books" in certain exhortations on reading, most of them compiled in Slavonic communities, unveils its role for educating the "illiterate" in Christian virtues and for telling where to look for these virtues.

The earliest attested discourses on reading are of parainetic genre, compiled from Biblical and patristic examples. The moral instructions are spirited by the use of Psalter verses and authorized by the names of the Church Fathers. Beside their value as catechetical means these instructions provide data for the literary communication in a society where knowledge of books meant "salvation."[64] The relationships of the three discourses on reading regard their origin, as well as their

---

the Byzantine rhetorical tradition), *Starobălgarska literatura* 19 (1985), 83. However, another Bulgarian scholar, Ivan Bujukliev, does not agree with such an opinion because "the availability of a small number of copies of this text is not a reason for claiming such an attitude by the Slavonic translator"; critical commentary and analyses of the quality of the translation are provided in the chapter about Choeroboscus' treatise in Ivan Bujukliev, "Bălgarskijat prevod na Περὶ τρόπων (O obrazjax) ot Georgi Xirovosk" (The Bulgarian translation of George Choeroboscus' Περὶ τρόπων), in his book *Ezikovata kultura na bălgarskoto Srednovekovie* (The linguistic culture of the Bulgarian Middle Ages) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 1992).

[62] The opinion of Elena Velkovska is that this treatise must have been difficult to understand by the medieval readers due to the incomprehensibility of the Greek texts and to unfamiliarity with the ancient and Byzantine rhetorics of the Slavonic translator, see Velkovska, "Traktatăt," 82–3. The author also goes into the question of the function of this text in the newly baptized Slavonic world and reaches the conclusion that the main principles of classical rhetoric are not requisite for the Slavs. Nevertheless, the list of tropes and figures is applicable to every type of text.

[63] In this case not only the Bible but also the writings of the early Church Fathers which were very popular in the initial period of the Slavonic translations.

[64] See here the ascertainment of Margaret Mullett, "Writing in Early Medieval Byzantium," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 5, that "the functions of literacy need to be established in relation to a particular society's needs."

textual and formal features.[65] The texts focus on почитаньнє книжьноιє (reading the Book)[66] as a process of enlightenment of the mind (оумъ).[67] The variation within this main model affects the pragmatics and the semantics of reading which reflected probably upon a monastic community.

Reading is phrased in the axiologic paradigm of "benefit" (польза) and "good deed" (добро) in the first discourse, entitled Григориа папы римскаго о почитаніи книжнѣм слово (Gregory's Discourse on Reading the Scripture).[68] It is articulated in an imperative short-sentenced form which is a distinctive feature of the whole text. This form implies certain characteristics of an oral discourse, namely, reading aloud. Such type of reading was practiced mainly in monastic communities which had to be instructed in Christian ethics through proper examples from the Scripture.[69] Listening is also discernible as "benefit" (польза) with the punishment of "living in ignorance" (везвѣстно жити) if somebody is not "listening to the Scripture" (слышаще оученіа). The verbs слышати (listen) and слоушати (give heed) could be associated with the semantics of προσέχω and especially with its liturgical connotations.[70] Thus, reading and listening can be perceived as a learning experience for the monastic community in a way that the act of reading recapitulates an experience of listening to the Word of God.[71] A compilation which prefaced a miscellany, the analyzed discourse teaches its readers how to contemplate upon the Scripture.

The second discourse on reading is a translation from Greek, and can be attributed either to John Chrysostom or to Ephraim the Syrian: — Слово стааго Иωана Златооустааго о томь, како подобаєть чьтєнии послоушати и вънимати (John

---

[65] Cf. the article of William Veder, "Three Old Slavic Discourses on Reading," in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, vol. 2, ed. H. Goldblatt, (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1986), 721. The texts will be quoted according to Veder's publication, 722–6.

[66] The word почитаньнє out of context can be translated with "reading," "veneration," and "observation" of the books, cf. A. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskago jazyka po pismennym' pametnikam'* (Materials for a lexicon of Old Russian language on the basis of literary monuments) (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1956).

[67] Stoudios *Typikon* also documents such activity, see chapters 26, 28, 33, 36 on reading.

[68] The translations of the discourses' titles are made by W. Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses." The translations of the texts are mine.

[69] Cf. also chapter 28 of the Stoudios *Typikon*, "When the brothers come down for the midday meal, they should carry a verse [of the psalm] on their lips. A reading then takes place."

[70] See the meaning of this word in connection with the part of the office before reading the lessons, attested in John Chrysostom's *Homilia in Acta Apostolorum*, *Greek–English Lexicon*, ninth edition, eds. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[71] This is a common feature of both Western and Eastern literate communities, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and the 12th centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 149.

Chrysostom's Discourse on How to Listen and Give Heed to Lecture).[72] One of the manuscripts which contains this discourse is the eleventh-century Moscow copy of the *Pandecta scripturae sacrae Antiochii Monachi* which also includes the alphabetical verse of Gregory Nazianzen (алфавитарь).[73] This particular alphabetical verse must have served as a lesson in Christian morality in the form of short sayings easy for memorization. The apparent didactic purpose of the *Pandecta* corresponds directly with the function of Chrysostom's discourse: to instruct how to read the Book.

In the discourse the act of reading is viewed as something which necessitates special preparation and actions—opening the inner eyes, being diligent, being patient, being eager. These acts constitute the parameters of monastic pedagogy with spiritual dimensions and pragmatic references. The latter ones were implied in the instructions to the reader to focus on "good reading," reading with comprehension.

This particular perception of literary activity might be compared with a developed model of literacy from the treatise "On the Letters" by Constantine of Kostenec.[74] In his work Constantine compares two ways of becoming literate— writing and reading. The two inseparable natures (substances) of "writing" as a manifestation of the Divine Idea are the written (orthographical and grammatical form) and the verbal "expression" of "дъкноте" (refinement) as a concept which also can be applied to the relationship between text and reading.[75] Unlike Chrysostom's discourse analyzed above where the model of learning through reading and listening does not account for any grammatical features, the author of the fifteenth-century treatise believes the formal characteristics of the parts of speech are crucial for preserving the orthodoxy of the faith.[76]

The third discourse entitled Слово нѣкоюго калоугера о чьтѣнии книгъ (Discourse of a Certain Monk on Reading the Scripture) serves as a preface to a miscellany, the *Izbornik* of 1076. The function of the miscellany was probably to be used in a monastic milieu, to instruct in morality and spiritual perfection.[77]

---

[72] Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 718.

[73] Cf. the edition of the text by J. Popovski in *Polata knigopisnaja* 23–24 (1989).

[74] This grammatical treatise was written by Constantine of Kostenec in Serbia in the fifteenth century.

[75] See this analysis of Constantine's concept of "literary education" in Elena Koceva, "Edna vǎzmožnost za pročit na liturgični tekstove vǎz osnova na Rilskite muzikalni pripiski" (Towards a possible interpretation of liturgical texts on the basis of Rila musical inscriptions), *Paleobulgarica* 3 (1987), 35.

[76] Cf. Harvey Goldblatt, *Orthodoxy and Orthography: Constantine Kostenecki's Treatise on the Letters* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1987).

[77] B. Angelov, "Za tri sǎčinenija v Simeonovite sbornici" (About three writings in Tsar Symeon's miscellanies), *Starobǎlgarska literatura* 5 (1979), 31.

The use of certain types of miscellanies like the two Slavic *florilegia* known as *Izbornik* of 1073 and *Izbornik* of 1076 in the learning practice is a controversial issue. Some later *florilegia* like a fourteenth-century miscellany were considered to be used in primary education although there is no direct evidence for such an assumption.[78] The same holds true for the early period of the tenth century where it would be quite speculative to discuss the *florilegia* as parts of elementary education especially if their content is to be considered.[79] The principle of their compilation, the so-called "chaotization" principle is an additional factor in understanding their function for the educational process.[80]

From the emergence and distribution of these first Slavonic *florilegia* it is evident that Tsar Symeon did want them to be copied but certainly not for the purposes of primary education. Encyclopedias of practical and theoretical (theological) knowledge, the *florilegia* were perhaps designed for private or collective (monastic) readings, as sources of knowledge and edification.[81] In the Latin West such *florilegia* based on patristic literature were composed by Venerable Bede for his monks.[82]

The discourse focuses on personal reading and comprehension of the Scripture[83]: ѥгда ѹьтєши книгъі ... нъ поразоуꙗѣи, ѹьто гꙗѫть книгъі и словеса та.[84] The motif of reading with разоумъ in order to поразоумѣти is the leitmotif that appears in the same semantic paradigm as the one, presented in Xrabr's treatise, "enlightenment through understanding." This paradigm has its parallels also in the discourse of John Chrysostom: отъврьзи ми оуши и оуи срьдьуьнѣи оуслъішати слово твоѥ и разоумѣти ѥ.[85]

---

[78] See Vasil Gjuzelev, *Učilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanija v Bǎlgarija prez 13–14 vek* (Schools, scriptoria, libraries, and types of knowledge in Bulgaria in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1985), 46. He considers especially *The Questions and Answers of Athanasius of Alexandria* from the Lavrentiev Miscellany of 1348.

[79] It was a compendium of theological, historical, rhetorical, and astronomical works which most probably provided the Slavs with a knowledge of Antiquity experienced through a Christian mentality and vocabulary. The question is whether these pseudo-scientific texts were comprehensible for the readers of the *florilegia*.

[80] See William Veder, "Old Russia's 'Intellectual Silence' Reconsidered," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, vol. 3, eds. Michael Flier and Daniel Rowland, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 26.

[81] See Munitiz, "Cathechetical Teaching-aids," 77.

[82] Cf. Riché, *Education and Culture*, 473. Various anthologies must have been also used as teaching devices in the West to provide knowledge about ancient authors and from the Church Fathers through excerpts from their works rather than through complete texts.

[83] The private reading is attested in the Stoudios *Typikon*, chapter 26: "and the brothers assemble at the book station: each one takes a book and reads it until the evening."

[84] Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 725: "When you are reading books... do understand what the books and the words are saying."

[85] Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 724: "Open the eyes and the ears of my heart to hear your word and to understand (comprehend) it."

The ideal of "good reading" is manifested in the examples of how the Church Fathers were learning: Иꙁ млада прилѣжаахѫ стꙑхъ книгъ, то же и на добраіа дѣла подвигнѫшѫ сѧ.[86] The relationship between morality and learning is very clear in this case. It explains also the positive attitude of the compiler of the discourse towards книжноіе оуукниіе (booklearning) in the form of reading or learning books.[87] As a rule, the cases when some information about a saint's книжноіе оуукниіе is available are very rare in the early period of Slavonic literature.[88] The paradigmatic example of St. Constantine-Cyril who went to Constantinople and наоууи сѧ Омироу и геометрии и оу Льва и оу Фотиіа диалеѯицѣ и вьсѣмъ философьскъимъ оууеньемъ, къ симъ же и риторикии и ариѳмитикии, астрономии и моусикии и въсѣмъ проуьимъ іелиньскъимъ хѫдожьствомъ[89] is the earliest of its type. It specifies very accurately the nature of his education—the seven liberal arts curriculum, a continuation of the pagan tradition, which perhaps was in use in the Constantinopolitan Magnaure School. Nevertheless, this type of learning cannot be found in case of any Slavic saints; and one can only guess the nature of книжноіе оуукниіе (learning from books) of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo: и вивш꙼ лѣта ѡ книжномо оууеніемъ, и родители егѡ даша оууити съ книгъ, и мин꙼вши мало врѣмѧ, всѧ писаніѧ раꙁꙋмѣвъ, не единомъ ѧꙁикомъ, но многимъ.[90]

The term книжноіе оуукниіе has been used by Horace Lunt in connection with learning in Kievan Rus' which he views as a process: "the first stage is marked by the new enlightenment brought through baptism; then in the second period the written word has been mastered, and the third stage is the книжноіе оуукниіе, that is ready to be used to profit the souls of the faithful."[91] It is obvious that Lunt uses this

---

[86] Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 726: "From their youth they showed persistence in (learning/reading) the Holy Books, and then they were plunged into good deeds."

[87] Cf. this attitude with the opposite one expressed in the stories about Nikita of Novgorod, Klim Smoljatič, and Avraamij of Smolensk, Simon Franklin, "Booklearning and Bookmen in Kievan Rus': A Survey of an Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/9): 830–48.

[88] There is the example of St. Wenceslas that was given to the clergy к̑ попиноу наоуунти книгамъ оуѵіти дан꙼тъ выст (who was given to the clergy to learn the Letters (the Books)), *Vita Venceslavi*.

[89] The text of the *Vita* is quoted after Stojan Stojanov and Miroslav Janakiev, *Starobălgarski ezik: Tekstove i rečnik* (Old Bulgarian: Texts and dictionary) (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1976), 17, the translation is mine: "And he learnt Homer and geometry and from Leo and Photius - the dialectic and all philosophical learning, and also rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy and music, and all the other Greek (Hellenic) arts."

[90] The passage is taken from the Life of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo who lived probably in the eleventh century and was an anchorite in the area of Zletovo, Western Bulgaria. The *Vita* narrates that "when he came to the age for learning, his parents gave him to learn (study) books, and after some time, he understood the entire Scripture not only in one language but in many," see the text in Jordan Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, 396.

[91] Horace Lunt, "The Language of Rus' in the Eleventh Century" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/89), 294–5. This scholar uses a passage from the *Primary Russian Chronicle* analyzing its metaphorical message about the "plowmen" and the "seed." Simon Franklin, "Booklearning and Bookmen in

term in a broader context to reconstruct the model of acquiring literacy which is deeply connected with the Christianization of Rus'. An implementation of this model is the activity of SS. Constantine and Methodius who completed the process of creating the alphabet, translating books, and teaching the faithful as one "complex act."[92] A passage from the *Legenda Bulgarica* can be interpreted within the paradigm of such a model: τῷ λαῷ τὰς γνώμας στηρίζων, ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς ὀρθῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν θρησκείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῖς κατασκευάζων στερέωμα ([St. Clement] empowered the mind of the people and built the foundation of their faith on the rock of the true (orthodox) Christian religion).[93]

As we have already seen, the concrete use of the term книжноіє оүченіє in the early South Slavic works is very rare and obscure: it could designate the study of letters in terms of basic literacy, or it could refer to the study of books, that is reading the books. In such a situation, it is enough to agree with Lunt that книжноіє оүченіє had to enrich the souls of the faithful, since we do not have sufficient data to account for the implementation of книжноіє оүченіє in reality.

Conclusion

The sources examined so far in the text show that learning letters and preaching faith in the First Bulgarian Kingdom was one of the main ways to adapt Christian culture to the needs of the Slavs in this particular period. The lack of sufficient trained Slavonic teachers and the complex political and ethnic situation in Bulgaria in the ninth century were the reasons for the emergence and development of this specific model of Slavonic literacy. Στοιχειόω, teaching the basic principles of literacy and faith, instructing the catechumens during the pre-baptismal period, and finally, educating in "practical" Christianity, must have been the only possible way for the clergy, and, especially for the laity, to acquire knowledge of the Scripture.

Apparently, the goal of universal literacy was not aimed to be reached by the first Slavonic apostles and teachers; rather, the dissemination of letters in their actual limits must have been one of the main points in their educational activity. The Slavonic alphabet, designed in the course of this process, had a double function. As sacred means, it led the Slavs to enlightenment through разоүмъ, and as functional means, it served for acquiring (оүчи книга) and utilizing (почитаныє и послоүшаніє книжьноіє) literacy.

Kievan Rus': A Survey of an Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/9), 831, also uses the term книжноіє оүченіє when speaking about the situation in Kievan Rus.

[92] Lunt, "The Language of Rus," 295.

[93] Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 130.

The concept of functionality, forming the basics of Slavonic literary culture, was present in the educational process through *abecedaria*, alphabetical acrostics, and *erotapokriseis*, teaching aids which resemble to a certain extent the Byzantine models and reveal the process of memorization through certain techniques. The functional aspect of the Slavonic literacy can also be seen in the situation of bilingualism (Greek and Slavonic language) and in the use of two different graphic systems for rendering the phonetic system of one single language (Glagolitic and Cyrillic script).

Utilizing literacy through reading, writing, and most probably translating and compiling various types of works can be observed as the next stage of the educational process. This stage was based on certain ways of mastering knowledge: reading with diligence and understanding and treating the books as a source of wisdom.

The highest stage of literacy which could be called "obrazovanost" ("literary culture") seemed to be very different from the Byzantine type of university education. This stage suggests the presence of a relatively small number of people— probably in the court or in the monasteries near the capital—who compiled, translated, and wrote works with clearly high literary qualities aimed to reach the audience who shared the same skills and interests. The circle around Tsar Symeon presents such an audience which possessed a high level of education; being familiar with literary culture. These people wrote and read the original Greek texts and produced Slavic ones.

Among these works connected with education, the grammatical treatises have to be mentioned. Clearly, there was no stage in the early Slavic literary tradition similar to Byzantium, for example, which was preoccupied with a systematic learning of grammar. Since grammars and manuals for learning were not available at that stage, the learning practice was subordinated to the need of preparation for understanding the Scripture. The grammatical treatises used certain ideological structures to meet the cultural needs of the Slavs at this historical moment. These were the model of enlightenment through understanding, the apology and panegyric of the alphabet as part of a holy enterprise, and the theory of translation subordinated to the primacy of "meaning." All these concepts were created on Slavonic soil partly on the basis of Greek models and *ideologemas* but it was their applicability in the Bulgarian cultural space which had imbued them with new connotations.

Ph.D. Candidate, Ohio State University in Columbus
Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literature
Ivanova.1@osu.edu

THE EUCHARISTIC MAN OF SORROWS
IN LATE MEDIEVAL ART

Dóra Sallay 🛈

This essay concerns a group of late medieval images that depict Christ as the Man of Sorrows with Eucharistic symbols such as the chalice, host or hosts, grapevine, and stalks of wheat. These images, here referred to under the inclusive term "Eucharistic Man of Sorrows,"[1] occur in Western medieval art mainly between the middle of the fourteenth century and the first third of the sixteenth, but they were relatively rare (**Appendix 1**).[2]

The central idea shared by these images is related to the doctrine and cult of the Eucharist, which was at the heart of late medieval religiosity.[3] By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the two species of the Sacrament, the consecrated wine and host, became the objects of immense adoration in Western spirituality. The consecrated host was elevated, together with the chalice, for adoration during the mass, exhibited in a monstrance on the altar, and preserved in tabernacles distinguished by their splendid decoration and an ever-burning light placed by their

---

[1]   This term has often been used by scholars to direct attention to the Eucharistic attribute(s) of the Man of Sorrows/*Vir Dolorum* (Michael Stuhr, "Symbol und Ornament in der Schmerzensmanndarstellung des Conrad von Einbeck," in: *Skulptur des Mittelalters: Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Ernst Schubert, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1987), 243–54, esp. 243, 248; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2, *Die Passion Jesu Christi* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1968), caption to fig. 707; Caroline W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 380, n. 86.). In want of a better term for distinguishing *Vir Dolorum* images whose Eucharistic content is *enhanced* by the addition of one or more overtly Eucharistic symbols, this designation is adopted here as well, but it should be remembered that any *Vir Dolorum* image, with or without attributes, is by nature inherently Eucharistic.

[2]   A full list of images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows known to me can be consulted in **Appendix 1** (bold numbers in the text refer to the corresponding entries). From this list, however, the standard Italian examples (see below, n. 15) and works in which angels hold the chalice have been excluded on account of their great number, although they form an integral part of the group of images discussed here. On the other hand, a few works whose iconography is inseparably connected with this topic have been included despite the fact that the Christ they portray is not a *Vir Dolorum* in the strict sense (**22, 41**). The boundaries of this iconographical definition are difficult to draw and this should not be done with arbitrary strictness, since such categories certainly did not exist in medieval artistic thinking. In cases where signs of suffering and the crown of thorns are missing (as in numerous Italian examples, Fig. 8), and where Christ, though with a prominent side wound, appears enthroned (**41**) and/or fully dressed in a tunic and mantle (**22, 41**), however, the terms "Redeemer" or "Eucharistic Christ" may do better for a modern designation. For a number of examples of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Baroque art, see Lawrence W. Nichols, *"Man of Sorrows with a Chalice* by Hendrick Goltzius." *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University*, 49/2 (1990), 30–38.

[3]   Miri Rubin, *The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), with extensive further bibliography; Peter Browe, S. J., *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1967, reprint, 1st ed. Munich, 1933).

side.[4] The Eucharist became the subject of innumerable tracts, sermons, poems, hymns, mystical writings, and other forms of medieval religious literature.[5] Countless visions and miracles involving the sacrament and the Christ of the Eucharist occurred throughout Europe. The miracles resulted in Holy Blood-, bleeding host-, and other Eucharistic relics, and there were also innumerable particles of the Holy Blood brought as relics from the Holy Land.[6] In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council accepted the dogma of transubstantiation, officially declaring that the Eucharist contains the real body and blood of Christ and that the sacrifice on the cross is repeated every time Mass is celebrated.[7] In the course of the thirteenth century, the Eucharist received its own feast of Corpus Christi.[8] By the first half of the fourteenth century, processions had also become common on this feast day; by the second half, numerous Corpus Christi confraternities were being formed throughout Europe and Corpus Christi dramas enacted. Devotion to the Precious Blood was inseparably intertwined with the adoration of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ and of the *Arma Christi*, the instruments of the Passion. Books of hours contained prayers said to the wounds, and indulgences were granted to those who prayed to them. In churches, masses were dedicated to the Holy Wounds. Especially the side wound received distinguished veneration, whose measurements

[4] Hans Caspary, "Das Sakramentstabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trient: Gestalt, Ikonographie und Symbolik, kultische Funktion" (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1964), 4; Stephen J. P. Van Dijk and Joan H. Walker, *The Myth of the Aumbry: Notes on Medieval Reservation Practice and Eucharistic Devotion* (1957); Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), 545–64; Browe, *Verehrung*, 28–39; Rubin, 55–63; Edouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 1926); F. Costa, "Communion, Spiritual", s. v., *New Catholic Encyclopedia (NCE)* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

[5] Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France: Étude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1908), 108ff; "Precious Blood, III (devotion to)," s. v., *NCE*; Caroline W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

[6] Johannes Heuser, "'Heilig Blut' In Kult und Brauchtum des deutschen Kulturraumes: Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde." (Ph.D. diss., Bonn, Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms Universität, 1948); Romuald Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu: Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit* (Munich: Widmann, 1931); Peter Browe, S. J., *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Wroclaw, 1938); Mâle, 109.

[7] Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Real Presence," in *The Christian Tradition: A History and Development of Doctrine*, vol. 3, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978), 184–204; Rubin, 30–38.

[8] Its celebration originated in Liège where the visions of an Augustinian nun, the Blessed Juliana, led to the establishment of a local feast in 1246. After the archdeacon of Liège, Jacques Pantaléon, became pope under the name Urban IV, he ordered in 1264 the feast to be universally celebrated in Western Christendom. Urban IV died soon after the inauguration of the feast in Rome, before it could have taken strong roots. In 1317, however, it was reestablished in Avignon by Pope John XXII. The feast was celebrated on the Thursday following the octave of Pentecost, and its office was probably written by Thomas Aquinas. Rubin, 164–96, 232–87; Verdel A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (London, 1966).

were thought to be known after the relics of the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's side.[9] A related devotion focused on the sacred heart to which the way was opened through the side wound. The *Arma Christi* were also venerated as relics, and had their cult officially introduced in the middle of the fourteenth century.[10] By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the fascination with the Eucharist and the Passion of Christ grew into a cult that was unrivaled in the Christian world.

Eucharistic devotion also found its ways of visual expression in the art of the period. Numerous new iconographical types were created in late medieval art for the purpose of visualizing the mystery of the Eucharist. All of these are deeply interrelated both in content and form; in some the narrative element predominates (*Mass of St. Gregory, Ecce Homo, Lamentation*), others are more allegorical (*Mystical Mill, Mystical Winepress, Fons Vitae*) or of a devotional character (*Man of Sorrows, Five Wounds of Christ, Sacred Heart, Christus in der Rast, Gnadenstuhl, Notgottes, Engelpietà,* the *Veronica* or *Sancta facies*).[11] While all these expressly Eucharistic representations enjoyed great popularity in late medieval art, the most popular of all was without doubt the *Vir Dolorum* or Man of Sorrows.

This representation is rooted in a Byzantine icon type depicting the dead Christ of the Passion, which was transported to the West during the thirteenth century.[12] In Western art the Man of Sorrows portrays the suffering Christ in half-length or full figure, alone or with one or two lamenting figures, isolated from the historical context of the Passion. The vulnerable, human nature of the Saviour is emphasised: he is shown in his most abject, humiliated state, covered with blood,

---

[9] Mâle, ch. 2, pt. 5; Stuhr, 250–251; Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350–1544* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 9–18, 65; Rubin, 305–6; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), vol. 2, 22–23, 47–49.

[10] "Arma Christi," in *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie (LCI)*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum S. J., (Rome: Herder, 1974), vol. 1, col. 184. Indulgence was granted to those who prayed before the *Arma* in 1330 by John XXII in Avignon. Colin Eisler, "The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy," *Art Bulletin* 51/2–3 (1969): 237. Most of the *Arma* were brought from the Holy Land by crusaders who also brought relics of the Holy Blood. The most famous pilgrimage place to preserve relics of the Passion is the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome. See also n. 16.

[11] A. Thomas, "Gregoriusmesse," *LCI*, vol. 2, col. 201; Uwe Westfehling, *Die Messe Gregors des Grossen - Vision, Kunst, Realität*, exhib. cat. (Cologne, Stadt Köln and Schnütgen-Museum, 1982); Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, ed., *Le pressoir mystique: Actes du colloque de Recloses, 27 mai 1989* (Paris: Du Cerf, 1990); Mâle, ch. 2, pt. 4; P. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 5 (1950), 43ff; Maj-Brit Wadell, *Fons pietatis: eine ikonographische Studie* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1969); James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979). For more references see Mâle, Réau, Schiller, and *LCI*.

[12] Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Mann, 1981), 142–98; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München: C. H. Beck, 1990), 292–330; Bernhard Ridderbos, "The Man of Sorrows: Pictorial Images and Metaphorical Statements," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, Medievalia Groningana, ed. A. A. MacDonald et al. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 143–181.

wearing the crown of thorns, a loincloth, and sometimes a robe that only partially covers his fragile body. His five wounds, the stigmata, are usually emphasised by the copiously flowing blood and even more by the *ostentatio vulnerum*.[13] With the rise of the Eucharistic cults in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries, the main emphasis shifts towards its interpretation as the "image of the Eucharistic Saviour."[14]

Although the *Vir Dolorum* became one of the most frequently represented subjects in late medieval art, a few particular versions that concern us here—the Man of Sorrows depicted with prominent Eucharistic symbols such as the chalice and/or host(s), stalks of wheat and grapevine—were, in comparison, rare. Their existence has largely been overlooked in scholarly literature as well;[15] the aim of the present work is, therefore, to outline their evolution, variants, chronological and geographical distribution, then to discuss fundamental issues of function.

---

[13] The iconography of the *Vir Dolorum* has been extensively studied. For the most essential publications see Mâle, ch. 2, pt. 5; Heinz Löffler, "Ikonographie des Schmerzensmannes: Die Entstehung des Typus und seine Entwicklung in der deutschen Kunst" (Diss. Berlin, 1922); Erwin Panofsky, "Imago pietatis, ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmannes' und der 'Maria Mediatrix'," in *Festschrift für Max. J. Friedländer* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1927), 261–308; Hubert Schrade, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Schmerzensmannbildes," in *"Deutschkundliches," Friedrich Panzer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 16 (Heidelberg, 1930); Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu*; Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann: Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtsbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600*, Forschungen zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 7 (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935); Wiltrud Mersmann, *Der Schmerzensmann*. Lukas-Bücherei zur christlichen Ikonographie, vol. 4 (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1952); Wiltrud Mersmann, "Schmerzensmann," in *LCI*, vol. 4, cols. 87–95; Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "Imago Pietatis, its Meaning and Function," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 12/1–2 (1971): 5–27; Marrow, 44–67; *Stabat Mater: Maria unter dem Kreuz in der Kunst um 1400*, exhib. cat. (Salzburg: Salzburger Domkapitel, 1970), all with extensive further bibliography.

[14] Eisler, 237; Mersmann, "Schmerzensmann" in *LCI*, vol. 4, col. 88.

[15] No comprehensive study has been dedicated to this subject apart from some essays that deal with a well-definable Italian group only (Marita Horster, "Mantuae Sanguis Preciosus," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 25 (1963): 151–180; Ulrich Middeldorf, "Un rame inciso del Quattrocento," in *Scritti in onore di Mario Salmi* (Rome: De Luca, 1962), 273–89; Dominique Rigaux, "Le Sang du Rédempteur," in *Le Pressoir Mystique*, ed. Alexandre-Bidon, 57–67. See also "Sanguis Christi," in Caspary, 105–6; Eisler, 233–246; Maurice E. Cope, "The Blood of the Redeemer," in idem, "The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the 16ᵗʰ Century: A Study in the Iconography of the Early Counter-Reformation," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979), 67–72.). For previous references to the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* outside Italy, see Löffler, 40, n. 53; Osten, 81, n. 13, and passim; Dobrzeniecki, "Imago Pietatis," Schiller, vol. 2, 218–220; Erhard Drachenberg, *Die Mittelalterliche Glasmalerei im Erfurter Dom*, CVMAe, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980 and 1983), vol. 1, pt. 2.1, 236–237; Lothar Schultes, "Gotische Plastik," in *St. Michael, 1288–1988: Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1988), 142, 147, n. 15; Stuhr, 248.

The Evolution of the Iconography of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*:
A Survey of Its Development and Variants

Images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows appear in Western art at the middle of the fourteenth century, more than half a century later than the Man of Sorrows without any attributes. Nonetheless, the chalice and host are not novel elements in the context of the Man of Sorrows iconography: they gradually evolved from an earlier type of representation, the *Vir Dolorum* surrounded by the *Arma Christi* (Figs. 1–2).[16] The *Arma* included not only actual weapons or tools of martyrdom such as the scourge, spear, sponge, nails, cross, and so on, but also small pictorial abbreviations for events connected to the Passion, for example, the thirty silver coins or Pilate's hands over a bowl of water. They first appear around the figure of the suffering Christ in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, forming an imaginative "Passion context" in which each of the *Arma* marks a different episode.

In the early pictures of the *Vir Dolorum* surrounded with the instruments of the Passion, however, the chalice and the host are only two of the numerous *Arma*, when present at all. In the course of the fourteenth century the chalice (sometimes with the superimposed host) became a more emphasised part of the *Arma Christi*, precisely on account of its overtly Eucharistic connotation.[17] Though the traditional *Man of Sorrows with the Arma* representations live on, in the mid-century a new type emerges, in which the chalice, with or without the host, stands on its own by the side of the Man of Sorrows. It is an independent element, often directly connected to the body of Christ by the stream of blood that flows into it. In these images the chalice is not part of the *Arma* any more. The other instruments of the

---

[16] For the late medieval *Arma Christi* in art see Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3d s., 6 (1955): 35–152; Carlo Bertelli, "The *Image of Pity* in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London: Phaidon, 1967), 40–55; "Arma Christi," s. v., *LCI*; Robert Suckale, "Arma Christi," *Städel Jahrbuch*, n. s., 6 (1977): 177–208.

[17] Besides being the most potent Eucharistic symbol, the chalice had a special place among the *Arma* also because it symbolises several stages in the Passion story, thus accompanying Christ throughout his sufferings. It has a central role in the Last Supper, that is, at the institution of the Eucharist (Lk. 22:20). The cup is also in the focus of the Gethsemane scene, where Christ called his imminent sufferings a bitter cup to be emptied (Mt. 26:39; Mk. 14:36; Lk. 22:42). In late medieval painting this scene usually includes an angel (or God the Father) handing Jesus a chalice, often with the *Arma*, or even occasionally the host in it. Religious tradition associated the chalice with the last station of Christ's Passion, the Crucifixion as well. Legends and mystical writings credit several witnesses of the death of the Saviour—the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Longinus, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus—with collecting the blood of Christ into a chalice or some other kind of container. A large number of European Holy Blood relics were supposed to originate this way. For Joseph of Arimathea, on whose story the legend of the Holy Grail is based see *LCI*, vol. 7, s. v. Longinus, the soldier who pierced Christ's side, took the collected blood to Mantua, from where parts of it were taken to Rome and Weingarten, one of the most famous German pilgrimage places (Horster, and *LCI*, vol. 7, s. v.).

Passion are either completely missing or only a few of them can be seen, relegated to the background (Figs. 3–4).[18]

The Man of Sorrows with the chalice

The birth of this new iconographic type can be only hypothetically connected to a particular geographical area. Since very few early examples survive, it is difficult to ascertain whether they emerged in one area and spread from there, or arose independently from the *Vir Dolorum* with the *Arma* type. Most of its early representatives are found in the Bohemian-Silesian region, which at that time—with the major cult of relics of the Passion in the Prague of Charles IV and the strong local Eucharistic devotion in the last quarter of the century—seems to have been an area especially prone to such representations.[19]

As far as form or composition is concerned, the early examples mix conservative elements (*Arma* beside the prominent chalice (**2**, **3**, **4**), features like half-length composition (**2**, **3**, **4**, **6**) and a dead Christ (**1**, **3**), preserved from the Byzantine prototype) with new motifs such as the full-figure representation (**1**, **5**, **7**, **8**, **9**) and a living Christ who looks down on the chalice by his foot or side wound and/or directs his bloodstream into it (**6**, **7**, **8**, **9**).

The context in which these images occur usually has strong Eucharistic relevance. One of the earliest examples decorates the entrance of a Holy Blood chapel in Lubín, Silesia (**1**);[20] another, a window known from descriptions only, was created for St. Catherine's chapel in Karlštejn where the relics collected by Charles IV were probably kept before the erection of the chapel of the Holy Cross (**2**).[21] A

---

[18] The appearance of the chalice by the side of Christ was also influenced by an earlier visual tradition developed by Carolingian and Ottonian art in which the chalice was shown catching the blood from the wounds of the Crucified Christ or the *Agnus Dei*. In some variations Ecclesia holds the chalice under the stream of blood from the side wound of Christ or the Lamb. For numerous examples, see Victor H. Elbern, "Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter: Ikonographie und Symbolik." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für die Kunstwissenschaft* 17/1–2 (1963): 117–88. In the second half of the thirteenth century the motif was revived in the form of small angels holding chalices or shallow dishes under the wounds of the Crucified.

[19] Stuhr's hypothesis according to which the origin of the iconography is to be looked for in Bohemian and Silesian book illumination has proved to be in a great part correct, although early examples also occur in monumental stone reliefs, altarpieces, and stained glass windows (Fig. 4; **1**, **2**, **5**, **9**). Stuhr, 248. See also Barbara Miodońska, "Opatovický brevíř neznámý český rukopis 14. století," (The breviary of Opatovice: An unknown 14th – century Bohemian manuscript) *Umění* 16 (1968), 232–5.

[20] Günther Grundmann and Wulf Schadendorf, *Schlesien* (1962), 104., fig. 39, and Miodońska, n. 62.

[21] The window depicted the Man of Sorrows in a sarcophagus, surrounded by *Arma* and a chalice that caught his blood. Franz Bock, "Schloss Karlštejn in Böhmen," in *Mittheilungen k. k. Central-Commision für Baudenkmale* (Wien, 1862), 91, and František Matouš, *Mittelalterliche Glasmalerei der Tschechoslowakei* (Prague: Academia, 1975), 37–39, 41, 44, both without reproduction. Today only indecipherable fragments

miniature in the Opatovice breviary from c. 1385 introduces the vigil of the Feast of Corpus Christi and shows Christ standing on an altar table (**8**);[22] while another is an initial for the canon in the pontifical of Albrecht of Šternberk (Fig. 3; **6**).[23] A fresco in the Silesian Pogorzela is above the tabernacle niche (**21**);[24] a particularly fine stained glass window once decorated the sanctuary of the parish church of Slivenec outside Prague (Fig. 4; **9**).[25] In late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Silesian painting, the subject seems to have been a frequent one on the exterior wings of altarpieces as pendant to the portrayal of the Mater Dolorosa (**5, 24, 31**).[26]

From the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, similar images are also found not only in nearby Poland (**7**), Hungary (Fig. 5; **10, 11, 15**), Austria (**23, 25**), and Germany (**13, 14, 17, 18**) but in faraway locations such as Italy and Spain (**4**) as well.[27] Later in the fifteenth century, English (**27**), Danish (**57, 64**), and Swedish

---

survive of this window, the bottom part of which was already damaged in Bock's time. No photograph of the nineteenth-century condition of the window seems to have survived. For the probable use of the chapel as a temporary repository of the crown jewels and relics related to the Passion, see Věra Kuthanová, *Karlštejn* (Prague: Památkový ústav, n. d.), 6.; Milena Bartlová, "Původ husitského kalicha z ikonografického hlediska" (The origin of the Hussite chalice: A study in its iconography), *Umění* 44/2 (1996), 167–83, esp. 169, and Jiří Fajt, *Magister Theodericus*. Exhib. Cat. (Prague: National Gallery, 1998).

[22] Miodońska, 231ff, fig. 18.

[23] I am indebted to Hana Hlaváčková for calling my attention to this unpublished miniature.

[24] J. Domasłowski et al., *Gotickie malarstvo ścienne w Polsce* (Gothic wall painting in Poland) (Poznań, 1984), 425, fig. 109; Dobrzeniecki, fig. 16.

[25] Rudolf Chadraba, ed., *Dějiny Českého Výtvarného Umění* (History of the fine arts in Bohemia), vol. 1, pt. 2. (Prague: Academia, 1984), 492, Pl. 83; *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxenburgern*, exhib. cat., entry by Emanuel Poche (Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978), vol. 2, 717.

[26] The Silesian paintings are reproduced in Heinz Braune and Erich Wiese, *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters: Kritischer Katalog der Ausstellung in Breslau, 1926*, exhib. cat. (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, n. d.), cat. nos. 33, 51, 76. The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows is paired with the Mater Dolorosa in Hungarian art as well, in the altarpieces of Matejovce (**35**) (Ernö Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Hungarian art around 1300–1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), vol. 2. fig. 1772), Smrečany, Slovakia (**59**) (Katarína Biathová, *Maliarske prejavy stredovekého Liptova* (Painting in the medieval Liptó county) (Bratislava, 1983), 91, fig. 82), and Stará Lesna, Slovakia (**79**) (Libuse Cidlinska, *Kridlove oltare na Slovensku* (Winged altarpieces in Slovakia) (n. p. [Bratislava]: Tatran, 1989), 84, with reproduction). For a similar Austrian example in St. Lambrecht (**25**), see Ludwig Baldass, "Das Ende des Weichen Stiles in der Österreichischen Tafelmalerei," *Pantheon* 1934/2: 373, with reproduction.

[27] The frescos in Kwidzyn and Mălâncrav (**7, 15**) are unpublished; the overall decoration of these churches is discussed in Domasłowski, 231 and Mária Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 140–41, respectively. For the two tabernacle reliefs in Šamorín and Spišska Belá (**10, 11**), see *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*, vol. 1, 537 and vol. 2, fig. 1044, and Juraj Spiritza and Ladislav Borodáč, *Podoby Starého Spiša* (A portrait of the old Spiš region) (Bratislava, 1975), 26 (reproduction only), respectively. For the fresco in Mariapfarr (**23**), see R. Hootz, *Kunstdenkmäler in Österreich: Ein Bildhandbuch*, vol. 1, *Salzburg, Tirol, Voralberg* (München - Berlin: Deutsches Kunstverlag, 1975), fig. 145, for the windows in Erfurt (**13, 14**) Drachenberg, vol. 1, part 2.1, 189, 236–237, and for Conrad von Einbeck's statue (**18**), Stuhr. See n. 2 and 15 for the

(68) examples testify to the spread of the type.[28] These works appear in almost every two-dimensional medium from miniatures, engraved metal plates, and stained glass windows to panel paintings and frescoes, as well as in quasi-two-dimensional mediums such as wooden and stone reliefs. There are, however, hardly any sculptures in the round, perhaps because the freestanding chalice was too vulnerable to physical damage.[29]

During the approximately two hundred years when the iconography of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* with a chalice was widespread in Western art, many different variants were created. Some characteristics are shared by almost all the examples, such as the placement of the chalice on the right of Christ, a self-explanatory solution because of the position of the side wound.[30] Other features vary greatly, especially north of the Alps. Full-figure representations of Christ are in general far more frequent than the half-length type. Yet, even though the simple half-length depictions of the Saviour (3)[31] lose their popularity, half-length portrayals continue to be represented in a "rationalized" way, where the *Vir Dolorum* stands in the sarcophagus or behind a parapet which justifies the half-length representation. In these works, most popular in the decades around 1400, the chalice stands on the rim of the sarcophagus or parapet, thus near the side wound, and often catches the blood of the Redeemer (Fig. 3; **6, 10, 11, 21**). In a few other pictures, even though Christ is in full figure and the chalice has nothing to stand on, the motivation to show the chalice close to the side wound was so strong that it was

---

Italian works and Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (Cambridge, MA, 1934), 294–7, fig. 89, for Domingo Valls (**4**).

[28] The English miniature is reproduced in Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200–1500* (New York, 1981), 30, fig. 20. For the Danish frescos see http://www.kalkmalerier.dk, archiv nos. 12/189 and 22/64 (information accessed 30 September 1999). For the Swedish relief see Osten, 112 and *Sveriges Kyrkor, Uppland*, vol. 4/ 2, 401–2, fig. 366.

[29] In the only example known to me, a statue by Hans Witten, c. 1515–20, only the base of the chalice survives, the top having been broken off long ago (**77**). W. Hentschel, *Hans Witten* (1938), 120–22. The sole surviving intact chalice in a statue can be seen by Christ's foot in Conrad von Einbeck's statue, where it was carved from the same block of stone as the figure's leg (**18**). Stuhr, 243–57.

[30] Some exceptions are an epitaph in the Minorite Church in Ingolstadt, where for compositional reasons the chalice is in the centre in front of Christ's legs (**83**) (Osten, 94, n. 55). In the Danish fresco in Lyngby (**57**), the Swedish (?) wooden relief (**68**, see n. 32), the painting by Jacob Cornelisz. (**73**) (Schiller, fig. 708) and the Hungarian ceiling from Gogan Varolea (**75**) the chalice is on Christ's left. The latter is a mirror image of the Italian type (Árpád Mikó and Miklós Szentkirályi: „Az ádámosi unitárius templom festett famennyezete (1526) és a famennyezet rekonstrukciója (1985)," (The painted wooden ceiling of the Unitarian Church in Ádámos and the reconstruction of the ceiling), Művészettörténeti Értesítő XXXVI/1–4 (1987): 86–118, fig. 141.

[31] Miodońska, 231ff, fig. 17.

placed in the air close to the side wound (Fig. 5; **7, 15, 17**).[32] Quite often the chalice is held under the wound by an angel or even by a saint, an idea borrowed from the numerous earlier representations where Ecclesia, Adam, priests, monks, angels, etc. hold the chalice under the stream of blood of the Crucified or the *Agnus Dei*.[33] Another interesting variation is the pictorial emphasis of the five separate streams of blood from the stigmata into the chalice. This type, named *Fünfwundenheiland* in German, is closely connected to the cult of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ (Fig. 6; **26, 29, 57, 60, 64, 79**).[34]

As this last illustration shows, some variations of the *Vir Dolorum* with the chalice were at times embedded in a larger composition, here an *Engelpietà*, where an angel supports the weak or even lifeless Lord (**40, 55, 60**).[35] Some representations form the central part of a Lamentation scene (**4, 23**), another example shows the *Vir Dolorum* as the second person of the Trinity in a *Notgottes* group (**32**).[36] Here should be mentioned the indubitably close relationship between the *Vir Dolorum* with a chalice by his foot and the central part of the *Mass of St. Gregory* scene, which shows the Man of Sorrows standing on the altar and bleeding into the chalice by his feet (i. e., in essence identical with one version of the Eucharistic Man of

---

[32] The tombstone in Schwäbish Hall (**17**) is reproduced in Osten, fig. 76. In the Swedish (?) wooden relief (**68**) the chalice hovers on the *left* side of Christ and is "shared" by the scene of the *Agony in the Garden* to the right.

[33] See n. 18. A random example is a mid-15th-c. Bohemian panel in Antonin Matejcek, *Ceská malba gotická: deskové malírstvi 1350–1450* (Bohemian Gothic painting: Panel paintings, 1350–1450) (Prague: Nakladatelstvi Melantrich, 1938), fig. 264. The role of angels in this and similar contexts is that of the *angelus missae*, a term introduced by Hubert Schrade for angels acting as ministrants at the mass. Schrade, 164–182. See also "Adoreunt eum angeli" in Caspary, 108–9. It is also worth noting that the *Arma Christi* (usually the lance, sponge, nails, scourge, etc.) are also often held by angels. In Carlo Crivelli's famous painting St. Francis holds the chalice under the stream of blood issuing from Christ's side. Anna Bovero, ed., *L'opera completa del Crivelli* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1974), 97, cat. no. 127.

[34] For the Winterfeld diptych (**26**) see Osten, fig. 45. The panel in Brzeg (**29**) is reproduced in Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik,* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1961), vol. 11., 123, fig. 272. See also Jakub Kostowski, "Contra hereticos hussitas," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 60/3–4 (1998): 572–76. The painting from Telkibánya (**60**) is published in Miklós Boskovits, Miklós Mojzer, and András Mucsi, *Az esztergomi Keresztény Múzeum képtára* (The picture gallery of the Christian Museum in Esztergom) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 136, Pl. 8, fig. 210. In Italy this motif appears very rarely, and then probably under northern influence. An example is Vittore Carpaccio's "The Blood of the Redeemer" in Udine. Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogue complet des peintures.* Paris: Bordas, 1992, 58, cat. no. 13. In an interesting fresco from Liptovská Mara, Slovakia, c. 1380, Christ bleeds in seven streams of blood into the chalice held by an angel (Biathová, 16, Pl. 6). For related "hemographic" images of Christ, also as a Man of Sorrows, see Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 9–18.

[35] The central panel of a reliquary altar in Kaufbeuren (**40**) (Schiller, fig. 765) is very close in composition to the painting in Esztergom (**60**). The Spanish painting from the circle of the Cervera master (**55**) is published by Éva Nyerges in *Régi spanyol festmények* (Old Spanish paintings) (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1996), 35–36.

[36] For the Notgottes group in Landshut (**32**) see Osten, 157, fig. 167.

Sorrows, even if often portrayed with more compositional freedom) (Fig. 7). Although the *Vir Dolorum* with the chalice by his foot appears earlier (Fig. 4; **1, 5, 8, 9**) than the *Mass of St. Gregory*, whose earliest examples date from the early fifteenth century, the two representations must have continuously influenced each other during the fifteenth century. They are different interpretations of the same conception—one more of an *Andachtsbild*, the other of narrative character.

In contrast to the scattered and varying examples north of the Alps, Italian art developed its own standard type of Man of Sorrows with the chalice which always shows Christ living, in full figure, holding his cross against his left shoulder. His right arm is stretched out, with the palm turned towards the viewer, and the blood flows down his arm into the chalice below. Innumerable examples survive of this version, all of which more or less repeat this composition, invented around 1400. The first known example, however, is not the frequently noted fresco in Santa Maria Nuova in Viterbo, which, instead of the late fourteenth century, should be dated to about 1420, but rather a tiny panel by the Master of the Straus Madonna from around 1400, soon followed by similar ones, such as a small tabernacle door by Lippo d'Andrea (Fig. 8).[37] In the first half of the fifteenth century the type is especially widespread in Tuscany; from the second half of the century, countless examples are known from the whole territory of Italy.[38] The vast majority of them appear either on the small, painted wooden or engraved metal doors of wall tabernacles or in the lunettes above them, but also numerous frescoes, altarpieces, stone reliefs, and small devotional panels attest to the popularity of the type.

It is difficult to trace the formal sources of this Italian version. Although some northern influence may be present here, a few significant formal elements (cross held against the left shoulder, blood flowing down the right palm, the frequent absence of the crown of thorns and signs of suffering) have no contemporary parallels in northern art.[39] As for its prefiguration in antique libation scenes, as

---

[37] The fresco in Viterbo is dated to the late 14th c. by Caspary (106), Horster (155), and Eisler (233); Middeldorf (282) and Cope (68), however, proposed a later dating, the first half of the 15th c. and c. 1440, respectively. The panel by the Master of the Straus Madonna forms a diptych with the Virgin and Child. I thank Miklós Boskovits for his help with problems of chronology and for calling my attention to this unpublished work (Bologna, Priv. Coll.). For the panel attributed to Lippo d'Andrea see Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani, *Il Museo d'Arte Sacra a San Casciano Val di Pesa* (Florence: Becocci and Scala, 1989), 32, fig. 9.

[38] Previous scholarship concentrated mainly on Tuscany, Veneto, Emilia, and Rome (see n. 15), but this iconographical type seems to have been equally popular in the Marche, Umbria, Lazio, Romagna, and Lombardy, to quote only the areas with the largest number of examples. In the late 15th c. and especially in the 16th, the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* also appears in many freely composed versions. For these examples, see Cope, 67–72.

[39] They do occur later, for example, in Hungarian and Netherlandish art in the first half of the 16th c., but already under Italian influence (**75, 81,** for this latter see Éva Szmodis-Eszláry and Susanne Urbach,

Marita Horster has argued, the influence is definitely present in the later, Renaissance works she quotes, especially since such a libation scene can be seen in the background of Giovanni Bellini's famous painting.[40] When viewing the earliest examples from the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, it is difficult to believe that these tiny panels were really influenced by Roman coins, medallions, and reliefs.

A peculiar type of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, much less noted by scholars, depicts Christ not with, but in the chalice. This version seems to have a Venetian origin, where it was frequently used for the decoration of the statutes of Corpus Christi confraternities, the Scuole del Sacramento. This version emphasises the association between the chalice and the tomb of Christ, already present in the writings of Hrabanus Maurus in the ninth century and Honorius Augustodunensis in the early twelfth.[41]

The Man of Sorrows holding the chalice

A number of works that show the *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice himself form an interesting group within the iconography of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows. The central and more emphasised place of the chalice is a very important new feature: it implies Christ's voluntary, active participation in his own sacrifice and equates his role with that of the priest in the mass where his sacrifice is reenacted.

This type of representation is very rare, and most of its examples—in contrast to the type where the chalice is by the foot or side of Christ—are statues in the round. As far as their spatial distribution is concerned, they are almost exclusively limited to a well-definable geographical area in Central Europe (**Appendix 2**). The earliest examples of this type seem to have been created in the eastern part of Central Europe in the early fifteenth century, at a time when images of the *Vir*

Middeleeuwse Nederlandse kunst uit Hongarije (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1990), 26). The issue of terminology is discussed in n. 2.

[40] Horster, 159, 171–80. See also Panofsky, 294; Eisler, 235.

[41] The "Cristo passo nel calice" is mentioned in Thomas Worthen, "Tintoretto's Paintings for the Banco del Sacramento in S. Margherita," *Art Bulletin* 78/4 (1996): 712, figs. 6–7; Schiller, vol. 2, fig. 760; Hans Tietze, "Nuovi disegni veneti del cinquecento in collezioni Americani," *Arte Veneta* 2 (1948): 62–63; Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1974), Plate 92. a–b; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 19, fig. 4; Eisler, 242. For the association of the chalice with the tomb see Elbern, 137; Dobrzeniecki, 16–17; Carla Gottlieb, "The Living Host," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 40 (1971): 31. Although this version is primarily Italian, it also occurs north of the Alps, in a late 14th c. fresco in the parish church of Grudziadz (Teutonic territory). Domasłowski, fig. 170.

Dolorum with the chalice by his foot or side were already well-known in the region. The first securely datable example is a statue from 1420–24 which once stood in the royal chapel of St. Sigismund in the Buda castle (Fig. 9; **19**).[42] Another early portrayal of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice, also of Hungarian origin, can be seen on the base of a real chalice in Bratislava, in St. Martin's, the church for which it was created (Fig. 10; **20**).[43]

Later analogies from the middle of the fifteenth century to the early sixteenth are located mainly in Upper Austria, Lower Bavaria, and Erfurt, some in Bohemia and Hungary, and a few in Italy. The Upper Austrian statues have an uncertain provenance and may come from a larger geographical area, such as Lower Austria or Bohemia (Fig. 11; **28, 54, 76**).[44] One securely localisable Austrian example is, however, a fresco in the former parish (now Franciscan) church in Salzburg (Fig. 12; **30**).[45] The greatest number of examples, four statues and a relief, can be found in Lower Bavaria (**32, 37, 43, 58, 82**),[46] but there is also a statue in Upper Bavaria (**63**) and a statuette, decorating a monstrance, in Oberpfalz (**72**).[47] Erfurt seems to have

---

[42] This fragmentary statue was unearthed in the Buda castle in 1995 from a pit into which the destroyed interior decoration of the medieval chapel of King Sigismund of Luxembourg was buried in the first half of the 16th c. (Dóra Sallay, "A budai Szent Zsigmond-prépostság Fájdalmas Krisztus-szobrának ikonográfiája" (The iconography of the Man of Sorrows statue from the St. Sigismund collegiate church of Buda), *Budapest Régiségei* XXXIII (1999): 123–139. Previous literature considered a stone statue in St. Michael, Vienna as the first surviving statue of this type (Osten, 81, n. 13, see also Schultes, "Gotische Plastik," 142, 147, n. 15). However, between the two halves of the Baroque chalice which the statue now holds the surviving fragment of the original object can be seen. This has a long, straight shape like a thick handle or stick, perhaps a scourge, and was certainly not a chalice. As another early example, Osten mentions a print from the first quarter of the 15th c., which was originally published as French or Upper German (**16**). P.-A. Lemoisne, *Les Xylographies du XIV. et du XV. siècle* (Paris, 1930), 72, fig. 11. The provenance is by no means convincing in this case, but on a stylistic basis the early date seems correct. It is rather remarkable, then, that such an early example should appear in a reproductive medium.

[43] Eva Toranová, *Goldschmiedekunst in der Slowakei* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 63, 67, 193, figs. 15, 19.

[44] For the two statues dating c. 1440 and c. 1515 in Linz (**28, 76**) see O. Kastner and B. Ulm, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke im Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum* (Linz, 1958), cat. no. 36, fig. 90 and cat. no. 134., fig. 89, respectively. For the earlier one see also Lothar Schultes, "Zur Herkunft und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung des Znaimer Altars," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 42/1–2 (1988): 36–37. The wooden statue in the Vanecek Collection in Salzburg, second half of 15th c. (**54**) was published as "South-Bohemian(?)." *Stabat Mater*: 97, fig. 43.

[45] Otto Demus, "Wandgemälde aus der Werkstatt Conrad Laibs in der Franziskanerkirche in Salzburg," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 9 (1955): 89–97, figs. 147–148.

[46] For the statues in Bachling, Landau, and Schönau (**37, 43, 58**) see Felix Mader, ed., *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern. Regierungsbezirk Niederbayern,* vol. 14, 107, fig. 75, vol. 13, 105, fig. 71, and vol. 15, 67, fig. 53, respectively, and Osten 80–81, 103. The tombstone in Unterdietfurt (**82**) is reproduced in P. M. Halm, *Studien zur süddeutschen Plastik* (Munich: Benno Filser, 1926), vol. 2, 27, fig. 39.

[47] The statue in the choir of the Heiligblutskirche in Umratshausen (Upper Bavaria) (**63**) is mentioned but not reproduced in Bauerreiss, 33. For the monstrance containing the statuette (**72**), see *Nürnberg 1300–1550. Kunst der Gotik und Renaissance.* Exhib. Cat. (Munich: Prester Verlag, 1986), 182–83, cat. no. 50. An analogous bronze statuette of probably South German origin is in the National Museum, Budapest (**70**).

had a strong tradition for the Eucharistic *Schmerzensmann*. Besides early examples, where the chalice is next to Christ **(13, 14)**, three works survive that portray the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice **(33, 34, 52)**.[48] A miniature of the Eucharistic Christ may also have been created in Erfurt or its surroundings **(22)**.[49] A few further important German (?) examples are indulgence leaflets, i.e., single-block prints, thus it is difficult to locate their place of origin **(50, 56, 80)**.[50] Another piece with an unknown provenance is an early sixteenth-century, probably Middle-German, stove tile **(69)**.[51] Both the prints and the tile, works in reproductive media, are important witnesses to the fact that, notwithstanding the small number of surviving examples, the type may have become quite popular towards the end of its "career."[52] In fact, it occurs around 1470 in Hungarian (Austrian?) and Bohemian panel painting as well **(45, 47)**.[53] From the late fifteenth century, a few scattered examples of the type (four statues and a bronze statuette) appear also in Italy **(49, 61, 71, 84, 85)**.[54]

Zsuzsa Lovag, *Mittelalterliche Bronzegegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums*. Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Seria Archaeologica 3. (Budapest: Fekete Sas, 1999), 107, cat. no. 297, fig. 297.

[48] Osten, figs. 88–89, 125.

[49] Karl August Wirth. "In einer deutschen Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts blätternd: bemerkungen zu einigen Bildern im Cod. Pal. Lat. 871 der vatikanischen bibliothek." *Städel Jahrbuch*, n. s. 11 (1987): 83–116.

[50] The prints **(50, 56, 80)** are listed in Wilhelm L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926–30), vol. 2., 52, no. 877; 42, no. 848; 42, no. 848a; and reproduced in Richard S. Field, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, suppl. vol. 163, *German Single-leaf Woodcuts before 1500* (n.p.: Abaris, 1990), 156, no. S.877; 125, no. S.848; 126, no. S.848a, respectively. In the latter two, Christ holds the host in his other hand, as he does in a print by Hans Sebald Beham (Lawrence W. Nichols, 34, fig. 12.) **(78)** and perhaps also in a Bohemian panel **(47)**. See also n. 56.

[51] Rosemarie Franz, *Der Kachelofen* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1981), fig. 172.

[52] An unusual representation of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in a miniature that represents the Children of Saturn under the signs of Aquarius and Capricorn also supports this hypothesis **(36)**. Christ appears in this context as the Redeemer born under these signs, standing on a comet which refers to the time of his birth. The fact that he appears as the *Vir Dolorum*, holding a chalice under the wound in his side implies that this image was accepted as one that best expresses the idea of Redemption. See Aby Warburg, "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung im Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten," in idem, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, ed. Dieter Wuttke (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1979).

[53] The picture in Güssing **(45)** is reproduced in Dagobert Frey, *Das Burgenland, seine Bauten und Kunstschätze* (Wien: Anton Schroll, 1929), fig. 152; see also *Die Ritter: Burgerländische Landesausstellung 1990, Burg Güssing*, Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband 8 (Eisenstadt, 1990), 328–29, but no reproduction. For the Prague panel **(47)**, see Jan Chlíbec et al., *Národní galerie v Praze: Staré České Umění, - Klášter sv. Jiří* (National Gallery in Prague: Old Czech art - the St. George Monastery) (Prague, Národní galerie v Praze, 1992), 44–45, cat. no. 20.

[54] For Civitali's statues **(49, 61)** see Luisa Morozzi and Rita Paris, *L'opera da ritrovare. Repertorio del patrimonio artistico italiano disperso all'epoca della seconda guerra mondiale* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1995), 55–56, cat. no. 62, and Charles Yriarte, *Matteo Civitali* (Paris, 1886), 42–46, respectively; for the statue in Cesena **(71)**, Franco Faranda, "Il restauro dell'altare di Giambattista Bregno nel Duomo di Cesena," in *Scritti in onore di Alessandro Marabottini* (Rome: de Luca, 1997), 84, figs. 1, 3; for the statue in Ferrara **(84)**, Carlo Lella, *Guida della Basilica di S. Maria in Vado, Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1971).

The Man of Sorrows with host, grapevine, and stalks of corn

About a third of those images where the chalice is seen next to the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows include the host over, or sometimes in, the chalice. Surprisingly rare are those works, however, which portray the Man of Sorrows with only the host or hosts, and they are all very different. It seems that no pictorial tradition existed for this iconography and that the separate works are the result of local and individual inventiveness.

Christ appears holding the host in his right hand in a stained glass window in Heiligenblut, Lower Austria, c. 1460 (**38**).[55] In a miniature of a contemporary Carthusian antiphonary, he stands before a T-initial reminiscent of the cross and hands a host to a kneeling Carthusian monk, while pointing to his side wound with his left hand. There is an altar in the background with a chalice on it (**39**).[56] The most spectacular variants of this iconography depict numerous hosts falling from the wounds of Christ. In an early fifteenth-century unpublished fresco in Piacenza, he stands on a basin of blood and turns both of his palms towards the viewer. Blood squirts from the wounds in his hands but is immediately transformed into more than a dozen hosts on each side. The hosts bear short illegible inscriptions in Latin (Fig. 13, **12**). A similar image, an elaborate allegory on the Passion, also shows Christ standing on a basin of blood and displaying his wounds. Fourteen hosts, each marked with the sign of the cross, fall from the wound in his side into the fountain below, which pours out upon seven souls. There is also a chalice on the left with another host above it (**51**).[57]

An equally rare Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* type is one where a grapevine and/or a stalk of wheat issue from and sometimes pass through the wounds of the Redeemer, symbolising wine and bread. These motifs are fully late medieval inventions in this context, as they of course have no such roots as the *Arma Christi* are for the chalice and host. Only three such images are known to me, all dating from the years around 1470: a fresco of a tabernacle niche in Bled, Slovenia, an

---

The ciborium (**85**) is published in *Panis Vivus: Arredi e testimonanze figurative del culto eucaristico del VI al XIX secolo*, ed. Cecilia Alessi and Laura Martini (Siena: Protagon Editori Toscani, 1994), 132, cat. no. 47.

[55] Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich*, CVMAe (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1972), 87–91, figs. 226–27. The window has been extensively restored.

[56] Jaromír Homolka, et al., *Pozdné gotické uméni v Cechách* (Late gothic art in Bohemia) (Prague: Odeon, 1978, 1984), 410, with reproduction. In a painting by Quirizio da Murano Christ holds up a large host to a nun while drawing apart his side wound with his left hand as if to indicate the origin of the consecrated wafer (**41**). Christ may be pulling a host out of his side wound in a Bohemian panel whose frame bears an inscription that calls attention to the host given to sinners (**47**).

[57] Schreiber, vol. 4, 29, no. 1842, without reproduction, and Wadell, fig. 26. Both authors refer to a variant of this print in Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (Wadell, fig. 25).

epitaph panel in Nördlingen, and a print, probably from the Upper Rhine region (Fig. 14; **46, 48, 53**).[58] As the lower part of the fresco in Bled is destroyed, no trace survives of what else may have been included at the bottom of the composition. Both the painting in Nördlingen and the print include the host and the chalice by Christ's foot.

There are a number of conclusions to be drawn from this survey; an analysis of the chronological and geographical distribution, the frequency, placement, and inscriptions of the various versions will reveal precious information on how these images were used and experienced by their contemporary audiences.

The Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*: Function and Interpretation

It has often been stated in general that the representations of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows are closely related to the cult of the Holy Blood and the Eucharist. Indeed there is little reason to doubt this, but the exact nature of this relationship remains to be delineated.

First of all, as far as what "related" means in this context, it should be remembered that Eucharistic art is not a mere illustration of already existing concepts, but an individual form of expression. Although most Eucharistic imagery appears later than the corresponding ideas in religious writing, popular piety, liturgical practice, and official doctrine, the visual medium allows for a much freer treatment of the mystical religious concepts it expresses. It is not bound by the precision of words and is often a more suitable way of rendering complex religious feelings.

Precisely for this reason, it may be misleading to look for specific written sources "inspiring" these iconographical types. Although there are a number of literary sources dealing with parallel imagery, the direct relationship between the two forms of expression is doubtful; in fact, they seem to be no more than different products of the same devotion. Women mystics' ecstatic visions, for example, include as recurrent motifs the apparition of Christ, often holding the chalice or host and giving the Eucharist to the visionary.[59] These visions occur from the thirteenth

---

[58] For the fresco in Bled and the epitaph in Nördlingen see Janez Höfler, ed., *Gotik in Slowenien*, 276–7, fig. 158, and Caroline W. Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," *Renaissance Quarterly* 1986, 399–439, fig. 13, respectively. In the print the five thick streams of blood issuing from Christ's wound turn into grapevines, of which one—as in the Nördlingen painting—ends in the chalice. Schreiber, vol. 4, 29, no. 1841m, without reproduction. Related to this group is the miniature of the Eucharistic Christ who is surrounded with grapevines that bear grapes and leaves (**22**).

[59] The nun Gertrud from Katarinenthal was in prayer after the mass when Christ appeared to her with a golden chalice in his hand. He poured his blood from his heart into the chalice and gave it to her to drink,

century, mainly in Western Europe, and characteristically in women's (nuns, beguines) experience. Images of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum holding* the chalice or host (versions best associated with these visions) are, however, almost exclusively limited to fifteenth-century Central European secular churches. Even the occasional illustrations of these visions could have exercised relatively small visual impetus on the fourteenth-century appearance of the independent portrayal of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows. Such an illustration is, for example, a French miniature of c. 1300 from a devotional manual for nuns. Christ appears in a cloud to a nun lying prostrate before the altar. He wears the crown of thorns and bleeds into the chalice from the wounds in his hands and side (Fig. 15).[60]

More exact information on how images of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* relate to various forms of Eucharistic devotion can be inferred from the original context of the works themselves: their audience, placement, and function. In the absence of sources, little is known about the actual commissioners of these works. What we do know, however, is that the overwhelming majority of the surviving examples were created for secular, mainly parish churches; therefore, it seems highly probable that in these cases the concept originated from, or was at least approved by, the local clergy.[61] The placement of the works within the church varies greatly, but in all

---

warning her never to doubt again. Anton Birlinger, ed., "Leben Heiliger Alemannischer Frauen des Mittelalters," vol. 5, "Die Nonnen von St. Katarinental bei Dieszenhofen," *Alemannia, Zeitschrift für Sprache, Literatur und Volkskunde des Elsaszes Oberrheins und Schwabens*, 15 (Bonn, 1887): 156–7, quoted by Stuhr, 246, and partly by Osten, 21, mentioned by Schiller, vol. 2, 219 (None of the latter three specify the date when the vision took place, but Schiller refers to it as an event already known in the 14th and 15th c.). Another example is the vision of Hadewijch (c. 1220–40) in which she experienced ecstatic union with Christ: *"He came to me in the form and clothing of a Man...Then he gave himself to me in the shape of the Sacrament, in its outward form, as the custom is; and then he gave me to drink from the chalice, in form and taste, as the custom is. After that he came himself to me...[then] took me entirely in his arms, and pressed me to him."* Mother Columba Hart, trans., *Hadewijch, the Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 280–1. Bynum refers to "hundreds of visions in which Christ himself gives the chalice or the host to a nun or beguine or laywoman who is unable to receive, either because of illness or because the clergy prevent it." Caroline W. Bynum, "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," in *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 136 and 347, n. 25–32, see also Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 153–165.

[60] Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20, fig. 12; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 60–63, fig. 247. For the vision of the *Vir Dolorum*, the scene of the Mass of St. Gregory is the best known example in the late Middle Ages. Caspary notes that a similar theme can already be found in the 4th–5th-c. writings of Faustus of Byzantium, relating the story of a doubting monk who saw Christ climb on the altar and pour his blood from the wound in his side into the chalice." Caspary, 105.

[61] A much smaller percentage of these images (mainly miniatures that by nature are accessible to a limited audience only) was created for private secular patrons (**22, 27**) or seen by the clergy only (breviaries and liturgical equipment such as missals, pontificals, chalices: Figs. 3, 10; **3, 6, 8, 20**). A few works were commissioned by religious communities: in Quirizio da Murano's painting Christ holds the host up to a nun (**41**, Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 106, fig. 3.10), while in the pages of a Carthusian antiphonary he hands the host to a Carthusian monk (**39**). The altarpiece in Güssing was ordered for a Dominican convent:

cases they were intended to be seen by the laity as well, and often primarily by them. A systematic examination of their original location shows recurrent patterns in placement and context, even though in some cases the original context has been lost or destroyed.

The most frequent location for these images is without doubt the tabernacle, especially if the common Italian examples are also included (Fig. 8). The latter are found on the doors of tabernacle niches or above them (or even both), the northern examples are reliefs, statues, and frescos—some imitating statues—over the tabernacle niche (Figs. 5, 12; **10, 11, 15, 21, 30, 37, 42, 48**). Other frequent locations include the interior and exterior of altarpieces (**4, 5, 24, 25, 31, 35, 43, 45, 55, 58, 59, 60, 65, 67, 68, 71, 74, 79**) and stained glass windows near the high altar in the sanctuary (Fig. 4; **9, 13, 14, 38**).[62] In one case the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice can be seen on the base of a real chalice (Fig. 10; **20**); in others, on top of ciboria and monstrances (**70, 72, 85**).

Clearly, in these locations an important function of the image is to remind the viewer of the actual presence of Christ's body. The tabernacle, as has been mentioned, received special attention from the thirteenth century as the place where the body of the Lord is preserved. The altar, in turn, is the place where the transubstantiation takes place and Christ's presence is first experienced. The same holds true for the chalice, the monstrance, and the ciborium, always made of precious metals so as to be worthy of holding the Lord's blood and flesh.

In numerous distinguished places, however, the body and blood of Christ were present not only in the consecrated host and wine, but also in the treasured Holy Blood and miraculous bleeding host relics. Quite a few of our images are related to such relics. Some early examples have already been mentioned, such as the stained glass window in Karlštejn or the portal relief of the Holy Blood chapel in Lubín (**1, 2**). In Mǎlâncrav, also, the presence of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* is related to the local Holy Blood chapel (Fig. 5; **15**).[63] The cult of the Holy Blood is preserved even in the name of Heiligenblut, site of a host miracle, where the *Vir Dolorum* holding

---

two Dominican nuns kneel on each side of Christ as donors (**45**). A breviary (**8**) was made for a Benedictine community.

[62] The altars themselves seem to have been seldom dedicated to the Eucharist. An exception is the altarpiece in Cesena dedicated to the Corpus Christi (**71**). The works in St. Lambrecht, Schönau, and Landau are found in churches dedicated to the Holy Cross, whose cult—as part of the *Arma*—was closely related to the Eucharistic cults (**25, 43, 58**). In Nagy-Pécsely, St. Helene appears holding the cross next to the *Vir Dolorum* (Fig. 16).

[63] A papal charter from 1424 grants indulgence to those who help with the *restauracio* (in fact, probably the rebuilding) of the Holy Blood chapel (Pál Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei* (Charters of fifteenth-century popes) (Budapest, 1931–38), vol. 1, 157). The location of the chapel is disputed, but several factors imply it is identical with the sanctuary of the local (parish?) church, however unusual in medieval Hungary this may be.

the host is portrayed in a window (**38**).[64] The statue by the sculptor Conrad von Einbeck may reflect the veneration of the Holy Blood at his place of origin (**18**), and the painting by the workshop of Herlin is probably related to the cult of the famous Blood-relic in the Jakobskirche in nearby Rothenburg where Friedrich Herlin himself painted the wings of the high altar (Fig. 14; **46**).[65] Schönau near Viehtach also possessed a Holy Blood relic at least since the mid-fourteenth century. The statue of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice, which itself was venerated later, was created shortly after the place received permission for indulgence in 1475 (**58**).[66] Ingolstadt had a Holy Blood relic since 1430 (**83**),[67] and the pilgrimage church in Umratshausen is itself dedicated to the Holy Blood (**63**). The surprisingly frequent occurrence of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* in Erfurt can also be explained by the veneration of relics originating from local Eucharistic miracles (**13, 14, 33, 34, 52**). The stained glass windows in the cathedral relate to the relic preserved there in the chapel of the Holy Blood, which came to Erfurt from a nearby village where a Eucharistic miracle occurred in 1190/91 (**13, 14**).[68] Another miracle happened in Erfurt in 1249 when a host thrown into a fishpond by two thieves was found dry on its retrieval.[69] The Brunnenkirche built on the site of the miracle has today an epitaph for Conrad von Weingarten and his wife depicting an Eucharistic *Schmerzensmann* (**52**). In addition to the veneration of the local host relic, even the place of origin of the couple may have had an influence on the choice of subject matter, Weingarten being one of the oldest and most famous places to preserve a Holy Blood relic.[70]

In Italy, also, the appearance of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows has sometimes been explained by local veneration of relics of the Holy Blood. The innumerable tabernacle decorations have little to do with actual relics, but a few representations unusual to Italy do seem in fact related. Numerous examples that

---

[64] Cf. Bauerreiss, 68 and Frodl-Kraft, 88–89.

[65] For the cult of the Holy Blood in Einbeck, see Heuser, 22. Herlin's high altar in the Jakobskirche stands directly below the extraordinary stained glass window expounding the doctrine of the Eucharist, c. 1390 (Detlef Knipping, "Eucharistie- und Blutreliquienverehrung: Das Eucharistiefenster der Jakobskirche in Rothernburg ob der Tauber," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1993/1: 79–101).

[66] The particle of the Holy Blood was kept in a chalice-shaped reliquary (Heuser, 9). For further possible connections between the cult of the Holy Blood in and near the valley of the Isar and the numerous local representations of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows with the chalice (**32, 37, 43, 58, 82, Appendix 2**) see Anton Meyer-Pfannholz, *Heilig Blut und seine Legende: Der Isargau* 2, 1928.

[67] Heuser, 7.

[68] T. Kolde, *Das religiöse Leben in Erfurt beim Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 16/2, no. 63. (Halle, 1898), 28–29, 31; Bauerreiss, 54; Heuser, 23.

[69] Bauerreiss, 54.

[70] Winfried Ellerhorst, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Blutes zu Weingarten* (Weingarten, 1937).

diverge from the usual Italian type can be found in Mantua, the town most famous for its Holy Blood relic next to Orvieto.[71] Two tabernacle busts of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice were created by the same Matteo Civitali of Lucca who erected the *tempietto* over the famous Volto Santo statue, itself a relic, in which a vial full of the Precious Blood had been found (**49, 61**).[72] Finally, the statue in Ferrara, also holding the chalice, stands on top of a baldachin erected over the site of a famous twelfth-century bleeding host miracle (**84**).[73]

To mark the place of the real presence of Christ is a very important, but by no means exclusive, function these images had in their original context. What about those works whose placement has no direct Eucharistic relevance, or, like prints, are moveable and have no physical context at all? Numerous images of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* are located in places where they were primarily seen by the laity: they are frescos in side aisles or near entrances (Fig. 13; **7, 12, 64**), ceiling decoration (**75**), reliefs and statues on the exterior of secular churches over or near entrances (**1, 32, 33, 34, 52**). Some statues with unknown provenance may have stood by themselves in the nave (Figs. 9, 11; **19?, 28?, 54?, 76?, 77?**). The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows also appears on epitaphs (Fig. 14; **46, 52, 83**), tombstones (**17, 82**), votive panels (**29?, 47**), as well as non-liturgical miniatures (**22, 27, 36**), single-block prints (**16, 50, 51, 53, 56, 62, 80**), even stove tiles (**69**).

The primary function in these cases is implied by inscriptions on the images themselves: "*Caro mea vere est cibus | et sanguis meus vere| est potus*," declares the Man of Sorrows in a print of about 1475, from the Upper Rhine region (**53**). Five thick streams of blood issue from his wounds and turn into a grapevine with grapes and leaves, some of which end in a chalice standing on the ground, over which the host can also be seen. Additional inscriptions on each side read *Ego sum vitis vera* and *Ego sum panis* [*vivus*, last word destroyed].[74] Many other works that easily lend themselves to be inscribed—panel paintings, frescos, miniatures, prints—carry similar inscriptions.

These words of Christ, on which the dogma of transubstantiation is based, are expressed by visual means in these and all the other images discussed here. The

---

[71] The relic of the Holy Blood in Mantua and the related works of art are discussed in detail in Marita Horster's article (Horster, 151–180).

[72] Horst Appuhn, *Einführung in die Ikonographie in die mittelalterliche Kunst in Deutschland*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (Darmstadt, 1980), 123; Pietro Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca* (Lucca, 1982), 48, 50, 52.

[73] A panel by Antonio Aleotti, dated 1498, also has a Ferrarese provenance and may be connected to this local cult (**67**). Its iconography is rare to Italy and distinguishes it from the usual Italian works (Jadranka Bentini, ed., *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Ferrara* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992), 32–33, cat. no. 36).

[74] Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte*, vol. 4, 29, no. 1841m.

many versions of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows have one essential feature in common: they all visually demonstrate the origin of the Eucharist. The Eucharist is shown issuing from Christ's very body: blood from his wounds is caught in the chalice of the mass or turns into hosts in mid-air; grapevine and stalks of wheat grow from his wounds and end in the chalice; hosts are shown/given to the viewer/adorer with a clear indication of the side wound as their source.

These images explain and teach the truth of the dogma to the laity. Such a didactic function has, since the writings of St. Gregory the Great, been accepted in the West as one that justifies the existence of images. Besides sermons, poems, mystery plays, etc., works of art were also considered especially suitable for the instruction of the illiterate masses. Although by the time the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* appears in art the doctrine of transubstantiation had been officially accepted for almost a hundred and fifty years, the task of teaching the Eucharist to the masses remained a constant duty of the clergy.[75] In fifteenth-century Central Europe, the area where the greatest number of these works are found in many imaginative variations, the importance of this task went beyond the duties of basic catechism, since the truth of the dogma had been seriously questioned by the Hussite movement in the region. The most extreme groups within Hussitism denied the dogma of transubstantiation together with the indispensability of the clergy, but even the less radical Prague faction doubted the dogma of concomitance, namely, that both species of the Sacrament contain separately the body and blood of the Redeemer. Consequently, they rejected contemporary practice which denied the chalice to laymen, and called for communion under both species (*utraquism*).[76]

The doubt regarding the presence of both the flesh and blood of Christ in the host was a constant problem in other parts of Europe, too. The numerous bleeding host miracles, which often happened to counter the disbelief of participants in the mass, attest to the sensitivity with which this dogma was handled among the clergy

---

[75] Rubin, 98–129.

[76] They based their claim on the interpretation of John 6:53: *"Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you,"* and held that communion under both species was a prerequisite for salvation. For the Eucharistic debates of the Hussites in general see William R. Cook, "The Eucharist in Hussite Theology," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975): 23–35; Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), for further reference on the Hussite movement František Šmahel, *La révolution hussite, une anomalie historique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), and idem, *Husitská revoluce* (The Hussite revolution), (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1993); Jarold Knox Zeman, *The Hussite Movement and the Reformation in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia (1350–1650): A Bibliographical Study Guide* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977).

and laity alike.[77] In teaching the Eucharist, therefore, a demonstration of the presence of the blood in the host was an important issue. In art, this doctrine is reflected in the frequent appearance of the host above the chalice, bathed by the stream of blood that issues from Christ's side (often described by modern art historians as "blood transforming into a host"). Occasionally, as has been shown, the chalice is missing altogether; instead, the blood is transformed into numerous hosts (Fig. 10).[78]

Central Europe was, however, also threatened by more a dangerous heresy in the fifteenth century—the radical Hussites' denial of transubstantiation itself. In this region the task to reinforce the dogma seems to have given birth to more emphatic versions of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, such as the *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice. It can hardly be accidental that in the Late Middle Ages this type occurs almost exclusively around, and partly in, Bohemia, the areas particularly affected by this heresy (**Appendix 2**).

The interpretation of this particular type is complicated by the manifold symbolic meaning of the chalice itself which the Hussites themselves adopted to represent their cause.[79] It is hardly possible that, at this time and place, an image that has the chalice in its focus should be free from these new associations. Nonetheless, the chalice should not be interpreted as a Hussite symbol, as it had had an unbroken tradition in the context of the *Vir Dolorum* in Eastern-Central European art since the early fourteenth century (Figs. 1–4; **1–3, 5–11**), and continued to be used in orthodox Catholic art despite its Hussite associations.[80] Its interpretation should rest on the novelty of its iconography: the implications of the voluntary nature of Christ's own sacrifice. He appears not only as sacrifice but also as priest, an idea first formulated by the Apostle Paul (Heb. 2:17), and by his authority as high priest asserts the truth of the dogma of the transubstantiation. This twofold aspect of Christ's part in his sacrifice was well understood and widely used

---

[77] The most famous such miracle happened at the mass of Bolsena in 1263. For a detailed discussion of German *Bluthostien* and other host miracles, see Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu*. According to his research, host miracles become frequent in the second half of the 13th c. (15 instances out of the listed 117), their peak time is the first half of the 14th c. (28 instances), but remain frequent also in the second half of the 14th c. (16 instances) and first half of the 15th c. (12 instances). The majority of cases have been reported in Bavaria (39 instances). Most miracles happened during the Easter feast (Bauerreiss, 79–80).

[78] An example of the many related images that also serve for the visualisation of this doctrine is a painting of the *Mystical Winepress* by the workshop of Dürer. The blood pressed from Christ's body turns into numerous hosts just before it falls into the chalice held under the winepress by St. Peter as Pope (Alexandre-Bidon, 173, fig. 83).

[79] Bartlová, 167–83.

[80] On this topic I profited much from discussions with Milena Bartlová, for which I would like to express my gratitude.

in the theological thought of the period.[81] It also appears in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council: *...[ecclesia] in qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus.*[82] A little known fresco that once decorated a Benedictine church in Nagy-Pécsely, Hungary, and depicts Christ as a Man of Sorrows celebrating the mass himself, demonstrates that this doctrine was expressed in the visual arts as well (Fig. 16).[83]

In this region, where the dogma on which the most crucial ritual of the Catholic church was based and the priestly authority necessary for its performance were questioned, an image of Christ the priest catching his own blood in the chalice served not only to illustrate but to reinforce the dogma by the rehabilitation of the chalice: it reminded its viewers that this doctrine was not the result of a later theological speculation that could be proved or disproved, but had been instituted by the Saviour himself.

Although by the second half of the fifteenth century the practice of utraquism was accepted in many churches and tolerated by others as long a the doctrine of concomitance was not questioned, the heresy of the denial of transubstantiation remained topical. In Central Europe particularly, as in other parts of Europe, images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows served to call attention to the real presence of Christ and to underpin the doctrine of transubstantiation by visualising the equality of the host and wine of the Eucharist with the body and blood of the Saviour.

Probationary Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphsad01@phd.ceu.hu

---

[81] The German name in art historical scholarship for the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice (*Messopfernder Schmerzensmann*) is also based on this interpretation. Osten, passim.

[82] Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 136, n. 35.

[83] Flóris Rómer, *Régi falképek Magyarországon* (Old murals in Hungary), Magyarországi Régészeti Emlékek (Budapest, 1874), vol. 3, pt. 1, 8, Pl. 1. The work, destroyed in 1861, dates from the late 14th or early 15th century and is an important predecessor to the representation of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice which occurs very early in this region. Despite the destroyed head it is obvious that Christ appears here as the *Vir Dolorum*: both his bare chest and the stigma on his pointing left hand identify him as such.

Appendix 1. Works of art representing the Man of Sorrows with a eucharistic attribute

Abbreviations: ? = unknown; – = none, not applicable, (?) = information not available

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
1.	1350s	Lubín/Lüben	Holy Blood castle chapel	Silesia	stone relief	over entrance portal	chalice by right foot	in situ
2.	c. 1357–65	Karlštejn, castle	St. Catherine chapel	Bohemia	stained glass window	S wall	chalice by side, *Arma*	destroyed
3.	after 1364	Prague	Missal of Jan ze Středy	Bohemia	miniature	F initial	chalice by right elbow, *Arma*	Prague, Castle, Chapter Library, Cim, 6. fol. 67v
4.	last third of 14th c.	? (Domingo Valls)	altarpiece?	Catalonia	panel painting	?	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma*	Barcelona, Juñer Collection
5.	last quarter of 14th c.	Pełcznica (near Świebodzice) /Polsnitz	altarpiece	Silesia	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice by right foot	Wroclaw, Diocesan museum
6. Fig. 3.	1376	Prague	Pontifical of Albrecht of Šternberk	Bohemia	miniature	T initial for the canon	chalice by side wound on edge of sarcophagus	Prague, Strahov Monastery, DG I 19, fol. 199r
7.	1376–1414	Kwidzyn	St. John the Evangelist cathedral	Teutonic territory	mural	wall of N aisle	chalice and host in the air by Christ's right knee, sarcophagus	in situ
8.	c. 1385	Opatovice, St. Lawrence monastery	Benedictine breviary	Bohemia	miniature	Corpus Christi vigil	chalice and host by right foot	Cracow, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly (not inventoried)
9. Fig. 4.	c. 1390	Slivenec near Prague	parish church	Bohemia	stained glass window	SE wall of sanctuary	chalice and host by right foot, *Arma* in hands	Prague, Museum of Applied Arts
10.	late 14th– early 15th c.	Šamorín/Somorja	parish (present-day Protestant) church	Hungary	stone relief	tabernacle, N wall of sanctuary	chalice on edge of niche	in situ

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
11.	late 14th– early 15th c.	Spišská Bela /Szepesbéla	St. Anthony Abbot parish church	Hungary	stone relief	tabernacle N wall of sanctuary	chalice on edge of niche	in situ
12. Fig. 13.	early 15th c.	Piacenza	cathedral	Emilia	mural	pillar at corner of S aisle and S transept	numerous hosts falling from both hands of Christ who stands on a blood basin	in situ
13.	c. 1403	Erfurt	Cathedral, Apostelfenster	Thuringia	stained glass window	N wall of sanctuary	chalice by right foot	in situ
14.	c. 1403	Erfurt	Cathedral, Tiefengruben- fenster	Thuringia	stained glass window	S wall of sanctuary	chalice on floor in front of Sarcophagus	in situ
15. Fig. 5.	before 1405	Mǎlâncrav /Almakerék	secular church (probably parish church)	Hungary	mural	over tabernacle, NE wall of sanctuary	chalice and host in air under side wound	in situ
16.	first quarter of 15th c.	–	print series	France or Germany	woodcut	–	chalice in right hand, *Arma* in background	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
17.	first quarter of 15th c.	Swäbisch Hall	–	Swabia	stone relief	tombstone	chalice in the air under side wound, whip, donor	local museum
18.	1415	Halle (Saale), Moritzkirche (Conrad von Einbeck)	–	Saxony	stone statue	(?)	chalice and host by right foot, *Arma*	in situ
19. Fig. 9.	c. 1420–24	Buda, St. Sigismund chapel	?	Hungary	stone statue	?	chalice in right hand	Budapest, Budapest History Museum
20. Fig. 10.	c. 1420–40 (?)	Bratislava /Pozsony, St. Martin's Cathedral	chalice	Hungary	metalwork	–	chalice in right hand	Bratislava, St. Martin

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
21.	second quarter of 15th c.	Pogorzela	parish church	Silesia	mural	over tabernacle in sanctuary	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma* in background	in situ
22.	second quarter of 15th c.	Thuringia?	codex with Biblia Pauperum	Thuringia, perhaps Saxony	miniature	appendix to a Biblia Pauperum	Eucharistic Christ, chalice in right hand, grapevine, winepress	Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Cod. Pal. Lat. 871, fol. 22r
23.	c. 1430	Mariapfarr (Friedrich und Johann von Villach)	parish church, Georgskapelle	Salzburg	mural	(?)	chalice and host on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma*, Lamentation	in situ
24.	c. 1430	Görlitz, Frauenkirche	Altar of the Virgin?	Lausitz	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice and host by right foot, *Arma* in arms	Görlitz, Museum
25.	c. 1435	St. Lambrecht, St. Peters (Master of the St. Lambrecht Crucifixions)	Holy Cross altar	Styria	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice and host by right foot	in situ
26.	c. 1435	Gdansk/Danzig, Marienkirche, Jakobskapelle	Winterfeld diptych	Teutonic territory	panel painting	diptych wing	chalice, lancet, *Arma* in form of a shield, *Fünfwundenheiland*, Madonna and Child	Gdansk, Marienkirche
27.	c. 1440	(?)	Select Psalms of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester	England	miniature	Psalm 18(?)	chalice and host on a small altar in front of sarcophagus, donor, patron saint, angels, God the Father	London, British Museum, MS. Royal 2 B. I. fol. 8.
28.	c. 1440	?	?	S Bohemia or Lower Austria	wooden statue	?	chalice in right hand	Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
29.	1443	Brzeg/Brieg, St. Nicholas	–	Silesia	panel painting	votive panel?	chalice and host by right foot of Christ, *Arma*, *Fünfwundenheiland*	Brzeg, St. Nicholas
30. Fig. 12.	1446	Salzburg (Conrad Laib)	parish (present-day Franciscan) church	Salzburg	mural	over tabernacle, N, inside of triumphal arch	chalice in right hand	in situ
31.	mid-15th c.	Swiný/Schwein-haus	altarpiece	Silesia	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice and host by right foot of Christ	in situ
32.	mid-15th c.	Landshut, St. Martin	*Notgottes* statue group	Bavaria	terracotta statue	exterior, S wall, niche, Bürgerportal	chalice in right hand, *Notgottes* group, angels	Landshut, St. Martin (moved inside)
33.	mid-15th c.	Erfurt, Lorenzkirche (Master "i")	–	Thuringia	stone statue	W facade	chalice in right hand	(?)
34.	mid-15th c.	Erfurt, Wigbertikirche (Master "i")	–	Thuringia	stone statue	W facade	chalice in right hand	in situ
35.	c. 1450	Matejovce/Mateóc parish church (Master of the High Altar of Mateóc)	Altar of St. Stephen and Emeric	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice by right foot, *Arma*	in situ
36.	15th c.	(?)	depiction of the children of Saturn	Germany	miniature	(?)	chalice in left hand, Christ stands on a comet	Tübingen, (?)
37.	1454	Bachling, parish church	–	Bavaria	stone statue	tabernacle decoration	chalice in right hand	in situ

|	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
38.	c. 1460	Heiligenblut	St. Andrew's chapel	Lower Austria	window	S window, sanctuary	host in right hand	in situ
39.	c. 1460	Brno	Carthusian antiphonary	Moravia	miniature	(?)	host in right hand which Christ hands to a kneeling Carthusian monk, altar in background	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1775, fol. 43v
40.	c. 1460–1470	Kaufbeuren, St. Blaise chapel (Peter Hopfer?)	reliquary altar	Schwabia	panel painting	sanctuary	chalice by right foot, *Engelpietr*	in situ
41.	c. 1460–78	Venice (Quirizio da Murano)	altarpiece?	Veneto	panel painting	?	Eucharistic Christ holding up a large host to a nun	Venice, Accademia
42.	shortly after 1464	Spišská Sobota /Szepeszombat	parish church	Hungary	mural	N wall of sanctuary, tabernacle	chalice under right foot	in situ
43.	c. 1465–70	Landau an der Isar, Holy Cross chapel (cemetery chapel)	Holy Cross high altar	Bavaria	wooden statue	central statue	chalice in right hand	in situ
44.	1466	Olomouc	Missal of Jan z Bludov	Moravia	miniature	C initial	shallow vessel under side wound, *Arma*	Olomouc, Chapter Library, CO 45 fol. 186r
45.	1469	?	Passion altar	Austria or Hungary	panel painting	altar wing	chalice in right hand	Güssing, Collection Draskovich
46. Fig. 14.	1469	Nördlingen (Friedrich Herlin or workshop)	Epitaph of Paul Strauss	Schwabia	panel painting	epitaph	grapevine, stalk of wheat, chalice and host on the ground, donor	Nördlingen, Stadtmuseum
47.	c. 1470	Prague, Our Lady (Týn) church?	–	Bohemia	panel painting	votive panel	chalice in left hand, (host in right hand ?)	Prague, National Gallery

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
48.	c. 1470	Bled, Church of the Assumption of the Virgin (Disciple of Master Bolfangus)	tabernacle	Kraina	mural	tabernacle niche	stalk of wheat, grapevine	in situ
49.	c. 1470	Lucca, Sta. Maria della Rosa (**Matteo Civitali**)	tabernacle?	Tuscany	terracotta statue (half-length)	tabernacle niche?	chalice in right hand	location unknown (stolen by Nazi troops)
50.	c. 1470	Ulm? ("Michael")	–	Swabia	woodcut	indulgence leaflet	chalice in right hand, *Arma*	Nuremberg, Germ. Nationalmuseum
51.	c. 1470–80	Upper Rhineland	–	Upper Rhineland	woodcut	devotional leaflet?	chalice and host on the ground to the right, Christ stands on a blood basin, 14 hosts fall from his side wound	Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung
52.	c. 1472?	Erfurt, Brunnenkirche	epitaph of Conrad of Weingarten	Thuringia	stone relief	epitaph, W facade	chalice in right hand	in situ
53.	c. 1475	Upper Rhineland	–	Upper Rhineland	woodcut	devotional leaflet?	streams of blood turning into grapevine, chalice and host on ground	Zurich, KH.
54. **Fig. 11.**	second half of 15th c.	?	?	Upper Austria or S Bohemia	wooden statue	?	chalice in right hand	Salzburg, Vanecek Collection
55.	last quarter of 15th c.	? (Circle of the Cervera Master)	altarpiece	Catalonia	panel painting	altar predella	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Engelpietà*	Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (deposit)
56.	last quarter of 15th c.	?	–	Germany or Switzerland	woodcut	indulgence leaflet	host in right hand, chalice in left	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
57.	last quarter of 15th c.	Lyngby	parish church	Denmark	mural	vaulting	chalice by left leg, *Fünfwundenheiland*	in situ
58.	c. 1480	Schönau near Viehtach, Holy Cross church	altarpiece	Bavaria	wooden statue	central statue?	chalice in right hand	in situ, but removed from altarpiece
59.	c. 1480	Smrečany /Szmrecsány, parish church (Master of the High Altar of Szmrecsány)	Altar of the Virgin	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing of high altar	chalice in air under right hand of Christ, *Arma* in background	in situ
60. Fig. 6.	c. 1480	Telkibánya, parish church?	winged altarpiece	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing?	chalice by right leg of Christ, *Engelpietà*, *Fünfwundenheiland*	Esztergom, Christian Museum
61.	c. 1480	Lammari, parish church (Matteo Civitali)	tabernacle	Tuscany	stone statue (half-length)	tabernacle niche	chalice and host in right hand	Lammari, parish church (moved within the church)
62.	c. 1480	?	–	Germany	woodcut	devotional print?	chalice on right of Christ, *Arma*	Dresden, K.K.
63.	c. 1480?	Umratshausen, Heiligblutskirche	altarpiece?	Upper Bavaria	wooden statue	in altarshrine?	chalice in right hand	in situ, on a corbel in the sanctuary (removed from the altarpiece?)
64.	c.1480– 1500	Kongsted	parish church	Denmark	fresco	tower arch, S	*Fünfwundenheiland*, lower half where chalice probably stood destroyed	in situ
65.	1483	Tallinn, Holy Spirit church (Workshop of Bernt Notke)	altarpiece	Teutonic territory	panel painting	altar wing	chalice and host over a shield of *Arma* in front of Christ	(?)

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
66.	1483	Louka	missal	Moravia	miniature	N initial introit, Maundy Thursday	chalice on right of Christ, cross in left arm	Prague, Strahov Monastery, DG II 14 fol. 86v
67.	1498	Ferrara? (Antonio Aleotti Argenta)	altarpiece?	Emilia	panel painting	?	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma*	Ferrara, Pinacoteca Nazionale
68.	late 15th c.	Skånella, church	altarpiece	Sweden?	wooden relief	altarpiece	chalice in the air under left arm	in situ
69.	early 16th c.	?	tile oven	Central Germany	glazed tile	?	chalice in right hand of Christ	Leipzig, Museum of Applied Arts
70.	early 16th c.	?	monstrance or ciborium?	South Germany?	bronze statuette	top decoration (lid?)	chalice in right hand	Budapest, Hungarian National Museum
71.	1505	Cesena, cathedral (Giambattista Bregno)	Corpus Christi chapel altar	Romagna	stone statue	central statue	chalice in right hand	Cesena, cathedral
72.	1507	Breitenbrunn in der Oberpfalz, parish church of the Assumption	monstrance	Oberpfalz	gilded silver statuette	top decoration	chalice in right hand	Breitenbrunn in der Oberpfalz, parish church of the Assumption
73.	c. 1510	? (Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen)	– (perhaps part of a diptych?)	Low Countries	panel painting	small panel for private devotion	chalice on edge of sarcophagus	Antwerp, Mayer van der Bergh Museum
74.	c. 1510	? (Lucas van Leyden)	Altarpiece of the Miraculous Feeding	Low Countries	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice on the side	unknown
75.	1513–19	Gogan Varolea /Gogánváralja, parish (present-day Protestant) church	painted ceiling	Hungary	panel painting	ceiling	chalice and host by left foot under the extended left hand, cross in right arm	Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
76.	c. 1515	?	?	Upper-Austria	wooden statue	?	chalice in right hand	Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum
77.	c. 1515–20	Kiebitz (Hans Witten)	?	Saxony	wooden statue	?	chalice by right foot, angel	Munich, Collection Hubert Wilm
78.	1520	– (Hans Sebald Beham)	–	Franconia	engraving	–	host in right hand, chalice in left	New York Public Library, Print Collection
79.	c. 1520–30	Stara Lesna /Felsöerdőfalva, parish church	St. Paul altarpiece (high altar)	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice by right foot, *Fünfwundenheiland*, two angels	in situ
80.	first half of 16th c.	?	–	?	woodcut	?	chalice in right hand, host in left	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
81.	c. 1530	?	?	South-Netherlands	panel painting	?	chalice on corner of separate sarcophagus, right of Christ, *Arma*	Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts
82.	1533	Unterdietfurt (Master of the Altötting Portals)	tombstone of the Sulzperger family	Bavaria	stone relief (red marble)	tombstone	chalice in right hand	in situ
83.	1534	Ingolstadt, Minoritenkirche	epitaph of Hans Demel	Bavaria	stone relief	epitaph	chalice on ground in front of Christ	in situ
84.	1596?	Ferrara, Sta Maria in Vado	altar baldachin	Emilia	stone statue	top decoration	chalice in left hand	in situ
85.	early 17th c.	Florence?	ciborium	Tuscany	silver statuette	top decoration	chalice in right hand, cross in left	Casole d'Elsa, Santa Maria Assunta

Appendix 2.
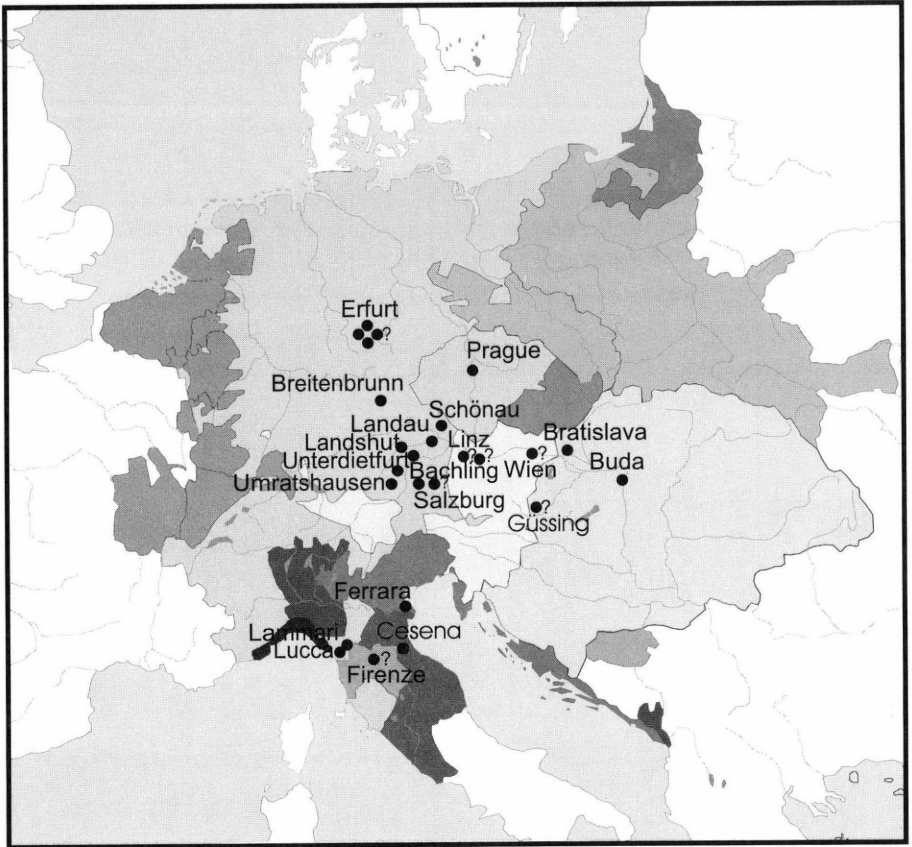
Map of Europe showing the distribution of the
Man of Sorrows holding the chalice
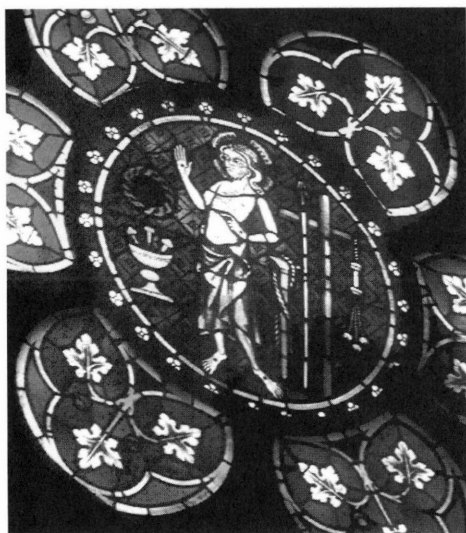
Fig. 1. Man of Sorrows with *Arma Christi*. Stained glass window, c. 1320. Freiburg im Breisgau, Cathedral.
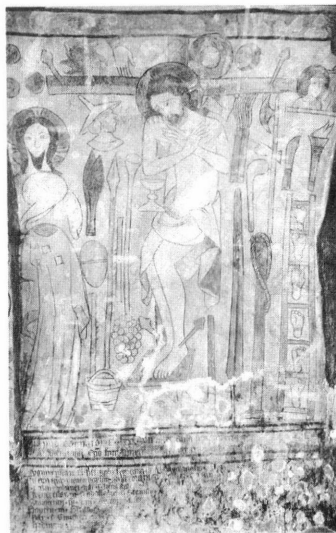
Fig. 2. Man of Sorrows with *Arma Christi*. Fresco, first quarter of the 14th c. Průhonice (Bohemia), Church of the Virgin.

Fig. 3. Man of Sorrows with chalice. Pontifical of Albrecht of Šternberk. Prague. Miniature, 1376. Prague, Strahov Premonstratensian Monastery, cod. DG I 19, fol. 199v.
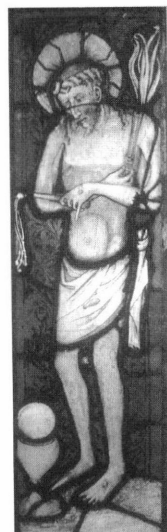
Fig. 4. Man of Sorrows with *Arma*, chalice, and host. Stained glass window, c. 1390. From the parish church of Slivenec near Prague. Prague, Museum of Applied Arts.
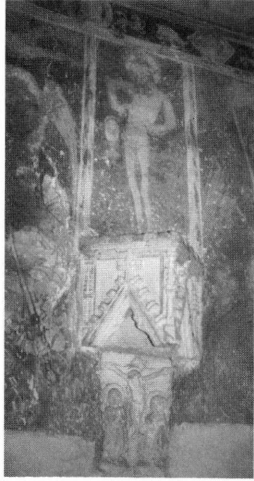
Fig. 5. Man of Sorrows with chalice. Tabernacle fresco. Before 1405. Mălâncrav/ Almakerék (Romania), Lutheran (former parish) church.
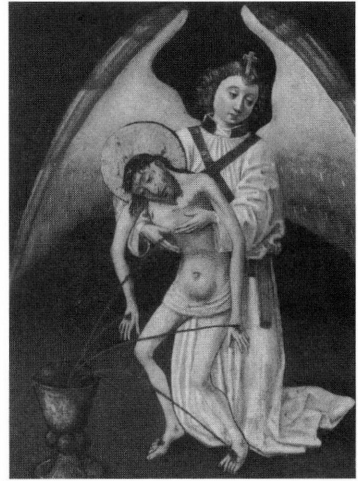
Fig. 6. *Fünfwundenheiland* held by an angel. From Telkibánya, Hungary. Panel, c. 1480. Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom (Hungary).
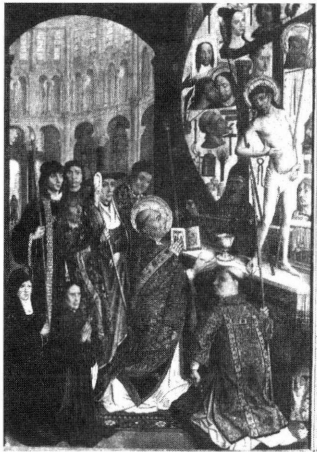
Fig. 7. Master of the "Heilige Sippe": The Mass of St. Gregory. Panel, c. 1500. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts.
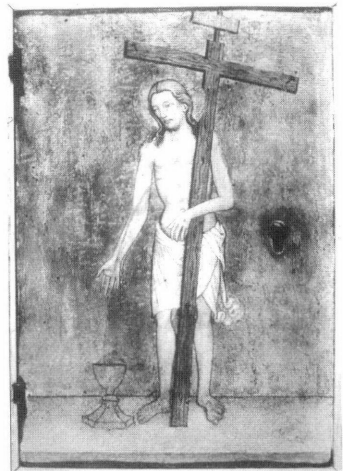
Fig. 8. Lippo d'Andrea: The Redeemer. Tabernacle door. Panel, 1410s. San Casciano Val di Pesa, Museo d'Arte Sacra.

Fig. 9. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. From Buda, St. Sigismund. Limestone, 1420–24. Budapest, Budapest History Museum.

Fig. 10. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. Detail from the base of a chalice. Gilded silver and enamel, c. 1420–40 (?). Bratislava, St. Martin.

Fig. 11. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. Upper Austrian or South Bohemian. Wood, second half of the 15th c. Salzburg, Coll. Vanecek.

Fig. 12. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. Tabernacle fresco, 1446. Salzburg, Franciscan church.
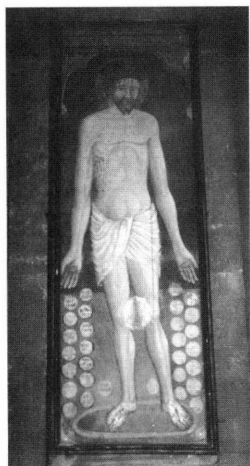
Fig. 13. Man of Sorrows with hosts falling from his wounds. Fresco, early 15th c. Piacenza, Cathedral.
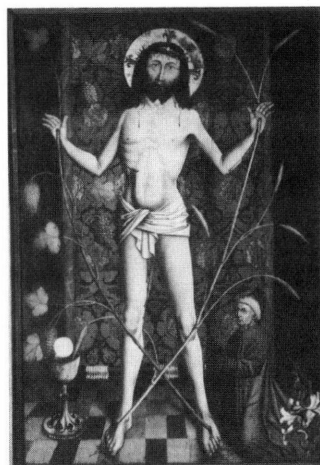
Fig. 14. Friedrich Herlin and workshop: Man of Sorrows with grapevine, stalk of wheat, chalice, and host. Epitaph of Paul Strauss. Panel, 1469. Nördlingen, Stadtmuseum.

Fig. 15. The Man of Sorrows appearing to a nun in a vision. La Sainte Abbaye. France. Miniature, c. 1300. London, British Library, MS Add. 39843, fol. 29.

Fig. 16. The Man of Sorrows celebrating Mass. Fresco, late 14th – early 15th c. Nagy-Pécsely (Hungary), Benedictine church (watercolor copy by Flóris Rómer after the destroyed original).

STAGING THE EASTER *OFFICIUM*
IN MEDIEVAL POLAND:
ASPECTS OF PRODUCTION AND PERFORMANCE

Jolanta Szpilewska 🔽

Introduction

Forms of Easter observance were extremely rich in medieval Poland. The main features of these celebrations included: spectacular Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday processions, Feet Washing and the Lord's Supper ceremony on Holy Thursday, the Way of the Cross and Deposition of the Cross on Good Friday, as well as the custom of erecting Easter sepulchres in churches—the central sites for the Paschal Triduum events, and for the staging of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* plays. All these ceremonies belong to the liturgical theatre and fall somewhere between the liturgy of the Mass, the Liturgy of Hours and vernacular Biblical plays.

The present study of a corpus of liturgical ceremonies and plays from the thirteenth-sixteenth century aims to describe the specific features of these records from literary and performance aspects.[1] The research is also meant to facilitate the on-stage reconstruction of early religious theatre. The terminology I apply in the course of the study is modern because the questions regarding the works under consideration are ultimately modern ones. The classification of the plays themselves is also a fairly recent invention and in many respects it is still a matter to be resolved.[2] I accept the approach suggested recently by Michael L. Norton[3] in which

---

[1] The present paper is based on the MA thesis with the same title defended at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest in June 1999. The dissertation contains a list of the primary sources discovered so far, extensive discussion of the secondary literature as well as an Appendix listing the works selected for the present discussion within the larger corpus of the ceremonies from Poland. It also provides the manuscript reference numbers and their present location.

[2] The term 'liturgical drama' was first applied in the nineteenth-century to describe a large collection of texts. See Julian Lewański, *Średniowieczne gatunki dramatyczno-teatralne: Dramat liturgiczny* (Medieval drama and theatre genres: Liturgical drama) in *Poetyka: Zarys encyklopedyczny* (Poetics: An Outline), ed. Maria Renata Mayenowa, vol. 3, part 1 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1966), 3.

[3] In his study of the literary and musical parts of the antiphons in the *Visitationes*, Norton observed two independent traditions within the corpus of these texts: "The older, and highly inconstant, tradition of the West and the largely ignored, albeit certainly prodigious tradition of the East." Michael L. Norton, "Of Stages and Types in *Visitatione Sepulchri*," in *Drama in the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays: Second Series*, AMS Studies in the Middle Ages 18, ed. Clifford Davidson (New York: AMS Press, 1991): 85.

he suggests grouping texts according to their provenance and musical notation. Music was one of the components of liturgical and theatrical sign-systems. While I include the topic in the selected bibliography, I choose to omit this vast and absolutely indispensable area of research from my work, since I cannot deal with all the aspects of liturgical performance in the present paper. Instead, I have decided to concentrate on the literary and performative 'texts' of the ceremonies and focus on reconstruction work. One reason for doing so is also the fact that musical notation is missing from all but one of the texts I am studying.[4]

The criteria for the selection of dramatic records for the present study were elaborated rubrics interpolated into the liturgical text. On the textual level they were treated as glosses, but they would become stage directions on the level of theatrical script. For the textual analysis I selected texts from different locations, such as Brzeg, Nysa, Wrocław, while the main focus falls on Cracow and Poznań records. The texts are discussed in the order they would have been performed and experienced in the context of the Holy Week.

Materials that support the second part of the research are, unfortunately, rather limited. I consulted manuscript editions referring to the members of the Cracow chapter as well as cathedral inventories. They cannot be directly related to the dramatic records since historical records precede the dramatic by at least eighty years. In the case of the positioning of the Easter sepulchre I followed examples from the neighbouring regions of Germany and Bohemia. Not all the archives have been explored in search of liturgical plays and ceremonies' documentation. The results of the research are tentative because I expect further analyses of sources to add to my own in the future.[5]

---

[4] "Visitatio Sepulchri" MS Br. Mus. K. 21, f. 76r–77r in Wrocław University Library.

[5] Ceremonies relating to Cracow were discovered by Stanisław Windakiewicz at the beginning of the 20th century and published in: Stanisław Windakiewicz, *Dramat liturgiczny w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Liturgical Drama in Medieval Poland) (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1903).
An enlarged collection of dramatic texts was published by Julian Lewański in *Dramaty Staropolskie: Antologia* (Early Polish drama: Anthology), vol. 1–2, (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959). Discussion of the early religious theatre in Poland within the broader European context is conducted by the same author in: *Studia nad dramatem polskiego Odrodzenia* (Studies in Polish Renaissance drama) (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1956), *Średniowieczne gatunki, Dramat i teatr średniowiecza i renesansu w Polsce* (Polish drama and theatre of the Middle Ages and Renaissance) (Warsaw: PWN, 1981). See also his recent overview of theatrical practice in medieval Polish churches: "Tajemnica Ofiary i Odkupienia w średniowiecznym polskim teatrze liturgicznym" (The mystery of sacrifice and redemption in Polish medieval liturgical theatre), in *Dramat i teatr religijny w Polsce* (Religious drama and theatre in Poland), ed. Irena Sławińska and Wojciech Kaczmarek (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1991): 7–32. Lewański encountered 30 *Visitatio Sepulchri* plays in Poland.
The chronological principle for the classification of the liturgical plays was introduced in the path-breaking studies of German scholars: Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Munich: n.p., 1887), Gustav Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Wolfenbüttel: n.p., 1880). The same approach was

Theoretical grounds for the research have been defined along three lines. First, the text-theory that emerged in the field of literary studies has been applied to describe the complex text or 'script' of the liturgical plays under consideration.[6] Liturgical drama records have been approached as a dramatic text and as performance text. Dramatic text means the script or simply the record that survives in the liturgical book. The performance text takes into account the actors, setting, properties, and stage movement. A proper description of the entire performance has to base itself on the performance text rather than exclusively on the dramatic text.

Issues concerning the reception of the dramatic text and attempts at its reconstruction have their own, specific problems.[7] It is only modern scholarship that has started taking an interest in theatrical and dramatic space, the intended audience, and historical performance description, or the so-called performance-centred criticism.[8] Thus, it is the purpose of the present work to analyse the available source material and, by applying modern drama and text reception theories, to recover the rich liturgical performance repertoire of the past. I hope the research will ultimately assist modern liturgical drama productions.

---

assumed by Karl Young in *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933). The evolutionary and chronological treatment of the plays was challenged by O. B. Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), and by Helmut de Boor, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Tübingen: n.p., 1967).

[6] A concise overview of the text-oriented literary theories and their relation to theatrical practice and reconstruction has been included in Grzegorz Sinko, *Opis przedstawienia teatralnego: Problem semiotyczny* (Description of a theatrical performance: A semiotic problem) (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1982). The work also defines the main problems in the reconstruction of a theatrical performance.

[7] The context of a liturgical performance, its production process and the audience have recently attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Clifford Davidson has explored the material aspect of religious plays: *Material Culture and Medieval Drama*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 25 (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1999), also see: *Drama in the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays*, AMS Studies in the Middle Ages 18, ed. C. Davidson (New York: AMS Press, 1991). Lynette Muir has done extensive research on medieval western and central European religious plays with special regard to the issue of the performance practice: *Liturgy and Drama in the Anglo-Norman Adam*, Medium Aevum Monographs 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995). The most recent collection of essays on medieval play production and the community's contribution towards the staging of religious performances is: *Drama and the Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Hindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

[8] J. L. Styan has initiated performance criticism with the titles: *The Shakespeare Revolution: Criticism and Performance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), *The Dramatic Experience* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), *Drama, Stage, and Audience* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975). Alan Dessen is interested in recreating performance context of past theatrical plays in: *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

Dramatic Text and Performance Text

Medieval liturgical drama relies solely on written evidence and is transmitted by means of script. The literary aspects, the grammar of the text, are set up according to the language and structure of the liturgy. Liturgy nourishes drama in all possible ways: it supplies its imagery, its basic formulas; it grants drama its cyclical continuity or even results in certain parts of the texts being discarded.

The textual aspect of liturgical drama calls forth a second dimension, its performative aspect. Thus, theatrical performance, in this case, a religious performance, is also a "text" in the semiotic sense: an entity independent of the language of its composition but governed by its own sign-system and performance grammar. It is only by taking into account these two dimensions of drama as a text that several medieval theatrical performances can be approached and an attempt can be made at their reconstruction.

On a purely literary level, the structure of the liturgical drama is a singular phenomenon in the history of literature. The question of originality or authorial interference rarely applies to this slowly emerging mosaic-work: a harmonious combination of antiphons, tropes, sequences, hymns, responsories, or tracts. Along with these liturgical structural implications, one more significant feature of the dramatic text can be discerned: it can be called an 'open text,' thus suggesting further elaboration, innumerable insertions, rearrangements, and omissions from the basic narrative. The openness of the liturgical dramatic text entails an intertextual relationship connecting drama, liturgy, and the Bible, which brings about endless interpretative possibilities. The term that highlights this complex relationship is the 'gloss.'[9] The glossing relationship may be postulated for the type of connection that existed between the Bible and the liturgy, as well as between liturgy and liturgical drama. This relationship implies a hierarchical ordering of the texts, and, as such, it subdues the text of the liturgical drama through the formulas of the Christian liturgy to the Holy Scripture. Moreover, to follow Patrick Diehl's suggestions, "not only is the liturgy as a whole a gloss upon the Bible but like the Bible it involves glossing relationships governing its own economy."[10] The same theoretical model, in fact, is

---

[9] Indeed, "(...) in the area of religious literature and art, at least, it is possible to view all 'texts' as a direct or indirect 'gloss' upon the Scriptures, which themselves offer many internal examples of 'glossing' (...)." Patrick S. Diehl, *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An Ars Poetica* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1985), 11–13. The term "gloss" corresponds to the notion of "commentary" in medieval writing. Speaking about the constituent parts of liturgical drama records I hereby follow Diehl's metaphor of the gloss or a detailed exposition on the source text that grew on its margins.

[10] Diehl, 12.

also applicable to dramatic ceremonies and plays. However splendid they seem to be as ornaments, the earliest religious performances always highlight the central theme around which the liturgy of a particular feast revolves. Thus, they may be treated as elaborate glosses on the liturgy, and through liturgy, on the Biblical narrative.

The Easter Cycle

The first dramatic ceremony of the Easter cycle celebrations, the Palm Sunday Procession (*Processio in Ramis Palmarum*), has been known in Cracow since the thirteenth century and by the fifteenth century the tradition of staging Christ's entry in Jerusalem was well-established in the churches of Cracow, Kielce, and many other wealthy parishes. Already the earliest records of the ceremony from the area of Poland display the powerful dynamism that was to become its most distinctive feature in the sixteenth century. This dynamism is generated by a large number of participants and by the element of journey, that is, the re-enactment of Christ's passing through the gates of Jerusalem. An early Cracow version of the *Processio* starts with the antiphon *Cum adpropinquaret Dominus*.[11] According to the rubrics it is supposed to accompany the coming of the congregation towards the church. The same synchronisation of movement and text occurs a moment later when the procession enters the city gates[12] and a cantor sings the antiphon *Ingrediente Domino*. The final reference to movement that coincides with the dynamic liturgical text may be found in the rubrics towards the end of the ceremony when the clerics throw palms in front of the cross and chant the antiphon: *Pueri Hebreorum [tollentes ramos olivarum, obviaverunt Domino clamantes et dicentes: 'Osanna in excelsis!].*[13] Later on they spread the ceremonial robes before the cross, the gesture accompanied by yet another antiphon, *Pueri Hebreorum [vestimenta prostruebat in via].*[14] A fifteenth-century *Processio* from Kielce, apart from the elements just mentioned in connection with the Cracow version contains further examples of liturgical texts referring to movement that is dramatically underlined by the information in the rubrics. The other text is more specific about the number and age of the participants: these are the boys from the *schola cantorum* who represent the Hebrew youth; they

---

[11] "Processio Pro Dominica Palmarum," (henceforth *Processio 1*) in *Antiphonarium Saeculi XIII*, fol. 18v., MS 83 in Cracow Chapter Library, ed. Lewański, in *Dramaty*, 126. Hereafter, the page numbers beside the liturgical plays will refer to this edition, unless stated otherwise.

[12] Usually the *Processio* began from a distant point in the city and moved towards the church in a symbolic recognition of Christ's voyage.

[13] *Processio 1*, 128.

[14] *Processio 1*, 128.

are supposed to wear the *albae* and to hold palm branches in the direction of the cross. As in the Cracow version, they spread their clothes, but they also throw flowers as the antiphon: *Occurunt turbe cum floribus et palmis/ Redemptori Domino* is being chanted.[15] As the cross is being carried forward, the children sing: *Huic omnes occurramus [cum ymnis et canticis,/ glorificantes et dicentes :'Benedictus Dominus'].*[16] At this point the central role of the choir is taken over by two priests: one of them kneels down and adores the cross, while the other one touches the cross with a palm branch, singing: *[Scrip]tum est [enim percuciam pastorem et] disperg[entur oves gregis].*[17] This illustration of the text by means of gesture is carried further as the one who is prostrated, gets up and sings: *[Postquam autem surrexero, prece]d[am vos in Galileam].*[18] Thus, the text of the performance visualises, illustrates, or even glosses the text of the liturgical phrase. However simple this denotational device may appear, it is also a highly effective one because it refers to several parts of the narrative simultaneously. While it situates the congregation in the historical past, it also represents eternal truths, as for example, in the scene with the two priests, where one personifies the rising Christ as he stands up from the knees; and another one symbolically re-enacts the Passion, as he touches the cross with a palm branch.

The ceremony of the Lord's Supper (*Caena Domini*) conducted on Maundy Thursday organises a theatrical space differently from the Palm Sunday Procession. One of the elaborate forms of the ceremony has been recorded in the sixteenth-century manuscript from the collegiate church of St. Mary Magdalene in Poznań.[19] The ceremony is combined with the *Mandatum,* that is, the washing of the feet of the lower clergy or the poor of the parish by the senior clergy on Holy Thursday.[20] The first rubric states that every year, on Maundy Thursday, the members of the local fraternity of the lay priests are obliged to perform (*representare debent*)[21] the Supper

---

[15] "Processio pro Dominica Palmarum," (henceforth *Processio* 2) in *Missale saeculi XV*, fol. 95v–97., MS in Kielce Chapter Library, ed. by Lewański, *Dramaty*, 144.

[16] *Processio* 2, 146.

[17] *Processio* 2, 146.

[18] *Processio* 2, 146.

[19] "De Locione Pedum in Die Sancto Jovis," (henceforth *Caena Domini*) in *Privilegia et Obligationes ac Alia Munimenta Literaria*, fol. 7–8r, MS C 19 in Archivum Collegiate Mariae Magdalenae Posnaniensis, ed. Lewański, *Dramaty*, 154.

[20] See discussion of the *Caena Domini* in Medieval Europe in Young, i.98–100. The ceremony is sometimes called the *Mandatum* after Christ's words, *Mandatum novum do vobis: ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos.*

[21] *Caena Domini*, 154. The use of the vocabulary in this case is crucial. Although the manuscript has *representare debet*, and Lewański corrects it into *debent*, still the idea of building fiction is conveyed by the use of the *representare*.

of Our Lord who "on a day before he suffered, washed the feet of his disciples, and left a commandment for us to wash each other's feet as a sign of humility and charity" [tr. mine].[22] This passage may be regarded as a gloss on the Gospel passage (John 13:1–15), and, at the same time, as a commentary on the liturgical text that would be chanted during the ceremony. This *Caena Domini* office record sets the scene for a static representation: the action takes place around the table. The ceremony also incorporates an element of processional movement.[23] The procession does not overshadow the main event in which all the priests gather around the table and the senior priest repeats the gesture of Christ: washing the feet of the apostles. Thus, as in the case of the *Processio Palmarum*, we see how the Biblical passage is translated into scenic movement with the synchronisation of text and gesture.

The ceremony of the Deposition of the Cross (*Depositio Crucis*) was usually prescribed for the time after the service on Good Friday. The cross symbolises Christ who was entombed until Easter Sunday. The continuation of the ceremony in some churches was the *Elevatio Crucis* movement. This involved taking the cross from the Easter sepulchre before or at the end of the matin service on Easter morning.[24] The ceremony had a long-lasting history in Poland, since we encounter records of the dramatisation in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century parish churches in Nysa and Poznań as well as in sixteenth-century Cracow.[25] Let us dwell on the fourteenth-century record surviving in St. James' Church in Nysa. Like the previously discussed text, the visual part of the ceremony is carefully orchestrated to match the existing liturgical material. The cross is carried to the chant of the responsorium: *Recessit pastor Ierusalem luge/Ecce quomodo moritur.*[26] The appropriate verses are supposed to fill the time that the priest and the assisting clerics need to walk in a procession to the sepulchre. We read that the cross-bearer is preceded by the clerics carrying banners, candles, the holy water container, and a thurible filled with incense.[27] After the cross is deposited it should be sprinkled with the holy water and incensed. Moreover, two pieces of cloth are to be used: one to be put under the cross, the other to be laid over it. The sombre tone of the Deposition and slow movement towards the symbolic sepulchre bring connotations with Christ's burial as medieval clergymen imagined it.

---

[22] *Caena Domini*, 154.

[23] *Caena Domini*, 156.

[24] See Young, i.112–148, where the *Depositio* and the *Elevatio* are discussed in detail.

[25] *Depositio*, 163, 656, 657.

[26] *Depositio*, 163.

[27] *Depositio*, 162.

Attempts to trace the Holy Week narrative represented in the theatralised ceremonies inevitably lead to a discussion of the texts directly related to Easter Sunday. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* play is the main point in the majority of Easter cycles and includes a variety of texts and theatrical solutions. The fabric of the Easter story is built up of minute discoveries, private revelations, epiphanies that add to the central discovery of the empty tomb and the presentation of the burial shrouds of Christ to the congregation. The dramatic representation of the Easter morning events is part of this yearning to witness the invisible, to understand and to visualise the context of the Resurrection and the events that followed it.

The earliest Visitation play in Poland comes from a thirteenth-century manuscript.[28] It belongs to the ceremonies of the Wawel cathedral, though monastic influences and use by the Tyniec monastery community cannot be excluded. The cathedral in Wawel boasts several other Visitation plays, which supposedly stem from a Saxon text.[29] After this thirteenth-century record we encounter another *Officium Sepulchri* in the mid-fifteenth century, and later in 1471.[30] The Cracow records of the *Officium Visitatio Sepulchri* have a great appeal for literary criticism due to their origin and preservation within the same community through several centuries. Stanisław Windakiewicz claims that they all belong to the Cracow chapter and that they are part of the rich liturgical tradition of Cracow Cathedral.[31] In the light of this assertion all three texts may be viewed as instances of the flourishing *Visitatio* tradition. The Cracow Visitations show considerable uniformity in the textual material. The antiphons and verses are identical, and only slight variations can be found in the fifteenth-century text where an Angel chants an additional antiphon: *Venite et videte locum, ubi positus erat dominus, alleluia aevia.*[32] Similarly, the rubrics are almost identical in all three texts. In contrast to the *Cracow Visitatio 1*, which includes two Angels, two later texts have only one Angel addressing the three Marys. Moreover, the choir in two others replaces a cantor from the earliest play. This fact points to the growth of the Cracow chapter community

---

[28] The transmission of the Visitation plays in Poland has been studied by Windakiewicz and Lewański. They traced down every single dramatic record scattered in the wealth of the liturgical books collection. "Visitatio Sepulchri," (henceforth *Cracow Visitatio 1*) in *Antiphonarium Saeculi XIII*, fol. 22v., MS 83 in Cracow Chapter Library, ed. Lewański, *Dramaty*, 98–103.

[29] Windakiewicz, 17.

[30] "Visitatio Sepulchri," (henceforth *Cracow Visitatio 2*) in *Antiphonarium de Tempore*, fol. 244–245., MS 79 in Cracow Chapter Library, ed. Windakiewicz, *Dramat liturgiczny*, 13–14; "Visitatio Sepulchri," (henceforth *Cracow Visitatio 3*) in *Antiphonarium de Tempore & de Sanctis*, fol. 116–117., MS 85 Cracow Chapter Library, ed. Windakiewicz, 15.

[31] Windakiewicz, 10–17.

[32] *Cracow Visitatio 2* in Windakiewicz, 14. The 1471 version replaces the last *aevia* with another *Alleluia*. cf. *Cracow Visitatio 3* in Windakiewicz, 15.

and to the increasing role of the entire clerical community in staging the Easter narrative.

The three texts under consideration have a tendency to enlarge the liturgical part at the cost of the rubrics. While the earliest record provides full stage directions and only the *incipita* of the antiphons, the fifteenth-century version gives full antiphons and the rubrics are shorter. The apparent neglect of the rubrics in later texts, less focus on the detailed description of the movement or actors but instead, the use of the fictitious names for the *dramatis personae*, like Angels, Women, etc., show that there existed a performing community that knew the conventions of Visitation staging, and, consequently, did not need a list of props or extensive description of the dramatic movement in order to present the event to the congregation. Behind these rubrics can be detected an underlying attempt to create fiction, to generate illusion. Thus, we have two clerics representing Mary Magdalene and Mary, James's mother, who imitate a vivid conversation while chanting an antiphon. The rubrics say: *fratres (...), quasi inter se colloquentes, voce submissiori canunt hunc versum.*[33] Another passage in the rubrics that discloses its own conventionality appears a few scenes later, when the Apostles, "as if running,"[34] hurry to see the empty tomb. All these instances of establishing ways of acting which belong to the theatre proper point not only to the great reverence that the dramatic gesture enjoyed as an "information-vehicle," but they also witness a belief that liturgical chant and ceremonial movement may be transformed for dramatic or illustrative purposes. A person traversing the church, for example, had a special appeal in the liturgical theatre. The movement was at the core of these dramatised ceremonies and it must have had broad symbolic connotations that are by now largely lost to the modern public.

Another instance of the changing flow of the stage movement, as far as it can be deciphered from the text, is the scene of the sepulchre inspection. *Cracow Visitatio 1* has an explicit rubric that tells the Marys to enter the sepulchre, and having incensed it, to return to the choir.[35] This particular gesture is placed in between the two antiphons: *"Non est hic,"* and *"Ad monumentum venimus."* Although it is not accompanied by a separate antiphon, the movement is clearly there and cannot be overlooked by the actors. In contrast to this case, rubrics from a later date omit the passage about entering the sepulchre. Perhaps by that time it was no longer a solid structure and therefore it could not be entered. Still more important

---

[33] *Cracow Visitatio 1*, 98.

[34] *(...) duo ex fratribus quasi cursum ostentantes, properant ad sepulchrum. Cracow Visitatio 1*, 100.

[35] *Illis ita canentibus fratres prenotati intrant sepulcrum. Et thurificato sepulcro exeuntes redeunt per choram canendo versiculum: Ad monumentum uenimus. Cracow Visitatio 1*, 98.

is the fact that an echo of the movement of inspecting the tomb is conveyed in the antiphon *venite et videte* which is a real invitation to behold the object itself and thus to apprehend the great Christian mystery. Although the rubrics are silent, the liturgical part speaks out, and as a result, we can point to the attempt to translate the non-verbal message into the part that was sung.

Three other records of the Visitation plays that the present work is concerned with come from the Western provinces of Poland, the town of Brzeg in Silesia and Poznań.[36] The Silesian version comes from a small parish church from the turn of the fifteenth century while the other two records belong to the theatrical tradition of the Poznań cathedral. One of the Poznań texts dates from the fifteenth century, the other is the printed Visitation from 1533. The Silesian manuscript repeats word by word the *Cracow Visitatio 1* record while providing the full text of the antiphons. This is worth mentioning since it is the only surviving Visitation with musical notation. It shows how musical, liturgical, and rubrical material has been accommodated on the manuscript page for the purpose of a dramatisation staged in Brzeg. This invaluable record brings together three media of expression: music, movement, and word, and at the same time it allows the missing antiphonal passages from the Cracow manuscript family to be filled in.

The two Poznań records clearly set themselves apart from the Cracow tradition. Although the story behind the ceremony remains intact, both the liturgical part and rubrics vary when compared with previously discussed texts. The analysis of the Poznań records shows what new possibilities and solutions were used in constructing the performance, managing the acting community and utilising the available space in this act of prayer, worship, but also entertainment that the Visitation was supposed to be. The fifteenth-century Poznań Visitation does not include the scene of the Marys entering the tomb and censing it. They just approach it, lean over the sepulchre and go back with the shrouds. Moreover, this version omits the scene of the so-called Race of the Apostles. Even though the three Marys are told by the Angels to take the message to the apostles in the usual *Non est hic* antiphon, the Apostles do not rush towards the sepulchre to check the report and to bring the *sudarium*. Instead, the three Marys take the shrouds and carry them to the altar.[37]

---

[36] "Visitatio Sepulchri," (henceforth *Brzeg Visitatio*) in *Antiphonarium Bregense Saeculi XIV/XV*, f. 76r–77r, MS in Wrocław University Library, Br. Mus. K. 21, ed. Lewański, *Dramaty*, 106–111; "Visitatio Sepulchri," (henceforth *Poznań Visitatio 1*) in *Rubrica Posnaniensis Ecclesie Saeculi XV*, f. 156r–157r, MS 188 in Raczyński Library in Poznań, ed. Lewański, *Dramaty*, 112–115.
"Visitatio Sepulchri," (henceforth *Poznań Visitatio 2*) in *Agenda Secundum Cursum et Rubricam ecclesiae Cathedralis Posnaniensis,* Lipsiae 1533, f. XLIIv–XLVv, ed. Lewański, *Dramaty*, 118–121.
[37] *Poznań Visitatio 1*, 114.

The entire record, starting from the opening scene, makes the choir more visible than the Cracow Visitations. The choir appears in what might be called the Prologue scene or the procession in which the choir comes in. Another procession of the choir coincides with the chanting of the verse *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,*[38] and it occurs at the end of the play. This may be called the play's Epilogue starting with the scene when the Marys go back to the choir after having displayed the shrouds at the altar. On their way back they intone *Victime paschali laudes,* the eleventh-century sequence by Wipo of St. Gall. This piece is then taken over by the choir. The singers join in, and, through the chant, they confirm the discovery of the Marys. The Apostles' report does not appear in the play. Thus, the choir both initiates and crowns the play.

The latest known record of the Visitation play in medieval Poland is the 1533 agenda printed in Leipzig for the use of the Poznań cathedral. The agenda introduces the Race of the Apostles, the scene missing from the previous play. The Race, however, appears only at the level of antiphonal narrative, there is no actual dramatic representation of the Apostles rushing forward to discover the empty tomb. The entire ceremony is therefore more static, since the stage movement is not introduced to the extent that we had observed in the Cracow plays. The overall structure of the ceremony is clearly influenced by the antiphonal type of singing prescribed for the matins service where parts of the prayers were distributed between the two choirs. The final rubrics note that the ceremony belongs to the Easter matins, and not to the opening of the Mass, as happened in some other Visitation texts.[39] This fact points to the existence of a considerable number of priests in attendance, and it also explains the static and well-balanced structure of the 1533 Visitation. It is important to note the double movement in the direction of the sepulchre in the play. First, the choir approaches it.[40] After this introductory movement three priests representing the three Marys make their way from the sacristy to the sepulchre. Interestingly, they do not come directly out from the group, but rather walk from the sacristy, being thus visually and positionally separated. Furthermore, since all the "actors" of the ceremony gather around the tomb, there is no walking back to the altar in order to display the shrouds. The altar space becomes the place for the choir to remain. The entire action thus concentrates on one point, the sepulchre. The gesture of showing the shrouds is also simplified: this time the clerics who impersonate the Angels display the *sudaria* from the tomb.[41] It is no longer a

---

[38] *Poznań Visitatio 1,* 114.

[39] *Poznań Visitatio 1,* 120.

[40] *Poznań Visitatio 1,* 118.

[41] *Poznań Visitatio 1,* 119.

movement assigned to the three Marys, it now belongs to the Angels. All these details are absent from the Cracow records where the displaying of the shrouds took place at the altar, the site of the Mass celebration. The altar had also strong connotations with the sepulchre, and thus it was one of the two prominent places in the ceremony. In the Poznań Visitation the altar has disappeared from the dramatic setting. And, instead, the sepulchre gained considerably in importance.

Having examined the dramatic records from a literary aspect, we can see how through the metaphoric employment of props and gestures, a complex relation between 'historical' and 'eternal' space and time is built into the Palm Procession, Lord's Supper, Deposition of the Cross, and *Visitatio Sepulchri* ceremonies. The performance text, as it can be deciphered from the written sources, may be said to extend along two planes: the historical and the spiritual. Members of the congregation could relate these two levels, the historical and the spiritual, to their own place in salvation history.

Cracow and Poznań: Two Centers of Theatrical Activity

Cathedral and chapter library holdings in Cracow, Wrocław, and Poznań attest to the manifold theatrical activities that involved the clergy as well as laymen. The two ceremonies from Cracow come from the same codex, *Antiphonarium Saeculi XIII*. The *Processio* record can be found in folio 18, and the *Visitatio* just four pages further on, in folio 22. This fact clearly demonstrates that the *officia* marked two crucial points in the Easter narrative, staged in a particular place by the community, with the antiphonal at hand: the *Processio* initiates the Holy Week and sets the tone for the ceremonies of the Paschal Triduum; the *Visitatio* dramatically crowns the entire week. The two texts supplement each other in terms of the narrative as well as the theatrical devices used for the same Easter celebration.

Lewański dates the first *Visitatio* codex to before the year 1253, since that was the year of the canonisation of Saint Stanislaus, the second patron saint of the Cracow Cathedral and of Poland. The dating of the codex is based on the fact that neither of the litanies in the codex mentions the name of this important saint. Thus, it would seem that the antiphonal was in use before Stanislaus' canonisation.[42]

---

[42] Lewański, "Tajemnica Ofiary i Odkupienia": 9. The author supposes that the ceremony must have been written down at the turn of the twelfth century. He also derives four Silesian and twenty-six Polish manuscripts from this particular archetype. Julian Lewański treats the two Cracow records as the source for the major part of the extra-liturgical ceremonies in Poland. For example, the *Cracow Visitatio 2*, *Cracow Visitatio 3*, as well as the *Wrocław Visitatio* or *Brzeg Visitatio*, all are thought to come from the family of manuscripts relating to the *Cracow Visitatio 1*.

Traditionally, the manuscript has always belonged to the chapter.[43] Windakiewicz points out that the record may have been used in a monastic milieu, basing his claim on the reference to *fratrum conventus* at the opening of the *Visitatio* text.[44] Lewański, however, attributes the ceremonies to the Cracow chapter milieu. He points out that in the Middle Ages the expression might refer either to a monastic community or to the community of the canon priests.[45]

In contrast to the Cracow text, the *Poznań Visitatio 1* does not have an accompanying *Processio* record. While the Cracow records mark the initial stage in the history of liturgical plays in Poland, which began at the turn of the twelfth century, the *Poznań Visitatio* is set in the late medieval period. The manuscript *Rubrica Posnaniensis ecclesie*, which contains the Visitation, is dated to around 1470. Not only is it a much later version of this world-famous play, but it also has a different source, since the Race of the Apostles, the scene present in all Cracow Visitations, is missing from the Poznań version. All in all, the *Poznań Visitatio* has been selected for reconstruction since it includes some theatrical solutions absent from the Cracow version. These will serve to illustrate the diverse staging traditions of liturgical plays in Poland.

Liturgical and extra-liturgical activity in the Wawel cathedral was orchestrated by the community of canons who also acted in the two ceremonies from the first half of the thirteenth century. The chapter was formally organised around 1103. In this year Galo of Beauvais, who was one of the pupils and colleagues of Ivo of Chartres, later bishop of Paris, visited Poland as a papal legate and bestowed a constitution on the Cracow chapter. During his visit to Poland, Galo inquired into the needs of the emerging Cracow community of priests at the cathedral, and ordered a copy of selected ecclesiastical regulations to be sent to Cracow. This codex survives in the Chapter Library as *Decreta Romanorum Pontificium.*[46] The codex of Galo is a

---

Windakiewicz in his description of the Cracow codex mentions that the Gothic inscription on the cover "Antiphonarium Cod. mem. saec. XIV" was later corrected to "saec. XII." He does not, however, explain why the earlier dating is to be preferred. See Windakiewicz, 10.

[43] Inventory compiled by Rev. Ignacy Polkowski, "Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej" (A Catalogue of the Cracow chapter manuscripts) in *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce*, vol. 3 (Cracow: n.p., 1884): 49. Our codex is mentioned as no. 51. See also Windakiewicz, 10.

[44] Windakiewicz, 11.

[45] "Therefore we cannot relate the texts to one of the Cracow monasteries or any of the monasteries in the vicinity of Cracow [Tyniec, or Mogiła].... Rather, the note [on p. 103], *episcopus si adest* allows the [Visitatio] antiphonal to be related to the Wawel Cathedral." Lewański, *Dramaty*, 650.

[46] For the details of this visit see P. David, "Un disciple d'Yves de Chartres en Pologne–Galon de Paris et le droit canonique, " in *La Pologne au VII Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* (Warsaw: n.p., 1933). Also see Pawel Sczaniecki, O.S.B. *Służba Boża w dawnej Polsce: Studia o Mszy Św.* (Divine Service in early Poland: Studies on the Holy Mass) (Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1962), 32.
The codex is catalogued in Polkowski, *Catalogue*, 61–78.

significant source for the early history of the chapter not only because it helps us to understand the circumstances in which the community of canons emerged. It also shows how Western liturgical norms were adopted in Cracow. Its last pages include two inventories of the chapter dating from 1101 and 1110.[47] The first inventory was compiled when the cathedral had been in existence for more than ten years. It was when Duke Ladislaus Herman handed the Cracow bishopric to Czesław that the bishop decided to prevent possible thefts and thus ordered the inventorying of the treasury.[48] Although the inventory is much earlier than the record of the *Processio* and *Visitatio*, it still can give us a clue as to what kind of objects the chapter had at its disposal.

The clerics on Wawel Hill were supposed to pray in common. The two Easter ceremonies, therefore, can be seen as a form of worship kept alive by a considerable number of canons. A document from 1219, that is the approximate date when the *Processio* and the *Visitatio* were introduced at Wawel, gives a list of canons together with their names and positions held.[49] Thus, we encounter twenty-two clerics, among them six officials: a dean, a parish priest, an archdeacon, a cantor, and a keeper. The rest are seven presbyters, four deacons, and five subdeacons. The court of the Cracow bishop thus seems to have been composed of a considerable community of clerics leading a life of prayer and penitence. We may assume that theatrical activity was part of this life, meant to assist the Easter celebrations.

Let us now observe how the two ceremonies fit into the life of the Cracow chapter and its church, what message it conveyed to the congregation. The *Processio 1* starts far outside the city walls. On the way back to the church three antiphons are being intoned *Cum adpropinquaret Dominus*, *Ante sex Dies*, and *Cum audisset populus.*[50] The first antiphon recalls the biblical scene of Christ entering Jerusalem.[51] The second antiphon re-tells the Palm Sunday scene in which children come to meet the Lord along his route. The third antiphon that was chanted during the procession also referred to children greeting the Lord. All in all, it should be noted that the time prescribed for the chanting of the antiphons was sufficient for the procession to

---

[47] Sczaniecki, 33. Next inventory comes only from 1563. See: *Inwentarz katedry wawelskiej z roku 1563* (Inventory of the Cracow Cathedral from 1563), Źródła do dziejów Wawelu 10 (Cracow: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, 1979) ed. Adam Bochniak. The inventories of 1101 and 1110 are described in great detail in Mrozowski, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, exhibition catalogue, 44–59.

[48] *Quibus complacuit ut ornamenta ecclesie inscripta haberentur, id circo ne quis clericorum vel custodum posset aliquid subtrahere*. Monumenta PH, Vol. 1, 376 in Mrozowski, 44.

[49] Mrozowski, 34.

[50] *Processio 1*, 11.

[51] Since the Cracow record gives only the *incipita* of the antiphons, their full version can be supplemented from the identical text of the *Processio 2*, 131–132.

cover a distance from outside the city walls to the city gates, and then, from the gates to the cathedral. Still more time for walking enabled the singing of the *Gloria laus et honor* hymn following the last of the three antiphons. The hymn has thirty-five stanzas and is chanted by clerics standing in an elevated place.[52] The next part of the ceremony begins when the procession enters the city beyond the walls. It was an act of great symbolic value, since it had to coincide with the *Ingrediente Domino* antiphon. Judging from the choice of the liturgical material, the act of entering the city was endowed with historical and theological meaning. It not only recalled the entry of Jesus in the city of Jerusalem, but also prefigured the entry of the entire congregation in the heavenly Jerusalem. Finally, the last episode of the procession was the act of entering the church accompanied by an antiphon *Turba multa.*[53] After the antiphon has been completed, the cross is raised, and there follows the *Vexilla regis* hymn with the additional verses of the *O crux ave,* and *Te summa Deus trinitas.* The adoration of the cross continues and the clerics first throw the palms and spread the vestments in front of the cross. The final antiphon *Occurrunt turbe* is followed by the introit verse *Domine ne longe,* and so the Palm Sunday Mass commences.

In terms of kinetics and proxemics, the ceremony appears to develop along a single line. The entire movement is directed forward, the final destination being the cathedral church, and, more specifically, the cross is the object to be venerated both by the actors and the audience of the ceremony. The ceremony itself has three crucial points that are underlined by the appropriate liturgical text. First is the passing through the city gates; then crossing the threshold of the cathedral, and, finally, the moment of halting by the Cross. The entire ceremonial movement thus appears to be a continuum with important breaks occurring at regular intervals.

The act of crossing certain borders seems to be significant for the meaning of the Palm Sunday festivity. Theologically, the holiday marks the end of Christ's journey through earthly life, the end of his preaching activity. On Palm Sunday He is passing to the last stage of His life, the Sacrifice of the Cross. He will encounter the Cross at the end of this journey, just as the people taking part in the procession come across this powerful symbol at the end of their act of devotion. Interestingly enough, the participants of the *Processio* see the prefiguration of the Crucifixion in the cross that was exhibited for adoration as well as in the selected hymns about the Holy Cross that accompany the action itself. Thus, although the script of the *Processio* does not give the exact details as to which gates the procession should enter, it is still

---

[52] *(...) Pueri in eminenciori loco constituti canunt ymnum. Processio 1,* 126.

[53] *Processio 2,* 132.

important to note the linear development of the ceremony, and to keep the moments of transition synchronised with the liturgical text. All in all, the ceremony seems to limit the acting space for both the actors and the audience, as the procession moves from the open space to the enclosed space of the cathedral. Undoubtedly, the contrast between daylight and candlelight made the focus on the Cross more dramatic and spectacular.
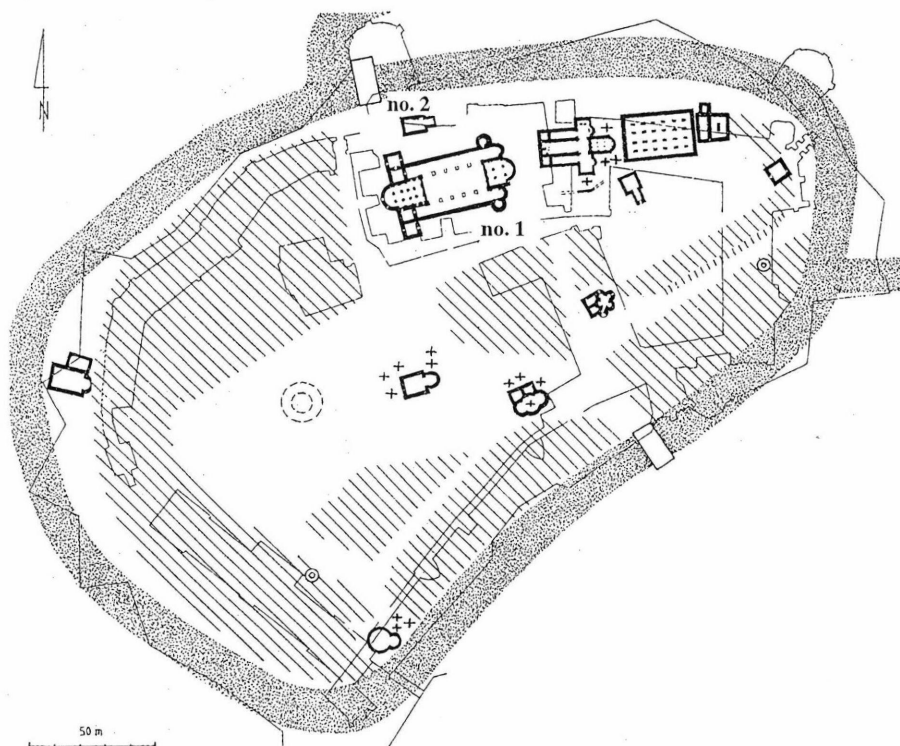

Fig. 1. Topography of the Wawel Hill in the tenth-twelfth century.
Source: *Chrystianizacja Polski południowej*
no. 1. St. Wacław cathedral; no. 2. Gate 1
(The christianization of southern Poland). Rola Krakowa w dziejach narodu.
Ed. Jan M. Małacki. Cracow: Secesja, 1994.

The sombre tone of the Palm Sunday procession reappears at the beginning of the *Cracow Visitatio 1*. Since we have noted already that the number of available actors ranged between 20 and 24, we can now calculate that the main actors included three priests impersonating the three Marys, two clerics representing the Angels, and

two canons taking on the role of the Apostles Peter and John. The number of the supporting actors was thus between 13 and 17, including the cantor. At the beginning of the Visitation play the choir comes out into the middle of the church while chanting the responsorium after *Gloria Patri.* Assuming that the common medieval practice of leaving the central nave free for the ceremonies is applicable to the Cracow cathedral, we see the clerics take their position in the middle of the open space with their backs to the altar and the transept, while the aisles would be occupied by the congregation.[54] As the cantor intones the antiphon *Maria Magdalena,* three priests wearing *albae* carry the ointment and slowly proceed from the sacristy to the sepulchre.[55] The sacristy in Wawel cathedral was situated on the northern side, to the left of the altar as one turns to face it. A chapter room was situated opposite to the sacristy, in the southern part of the church.[56] Priests representing the three Marys do not come directly from the group that gathered in the middle of the church. Instead, they start from a place hidden behind the altar and make a seemingly unexpected appearance in front of the sepulchre.

We do not know the shape of the sepulchre in Cracow cathedral because we lack supporting evidence.[57] Cracow evidently did not have a permanent sepulchral structure for the Easter play production. From the *Cracow Visitatio* text, however, we may conclude that the sepulchre in the cathedral was an enclosure, and not an altar or a tomb-like structure. The rubrics say that the three Marys actually enter the sepulchre, incense it, and only then exit.[58]

The claim that we cannot describe the real theatrical practice on the basis of these highly normative and ubiquitous sources, may be refuted on the grounds that

---

[54] André Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques dans l'art chrétien antique,* vol. 1, (Paris: College de France, 1946), 54 quoted in Krystyna Józefowiczówna, *Z badań nad architekturą przedromańską i romańską w Poznaniu* (Research on the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque architecture in Poznań), Polskie Badania Archeologiczne 9 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1963), 49.

[55] *Processio 1,* 98.

[56] T. Wojciechowski, *Kościół katedralny w Krakowie* (Cathedral church in Cracow) (Cracow: n.p., 1900), 194.

[57] As Karl Young states in his essay on Easter sepulchres in medieval European drama: "Although the Western imitations of the Holy Sepulchre [in Jerusalem, J.S.] must have served often as *mise en scène* for the dramatic ceremonies of Easter and Holy Week, the instances in which recorded or extant examples of these structures can be definitely associated with particular versions of the *Depositio, Elevatio,* and *Visitatio Sepulchri* are not numerous." Young, i.509. The *Visitatio* record that may be related to a stone object, probably a sepulchral-type structure, and that is the closest to Cracow is that of the Visitation play found in St. George's basilica in Hradčany Castle, Prague, Czech Republic. For the discussion of the stone object excavated on the site see: Klara Benešovská, "*Altare est et dicitur praesepe et sepulchrum Domini,*" in *Posvátný obraz a zobrazení posvátného* (Sacred image and the depiction of the sacred), ed. Alexandr Matoušek and Lenka Karfíková (Prague: Alfaprint, 1995), 90–110. I am grateful to Prof. Hana Hlaváčková, for drawing my attention to this insightful and well-researched study.

[58] *Cracow Visitatio 1,* 100.

the normative character of the *Visitationes* may also have prompted the canons to follow the instructions–even more so, if they had to stage a ceremony that was novel to them. If this were the case, they would have been careful to represent it in exactly the same way as it was prescribed in the rubrics. I would therefore suggest that the sepulchre in thirteenth-century Cracow cathedral was either a temporary structure of wood or a tent draped with curtains that could have been easily dismantled after the ceremony.[59] As to the positioning of the sepulchre several possibilities may be considered. The Cracow text, as it has been stated earlier, has features of the Saxon *Visitatio*. According to Young, "... in most of the dramatic ceremonies under German influence ... the usual positions were ... in the middle of the nave, at the west end, or at the altar of a saint somewhere in the nave or aisles. Sometimes the sepulchre was in a chapel or in the crypt."[60] Given so many possibilities, we can still maintain that the sepulchre was at some distance from the presbytery and the choir, possibly in the cathedral nave, since the three Marys "proceed towards the sepulchre," and after having seen it from the inside, they "go back through the choir." Similarly, the two Apostles "hurry to the sepulchre," and "having collected the shrouds from the sepulchre, they go back to the choir."[61] All these actions suggest some distance between the performers and the sepulchre. The choir space, moreover, seems to be an acting space in its own right, used to stress the rhetoric of certain gestures. For example, although the three Marys start from the sacristy and go directly to the sepulchre, on their way back they are supposed to pass through the choir while chanting the antiphon *Ad monumentum venimus.* The antiphon is a musical narration of what they have just seen, and it is being addressed to the group of the Apostles represented here by the choir. Thus, going back through the choir area rather than directly to the sacristy is an action that creates one more 'stage' for the play. The choir thus needs to be seen as a new theatrical space, with different connotations from those that the sacristy 'stage' brought. We do not know where the two Apostles started from, since the expression *duo ex fratribus properant* might mean two different things: either 'two of the clerics assume the roles of the apostles,' or 'two break off from the group of clerics.' If the first possibility is considered, then the Apostles may also start from the sacristy that would then appear as a sort of backstage. If the other interpretation is true, then Peter and John go to the

---

[59] For possible Western prototypes of the two types of the Easter sepulchre see: N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 7, no. 2 (Urbana: n.p., 1921), 63–4 (curtained structure), 65 (wooden sepulchre). The former arrangement is also indicated in the rubric of the *Visitatio* from the diocese of Bamberg. See Young, i.510.

[60] Young, i.510.

[61] *Cracow Visitatio 1*, 98, 100.

sepulchre from the middle of the nave. In any case, as in the episode of the three Marys, the way to the sepulchre seems to be crucial for the play. After a short inspection of the tomb the Marys continue their 'pilgrimage.' Then the two Apostles visit the sepulchre. Their movement might not be so rhythmical as that of the convent and of the Marys, since they are supposed to move "as if running." Although a running pace for this type of the ceremony has to be excluded for reasons of solemnity, the actors might still have moved more quickly than the usual liturgical pace prescribed. Especially since they were not engaged in chanting the antiphon that illustrated their action. They just mimed the antiphon *Currebant duo simul.* Finally, the shrouds were carried to the choir to be spread in full view of the congregation.[62] As if to give license to the news announced by the Apostles, the bishop or a cantor intones *Te Deum* at the end of the ceremony.

The 1101 inventory of the chapter lists *pallia*, capes, chasubles, golden and silver chalices, crosses, dalmatics, *subtilia*, candlestics, urns, thuribles, and *plenaria.*[63] The number of *pallium* or *pallia altaris* increases in the inventory of 1110 compiled after the ordination of bishop Maurus. This inventory lists the same number of chalices, capes, candlesticks, thuribles, while there are more crosses and lectionaries.[64] Interestingly enough, the 1110 inventory notes also the possession of a golden crown, crown-pendants, a golden tablet and two silver ones, little boxes containing relics, ostrich eggs and a banner embroidered with gold.[65] It is possible that the *pallia* mentioned before were kept in the chapter also around the year 1200, but the ecclesiastical fashion changed, and the fabric deteriorated, so we may at most reconstruct the line of the liturgical clothes from the turn of the century on the basis of foreign sources, both visual and literary. Still *pallia* cannot be translated solely as an 'altar-cloth,' as these types of cloths were also used to cover church walls on special occasions.[66] The inventory just mentioned notes also the possession of twenty-four capes that the canons were supposed to don for major feasts. The inventory also mentions dalmatics for the deacons and the *subtilia*, or short tunics for the subdeacons. These are the kinds of liturgical clothing that would be used for the extra-liturgical plays. Together with the indispensable thuribles, all these *utensilia* belong to the ready-to-use collection of properties for the liturgical theatre.

---

[62] *Cracow Visitatio 1*, 100.

[63] MPH vol. 1, 376 in Mrozowski, 44. The catalogue notes that none of the objects listed in both inventories have survived.

[64] Mrozowski, 44.

[65] Mrozowski, 44.

[66] Sczaniecki, 38.

While the two Cracow performances discussed so far can be placed in the early period of theatrical activity in medieval Poland (they still belong to the Romanesque art and to the old Cracow cathedral), the Poznań text appears in the second half of the fifteenth century, the period of the reign of King Casimir of the Jagiellonian dynasty. The *Poznań Visitatio* is part of the *Rubrica* of the Poznań cathedral that is a collection of laws and regulations concerning liturgical practice in the church. The liturgy in the cathedral dates back to the year 966, when the Polan duke, Mieszko I, was baptised. The Poznań bishopric emerged as early as 967, consequently, the first community of priests must have gathered around Poznań's first bishop, Jordan, in order to assist him in christianising of country.[67] Later documents attest to the existence of the Poznań chapter in the fifteenth century. Throughout the centuries the city has been an ecclesiastical centre which set liturgical practice patterns for the surrounding parishes. Thus, we may suppose that the *Visitatio* ceremony first appeared in the cathedral church and was adopted by lesser churches.

Until the sixteenth century the cathedral building in Poznań had only one tower and a large choir. In the middle of the nave was the *pantheum* of the kings of the Piast dynasty. A fourteenth-century source testifies to the presence of the sepulchre of Boleslas the Brave erected after Western fashion.[68] The royal tombs certainly survived until 1502, when a radical renovation of the church began, initiated by the humanist bishop, Jan Lubrański. We must take into account the presence of this structure when analysing a *Visitatio* from around 1470. While the royal tombs could not be converted into the Easter sepulchre (this could be done with altar tables and tombs of a saints), they constituted part of the natural theatrical setting for the Poznań Visitations in the sixteenth century. Perhaps the actors of the plays would circumvent them or simply pass them by, but the tombs would undoubtedly be included in the *Visitatio* setting.

---

[67] For a detailed history of the cathedral building in its historical context see: Józef Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis historyczny dawnej dyecezyi Poznańskiej* (Short historical description of the former Poznań diocese), vol.1, (Poznań: Księgarnia Żupańskiego, 1858). Archeological excavations in the cathedral are discussed by Józefowiczówna.

[68] See Józefowiczówna, 51–63. For the fourteenth-century sepulchre the author quotes the account of Jan Długosz. She also discusses archaeological finds of earlier sepulchral structures that attest to the existence of the royal tombs in the central nave of the cathedral before the raid on the cathedral in 1034–1038. Moreover, Józefowiczówna places the supposed royal tombs erected in *medio ecclesiae* within broader Western European burial customs. See also Benešovská for the comparative study of royal tombs in France, Germany, England, and Bohemia.
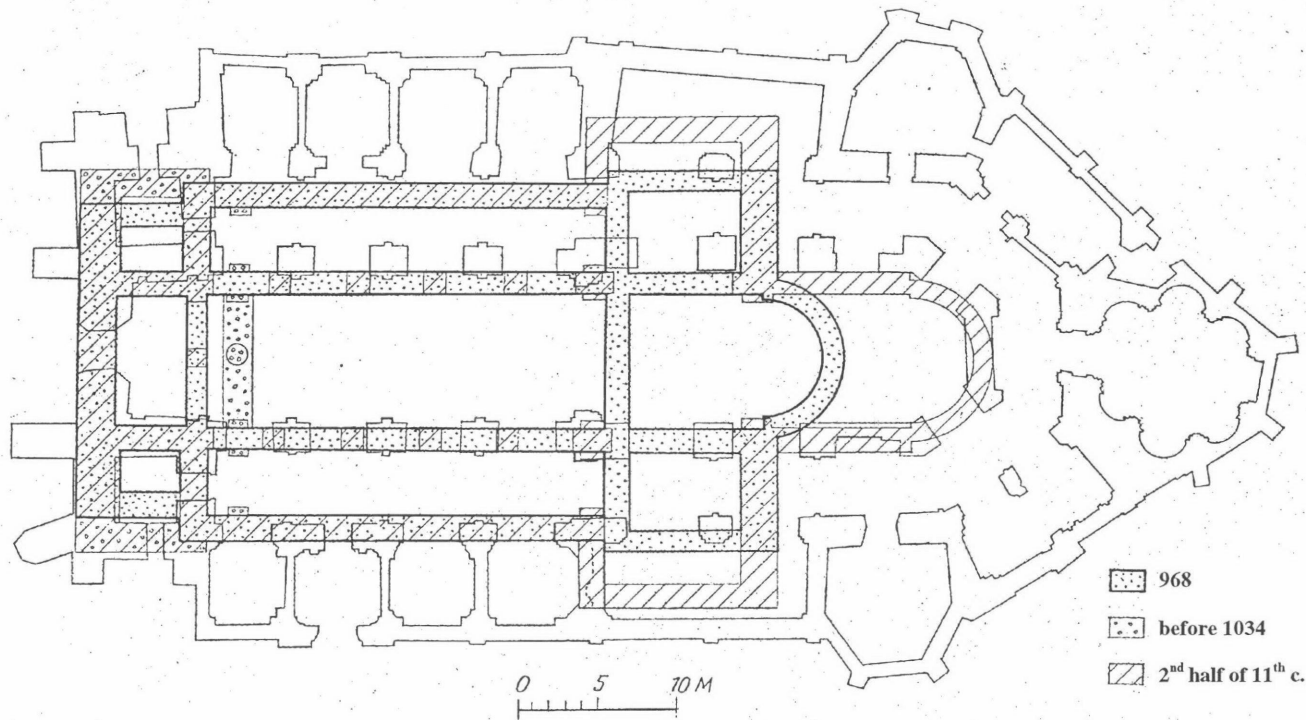
Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the first and second Poznań cathedral on the gothic plan.
Source: Józefowiczówna, 101.

Legend:
- 968
- before 1034
- 2nd half of 11th c.

0   5   10 M

We may try to figure out who were the actors of the ceremonies that were staged in the cathedral. Apart from the regular canon priests, there had existed since 1300 the so-called penitentiaries and vicars.[69] They all participated in the liturgical life in the cathedral. Another important group of participants was the choir or the *schola cantorum*. Since the fifteenth century, Poznań cathedral had a separate building called the *psalterium*, which was the residence and the rehearsal place for the cathedral singers—the psalterians.[70] Poznań chapter regulations from 1467 order that each member of the cathedral schola receives one measure of flour per week as payment for rehearsals and singing in the church.[71]

Considering the fact that Poznań was at the centre of the ecclesiastical life of medieval Poland, it is not surprising that the cathedral library preserved several dramatised ceremonies and liturgical plays. As has been calculated for the Cracow cathedral, the Visitation play called for at least seven main actors and a choir. The Cracow chapter in the first half of the thirteenth century consisted of at least twenty canon priests. While the number of the actors prescribed for the *Poznań Visitatio 1* is only five (Apostles John and Peter do not figure in this version), the number of the supporting actors seems to be much higher. The *schola cantorum* together with the priests from different congregations must have formed group of supporting performers for the spectacular Easter ceremonies.

Already the first rubric of the *Poznań Visitatio* shows that the ceremony was extremely elaborate. The scene opens with a procession with banners being carried in front.[72] *Gloria Patri* is being repeated while the congregation proceeds forwards. It remains unclear whether all the people were walking in the procession, or whether this was the prerogative of the priests. It seems that in medieval liturgical practice processions engaged both the people and the celebrating clergy. We may relate this custom to Poznań, since a thirteenth-century entry in the city chronicle says that Poznań citizens were obliged to take part in cathedral processions. This demand was a distant echo of the privileges bestowed on the first Polish cathedral.[73] However, in the case of the *Poznań Visitatio 1* opening procession we may claim that it was reserved only for the clergy, since the time needed for the *Gloria Patri* antiphon was not sufficient for the people to take their places in the aisles. According to the old

---

[69] Łukaszewicz, 60.

[70] Józef Surzyński, *Muzyka figuralna w kościołach polskich od XV do XVIII w.* (Figurative music in Polish churches in the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries) (Poznań: Drukarnia "Dziennika Poznańskiego", 1889), 33.

[71] *Scholaribus ecclesiae cathedralis assignetur mensura farinae pro qualibet septimane pro labore et cantu in ecclesia.* Surzyński, 33.

[72] *Poznań Visitatio 1*, 112.

[73] The source is Baszko's Chronicle quoted in Sczaniecki, 20.

custom, men gathered on the Gospel side (south) of the church, and women on the Lesson side (north).[74] Thus, we suppose that the solemn procession for the Visitatio only engaged the clergy. After the initial antiphon the procession stopped, and the cantor began a new antiphon *Maria Magdalena*[75] the group was probably immobile by that time in order to form a background for the movement of the three priests. The rubrics are almost identical with those of the Cracow version. Again, as in Cracow, the number of the three Marys does not correspond to the antiphon that mentions only *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria*. After the usual dialogue with the Angels, the Marys lean over the sepulchre, take the shrouds, and carry them to the altar. Immediately after the antiphon *Cernitis, o socii,* the cantors intone the *Surrexit Dominus* verse. Thus, we can observe major differences between the Cracow and Poznań ceremonies. The *Poznań Visitatio 1* does not have the scene with the Apostles' Race, so the three Marys take over their role of displaying the shrouds. Moreover, they do not incense the sepulchre which seems to be in the form of a tomb, since they can lean over to collect the burial cloths. There is much less focus on the sepulchre: it is not incensed or even circumvented.

One more important variation in the *Poznań Visitatio* is the additional sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*. In Cracow, after the display of the shrouds there followed the joyful Easter antiphon *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia.*[76] This scene in Cracow is completed by the *Te Deum laudamus.* Poznań resolved the final scene in a different way. After the display of the shrouds, there follows the *Surrexit Dominus* that reappears at the very end of the ceremony. In between the two repetitions there is inserted the *Victimae Paschali* and the *Te Deum.*[77] The entire acting group goes back to the choir while the sequence is chanted.[78]

Unfortunately, no inventory from the Poznań cathedral treasury survives. Certainly numerous *ornamenta ecclesie* flowed into it as intellectual and artistic culture flourished in the Jagiellonian era (1385-1572). The fact that not many of its contents survived may be ascribed to the donations made to the state by the Church authorities in Poznań, Gniezno, and Wrocław. In 1456, for example, at the time of the Commonwealth's war with the Teutonic Order, at the consent of the Gniezno

---

[74] Sczaniecki, 26. Interestingly enough, the custom is still alive in Cracow, but the order is reversed.

[75] *Poznań Visitatio,* 112.

[76] *Cracow Visitatio 1,* 100

[77] *Poznań Visitatio,* 114.

[78] I interpret the rubric *Ad chorum redeundo hic dictis incipiatur,* as a sequence that accompanies the action of all the priests withdrawing to the area of the choir. This movement might be seen as a continuation of the initial procession. However, the phrase quoted above could also be interpreted as "priests representing Marys go back to the altar to join the choir."

bishop and the bishops of the *ecclesiae trium diocesum, Gnesnensis, Wladislaviensis et Posnaniensis, suis carissimis vasis et clenodiis undatae sunt.*[79] Jan Długosz adds that when king Casimir asked the same from the members of the Cracow chapter: *expositis rei publicae necessitatibus et angustis, coepit non tam precibus, quam lacrimis rogare, ut tam maioris, quam omnibus ecclesiarum vasa et clenodia aurea et argentea commodarentur,*[80] his request was not granted.

Although the attempted reconstruction or rather description of the plays from two ecclesiastical centres cannot be complete due to a lack of material proofs, it is still clear that clerics employed some basic solutions in regard to the way church space was used (utilisation of the central nave, the aisles, the presbytery, and the sacristy), and in regard to the stage movement (procession, circumvention of the sepulchre, adoration of the Cross). All these details help to establish part of the ceremonies' context and theatrical devices that are clearly different from secular theatrical practices. The theatrical context, however, is not limited to physical space alone, it takes in another important component—the audience—to make the picture of the performance complete. Therefore, it is worthwhile to inquire into the intended audiences of the ceremonies discussed above and to see their own imaginative space in the church.

The Audience and the Theatrical Space

Any theatre is a metaphorical wilderness if it does not consider its audience. This is even more so with respect to the liturgical theatre, since its location, the church building, apart from being the house of God, is also the house of His people. During the time the liturgy is enacted, the two dimensions of the church building merge, and, consequently cannot be treated separately: people come to experience the eternal Presence by being present at the ceremonies. The house of God thus becomes their own physical and spiritual abode for the time they stay in the church. It is this building that becomes the object and setting for human creativity in its various forms, and, more specifically, theatrical activity. People not only occupied the physical space of the church, but, in artistic terms, they called its theatrical space into being by designing liturgical forms and engaging in extra-liturgical activity.

Whatever criticism can be raised of its linguistic conservatism, medieval liturgical theatre still appears as one of the few moments in theatre history where co-operation between the performers and the audience was very close and well attested

---

[79] Jan Dlugosz, HP, vol. V, 209 in Mrozowski, 48.

[80] Dlugosz, 232, in Mrozowski, 48.

in the script. The actors-celebrants were able to establish a special relationship with the audience during the ceremony. For example, in *Processio 2*, the rubrics presuppose the audience's participation in the action of adoration of the Cross, the actors turn towards the audience and let the people actively engage in this act of display and devotion. Other scenes that entail the presence of the congregation are the scenes when Christ's burial shrouds are displayed in the series of the Visitation plays. In all the plays that include this particular scene, the rubrics refer to the audience, for example, *Acceptis igitur in sepulchro linteaminibus redeunt ad chorum et expansis coram omni populo canunt (Cracow Visitatio 1, Brzeg Visitatio), Deinde sudario accepto reuertantur ad chorum et ostendendo sudarium cantent (Cracow Visitatio 2), se dicti ... lintheamina accipiant et portent ante altare et versi facie ad populum dicant cantando (Poznań Visitatio 1)*. The repertoire of the stage movement for both groups of participants may be significantly enlarged by taking into account traditional prayer postures and worshipping gestures.

Let us make a further distinction within the liturgical theatre community and assign the performer group to the sphere of the play, and the rest of the congregation to the sphere of the reception of the play. Undoubtedly, a bishop or any other member of higher clergy that entered into the flow of the ceremony in crucial moments belongs to the sphere of play. This is, for example, the case in *Cracow Visitatio 1*, where the bishop, if he were present, has to intone *Te Deum Laudamus* at the end of the Visitation. The hymn itself starts the Easter Mass that follows the *Visitatio*, and it therefore marks the point of transition from the extra-liturgical piece to the solemn liturgy proper.

It seems that the discussion of stage movement in these plays can be best conducted in relation to the physical space of the church building, since all the plays delineate the theatrical space for both groups of participants by means of movement. For example, the processional movement at the opening of the *Visitatio* or *Caena Domini* marks the boundaries of the ceremony. The audience sees the priests coming out of the sacristy and taking their places at the Last Supper table. They thus associate these two areas with the sphere of the play that cannot be crossed. Similarly, the procession of the three Marys in the Visitation plays not only marks the performance area but also helps the audience to focus on the crucial site—the sepulchre. The basic stage movement patterns for the Visitation plays appear to be the same, despite textual differences. Thus, the initial movement of the performing community is marked by the emergence from the presbytery to the middle of the church or to the open area within the altar, so as to be seen by the congregation. The same action is then repeated by the priests representing the three Marys who head from the sacristy to the sepulchre. Thus, there occurs a double delineation of the

theatrical space: first, the group of priests aligns in the background, then the Marys start their visitation. The basic directions for the entire dramatic narrative are established. Moving forwards and going backwards constitutes the rhythm of the entire play. If we add to this going round the sepulchre and incensing gestures as well as the act of displaying Christ's empty burial shrouds, we will get a rich inventory of gestures rooted in liturgy but which acquired a broader use in the context of the liturgical theatre. All these gestures are implied in the liturgical text, and the rubrics distribute them among individual actors as they set up the basic conventions of acting.

Just as the theatrical space was extended for dramatic reasons, it might as well have been limited or it could even shrink to a single spot within the altar area, as happened in the *Caena Domini* ceremony when the action started to focus on the supper table. Thus, the space for acting and for watching the ceremonies was unstable. Every now and then it changed its parameters, which, in turn, gave early liturgical theatre its forceful dynamics. Moreover, the changing setting of these plays implies a special approach to theatrical illusion. Instead of the initial stable division of performers and audience, there occurs a constant shift between the two groups with the simultaneous displacement of the physical space they are supposed to move in. Thus, the illusion or rather spiritual identification with biblical events is related to new places and includes new objects each time they are introduced into the action.

The sphere of the play and the sphere of its reception not only change in space, they also merge to form one meeting or exchange place between the actors and the audience. Both groups approach these ceremonies in their own way. The actors have a deeper insight into the theological and spiritual meaning of the ceremonies due to their education. The knowledge of Latin was, of course, a major advantage in grasping the message of these plays. The actors would be responsible for the literary part of the ceremonies. Also, they would be responsible for the production process itself. The audience, on the other hand, would have identified more easily with the audio-visual aspect of the ceremonies, and would certainly contemplate the plays and follow the ritual action rather than actively participate in the preparations for staging the plays that started well before the Holy Week. Thus, while the two participating groups had clearly delineated roles for the time when the dramatic representation took place, there was a point in it when the two groups met and the active participation of the actors merged with the passive participation of the audience; devotional practice was enriched by communal prayer in the vernacular.

The community that the liturgical plays called forth presented itself primarily in the church building. However, the processions took place outside the church, as for example in most of the Palm Sunday ceremonies. Thus the clergy and the

congregation emphasised their roles in city life. Church ceremonies became part of urban life, as they were watched annually by both believers and non-believers, by the citizens, and by the merchants who happened to be staying in the cities. These ceremonies, although controlled by the church authorities, became part of the city tradition.[81]

Thus, although the production process belonged entirely to the clergy, the people were an indispensable element that made the liturgical performance complete. They responded to visual and audible signs by adding their own devotional gestures and assuming praying postures within the church building as well as outdoors, if the ceremony took place in the city. In the words of C. Clifford Flanigan, *Visitatio Sepulchri* "seeks neither to entertain nor to instruct in the usual sense of the word; instead, it attempts to involve actively the entire cultic community in the events of the first Easter and, therefore, to apply the saving benefits of the once-for-all event to the congregation."[82] A requirement for the viewer of the extra-liturgical offices was that he or she must participate mentally and spiritually in the representations of the historical events that were at the roots of Christianity.

Conclusion

Liturgical drama is a complex sign-system and aspects of this system can be described separately in order to enhance our knowledge of early religious theatre and methods used to stage a performance and to communicate with the public. From the study of a number of liturgical ceremonies from Poland (some of which may already pertain to the name of a well-made play, as in the case of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* performance), there emerges a picture of the Church as an institution that was engaged in theatrical production. Although the tools and minor props used in the performances have not survived, the records of the ceremonies are generously preserved in liturgical books throughout the country.

From the discussion of the symbolic meaning of the scene from the Visitation plays that was designed to display the burial shrouds of Christ to the congregation, it appears that medieval religious theatre was concerned with the language of gesture as much as it was interested in the audible language, or, more precisely, in language

---

[81] See the discussion of the Corpus Christi mystery plays from Coventry, York, and Wakefield, and their audiences in Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Time," *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 5–6.

[82] Clifford C. Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," *Comparative Drama* 2 (1968): 281.

combined with Gregorian chant. The mixed mode of representation that this theatre employed included both chanting and miming. Mimed parts of the Visitations were always combined with the chanted parts, since there is no rubric that presupposes a moment of silence. Thus, medieval liturgical narratives may be seen as the earliest musical drama in the modern era.

We no longer speak the same theatrical language as Galo of Beauvais in the thirteenth century or priests in fifteenth-century Poznań, but we can still recover parts of the theatrical vocabulary that was in use. On the basis of the textual analysis we may assume that the setting of the ceremonies would be either the city or the church building. Urban space was transformed into theatrical space only for the time of the processions from beyond the city walls to the church. In contrast to this dynamic utilisation of urban space, church buildings housed both processions and static representations. It appears that the church building housed more ceremonies, and called for a variety of stage movement solutions (walking towards the Easter sepulchre, circumventing certain objects, lining up in two groups, etc.) The focal point of all Latin Easter offices, the sepulchre, was also consciously employed in the performance, though the actual objects have not come down to the present day. The positioning of the Easter sepulchre in the cathedral churches of Cracow and Poznań could be identified only on the basis of a comparative study. I assume that the place of the sepulchres would be in the middle of the church, either in the central nave, or in one of the aisles, both close to the altar.

The congregation is rarely mentioned in the dramatic script, and it appears on the textual level only at crucial moments of the ceremonies: sometimes it witnesses the re-enaction of the Resurrection morning events. It also takes part in the active veneration of the Cross on Good Friday and walks in grand Palm Sunday Processions. Nevertheless, we can claim that the church building was a place of spiritual and artistic exchange between the actors and the spectators. There was a specific point in time and a specific place where the congregation would gather, and thus fill the available space with communal movement, chants, and prayers. Liturgical and extra-liturgical offices, and especially the recovered theatrical language that used to set them in motion, help to appreciate the scale of this endeavour.

Probationary Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphspj01@phd.ceu.hu

FROM *KENEZII* TO *NOBILES VALACHI:*
THE EVOLUTION OF THE ROMANIAN ELITE
OF THE BANAT IN THE FOURTEENTH AND
FIFTEENTH CENTURIES[1]

Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu 📄

In this article I intend to present some results of my investigations regarding the upward social mobility of die knezes[2] from die Banat region, especially of the so-called "eight privileged districts of the Banat." The region of Banat is geographically bordered by the Mures/Maros river to the north, the Tisa/Tisza and Danube rivers to the west, south-west, and south, and by the Carpathian mountains bordering the valleys of the Cerna/Cserna and Timiç/Temes rivers towards the east. In the Middle Ages it comprised several counties. However, the Romanian districts were situated in Timis/Temes and Caras/Krassó counties.[3]

Nobiles Valachi was a medieval Latin term, frequently employed in charters írom the fourteenth and fifteenth century, referring to a special category of nobles. The best English translation of it is "Romanian nobles." "Wallachian nobles" would be misleading, for it may define a noble from the principality of Wallachia. It is also

The *knez,* an institution of undoubted Slavic origin, represented the leading class of the Romanian people in the early Middle Ages. The terms *Valachi* or *Olachi* were medieval Latin names that identified the Romance speaking population inhabiting a large area in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Much of the written sources concerning this topic have been published for more than a century, and afterwards repeatedly republished or included in different source collections edited in Hungary and Romania. The main source collections for this subject are: Frigyes Pesty, ed., *A Szörény vármegyei hajdani oláh kerületek* (The former Romanian districts from County Severin) (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1876); Frigyes Pesti, ed., *A Szörényi bánság és Szörény vármegye története* (The history of the Banat of Severin and of County Severin), vol. 3, (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1878); Frigyes Pesti, ed., *Krassó vármegye története, III (Oklevéltár)* (The history of County Caras. III Diplomatarium) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1882); Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Densuçianu, eds., *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Documents regarding the history of Romanians); vols. 1/1, 1/2, 2/3, (Bucharest: Socec, 1890-1911); E. Lukinich, L. Gáldi, and L. Makkai, eds., *Documenta históriám Valachorum in Hungária illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum.* (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1941); Mihail Berza, et alii, eds., *Documenta Romániáé Historka, C Transilvania,* vols. 10-13, (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Románe, 1977-1994); Costiii Feneçan, ed., *Documente medievale bänäfene 1440-1653* (Medieval charters from the Banat 1440-1653) (Timisoara: Facia, 1981). The scholarship of the subject encompasses a wide range of works and studies that approach different aspects of the history of Romanian elite, knezes or nobles, in the Banat, among whose authors the most important are Frigyes Pesty, Gheorghe Vinulescu, loan Vuia, Victor Motogna, Maria Holban, Costin Feneçan, Viorel Achim, loan Hajegan, Dumitru Teicu, Ligia Boldea, loan Drägan, Ioan-Aurel Pop, and Adrian Andrei Rusu. A list of their contributions would overburden this short overview.

well known that the medieval Latin name for the Romanians was *Walachi, Olachi,* therefore the translation of *nobiles Valachi* as "Romanian nobles" is appropriate.

Given the multiplicity and diversity of circumstances in which the knezes were mentioned in the surviving written sources, even defining this social class presents problems. However, systematic research focused on certain social and territorial units where knezes functioned without significant royal intervention, such as the regions of Maramureş and Haţeg in the fourteenth century, offered some clarification of the nature of this social category.[4] According to Radu Popa, the simplest definition of a knez is a possessor of land with subjects. The property of the knez was called a "knezat" (*kenesiatus*), meaning both land possession and a whole range of rights over tenant peasants. In the sources the term *kenesiatus* refers to a village or part of a village possessed by a knez, but it also comprises the abstract meaning of certain rights and obligations.

Another essential element that defined a knez was that, usually—until the mid-fourteenth century—his possession over land was not acknowledged in a charter, in contrast to most of the nobles of the kingdom. The emergence and development of the noble domains in the Banat resulted in significant changes within the class of knezes. The land donations to Hungarian nobles placed some knezes under the lordship of nobles, and thus different categories of knezes appeared: knezes subject to nobles[5] and the free knezes living on the domain of the royal fortresses. When the *kenesiatus* of a knez was donated to a noble, the rights of possession and lordship attributes of the knez were diminished. These knezes were reduced to the role of intermediaries between the noble lord and the inhabitants of the village. They acted as *villici*. They could judge the peasants of the village concerning certain petty crimes, were charged with maintaining order, the peasants owed them obedience, and they were responsible for the collection of dues in money, labor, or kind. These knezes, being subject to a noble, forfeited the opportunity to become nobles themselves as long as they remained on the noble domain.[6] In the

---

[4] Radu Popa, *Ţara Maramureşului în veacul al XIV-lea* (The Country of Maramureş in the fourteenth century), 2nd edition, (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); Radu Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Ţara Haţegului* (The beginnings of the Romanian Middle Ages: The Country of the Haţeg) (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1988), 165–184.

[5] An example of such subjection is that of the knez called Bach, dispossesed in 1320 of his possessions in favour of Ladislas Himfy. See Pesty, *Krassó,* 5, and Antal Fekete Nagy, *Temesi bánság oklevéltára, 1307–1340,* (The Diplomatarium of the Banat of Timiş), (manuscript in the National Archives of Hungary, Budapest), 92.

[6] In 1376 the knezes of the domain Remetea addressed a petition (Lukinich E., *DocVal* 287) to the wife of Benedict Himfy, the lord of that possession, complaining about the miserable conditions and various abuses committed by certain officials of that domain against them. The knezes declared that they would no longer endure them and that they were ready to leave together with their people to live in some other place. This proves that in 1376 it was still possible for a knez, as a chief of a group of people (in documents they are still

following I intend to study only those knezes who avoided this kind of subjection and thus had a chance for upward social mobility.

Approximately from the 1350s the sources begin to reflect social transformations among the knezes of the Banat with the emergence of the term *nobiles* along with that of *kenesy.* Soon variations in terminology appeared. The Romanian knezes were sometimes called *Walachi, Olachi,* or *nobiles Valachi.* In some cases, the leaders of the Romanians came to be called simply *nobiles.* Such variation in the terminology raises a question about the significance of these terms. Did they reflect a change in status? Is a *nobilis Valachus* or *nobilis kenesius* different from a *kenesius*? There must have been differences, for the creation and introduction of new terms would not be justified if they would not be based on social realities; even if, as we will see, royal and other chancelleries were not quite consistent in the use of these terms. However, I argue that the changes in terminology reflect a tendency toward gradual upward social mobility. The evolution step by step toward the status of "true nobles," which meant the granting of privileges attached to a noble status,[7] involved transitory solutions expressed by the terms *nobiles kenesy, Valachi,* or *nobiles Valachi.* Adding the "ethnic" name *Valachus* to the term *nobilis,* was not intended to show their ethnicity, as it might be interpreted at first sight. It was the need to express the specificity of these nobles, to some extent similar to the *veri nobiles* but also having special obligations attached to their status, that still kept them apart from the majority of the kingdom's nobility. It is, however, remarkable that in the decades after 1457, the date of the issue of a special royal privilege for Romanian nobles and knezes from the "eight privileged districts," in which the term *nobiles Valachi* was officially employed, the qualification *Valachi* disappeared, replaced by the general term *nobiles.* It did not reflect a loss of ethnicity, they continued to be Romanians long thereafter,[8] but the differences between them and the nobles of the realm were gradually erased.

---

called *homines,* only later they will be called *iobbagiones*), to move to another place. Thus, the knez by preserving a certain amount of freedom, really had a chance to acquire a landed property as knezial or a noble possession; cf. Maria Holban, "Mărturii asupra rolului cnezilor pe marile domenii din Banat în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea" (Evidence about the role of the knezes within the great domains from Banat in the second half of the fourteenth century); *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 2 (1957): 407–420.

[7] "Full" noble status may be taken as those rights which appear in the 1514 *Tripartitum,* Pars I, Tit. 9, such as: *habeas corpus,* freedom of taxation in exchange for military service, and political participation, Sándor Kolosvári and Kelemen Óvári, eds., *Werbőczi István Hármaskönyve* (The tripartitum of Stephen Werbőczi) (Budapest: Magyar Irod. Intézet és Könyvnyomda, 1897), 64–68.

[8] As far as their language is concerned, later evidence indicates that they were using Romanian; however many of them because Roman Catholics, in contrast to their previous Orthodox belief which remained dominant among the most of the Romanian population.

Even though there seem to have been cases of knezes' ennoblement previously,[9] only from the 1350s onward do the written sources begin to mention the knezes living on the territory of the royal fortresses or in the districts of the royal fortresses. In general, scholars speak about thirty-three districts in the whole of the Banat, but this number varied during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A distinction must be made between privileged and unprivileged districts. The "eight privileged districts" (formally privileged since 1457) covered a compact area mostly in present-day Caraş and Timiş counties, and constituted the place where the Romanian nobility formed.[10] It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the early stages of development and evolution of the districts.

The methodology applied in this research consisted of the analysis of terminology specific to the knezes or nobles which is found in charters granted to them mostly in the period between 1350–1457. A selection of documents has already been made by history itself, so that in our examples some noble families from certain districts are better represented. Thus, noble families from Sebeş or Mehadia districts (such as Mâtnic and Temeşel) seem to provide a fairly clear model of upward social mobility that might be taken as the general pattern of evolution followed by other families, whose history is less well documented. The status transformations took place over a long time individually, that is, every knez and his family acquired privileges on an individual basis. After providing services, mostly military, the knezes asked the king for a reward. Thus, they were granted charters under various conditions. It seems that this evolution involved certain stages. A charter that granted a certain possession only for being "used and held" (*ad utendam et tenendam*) to a knez, was followed by another one that confirmed the hereditary knezial possession of the same property. Other services were

---

[9] The ennoblement of knezes during the reign of Charles Robert, or even earlier, represents another type of evolution as in the case of the Zecul and Voya families, ennobled some time during the reign of King Charles Robert. We know, however, little about these processes. After the 1350s these families were involved in judgements concerning their landed properties which ended with their definitive dispossession in favor of influential royal officials such as John *Bissenus* or Benedict Himfy. During several stages in the legal process, the Zecul and Voya families presented their charters to the courts, proving their rights over the disputed possessions. In both families the first ancestor was a knez who was granted the land by the king. Later, the heirs of these knezes were always called nobles. See details in M. Holban, "Deposedări şi judecăţi în Banat pe vremea Angevinilor şi ilustrarea lor prin procesul Voya (1361–1378)" (Dispossessions and judgements in the Banat during the age of the Angevins: 1361–1378), *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 5 (1962): 57–131.

[10] The eight privileged districts from the Banat with their medieval Hungarian names in brackets were: Lugoj (*Lugas*), Sebeş (*Sebes*), Mehadia (*Mihald*), Almăj (*Halmas*), Caraşova (*Krassofw*), Bârzava (*Borzafw*), Comiat (*Komiathy*), and Ilidia (*Illyed*).

supplementary, rewarded with charters of a *nova donatio* type,[11] which can be interpreted as charters implying noble privilege. Many knezes could in this way possess some of their possessions as knezes, and some others as nobles. Some charters, fortunately enough, contain the provision that a possession, once donated as *nova donatio* to his former owner, that is to the knez, was "removed from the authority of the castellan."[12] This fact implies that the knezes gradually became exempt from the specific obligations toward the royal castle within the domain of which their properties were located. Thus, they were transformed into nobles, similar more or less to the so-called *veri nobiles*.

A changed status seems to have been reflected in the variation in terms. Such terms as *nobilis kenezius,* and *nobilis,* apparently refer to former knezes who already possessed a privilegial charter. *Valachus* or *Olachus,* and *nobiles Valachi* seem to have been used interchangeably in the first ones. However, the social transformations occurred not only on an individual basis. The knezes and nobles acted and lived in a society that involved many collective actions and solidarity among the inhabitants of a given territorial unit. Life itself obliged them sometimes to act collectively. The examples I have selected refer to acquisition of privileges in a collective fashion as well. In one example, the district of Sebeş received the royal privilege for toll exemption on a collective basis. The second example is that of the royal privilege from 1457, issued for nobles and knezes from the eight districts, which comprised different regulations regarding status and rights.

The earliest examples reflect the social standing of knezes from the district of Sebeş. Thus, on 5 October 1350, Posa of Zer, *ispán* of County Caraş, ordered his vicecastellan in Sebeş to protect the possessions of a certain *Lupchyn woyvoda*[13] *alio nomine Johannes,* son of Iuga. According to the *ispán*'s report the voivod Lupchyn had shown him a charter issued by King Béla for the possessions "*Gepu* and *Tyuis ac alie quamplures possessiones in districtu Sebes existentes predecessorum suorum essent et fuissent hereditarie et nunc eidem de iure pertinerent.*" However, his hereditary possession was illegally seized by force by somebody not named in the

---

[11] For the description of this type of charter and its meaning see Pál Engel, "Nagy Lajos ismeretlen adományreformja" (An unknown reform of donations by Louis the Great), *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997): 137–57.

[12] Pesty, *Krassó,* 229–230, "quod nos consideratis fidelitatibus et obsequys fidelis nostri Bogdan Valachi de Mothnwk ... possessiones Machwa et Dobregozte vocatas inpertinencys castri nostri (Sebes) existentes, quas alias idem sub seruitute Kenesiatus tenuisse perhibetur sequestrantes et eximentes dominio dicti castri potestate." See also note 25 below.

[13] The *woyvoda,* as in this example, was a knez with a specific military duty; he seems to have been the commander of the knezes in a given territorial unit. Such voivodes are documented for almost all regions inhabited by Romanians. It must not be confused with the institution of the voivode of Transylvania, which was one of the highest royal officers in the kingdom of Hungary.

charter. According to other charters of kings and dukes, the *ispán* said, it was the *comes*' duty to protect his possessions against any usurpation, in the name of the same kings or dukes. Therefore the vicecastellan was ordered to deliver seisin to voivode Lupchyn for the village of *Tyvis*.[14]

This is the earliest written record of a landowner within the privileged districts. Two elements must be stressed here: the voivod Lupchyn was a member of a land-owning family that had held charters for several possessions within Sebeş district since at least the thirteenth century, and that his possessions were hereditary.[15] Usually a hereditary estate was that of a noble, which would imply a noble status in the case of Lupchyn. However, it is known that the knezial possessions could also be inherited, and if those who donated half of the *kenesiatus* of the *Gyepew* in 1412, were Lupchyn's heirs, then he held a perpetual donation under a knezial title from King Béla IV. Though a very interesting case, the example of Lupchyn cannot be further investigated due to the lack of other sources.

A valuable insight is provided by the example of Bogdan of Mâtnic; a knez in the 1350s, he started the process of social change that ended with the acquisition of noble status in the first decades of fifteenth century. In 1352, Iuga and Bogdan, sons of Stephen of Mâtnic, were granted the possession *Mutnukpataka* under the following conditions: the recipients shall "possess and multiply that possession, and hold it in such liberty in which the knezes from the province Sebeş possess *liberas villas*."[16] The term *libertas* defined here the particular mode of possession of free villages by the knezes, while *libera villa* meant a newly established village that was exempted from tax payment.[17] Another provision of donation defined the legal and juridical status of these knezes as follows: "no judge may judge them, but they

---

[14] National Archives of Hungary, Dl. 91419.

[15] Most probably the issuer of the charter seen by Posa of Zer was King Béla IV who reigned between 1235–1270. Other kings called Béla reigned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Though, it is impossible to say with certainty by whom and when the charter that the *comes* referred to was issued, it must be stressed that this is one of the earliest privileges known to have been granted to Romanians in the kingdom of Hungary. Unfortunately the genealogy of voivode Lupchyn is not known. The name of Lupchyn's father, Iuga is encountered frequently among knezes from the Banat. A hint on the evolution of Lupchyn's heirs is found only in 1412, when a group of knezes from *Gyepew* donated half of their *kenesiatus* held in *titulo perpetue donacionalis Regalis*; see note 27, below.

[16] "...in tali libertate, in qua libertate habent liberas villas quenesii in provincia Seebus, et in eadem libertate possident et multiplicarent..." Pesti, *Krassó*, 28.

[17] The term *libertas* was used in a similar sense in a charter issued by King Charles I when the *iobbagiones castri* from Hont received a possession "with the liberty of the nobles and not with the liberty of the *iobbagiones castri*." Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy: The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred,* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), 43.

themselves can judge all cases except robbery, theft, and arson which must be judged at the seat of the noble magistrate in Sebeş."[18]

In 1370, probably a different branch of the family of Mâtnic received a charter with a noble title for their previous knezial estates. King Louis granted two royal possessions located in the area of two rivers called Mâtnic as *nova donatio*, which long before had been settled and populated by *Struza* "in the name of the king" and under the title of his *kenesiatus*. The recipients of the donation were the successors of knez *Struza*, named in the charter as "our faithful Romanians" (*fideles Olachy Nostri*).[19] This term, as first noted by Costin Feneşan,[20] was used for Romanians living in the royal districts, who were considered Romanians of the king, subject directly to him and led by a royal representative, the castellan. The successors of Struza seem to have preceded Bogdan in being granted a noble title. They were, very probably, the "nobles of Mâtnic" mentioned in a royal charter of 1376. The charter recorded the settlement of a dispute between the citizens and *hospites* from Caran, on the one hand, and Bogdan, son of Stephen and Radul, son of Voinic, and other nobles from Mâtnic (*ac alios nobiles de Muthnuk*) on the other.[21]

In 1387 King Sigismund donated as *nova donatio* to Bogdan *Olah*, son of Stephen of Mâtnic, an estate called Măru (*Almafa*), located in the district *Temeskuz*, and held until that time under his knezat (*kenesiatus*) or service (*officiolatus*).[22] In 1391, Nicholas *Literatus*, son of Bogdan, went to the chapter of Transylvania asking for a transcript of the royal charter of 1387.[23]

The settlement of a dispute over a piece of land, claimed by inhabitants of the town Caran from the properties of Bogdan of Mâtnic, required a provincial congregation. Thus, Ban Nicholas of Peren summoned in 1391 "*nobiles et kenesios*

---

[18] Pesti, *Krassó*, 28 "...ita tamen quod nullus Judex habeat iudicare ipsi autem poterunt iudicare preter tres causas, scilicet latrocinium furtivum et incendiarium, et si contingerit esse tunc ad sedem Judicis ad Sebus admittere debeatis..."

[19] Pesti, *Krassó*, 101–3. The recipients were Roman and Ladislas, sons of Struza, who also represented their brothers Denis (with his sons Peter, Gruban, and Michael) and Iwan with his sons (Michael, Denis, and Zacharias).

[20] Costin Feneşan, "Districtul românesc Mehadia la sfârşitul secolului al XIV-lea" (The Romanian district Mehadia at the end of the fourteenth century), *Banatica* 5 (1979): 265–275.

[21] Pesti, *Szörény*, 6–8.

[22] Pesti, *Szörény*, 9–10, "sub ipsius keneziatu seu officiolatu hactenus habitam."

[23] Pesti, *Szörény*, 13–4. Bogdan of Mâtnic had six sons, Nicholas, Stephen, Ladislas, Ladislas Jr., Peter, and John. Nicholas, called in this document *Literatus*, pursued an ecclesiastic career and by 1394 was a clerk of the choir in the bishopric of Transylvania from Alba Iulia. This is an explanation for appealing to such a remote place for authentication. This was usually the role of the chapters from Cenad, Arad, and Titel for the Banat. At any rate, it should be noted that this knezial family was Roman Catholic, like many other families from the Romanian elite of the Banat, see Viorel Achim, "Catolicismul la românii din Banat în Evul Mediu" (The Catholic belief of Romanians from the Banat in the Middle Ages), *Revista Istorică* VII 1–2 (1996): 41–55.

districtuum et provinciarum quatuor scilicet de Sebes, de lugas, ac de karan et kompyathi." Through a general inquest, the ban learned from the "knezes and nobles" of the four districts that the disputed piece of land pertained *semper et ab antiquo* to Bogdan. Therefore the ban adjudicated the land to Bogdan and his sons.[24] On 11 June 1392, when King Sigismund was in Caran, Bogdan obtained from him a royal confirmation of the sentence of the ban. In this charter Bogdan was called *kenesius de Muthnuk.*[25] In October 1394 Nicholas, son of Bogdan, asked the chapter of Alba Iulia for a transcript of a royal charter issued on 19 April 1394 in Buda. This charter rewarded the faithful services of *fidelis* Bogdan *Valachus de Muthnuk,* with the donation of two estates, *Machwa* and *Dobregozte,* located in the domain of the royal fortress Sebeş. The two possessions held by Bogdan under the service of his knezat *(kenesiatus),* were separated from the *dominium* of the royal fortress.[26] This is clearly a donation with a noble title, because it conferred the estates as *nova donatio* and also contained the clause of perpetuity.

Moreover, the provision which declares the separation of the two possessions from their previous connection with the royal fortress is helpful for understanding the evolution of knezial possessions. In fact it provides us with unique information about the stages through which many knezial possessions must have passed until being completely held as noble possessions. This is the last charter mentioning Bogdan of Mâtnic, who must have died sometime between 1394 and 1404, the latter being the date of the next charter given to his sons. In 1404, in the donation charter of two royal estates located in the district of Sebeş fortress to his sons, *nobiles viri* Stephen, Farkas, Ladislas, and John, he was called *Comes Bogdan de Muthnuk.*[27] What the title *comes* in this period meant, is not very clear. Bogdan of Mâtnic was never appointed county *comes (ispán)*; it must rather have been an honorific title connected with the pre-eminence and prestige of the person within the district. Whatever Bogdan's position, the sons were called *nobiles* in 1404. In conclusion we can say that the social evolution of Bogdan of Mâtnic is quite clear: he is mentioned

---

[24] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek,* 52–3.

[25] Pesti, *Krassó,* 218–9.

[26] Pesti, *Krassó* 229–30, "... quas alias idem sub servitute Kenesiatus tenuisse perhibetur sequestrantes et eximentes dominio dicti castri potestate... ."

[27] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek,* 53–54. The possession *Lybanfalua alias Vozestya* was formerly a *kenesiatus.* The sons of Bogdan gained it *ab alienis manibus* by way of a judgement. The order addressed by Philip of Korogh to his *vicecomes* from Sebeş castle contains the provision that a *kenesiatus* donated as noble estate had to be extracted from the authority of the royal castle. "Quocirca vobis Castellanis nostris in dicto Castro Sebesyensi nunc constitutis et in posterum constituendis vestrasque vices gerentibus firmiter et districte precipientes mandamus, quatenus, a modo in posterum Jamdictos Stephanum, farkasium, ... in dominio eiusdem possessionis Lybanfalua alias Vozestya vocate et suarum pertinenciarum vestris et vestrorum manibus ab eisdem exceptis, tenere conseruare et ab omnibus tueri debeatis."

as a knez, possessor of a charter with a knezial title since 1352, he was able to transform his estates (knezates) into noble estates only after more than two decades, in 1376 and 1394. He could do so only by performing military service to the king or the king's officials, a path that all knezes followed in their gradual evolution toward noble status. A note must be made concerning the titles he bore. Most often he is mentioned as *kenezius*. But a coincidence regarding usage of terms must be stressed: in charters that conferred noble title, that is, the *nova donatio* charters from 1376 and 1394, the former knez is called *Valachus* or *Olah*. In the charter from 1391 he was still called *kenesius*, and it seems justified by the fact that by that time he still held the possessions granted in 1394 as noble estates as knezates. This remark is sustained by the example of the sons of Struza, also called in their charter *fideles Olachy nostri*. In the usage of the term *Olachus, Valachus*, one may detect the origins of the term *Nobiles Valachi* that will be frequently used in charters until 1457. Conversely, knezes were—as far as we can see—not called *Valachi* or *Olachi*, but simply *kenesii*.

The family of Bogdan of Mâtnic seems to have acquired a strong position that allowed its members to win judgements against claims to land by the town of Caran and to participate in different local activities. The presentation of all surviving data about different members of the family of Mâtnic in the first half of the fifteenth century would make a long list, not entirely necessary in this context. Therefore only some cases characteristic of the evolution of this family will be presented. On 17 April 1406, the *fideles Wolahii*, Ladislas *dictus farkas*, and another Ladislas, representing themselves and their brothers Stephen, Denis, and John (Nicholas *Literatus* was dead by that time), obtained confirmation of two previous charters for the estates *Almafa, Machwa, Dobrogozta*, and *Muthnok*. Ladislas *dictus Farkas* was distinguished among his brothers by the way he advanced. In 1412, due to favours provided to the numerous knezes of *Gyepew*, a few members of this family donated half of their *kenesiatus* held *titulo perpetue donacionalis Regalis* to Ladislas *Farkas* and to his sons Nicholas, Stephen, Bogdan, and Michael.[28]

Another example is provided by a group of *Olahy* of *Patak*, who in 1389 were granted their former estate *Rwg* "to be kept and governed hereditarily" (*tenendam et gubernandam heredum per heredes*). The royal charter issued by King Sigismund in 1389 was in fact the confirmation of a previous charter issued by the palatine, Ladislas of Opole (1367–1372), and the sons of Posa of Zer who rewarded faithful services through the donation of a village. We can safely assume that both acts

---

[28] Pesti, *Krassó*, 277–79, "... directam et equalem medietatem possessionis ipsorum Gyepew vocatam, In Comitatu Themesiensi, in districtu karanSebes (sic) existentem habitam, ipsos titulo perpetue kenesiatus donacionalis Regalis concernentem..."

conferred the possession as a noble estate, though not explicitly stated as such. The charter recipients were called *Olachi,* and the possession was donated hereditarily.[29] We cannot conclude the series of examples from the district of Sebeş without mentioning one significant piece of information. In 1366, a royal disposition was issued according to which no one could own land within the district of Sebeş, unless he was a true Catholic, either *sub titulo nobilitatis* or *sub titulo kenesiali.*[30] This stipulation was part of a policy intended to promote conversion to Catholicism among Romanian Orthodox landowners.[31]

A few other examples suggest similar social changes among the knezes from the district of Mehadia. In 1376 Şurian, Bogdan, Demetrius, Thomas, and Basil, all sons of *"Bayk olachi nostri,"* were granted through royal donation the possession of Valea Bolvaşniţei. Their charter contains allusion to the liberty and custom of possessing land of other Romanian nobles from the Mehadia district (*ea libertate et consuetudine possidendam, tenendam et habendam, qua ceteri nobiles Olachi districtus de Mihald suas possessiones...*).[32] This time, the document mentions more clearly the *libertas* and *consuetudo* of holding possessions by Romanian nobles from the Mehadia district. Thus, though other earlier sources are not available, the reference to the custom of holding possessions by *nobiles Olachi*, suggests that a good number of these former knezes were granted charters that made their knezial properties similar to noble ones.

A more clear evolution is documented in the case of the family of the knez Dej of Temeşel. On 18 July 1387, Stephen of Losoncz, ban of Severin, donated the royal village of *Patak* "from the district of the Mehadia royal fortress" to Peter, son of Dej, *kenezius districtuum Castri regalis Michald.* The donation rewarded faithful past services performed by Peter and his brothers Hălmagiu, Christopher, and Michael to the former bans, but mostly for services carried out during the last conflict, when the ban fought "for the liberation of Queen Mary." This was a temporary donation because it was not granted with full rights (*pleno iure*), but only for being "used and held" (*utendam et tenendam*). In this case the knezial obligations were explicitly recorded. It referred to obligations and payments

---

[29] Dl. 253679; The grantees of the charter from 22 April 1389 were: "Dionisius, Roman, oppress, Ladislaus et Mathyas filii Ladislai de Patak, item Philippus, Petrus et Johannes filii Phyles, Stephans filius Petri et Barates filius Susman de eadem Patak, Olahy, fratres scilicet patrueles."

[30] Lukinich, *Doc. Val.,* 207, "ut in tota provincia seu districtu Sebes nullus alter nisi vere catholicus et fidem quam Romana tenet at profitetur ecclesia fideliter colens, possessiones aliquas sub titulo nobilitatis aut sub titulo kenesiali tenere posset et conservare."

[31] See a recent analysis of this information in Ioan Aurel Pop, "Un privilegiu regal solemn de la 1366 şi implicaţiile sale" (A royal solemn privilege from 1366 and its implications), *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* I 1–2 (1997): 80 sq.

[32] Feneşan, 268–71.

(*condicionibus et solucionibus*), customarily paid from other "free knezial villages," that is, each year, at the feast of Saint Michael (29 September), three groats for each hide, and the *quinquagesima ovium* during the feast of Saint George the Martyr (24 April).[33]

In 1390, Peter, son of Dej, this time referred to as *nobilis kenezius* of Temeşel, initiated a request for a new charter for the possessions of *Kryuapatak* and *Patak,* as the result of the loss of former royal charters while the district was occupied by the army of Dan, prince of Wallachia. Before granting the required instrument, the king ordered the ban of Severin to make an inquiry into the veracity of the matter. From this, the ban learned by "certitude of the truth" from the "nobles and peoples of other status from the counties Sebeş, Lugoj, and Mehadia" (*a nobilibus et alterius status hominibus comitatuum Sebus, Lugas et Mihald*)[34] that the applicants indeed had lost their charters. Therefore, the king granted the possessions as *nova donatio* "together with all their rights and jurisdictions ... by means of the following mode and obligation, that, when we or our successors, the kings of Hungary, shall start to move the army eastwards, they and their heirs shall come to the army with one *lancea* ... as it is the custom of certain *noble knezes* of those lands ... ."[35] The charter from 1390 represented an advance for the recipients for two reasons. First, the possession of *Patak* was granted now as a noble property, while three years earlier it was only held as a knezial possession, with specific obligations mentioned clearly. More than likely the obligations in money or in kind were remitted, but the military ones were not only maintained, but also clearly specified.

Other examples from districts Caran and Comiat point to a similar trend. In these districts knezes also managed to change their former knezates into noble property. In 1397, for instance, Ladislas, son of Peter *dictus Olah de Wazylyowa,*

---

[33] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek,* 51–52, "...duximus concedendam sicut modo incumbit officio sub infrascriptis condicionibus et solucionibus, vtendam et tenendam, videlicet quod in festo beati Michaeli archangeli singulis annis, de qualibet sessione singulos tres grossos et in festo beati Georgy martiris, quinquagesimam castellanis prescripti castri Mihald pro tempore constitutis soluere teneatur prout de alys liberis villis ipsorum kenesialibus soluere sunt consueti...."

[34] The growing number of Romanian nobles is also reflected by the name of the district assemblies that were called *universitas nobilium et keneziorum.* In 1391 *nobiles et kenesios districtuum et provinciarum quatuor scilicet de Sebes, de lugas, ac de karan et kompyathi* participated in a judgement concerning land possesions in the Sebeş district. This type of assembly comprising nobles and knezes is fairly well documented for more than sixty years. Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Instituţii medievale româneşti. Adunările cneziale şi nobiliare (boiereşti) din Transilvania în secolele XIV–XVI* (Medieval Romanian institutions: The knezial and noble (boyar) assemblies during the 14–16th centuries) (Cluj Napoca: Dacia, 1991), 105–12.

[35] Pesti, *Szörény,* 10–2, "... predictas possessiones Kryuapatak et Patak ... simul cum omnibus ipsarum Juribus Jursidiccionibus terris arabilibus ..., Tali modo et condicione mediante, quod dum nos vel nostri successores reges Hngarie temporum in processu exercitum versus plagam orientalem instaurando moveremus et mo(vere ... ipsi) (sic) et heredes ipsorum de dictis possessionibus ad predictum exercitum cum una lancea vt ... consuetudinis (sic) certorum nobilium Keneziorum dictarum terr(arum ... t) (sic) proficisci teneantur."

and his relatives received as *nova donatio* the royal possession of *Paganch*, from the district of Karan, previously held and used by them. It was a hereditary donation with noble title and complete lordly rights.[36] Similarly, in 1406 a knez called Denis, son of Ciucă of *Lopathaka alionomine Myhalyanch*, and through him his relatives, was rewarded for military services performed during the Bosnian expedition, by a *nova donatio* of the possession held previously under their own *keneziatus*. Moreover, the charter contains a provision according to which the recipients were "ennobled by the plenitude of royal power according to the custom and as the other nobles of the kingdom, as long as the king's benevolence shall last."[37] The charter also included a clause of perpetuity. This type of charter is singular among the acts received in the Banat. No other known charter mentioned so clearly an elevation to the rank of the other nobles in the kingdom. As presented above, mentions of Romanian nobles, noble knezes or simply nobles can often be found in the preserved charters, but a clear reference to "ennoblement" according to the customs of the nobility of the kingdom is very rare.

A donation under a knezial title was issued in the name of the king in 1420, by Sigismund of Losoncz, castellan of several royal fortresses in the region, to Bogdan, son of Nicholas, son of Magoya, and his relatives for the *keneziatus* of three possessions from Comiat, *Magoyafalva*, *Rekethe* and *Stremptura*. In fact, a new charter was needed because the *literalia instrumenta* regarding those possessions disappeared during an Ottoman incursion. Previously, the castellan was informed by *comprovinciales*, knezes and nobles from the districts Sebeş, Lugoj, and Comiat, about the veracity of the matter, and subsequently he donated these possessions "to be owned and held according to the custom of knezates of the other Romanians."[38] Thus, the survival of the other type of landownership, that of the knez, is clearly documented.

The records are different for the districts of Bârzava and Almăj in the sense that they contain only indirect references to nobles or noble knezes. No individual charters have survived. In 1418 Pipo Spano (Scolari), *comes* of county Timiş, issued a charter regarding the settlement of a dispute and the perambulation of some "knezial possessions from the royal estates" located in Bârzava district. The *ispán* (*comes*) appointed eight arbiters, *certos probos ac nobiles kenezyos* to settle the

---

[36] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek*, 15–16.

[37] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek*, 54–56, "... more et ad instar ceterorum regni nostri nobilium de plenitudine nostre regie potestatis nobilitamus, nostro tamen duntaxat beneplacito perdurante ..."

[38] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek*, 56–57, "...more Keneziatuum ceterorum volahorum tenendas possidendas et habendas ...."

dispute between the knezes of Bârzava.[39] In 1433 the *vicecomes* of Caraş county and the noble magistrates recorded the results of an inquiry made by nobles from the same county at the request of Frank of Remetea, about a conflict between him and the *nobiles kenesios et universos populos de Borzafew*. The nobles who made the inquiry learned from those who had arbitrated the case that Frank of Remetea did not offend *prefati kenesi et populi de Borzafew*, who had "pillaged him without cause by the way of their force."[40]

Approximately at the same time, the Romanians from the district of Almăj (*Halmas*) had conflicts with the same noble family of Remetea. On 21 August 1430 Nicholas of Radewitz, the ban of Severin, wrote to King Sigismund that, Emeric of Remetea had requested that he judge the matters in regard to "estates and violent trespasses" (*in facto possessionum et facta potentiaria*) between him and the *Kenesios et nobiles de Halmas*. A term for judgement was fixed, but when the time came, only the noble presented himself for judgement, while the knezes and the nobles from Almăj neither came nor excused their absence, "but insisted that all their legal matters could only be judged by the king."[41] Slight as they are, these references indicate that noble knezes also appeared in the districts of Bârzava and Almăj, and one can assume that the mode of their evolution was similar to the better documented for Sebeş and Mehadia.

An interesting example is that of the noble family of Măcicaş, which toward the end of 1420s obtained not only charters confirming its former possessions, but also a relaxation of its knezial obligations regarding annual gifts. This fact is known from a complaint made by the bans of Severin. In 1454, in the assembly held by *universi nobiles de districtu Sebes,* the bans stated that the nobles from *Alsomachkas* did not pay their census and annual gifts according to the custom of knezes (*Census et munera annualya vt moris kenezyatus est*). A member of the family from *Alsomachkas* answered this accusation by saying that they paid the obligations each year, but according to the *favorabilem remissionem* of King Sigismund. That is, each year on Ascension Day, one fattened calf and three boars; at Christmas three knot-shaped breads with roasted meat; and at Easter, twelve eggs

---

[39] Pesti, *Krassó*, 284–87. The arbiters were the noble Jacob of Abel, castellan of *Borzafew*, and seven knezes, Michael *Izach*, John *nyakazo,* Nicholas *Bachy* of *Borzafew,* Denis of Luca, and Dominic of *Grunlya* of Caraşova. The names of the knezes in the dispute were: Michael, Gruban, and Lucas, sons of Dya, Ladislas and Andrew, sons of Philip, Brank and Dan, sons of Ivan, Stephen, Mika, John, and George, sons of Laczk, Roman and Ivan, sons of Zarna, Stephen and Gruban, sons of Duma, and Michael, son of Ivan, on the one hand and Philip and Peter, sons of Iuga and Mailat Dragomir, on the other.

[40] Pesti, *Krassó*, 346.

[41] Ibid, 24, "... prescripti vero Nobiles et Kenessy de Halmas predicta, non venerunt neque miserunt sed iudicationem vestre Serenitatis in omnibus se admiserunt." The translation of this sentence is problematic, but this is the most probable interpretation. It was interpreted similarly in Pop, *Adunările cneziale*, 129.

with three knot-shaped breads.[42] The bans were not satisfied with this answer and required a legal judgment in the matter. Thus, six nobles were elected to carry out an inquest. They learned that previously the noble family of *Alsomachkas* had paid the *census* and *munera* in the same amounts as others (*cum plures*). But after the death of Roman and Michael of Măcicaş in the battle for the Golubac fortress, King Sigismund agreed to the relaxation of their knezial obligations from the two possessions, *Alsomachkas* and *Alsothewis,* also giving them a charter that disappeared when an Ottoman army plundered the district.[43] The family of Măcicaş owned several estates in the district of Sebeş, being mentioned as a noble family since the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is, of course, a puzzle how a noble family still had knezial obligations. The only reasonable explanation could be that the villages mentioned were not exempted from knezial duties and changed into noble estates. Such examples of owning different estates under different titles are known also elsewhere in the Banat (for instance by Bogdan of Mâtnic).

In Sebeş district, besides the noble family of Mâtnic, the families of Bizere and Măcicaş also had an important economic position. The family of Bizere owned possessions in fourteen villages.[44] The estates of the Măcicaş consisted of eleven villages.[45] The families of Cerna and Temeşel, from Mehadia district, seems to have had a similar economic standing. In 1439, the sons of Stoian and Michael of *Chorna* owned twelve villages[46] and the family of Temeşel possessed in 1447 ten entire villages and half-villages in another ten estates from the Mehadia and Lugoj districts.[47] According to surviving evidence, these families were the well-off landowners in the area. The possessions of middle-size landowners from these

---

[42] Pesti, *Szörény,* 66–68, "... Tenemur enim Singulis annis exsolvere Circa festum Penthecostense vnum vitulum saginatum et Tres verres, et Tres cerculos Cum una asatura circa festum natalis domini, nec non doudecim oua cum tribus cerculis circa festum Ressurectionis domini;" Pesti, *Krassó,* 395, John Hunyadi wrote in 29 May 1453 to the bans of Severin that he exempted the nobles Jacob, Şerban, Ladislas, and Iantsul from paying the knezial obligation to the bans "universos proventus keneziales, de predicta Also Matskas, Banis provenire debentes, generose duximus remittendos et relaxandes."

[43] Pesti, *Szörény,* 68–70.

[44] Pesti, *Szörény,* 26–27, In 1433, King Sigismund donated to Ladislas of Bizere *aule militis,* portions of the possessions of his uncle from the following Sebeş district estates: *Bizere, Kalowa, Warcharua, Zabadfalu, Rampnu, Meel, Szlatyna, Nouakfalua, Myhalancz, Weelgh, Laczkan, Danilest, Apadya,* and *Ohabycza.*

[45] Pesti, *Krassó,* 378–380, A confirmation from 1440 for a group of nobles from Măcicaş mentioned: *Macskas, Tyvisk, Inferiorem Tinko, Perlo, Dobrogoszt, Ruginocz, Toplicza, Leurdis, Csuta, also Szekas, felso Szekas,* and *Zazesth.*

[46] Pesti, *Szörény,* 36–39, *Chorna, Jordanycza, Paprad, Thoplocz, Plwgoua, Wereden inferiorem et superiorem, Fazakas, Thopliczan, Kyskyralmezew,* and *Belabwk.*

[47] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek,* 70–73, The family Temeşel owned the villages *Themessel, Thwreguba, Wrbachyen, Alsohydeg, Krewa superior, pathak, Krwssowcy, Yabelchna, Zalyn, Kwzephkrewa,* half of the villages of *Naghlwkawycza, Thoplichaan, Kislwkawicza,* from the same district, and half of the villages from the Lugoj district *Barthafalwa, Gedefalwa, Felsewkwesd,* and *Alsokwesd.*

districts ranged between four and six estates, but many other Romanian nobles owned only one or two villages and sometimes even less. It should be added that many such families were already separated into branches and owned the estates in common or divided their possessions among themselves.

The epoch of John Hunyadi, which covers conventionally the reigns of King Albert (1438–1439), Wladislas I (1440–1444), and Ladislas V (1444–1457), is particularly relevant to our topic. A few charters from this period contain special provisions that help us understand and clarify the status of Romanian nobles. On 9 May 1439, King Albert donated to Michael, son of Michael and Basil, son of Stoian of Cerna, *walachorum nostrorum,* eleven estates from the Mehadia district. The estates held previously were donated "under those modes, taxes, forms, agreements, and obligations in which they were held and owned by the said parents of Michael and Basil, but also by they themselves until now, under all of the [conditions, etc.] [in which] the other faithful Romanian nobles of those parts were accustomed to hold and own their estates and goods."[48]

On 6 August 1440, King Wladislas I issued a charter for all their estates to the nobles from Măcicaş after the loss of their *literalia instrumenta* in an Ottoman attack. The charter contained a similar provision.[49] On 11 June 1444, King Wladislas I issued a charter of donation with a similar content. The recipient was Nicholas of Bizere, *familiaris* of John Hunyadi, who distinguished himself as captain of a unit of soldiers in several wars. He was granted four possessions in the district Caransebeş (a new name of the former district of Sebeş), held by him and by his *condivisionales* relatives, through the charters of King Sigismund and Albert, also lost in an Ottoman raid. The charter contains the provision concerning the special conditions of Romanian possessions "and under those obligations and services under which other Romanian estates are held and owned in the named district and under the same conditions under which similar Romanian estates were accustomed to be conferred by our predecessor kings."[50]

---

[48] Pesti, *Szörény*, 36–39, "... sub illis modis Censibus formis pactis et condicionibus quibus eas prefati progenitores ipsorum Michaelis et Blasy, sed et ydem hucusque tenuissent, et possedissent, Sub quibusque ceteri eis fideles wolahy nobiles parcium illarum possessiones suas atque bona tenere et possidere consueuerunt..."

[49] Pesti, *Krassó,* 376, "... sub modis formis, censibus, pactis et conditionibus, nec non servitys praematuro et ex novo novaeque, seu servitiorum officys, quibus eas praescripti Progenitores eorundem Nicolai fily Dionisy et fratrum suorum ab olim et ipsi hucusque tenuisse et possedisse dignoscuntur... ."

[50] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek,* 69–70, "...ac sub illis condicionibus et serviciis quibus alie possessiones Wolachicales in dicto districtu tenentur et possidentur ac sub eisdem vigoribus quibus similes possessiones wolachicales per predecessores nostros Reges conferre solite fuere... ." For the discussion of social terminology and its use in different circumstances, see Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara şi românii din vremea sa* (John Hunyadi and the Romanians of his age) (Cluj Napoca: Presa Universitară, 1999), 159–196.

The wording of these provisions reflects the fact that Romanian nobles were subject to obligations specific to knezial possessions. Particular to the Romanian nobles was the limited range of fiscal exemptions, and thus this was the most important element that differentiated them from the majority of the kingdom's nobility (*veri nobiles, regni nobiles*). These documents and the privilege from 1457 mention clearly the obligations, the taxes in money and in kind, the services, and most probably the military duties. Perhaps the imprecision of terminology applied to the Romanian elite, often also called *nobiles,* had produced confusion even by that time (not only for the historian). This term is not a creation of the mid-fifteenth century. It appeared as early as 1376 in a charter referring to the district of Mehadia, applied to ennobled knezes. It constituted an appropriate term for distinguishing a particular type of landowner, who differed from the common nobility in regard to his privileges.

On 8 June 1451, John Hunyadi requested the "noble magistrates of the seven noble Romanian seats" (*Nobilibus viris Judicibus Nobilium Septemsedium volachicalium*) to hold an inquest in their extraordinary assembly (*proclamatae congregationis*). The object of the inquest was the donation of the fortress and Drencova (*Dranko*) district to the bans of Severin, *egregy* Michael and Basil of Cerna and Nicholas of Bizere.[51] The extraordinary assembly was held in January 1452, in Sebeş, "the principal judicial seat of the Romanian nobles' seats" (*Sedem scilicet Judiciariam principalem Septem Sedium Nobilium Walachicalium*), during which the participants confirmed the truth about the donation.[52] This is the first example of collective action by seven districts (formerly we know of examples of only three or four district assemblies acting together). It is a part of a policy initiated by Hunyadi, which led to the temporary creation of a union of the Romanian districts, first seven, and then, in 1457, eight. A less documented type of action was the request for collective privileges. The examples we have refer to a privilege obtained by a whole district regarding toll exemption, and the general privilege regulating the rights and duties of the knezes and Romanian nobles from "eight privileged districts."

The toll exemption of the inhabitants of Sebeş is known only from a charter re-issued in 1494 by King Wladislas II. According to that, the original exemption rewarded not only military services, but was also intended to compensate damages

---

[51] Pesti, *Szörény*, 58–60.

[52] Ibid., 62–64. It is interesting to note that the nobles who testified in this matter came from seven districts including Comiat, which according to the privilege from 1457 was re-annexed to the other seven only in 1457. The nobles from Ilidia district did not participate in this assembly. This information modifies the chronology of events. Perhaps the rejoining of Comiat district to the other took place earlier, during the regency of Hunyadi.

and losses caused by the Ottoman invasions. It seems to have been issued some time between 1420 and 1437.[53] By that, the king granted to "all Romanians and people of other status or language from Sebeş district"—that is not only the elite!—exemption from the payment of any kind of toll, anywhere within the borders of the kingdom, either royal or private, for all their goods.[54]

On 29 August 1457 two noble representatives of the Romanian knezes and nobles from eight districts of the Banat went to Vienna to King Ladislas V Posthumous, asking for and obtaining a charter of global confirmation of all their previous privileges.[55] The confirmation was justified by the faithful services performed during the wars against the Ottomans. The king confirmed and promised to maintain and preserve "...each and every privilege of these same Romanians and knezes drawn up concerning any of their liberties, prerogatives, and rights as if inserted in the present charter word by word, under the same conditions, obligations, and services under which these have been issued and granted them by our predecessors, the kings of Hungary...."[56]

The second article comprises the decision of the king that from that moment on no possession or village within the eight districts shall be granted to extraneous persons (*aliqui extranei* refers to persons originating outside the group). This provision reflects the supplicants' intention to close the circle of those who possessed land within the eight districts. It appears that this provision was motivated by the improvement of the services performed in the defense of the Danube fords, which would have resulted from the "strengthened" union of the Romanian nobles and the knezes. In the third article the king promised that the eight districts shall never be separated again, nor any one of them shall be donated to someone, and that they shall be maintained and preserved together by himself, as they used to be held by the former kings of Hungary. The fourth article concerns the

---

[53] In 1420 an Ottoman army invaded Transylvania for the first time penetrating into Banat. In the same year a battle took place near Severin castle between the Ottomans and an army commanded by the ban of Severin, Sigismund of Losoncz. After this date Ottoman armies repeatedly plundered the region.

[54] Pesti, *Szörény*, 117–18, "...Eosdem universos Wolachos et alterius status, seu linguagy homines predicti districtus Sebes, eorumque quemlibet, ab omni solucione tributaria, de personis, Rebusque et bonis ipsorum quibuscunque in locis quorumcunque Tributorum, tam Regalium quam Reginalium, quam aliorum quorumlibet, vbilibet intra ambitum dicti Regni Hungarie habitis, fieri debenda, suo beneplacito perdurante..."

[55] Pesty, *Oláh kerületek*, 73–5.

[56] Ibid., "...omnia et singula eorundem Valachorum et Keniziorum privilegia, super quibuscunque eorum libertatibus, prerogatiuis et Juribus confecta, ac si presentibus literis nostris de verbo ad verbum inserta essent, sub illis tamen condicionibus, oneribus et servitutibus, quibus eadem emanata et per predecessores nostros Reges Hungarie ipsis concessa sunt, Authoritate Regia pro eisdem nobilibus Valachis et Kenezys ceterisque Valachis presentibus scilicet et futuris perpetuo valitura, roboramus et confirmamus, eosque in unum quemque eorum sicuti maiorem, sic et minorem in omnibus huiusmodi eorum libertatibus prerogativis et Juribus manutenere et conservare promittimus..."

restoration of the status of one district. King Ladislas decided to annex and rejoin the district of Comiat to the other seven. This district had been pledged by King Sigismund to John Hunyadi and afterwards reclaimed by the inhabitants themselves from Hunyadi.[57]

The next two articles of the privilege comprise regulations regarding the jurisdiction and judicial procedure of the nobles and the knezes.[58] They contain the principle that only their *comes* can judge the Romanian nobles and knezes, and that in case of dissatisfaction with his judgement, they had the right to bring lawsuits before the court of the Judge Royal and finally to the court of the *personalis presentia regia*. Moreover, the subsequent article of the charter, concerning the exaction of fines and judicial fees, limited the powers of *comes* and *vicecomes*. The king prohibited the taking of "war-horses, weapons, and falcons"[59] from those condemned or those who were to be condemned. In addition, the royal officials were not allowed to exact any fines in the absence of the noble magistrate of the Romanian nobles. The limitation of the power of royal officials, who could only exact fines when in the presence of the noble magistrate, seems to result from the principles of the judicial autonomy of the county nobility.[60] More specifically characteristic for the Romanian nobility of the Banat is the provision concerning the exemption of their war-horses, weapons, and falcons from fines. The importance given to particular items excepted from seizure is quite remarkable. These were important to Romanian nobles not only for their financial value, but more than that, for their social significance: they perhaps represented the higher social standing of their owners, and no one, not even the king's official, could deprive them of these marks of prestige.[61]

---

[57] Pesti, *Krassó*, 351–2. Pesti, *Oláh kerületek*, 66.

[58] Pesti, *Oláh kerületek*, 74, "...Preterea annuimus eidem Nobilibus Valachis et Kenezys ut nullus eos iudicet preter Comitem eorum pro tempore constitutum, cuius iudicio si non contenti fuerint, ad Judicem Curie nostre, et dehinc in nostre Maiestatis personalem presenciam possint et valeant causas eorum provocare. Volumus insuper quod Comites eorum vel Vicecomites pro tempore existentes, in exigendis Byrsagys et Judiciorum grauaminibus Equum leporarium, Arma et Aves convictorum vel convincendorum auferre non presumant, nec aliter pro exactione huiusmodi Birsagiorum, nisi sumpto secum Judice nobilium eorundem Valachorum exire valeant modo aliquali."

[59] The archivists of the National Archives of Hungary translated *"leporarium"* as "greyhound" (*leporativum*), see the abstract of the document Dl. 26615 in the database *Magyar Országos Levéltár. A mohács elötti gyűjtemény adatai* (National Archives of Hungary. Data of the pre–1526 collection) CD-ROM, (Budapest: Arcanum Publishers, 1999). Thus instead of "war-horse" it could be translated simply as "horse". This translation does not weaken the argument since greyhounds, just as falcons, were used for hunting exclusively by the social elites.

[60] Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy*, 63–8.

[61] In 1434 the voivode of Transylvania issued a privilege that confirmed the liberties and the rights of the inhabitants of the Dobra district. This privilege also contains the prohibition that the fines inflicted upon the knezes and other inhabitants should be exacted in horses and weapons: the condemned had to pay them from

The seventh and last article of the privilege contained provisions regulating status and jurisdiction. The first provision encompasses the statement that Romanian nobles were to be considered equal to the realm's nobility. That is, they were considered equal and similar to the *veri nobiles*. The second provision stipulates the exemption of the knezes from paying any kind of tolls, either to the king or to anyone else.[62] More than likely this is a new right granted to the knezes who previously had not been exempted from paying tolls. Further provisions of the last article concern jurisdiction over the tenant peasants of the knezes and nobles.

The examples of the charters issued by kings Albert and Wladislas I presented above, contained basically the same provisions to those in the first article. The continuity in defining status is obvious. All of them point in general terms to customs of possessing land in Romanian districts involving special duties, taxes, and so on. The differences between Romanian nobles and knezes do not seem very clear, however. Moreover, given the fact that the privilege from 1457 referred to their privileges in general terms, it is not very helpful in understanding the differences.

Therefore I must rely mostly on earlier evidence to define the category of *nobiles Valachi*. The documents examined revealed some steps in the process of upward social mobility of the knezes, which theoretically started with the confirmations of the knezates. The next stage was the separation of the knezat from the authority of the castellan, and perhaps it was not a coincidence that the charters of the *nova donatio* type were granted to former *kenezii*, who, receiving such a charter, were called *fideli Olachi*. I think that this was one of the most important

---

other goods. Costin Feneşan, "Districtul Dobra şi privilegiile sale până spre sfârşitul veacului al XV-lea" (The district Dobra and its privileges until the end of the 15th century) *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie din Cluj-Napoca* 27 (1985–1986): 301–21; see a detailed analysis in Pop, *Adunările cneziale*, 105–12.

[62] Pesty, *Oláh kerületek*, 74, "...Postremo eosdem Nobiles eorundem Valachorum instar verorum nobilium Regni nostri. Item Kenezios eorundem Valachorum ex omni solucione tributi tam nostri quam aliorum quorumcumque exemtos esse volumus et supportatos..." A printing mistake in the two editions of this document resulted in different interpretations of this provision in Romanian historiography. In the first edition of the document, the whole sentence was separated into two by a full stop, and this led to the interpretation of the first part of the phrase as an individual sentence; in the second edition (see Pesty, *Krassó*, 405) in the place of the full stop appears a comma, which allows a completely different reading of the whole sentence. On the basis of the second edition, it has reasonably been argued recently that the interpretation of this article in the sense of "the assimilation of the Romanian nobles with the common nobility," was the result of a forced translation of the sentence, Ioan Drăgan, *Cnezi şi nobili români în vremea Corvineştilor* (Knezes and Romanian nobles during the time of the Hunyadis) in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania. Az erdélyi román nemesség* (The Romanian nobility from Transylvania) (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997), 113–14, note 12. Nevertheless, the text of the original, in fact a copy from seventeenth century and the source of the first edition of the document published by Pesty, contains the version with full stop (see Dl. 26615, National Archives of Hungary), which permits the conclusion that the first interpretation is not erroneous.

stages in the development of the knezes, resulting in limitations on the control of the castellan over the knezat.

Perhaps the provisions concerning the separation of former villages newly granted as possessions separated from castellan's authority, meant the remission of the knezial obligations in money, kind, or gifts. What was maintained from former knezial obligations, as explicitly stated in one example, was the military service. However, it seems that many such nobles owned their estates under different titles. A knez or a Romanian noble, as we have seen above, could own some estates under knezial title, and some under noble title. The process of upward social mobility depended very much on the services performed for the king or for his local officials. Only the king or his higher local officials, such as the bans and sometime the counts of Timiş and Caraş, were allowed to issue charters that modified the status of possessions within the Romanian districts. The need for soldiers to defend the southern boundaries of the kingdom, or in internal conflicts, brought the knezes from the Banat into contact with the crown and offered them the possibility to get charters. But one cannot assume that all of them evolved uniformly. The uneven survival of documents seriously limits the possibility of a thorough investigation into this topic and is an obstacle to definitive conclusions. However, future discoveries of unknown documentary material might contribute to the elucidation of a number of questions which cannot be answered for the time being.

Probationary Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphpoc01@phd.ceu.hu

SEARCHING FOR ACCEPTANCE?
A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY REFUGEE'S
FAMILY HISTORY

Nada Zečević 🔅

Cuncta sub sole vana —the beginning of the family chronicle written in 1510 by Gioanni Musachi is pessimistic. Since the time when the edition of the Chronicle was published by Charles Hopf in 1873, it has usually been suggested that its audior wrote it to inform his own offspring of who they were and where they had come from.[1] The Musachi were a kindred diat had inhabited the plain of die *Musachia* (in the present-day Republic of Albania).[2] Several of their kinsmen are attested in documentary evidence from the thirteenth until the fifteenth century as prominent regional lords.' Immediately after their land was occupied by the Ottomans

[1] Gioanni Musachi, *Breve Memoria de li Discendenii de nostra casa Musachi,* in Charles Hopf, ed., *Chroniques Gréco-romanes inédits ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873, reprinted edition, Athens, 1961) (references to the Musachi chronicle will be henceforth given in parentheses through the text and in the notes by page numbers of this edition). The opening citation, as well as the subtitles, are proverbs or even Biblical quotations which start the narrative of Gioanni, see pp. 271-2. It is important to note that the entire Musachi Chronicle consists not only of the section narrated by Gioanni Musachi. His piece is followed by the narrative of his son, Constantine Musachi, with some additions by Theodore Spandoliti, [302-338]. Constantino's contribution to the family chronicle is an independent introduction added to the already existing one [pp. 270-271] and some remarks on the Musachi *arbor consanguinitatis* based upon legendary antecessors, mostly prominent figures of Roman history, such as Numa Pompilius. Spandoliti's *tractatus* on the Ottomans, written in full accordance with Humanistic postulates, might indicate that Constantine's motives for writing were completely different than those suggested for his father. Furthermore, several closing paragraphs [pp. 339-340] presumably written around 1648, show that even after the time of Constantine (d. in 1550) some other additions were made presumably by another Musachi.

[2] Musachi [278] mentions the plain by its Italian term, *Molossa,* but also notes that it is "called in Albanian Musachia." On pp. 278-279 *la città de Belgrado quale e capo de Mosachia* refers to the present-day Berat (Republic of Albania). The mention of a x a ß c - ^ a p i o c ; MouÇaxris in the chrysobull of the Serbian Emperor Stephan Uroš I V Dušan to the Athonite monastery of Xenophon, issued on 5 June of the fifth indiction, 6860 (=1352), published in *Actes de Xenophon,* ed. Denise Papachryssanfhou, in *Archives de l'Athos,* vol. 15 (Paris: Lentilleux), no. 29, confirms that the identification of the Musachi through their land had existed when they were a part of the Byzantine world.

[3] As early as 1274 a *Joh[anne]s Musacius* was recorded in the service of the Angevins of Naples whose claims over the region—as opposed to those of the Byzantine Empire—ended in their proclamation of a satellite *regnurn Albanie,* see Ludwig Thallóczy, Konstantin Jire ek, and Milan von Šufílay, eds., *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia,* vol. 1 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1913) (henceforth A A 1): 318 (19 June 1274). Several other prominent Musachi, cf. A A 1: 648 (17 June 1319) and A A 1: 808 (30 December 1336), seem to have frequently changed sides from the Angevins to the Byzantines. One of those who were not loyal to the Angevin king of Naples was an Andreas, see A A 1: 459 (1 November 1281); his name and chronology suggest that it could have been this Andreas who was considered a common ancestor by Gioanni Musachi, [282]. The importance of the name of Andreas was, no doubt, attested for the leaders of the senior Musachi branch; it was kept even among those kinsmen who converted to Islam, [287],

(1476–77), Gioanni Musachi emigrated to Southern Italy. This is where, together with the members of his closest family who shortly after followed him, Gioanni obtained the protection of King Ferdinand, the Aragonese ruler of Naples [272–273; 276–277].

The Chronicle has been differently assessed by historians. Some consider it a historical source of primary significance for regional medieval history, while others strongly dispute its reliability.[4] Indeed, some common features of contemporary literature are quite easily recognisable in the writings of Gioanni Musachi. For instance, the Chronicle intends to tell the history of the kindred from its "origins" in a distant past of the Roman Empire.[5] Gioanni's genealogical order of the most prominent Musachi is typical of late-medieval genealogies. It is presented in a descending line recording seven generations.[6] In addition to this, numerous other signs indicate that the Chronicle needs close examination to determine its reliability. The most important point is that Gioanni Musachi, most probably deliberately, omitted to mention some remarkable family events and kinsmen. Such an obfuscation can usually be detected through a comparison with accounts from documentary evidence. In case of the Musachi, however, documentary evidence is so scarce and fragmentary that it is rarely possible to confirm even the most elementary personal details concerning the majority of the kinsmen mentioned by their sixteenth-century descendant.[7] The lack of written source material can be partly

---

[4] Most modern Albanian historians completely rely on the account of the Chronicle, cf. Stefanaq Pollo and Arben Puto, *History of Albania: from its origins to the present day* (London: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1981), 56; Selami Pulaha, "Les Albanais et la bataille de la plaine de Kosove (sic–N. Z.) de l'an 1389" *Studia Albanica* 27: 1 (1990): 35. The opinion of Ivan Božić, *Nemirno Pomorje XV veka* (The restless Coast in the fifteenth century) (Belgrade: SKZ, 1979), 379, according to whom the chronicle of the Musachi is "an unreliable memoir of the family, where tradition is blended with rivalry among some families."[translated by N. Z.] is quite the opposite. A remark on the importance of family origins for Gioanni Musachi can be read in Božidar Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (The despots in Byzantium and South-Slavic states) (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut SANU, 1960), 78 (henceforth: Ferjančić, *Despoti*).

[5] See below n. 28.

[6] The genealogical table of the Musachi compiled by Charles Hopf, In Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-romanes*, table XI, pt. 7, p. 532.

[7] For instance, Gioanni did not write in detail about an event he had obviously witnessed. As from pp. 287–288, the beauty of his own sister, Suina Musachi, had attracted George Castrioti, the most powerful lord in the region (later known throughout Europe under his Ottoman name of Scanderbey). Gioanni wanted his audience to believe that Castrioti ordered Suina's legal husband to dismiss her. However, medieval divorce practice in the Adriatic suggests that such a justification for Suina's divorce does not stand alone, cf. Tadija Smičiklas, ed., *Codex Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904), no. 32, and R. B. Oathwaite, "Problems and Perspectives in the History of Marriage" the introductory part to *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage*, edited by R. B. Oathwaite (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1981): 1. This practice indicates that the divorce was more likely caused by the actual adultery of Suina Musachi, rather than by the power of George Castrioti to demand alliances. Gioanni's unwillingness to record dishonest marital behaviour among the Musachi is further attested in a Venetian document. A provisionary letter, published in Joseph Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, tom. 2, fasc. 13 (Palermo:

explained with a deficient interest of medieval informants in local affairs. The struggle between Byzantium, the Angevins, the Ragusans, the Venetians, and the Ottomans for this part of the Balkans is another reason for a massive disappearance of written records. In addition, the majority of what remained, kept in the Angevin Archives in Naples, was destroyed in a fire by the Nazis in 1943.

Another problem regarding the Chronicle is that very little supplementary evidence is provided by its editor about the manuscript itself. We have no idea about the fate of this text. Was it ever copied and distributed, or was the one known to Hopf the only existing piece? There might have been different versions of the original, some of which could have, for instance, reached the Aragonese court and ended in the fire with the rest of the Archives. Unknown copies could possibly be still in private hands as well. Besides, Hopf's comments on the Chronicle's text are rather unclear or even misleading.[8] Of course, if we knew more about the "distribution" (if any) of the Chronicle, our conclusions about its function might be entirely different. Finally, a number of documents from the Angevin archives that remained preserved in editions published before its destruction cannot contribute much to control the reliability of the Chronicle.[9]

Apart from the description of the glorious past for the Musachi offspring, some other motives that moved Gioanni to start his venture into family history might easily be presumed. For instance, his narrative efforts could just follow a contemporary fashion of writing family accounts. Or, since the refugees unconsciously tend to stress their past selves,[10] it could also well be that the refugee status of Gioanni contributed to the origin of his part of the Chronicle. Furthermore, could Gioanni plan to gain some privileges by interpreting the history of his kindred? Hints for several of these possibilities can be found in the Chronicle. By

---

Centro di Studi Albanese, 1972), no. 3091 (4 February 1427) (henceforth: AAV) reveals that Gioanni's distant relative, Mara Thopia, the daughter of count Nicetas and the widow of Balša III Balšić, was the mistress of a Venetian merchant Andreas Giustiniani; moreover, the document mentions their female child, in 1427 about three and a half years old.

[8] Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce 1376–1383: Régestes et Documents," in *Byzantina et Franco Graeca: articles parus 1935–1966*, reedited with the assistance of Peter Schreiner (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1970), 330, suggests that Hopf's editorial work is what makes the Chronicle problematic.

[9] Most of these editions are rather old, while the critical approach is sometimes missing even from some more recent ones, otherwise generally helpful. For a reference to an old edition upon which historians still rely very much see above, n. 3. The critical approach is sometimes missing from some more recent editions, otherwise generally helpful, e. g. Josephus Valentini, ed., *Acta Albaniae iuridica*, vol. 1 (Munich: Trofenik, 1968), *passim*, where, for example, Valentini confuses medieval canonical and modern customary legal terminology (e. g. *sacramentum* and besa).

[10] Conclusion by Paul Elovitz in *Immigrant Experiences: Personal Narratives and Psychological Analysis*, ed. Paul Elovitz and Charlotte Kahn (Madison: Fairleigh University Dickinson Press, 1997), quoted in review by Daniel Dervin in *Journal of Psychohistory* 26: 3 (Winter 1999): 747.

mentioning some of them, in this paper I would like to suggest other possible motivations for the narrative of Gioanni Musachi than those usually assumed. Consequently, by doing this, I hope to demonstrate why this Chronicle should not be regarded as a reliable historical source for medieval Balkans.

Venite fili, audite, timorem domini docebo vos[11]

The language of the Musachi chronicle is the first, though hardly unequivocal, indication that the writer's offspring were not his only intended audience.[12] Gioanni's part of the Chronicle was written in sixteenth-century Italian. In addition, its introduction consists of some Latin *dictae*. However, Gioanni recalled the serious communication problems he had upon his arrival in Southern Italy caused by his poor knowledge of the language [273]. Of course, it is probable that by 1510, when the Chronicle was written, he had learned some Italian. Yet, the frequently used vocabulary of his mother tongue (*ch' in lingua albanese se dice Pylloria; ma corroto il vocabolo questa Molossia se dice Mosachia; il proprio vocabolo in lingua albanese Chischetisi vol dire trezze*) suggests that this refugee did not really master the language of his new home [278–9]. In addition to this, Gioanni in all likehood felt rather uncomfortable in his new Italian environment, so this discomfort could have contributed to his attempts to speak his mother tongue.[13] The situation was presumably more or less the same with his wife. It is improbable that Maria Ducaghin was able to speak Italian or use Latin either in her homeland, poor in educational facilities, particularly for women, or in the private space of her new Italian home, the space in which she have spent most of her refugee life [292]. So, if the Musachi parents could not fluently speak Italian, is it not most likely that their everyday communication with their children was conducted in the language of their former environment? Of course, other possibilities that might explain why Gioanni Musachi wrote in Italian should be mentioned as well. By the time when his part of the Chronicle was written (1510), it is rather possible that his children were more fluent in Italian than in Albanian. Or, somebody else could have written in fluent Italian what Gioanni dictated—for his future Italian offspring and other potential audiences.

---

[11] I am grateful to Katalin Szende for pointing to me the refugee connotation of this Biblical quotation, cf. Ps. 33: 12. Similarly, see below n. 16.

[12] On the methods of investigation into the so called meaningful words, see Lloyd deMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory* (New York: Creative Roots, 1982), pp. I–V; 132–146 (henceforth: deMause, *Foundations*). His methods, somewhat disputed by modern historians are also presented in deMause's analysis of fantasies, see his "The Psychogenic Theory of History" *The Journal of Psychohistory* 25: 2 (Fall 1997): 164–165.

[13] Gioanni primarily connected it with deterioration of his economic standing [277].

The use of Latin in Gioanni's narration might better demonstrate his intentions to address an audience other than just his offspring. Similarly as with his Italian, the absence of sophisticated Latin educational centres in his homeland, as well as his hints at the generally poor situation of the Musachi in Southern Italy, indicate that Gioanni Musachi never really had an opportunity to learn Latin. Also, the Latin *dictae* may not necessarily come from Gioanni's hand at all. Anyhow, their application suggests an intention to address an audience that could have received a Classical education and was better situated than the Musachi in Italy.

The intended audience is further suggested by some of the subjects in Gioanni's narrative. The Ottomans are among the most frequently recurring themes. Gioanni blamed them for having caused the emigration of the Musachi (*Io Don Giovanni Molosachi despoto di Epiro, essendo discacciato per il Turco fora de mia casa et privato de detto stato perveni nel regno de Napoli*) [272–3; 276]. It seems that he expected his audience to recognise the Musachi as victims expelled by the Ottomans. This is obvious from his choice of terms such as the verb *discaccio* or the expression *per forza*. Such terms are frequently followed by words implying adversity: *imprestata, adversia, iniqua fortuna* [272–3].[14]

The Musachi story of their expulsion by the Ottomans is repeated elsewhere. A Latin inscription carved on Gioanni's grave reads: *Ioanni Mosachio ... suis finibus Turcarum tirannide eiecto* [314].[15] However, the Ottomans did not in fact expel Gioanni Musachi. His recollection fails to conceal the fact that they offered him an opportunity to stay in possession of all of his lands and other properties provided he converted to Islam. This he refused, for that would have meant a "betrayal" of his Christian faith [276–7]. Such reasoning must have held a strong appeal to his Italian readers. It appears to be a carefully chosen piece of information for it is known that prior to the Ottoman conquest of their land, the Musachi were in fact quite ready to convert to Islam. Gioanni himself openly mentioned such cases (*il quale fù Turco; suo figliolo il gran Turco; li ammazzarno li Turchi*), boasting of his mighty Moslem relatives [286–7].

The idea that the heroic devotion of the Musachi to the Christian faith could have been the tools that Gioanni used in targeting a particular audience could be supported by several other signs. For instance, the frequent invocations of God, starting from the beginning of his narration, juxtaposing the justice of the Lord, as cited in the Psalm 33,[16] with the Musachi's unjust treatment (*oculi domini super*

---

[14] Also, *ch' il turco ve discacciò da vostro stato e paese* [277].

[15] The inscription was cited in the part of the Chronicle narrated by Gioanni's son Constantine. In [272] Gioanni openly claimed himself among those "expelled by the Ottomans."

[16] Cf. Ps. 33: 16–18.

iustos, et aures eius in preces eorum vultus autem domini super facientes mala, ut perdat de terra eos; clamaverunt iusti, et dominus exaudivit eos, et ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum liberavit eos) [271–2]. Also, **Gioanni** continuously uses adjectives that indicate deep religious feelings (*mia santa e vera fede*) when advising his children on how to be good Catholics [276]. The frequent use of superlatives when referring to his own religious feelings (worshipping the *Santissima madre*) could also appear to be a technique of pleasing his audience [277].

Likewise, several remarks about the devotion of some Musachi ancestors can be understood as an attempt to associate himself and his family with a deeply religious environment. The very first case of a Musachi marriage remembered by Gioanni (that of Andreas II Musachi and Euthimia Matarango from the fourteenth century) was emphasised because of its ceremony in the cathedral church of *St. Anthonius* in Durazzo [284].[17] The marriages of most of the other Musachi, on the other hand, are not even mentioned. Similarly, a reference to the burial place of two kinsmen (fourteenth-fifteenth century), inside the church of *Santa Maria in Bunga*, emphasise the significance of these two Musachi over the others.

Finally, some of the Musachi are recalled exclusively for their devotion expressed in the founding of churches (the church of *San Giorgio in Erosto,* or of the church of the Holy Trinity in *Laudari di Ceria)* [293]. Obviously, Christian devotion was the most important aspect of the family to be mentioned here— Gioanni "forgets" to mention that the practice of church founding was characteristic of the nobility throughout the region, whether devoted or not.

Gioanni's attempt to attract his Italian Catholic audience by appealing to their religious feelings could be further confirmed by his frequent reference to the nature of the Musachi fights with Muslims. The Musachi kinsmen, even those allied with the powerful Ottoman commanders in the region, are depicted in the Chronicle as defenders of Christianity [276–7; 286; 297; 299].[18] The Musachi alliance with other local Christian lords is also emphasised (*secondo genito di nostra casa et altri signori ... uniti insieme venero alla battaglia)* [273].[19] Their battles with the

---

[17] This wedding took place probably some time around 1328, judging from the reference about the age of their children in AA 1: 808 (30 December 1336). Euthymia Matarango came from a family that inclined towards the Byzantine Orthodox world, see Alain Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge: Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981), 346–350.

[18] The genealogical table of the Musachi, Hopf, XI, 7, 532.

[19] The passage *Ma Lazaro Dispoto di Servia e Marco Re di Bulgaria e theodoro Musachi secondo genito di nostra casa ... venero alla battaglia* is an illustration of how Gioanni tried to link his own ancestors with the most prominent regional figures. However, the participation of a Theodore Musachi in the battle between the Serbs and the Ottomans on the plain of Kosovo (1389) was never attested by any other source. The existing historical source material does not support Marko's opposition to the Ottomans in Kosovo either–on

Ottomans are treated as dramatic clashes, presenting the lords both as victims and heroes. Some of the Musachi thus come to be mentioned through the dramatic circumstances of their deaths. After the battle of Kosovo (1389), as Gioanni narrates, five sons of *Blasius*, a kinsman from a junior Musachi branch, suffered the most cruel death by having their bones smashed by the Ottomans [286]. Some other Musachi from the mid-fifteenth century are reported to have perished gloriously, bravely fighting the infidel. Their heroic resistance to the Ottomans is further highlighted by Gioanni's remarks that they had fought alone, "abandoned by Europe."[20] The literary portraits of brave Musachi fighters underpin the assumption that the Italian readers were not only religious, but also well-educated. This may be concluded from the resemblance between the Musachi chevaliers and representations of an *athleta Christi* [299].[21] In addition, the fact that the image of such an athlete was widely spread around the courts of contemporary Europe, narrows the audience of Gioanni Musachi to the educated, upper circles of Italian society.

The Italian, Catholic Christian, and educated audience of Gioanni's Chronicle, could have been also a very wealthy one. Such a conclusion is supported by certain parts of the account where Gioanni expected sympathy from his readers. Frequent repetitions of the loss of his home and all his possessions make it clear that his audience would understand the notion of deprivation of material property (*mia casa et privato de detto stato*) as well as the meaning of social status (*almeno sappiate alcuna particolarità de vostro stato e parenti*) [272; 277]. The Musachi wealth is emphasised through a dramatic description of Gioanni's emigration. Having lost all of their land to the Ottomans, so the story goes, the Musachi sought shelter in Durazzo. While in Durazzo, they had to hide their identity because of alleged Ottoman plans to capture them, and they were separated between "several of their friends and vassals." [277].

---

the contrary, it openly mentions Marko's vassalage to them. The famous actions of Kraljević Marko (Prince Marko) against the Ottomans were fabricated only by the Serbian oral tradition during the Ottoman domination over the region. Gioanni's confusion of legendary tradition and factual events is equally confirmed by his mention of Marko's title (*Marco re di Bulgaria*). Marko was a territorial lord, called king only in epic poetry, which thus seems to have been among the sources of Gioanni's knowledge.

[20] Gioanni [276] describes his own case: *Mà ili detto Turco fando poi pace con Venetiani* ... [the Venetians] *non me volsero comprendere* ... [other neighbouring regional lords] *chì fuggi e chì se fè Turco*.

[21] George Castrioti, a contemporary and most powerful relative of Gioanni Musachi, was an *athleta Christi* widely known all over Europe. With respect to this, it is possible that his image of the most celebrated Christian warrior influenced Gioanni's presentation of the Musachi chevaliers. This popularity must have also affected Gioanni's depiction of George Castrioti himself. Even after the scandalous Musachi divorce, see above n. 7, when they became enemies, George Castrioti was referred to by Gioanni with respect (*fù savio e valente, ben disposto, e fù il più gran Signore de tutti suoi predecessori*).

Il Padre che lascia suo figlio savio e povero, pensa lasciarle assai

Frequent references to the extensive Musachi possessions also suggest that Gioanni had in mind more than just sympathy from his wealthy Italian audience. It seems that his narrative was designed to improve the reputation of former Musachi wealth. The Musachi's standing undoubtedly deteriorated after they emigrated to Italy: *Et havendo io allevato e nutrito voi figlioli mei ... non senza miseria e fatiga* [277]. Gioanni seemed quite dissatisfied with the property assigned to him by the Aragonese upon his arrival in Southern Italy. Indeed, his narration is uncharacteristically silent about the details of the new Musachi property. In contrast to his abundant recollections of numerous villages, fortresses, mountain mines, and urban economic centres, abandoned to the Ottomans, only a house on a certain piece of land in the region of *Apice* is openly mentioned among his Italian estates. There is just a feeble hint which indicates that the Musachi received some other concessions from the Aragonese (*con promissione d'augmentarme; et altre cose*) [273].

As already noted, in contrast to Gioanni's indications of his impoverishment in Southern Italy, the Chronicle depicts the Musachi as prosperous landowners while they were living in the Balkans. The importance of their ancestral land is frequently emphasised in every part of the Chronicle. Throughout the history of the kindred, those kinsmen who had acquired new land are particularly distinguished by the family historian [280]. The significance of the Musachi landed property is further attested in Gioanni's extensive recollection of its boundaries. Names, numbers, and types of dwellings under the Musachi authority are recalled in detail (*Serchi, Midegni, Sereci e Duscari,* as well as *li casali de Festazzi, Beci e Masarecchi, Lodari, Mariani e Ceriasceli;* in the mountainous region around *Orchova* Gioanni knew also of a *vena oris*) [289]. Significantly, Gioanni calls smaller portions of this land in Italian *paese* or *signoriggiò* (*Tomonista, Selenizza, Tomorniza, Sclepari, Opari, Devoli maggiore, Devoli minore*) [278]. The Italian terms *villa, fiume,* and *casali* are used by Gioanni to describe various dwellings in the plain of the Musachia, which further supports the idea that the Chronicle was aimed at an Italian audience, itself in possession of landed estates.[22]

Another reference to the importance of the land to the Musachi is found in Gioanni's memory of his grandmother. Kyranna, the daughter of the mighty territorial lord Ginno Zanebissi, was only remembered for her landed dowry (the land of *Grabossa*) [283]. The second type of estate emphasised as part of the

---

[22] Cf. an order for the collection of taxes in the region of *Terre Bari et Catepanate* in Catello Salvati, ed., *Framenti de Registri "Commune Summarie" (1447–1459) e Frammenti di Cedole della Tesoreria di Alfonso I (1446–1448),* in *Fonti Aragonesi,* vol. 4 (Naples: Academia Pontaniana, 1964), 94 (5 December of the tenth indiction, 1447).

possessions of the Musachi were fortified castles. From the end of the thirteenth century, they all were important posts in the defence system of the Byzantine Empire [281].[23] Documentary evidence concerning some Musachi kinsmen from the fourteenth century shows that even for the members of their junior branches, fortifications were indeed perceived as significant parts of their property (e. g. Πύργος, a watchtower).[24] The most important among them was the fortification of Belgrad (present-day Berat, Republic of Albania) and as such was usually assigned to the eldest son [280]. *Valona* and *Canina* were the two urban centres that were given a place in Gioanni's references to the Musachi wealth in the Balkans [281].[25] The former was among the most important of the regional maritime commercial centres, while the latter was equally significant for internal commerce.

Significantly, the audience of the Chronicle was not informed that the Musachi property, depicted in detail by Gioanni Musachi, had been seized by the Ottomans as early as the fourth decade of the fifteenth century, so that even Gioanni himself could not enjoy much of it. From a *defter* (an Ottoman land-register) issued in 1431, we learn that the land of *Tomornizza* had already been divided among the newly established *timars* (an Ottoman type of landed estates). The *defter* recorded the Ottoman form of its name (*Tomonişt*), describing it as a part of the *vilayet* (a permanent Ottoman administrative-military unit) of *Çartalloz*.[26] Equally, it seems that Gioanni Musachi did not expect his audience to differentiate between Musachi land and the land of some of the other regional kindreds (e. g. the *Arianiti*). Obviously, without having a clear idea about the situation of Musachi land in the Balkans, the audience could not know that Musachi claims to Arianiti land were based upon their marriage alliances, and that they were never truly recognised [282; 284; 293–4].[27]

The fact that the importance of landed property was stressed by Gioanni might lead one to suspect that the Chronicle was intended to secure the land for the

---

[23] Cf. Georgios Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Paleologi*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1835), 6. 32, pp. 508–509 and Ioannes Cantacusenos, *Historiae*, ed. Ludovic Schopen (Bonn: Weber, 1836), 1. 43 and 2. 32, pp. 214–215 and p. 495. Also, see Peter Soustal and Johannes Koder, eds., *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 3: *Nikopolis und Kephallonia* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 182.

[24] Ludwig Thallóczy, Konstantin Jireček, and Milan von Šufflay, *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia*, vol. 2, Vienna: Holzhausen, 1918 (henceforth AA 2): 453 (1390).

[25] Cf. AA 2: 437 (26 February 1389). Also, AAV 1: 4. 651 (19 September 1396).

[26] As from Selami Pulaha, "Sur les causes des insurréctions des anées '30 du XVe siècle en Albanie" *Studia Albanica* 4: 2 (1967): 32.

[27] Gioanni suggested [275] that these claims were based upon the Musachi marriage alliances. For the land in possession of the Arianiti see Laonicos Chalcocondiles, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, vol 2, ed. Eugen Darkó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1922), 2. 23–25.

Musachi offspring in proper genealogical order had it ever been regained from the Ottomans. At least a similar intention was suggested to have been the practice of some other narratives throughout the wider region.[28] However, several notions seem to challenge such a conclusion. Gioanni never speaks about their hope to return to their homeland. There is no implicit indication of a future reconquest of Musachia either. Moreover, as mentioned before, in the Chronicle Gioanni also claimed lands that had belonged to some other kindreds.[29] Presuming that his offspring eventually went back to the ancestral land, it is hard to imagine how they could regain their own possessions with the family Chronicle as a basis for their claims, let alone for the possessions of their neighbors. For that, they would need charters or acts which confirmed their legitimacy over the property. Gioanni never says a word in his account about owning anything similar. The first legal act mentioned in the Chronicle, significantly not by Gioanni but by a continuator from the seventeenth century, is a charter issued by Queen Joan (1494) about some Italian property of one Musachi. However, it does not mention Gioanni or his children, but his niece Goisava de Carles and her husband Francesco Martino di Teano [339–340].

... et acciò sappiate la ruina / del' Imperio de Constantinopoli e nostra

The frequent mention and repetition of some meaningful terms show that Gioanni Musachi's other aim could be to emphasise the nobility of his kin. A regular pattern of vertical identification, used to identify the kinsmen (through their fathers or their paternal grandfathers), changes as the narrative steps into a more distant Musachi past. All the *antecessori* prior to Andreas I Musachi, were described as descending from Byzantine metropolitan families (*la nostra progenie procede dalla città de Constantinopoli*) [277–8].[30] The inscription on the grave of Gioanni Musachi implying imperial descent—*Ioanni Mosachio ... domino Epirique/ Despoto, sanguine et cognatione Regia, ex/ urbe Bizantis oriundo/...*—attests that such allegations were perceived by Gioanni or his children as true [314]. The imperial source of their nobility is also emphasised through the frequent mentioning of Musachi titles. The most often recalled was the title of *sebastocrator*

---

[28] Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakuzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460: a Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1968), p. XIII for de Busac Chronicle.

[29] See above n. 25.

[30] Musachi, 277–8. The continuation of Constantine Musachi, cf. [270] and [304], implied—fully in accord with Humanistic tradition—that the Musachi ancestors were the most prominent Roman imperial figures. Such a one was *Marcus Brittanius*, probably referring to Marcus Brittanicus, the son of the Emperor Claudius (A. D. 41–54). Similar was Constantine's reference to Constantine the Great and the Komnenoi dynasty.

(σεβαστοκράτορ) [278–9; 280–1],[31] which Gioanni mentioned in a variety of forms (*Sebaston cratos,* or *Sebaston e Cratos,* or *in Greco volgarmente Sevastocrator*), and equally through the important ranking of this title at the court in Constantinople (*Sebaston Cratos vol dire Capitanio generale del Imperadore*). To make sure that his audience would properly comprehend, he translated its significance into Italian with many different words (*Consecrato, honorabile, venerabile, degno d'honore e de reverentia e de rispetto; ... potentia, signoria, imperio, Latine Potentia, imperium*) [278–9]. Similarly, the nobility of the Musachi through their connection to the imperial world was obviously indicated by a mention of the Byzantine title of *despot* (δεσπότης). The authority of a despot, Gioanni explained, was almost equal to the Emperor's: *Dispoto ... che vol dire Principe e il primo titolo appresso l'Imperatore* [279]. Moreover, the title of despot must have been designed to show the Musachi as legitimate rulers of the region of Epiros [278; 280–1; 294].[32] Apart from this, the aforementioned title also allowed Gioanni to stress the right of the Musachi to carry the imperial flag with the sign of a double headed eagle (*Bicipitem aquilam hebentis insigne; havemo havuto l'aquila con due teste*)—another connection with the imperial world [278].

The reference to the prominent status of the Musachi is further perceptible from the way Gioanni mentions his most remarkable kinsmen. The name of Andreas II was frequently followed by a number of superlatives. The Musachi nobility was also suggested by the title of *Signor*. A shift towards use of the title of *don,* found when the children of Gioanni were mentioned, seems to have been influenced by some Italian habits adopted by the Musachi upon their emigration [284]. Virtues of chivalry, implying also a degree of authority, seem equally attributed by Gioanni to his kin as aspects of nobility. Some of the Musachi were described as military leaders of a *grossa banda* [273]. In several cases this meant their authority over *tutti baroni e guentilhumini et anco parenti et amici* [281].[33] Beside this, several Musachi kinsmen were referred to as virtuous chevaliers who

---

[31] On the Byzantine title of *sebastocrator,* see Božidar Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori u Vizantiji" (Sebastocrators in Byzantium) *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta SANU* 11 (1968), 78–79.

[32] The Musachi establishment there was considered a result of a Musachi glorious victory over *il Rè Volkashino* [281]. Such a suggestion of a Musachi success was never really confirmed in the sources. This reference of Gioanni could easily reflect the battle on the Maritsa river (1371), when the Serbian territorial lord Vukašin (proclaimed king in 1365 by the Serbian Emperor Stephen Uroš V the Weak) perished fighting against the Ottomans. Equally, however, it might be regarded as an echo of a Musachi attack on the land of Vukašin's son, Prince Marko, subsequent to the battle on the Maritsa river. On the Musachi title of despot, see Ferjančić, *Despoti,* 78–9, n. 191–192.

[33] The prominence of the Musachi was evaluated through a number of their vassals. Among some, known by their name, were "barons" such a *Bardhi Faciemiri,* see [289], or *guentilhuomini in Durazzo ... nostri vassali,* see [277].

took part in famous battles against the Ottomans (*combattendo virilimente*; *tutti ... questi furno valenti cavalieri*) [297].

The Musachi marriages recalled in the Chronicle also might support the idea that Gioanni was trying to attach the family to upper circles of Italian nobility. Following his reference to the origin of the Musachi spouses, it is easily recognised that the most gladly remembered liaisons of the kindred were those with powerful neighbouring lords. As from the narrative, the marriage of Andreas II Musachi to Euthimia (*Honorata*) resulted in a significant connection to her father, the *sebastos* Paul Matarango [283].[34] Similarly, the marriage of their son Ginno with Suina Arianiti created a tie with another powerful regional master, *Materando Arianiti Comneno*. In addition, Gioanni's reference to this marriage was followed by his claims to the Arianiti "imperial" dignity [283]. The marriage of Andreas III Musachi was mentioned in similar terms. His wife Kyranna, the daughter of the mighty regional lord Ghinno Zanebissi, represented political and economic security for the Musachi. More importantly, the marriage alliance with the Zanebissi facilitated the Musachi claims to connections with another imperial family, the Angeloi [283].[35] Marital alliances with noble Christian neighbours were the only reference made to some Musachi-born ladies.[36] A considerable number of them married equally influential Ottoman commanders in the region who had also been considered nobles before they converted to Islam [286]. The noble status, rather than the family name, was the most important information about the husband of Elena Musachi (*Signor Filipo ch' havea una bona Signoria in ... Ragusa*) [283]. It is important to note that all such examples could indicate the need the Musachi had for protection even when they were on their own land. Therefore, they do not seem to have been as noble as Gioanni would have wanted his audience to believe. Even so, it is just as important to note that the same pattern of seeking protection through noble marriages continued once the Musachi immigrated to Italy. Noble standing, in fact, appears as the most important detail mentioned in connection with the marriages of the Italian Musachi. For instance, the marriage of a Musachi relative, Giovanna Cominata (the daughter of Suina Musachi and Moses Arianiti Gioanni), helped to attach the Musachi to the Aragonese court in Naples [296].

Finally, the meanings of certain Musachi female personal names mentioned in the Chronicle also could lead to the conclusion that the account of Gioanni was designed to emphasise the noble rank of the Musachi. The names of *Comita* and *Condissa* appear to have been a reference to the distinguished positions of the

---

[34] Documentary evidence on the prominence of Paul Matarango in a papal letter, AA 1: 648 (17 June 1319).

[35] On the significance of Ghinno Zanebissi, cf. AAV 1: 3. 883 (before 7 August 1401).

[36] [282] on the conjugal alliances with the Balšić and the Groppa.

fathers of these Musachi ladies (*comes*, count), rather than to the ladies' personal names [285]. The same applies to the name of *Kyranna*—Κύρια Ἄννα was the way the Greeks referred to a distinguished lady named Anna [284]. The youngest daughter of Gioanni Musachi was mentioned by her name of *Porphida* (the one born in purple). Born in Italy, she obviously bore a name which vividly suggested the glory of the Musachi past [292].

L'homo à da pensare ... che ... tene... l'adversità per suo natural patrimonio

So far, the audience of Gioanni Musachi has been presumed as Italian, Christian, educated, wealthy, and noble. It has also been recognised that Gioanni attempted to present himself as a part of a similar environment, mostly by referring to his former possessions and noble rank. In addition to this, several aspects of the Chronicle show that both the audience and the aims of the writer may be further refined. Some elements of the narrative demonstrate that Gioanni aimed at drawing the attention of the Aragonese of Naples to his Chronicle, most probably in order to regain their protection. As already mentioned, the protection of various masters had always been important to the Musachi. In the times of the despot Andreas Musachi, the Angevins of Naples protected the kindred. According to the Act of submission (1336), the Angevins were obliged to protect all the Musachi kinsmen, together with their vassals, their clientele, and their land *ab incursionibus quorumqumque rebellium et barbarorum.*[37] Some time prior to the Ottoman occupation of the Musachi land, Gioanni hinted that his kinsmen had been protected by the Venetians as well.[38] A document from the last decade of the fourteenth century, which mentions an Andreas Musachi in Durazzo, testifies that this bond had existed much longer for some of the kinsmen.[39]

The protection of the Aragonese king Ferdinand was conferred upon Gioanni Musachi when he arrived in Southern Italy. The Musachi vassalage was based on the concession by the "old king," which consisted of the land in the region of *Apice*, and of "some other things." Gioanni's unclear report on the details of the concession opens up a possibility that this could also have implied Gioanni's access to the Aragonese court in Naples. Such a supposition is confirmed by the fact that Gioanni's daughter, Porfida, was the lady-in-waiting to Queen Joan. Close and

---

[37] AA 1: 808 (30 December 1336).

[38] [276] *Io restai nel paese nostro ... che ce era remasto con favore de' Venetiani.*

[39] *Acta Albaniae Iuridica*, vol 1., no. 205 (4 April 1393) Andreas III Musachi appears to have been among the six Venetian *provisionati*, being paid an annual salary of 30 ducats from the Venetian *Signoria* in order to "prepare the establishment of the Venetians in the city." Moreover, the document records that from this date, the salary of Andreas was raised to 40 ducats.

successful vassalage ties between the Aragonese and the Musachi are further illustrated through the names of Ferdinand and Joan, given to the Musachi born in Italy around the end of the fifteenth century.[40]

However, at the time Gioanni wrote his Chronicle (1510), it seems that the Musachi were no longer favoured by the Aragonese. From Gioanni's hints, this seems to have happened after—and was seemingly caused by—the death of the "old King" Ferdinand: *Ma la mia iniqua fortuna non satia ancora per la sua morte* [of the king Ferdinand] [273]. Gioanni's narrative further suggested that the *repentine guerre,* which followed the death of his protector, contributed to the deterioration of Aragonese-Musachi relations. It is, however, hard to ascertain with precision what these wars were about. On one hand, many documents from this period reveal that Aragonese land was frequently attacked during Ottoman naval raids on Southern Italy. It could have easily happened that a decrease · in Musachi wealth and subsequently of their importance and standing at the Aragonese court, was, in a way, affected by these raids.[41] On the other hand, some contemporary chronicles mentioned that the death of the old king Ferdinand was followed by internal upheavals in the land of the Aragonese of Naples. Interestingly, the lack of any reference to the new Aragonese king Frederic from Gioanni's account suggests that the loss of Aragonese protection could have been caused by a Musachi involvement in the riots against the new king.[42]

To sum up, an investigation into the subjects of the narrative and the potential audience of the Musachi Chronicle implies that the narration of Gioanni Musachi could have easily been designed for purposes other than just to inform his offspring of their past. It seems that, by stressing his past identity, Gioanni could have aimed at gaining the attention of an Italian and religious audience. His readers could also appear educated, wealthy, noble, and quite probably close to King Frederic, the Aragonese ruler of Naples. Since Musachi prominence was undoubtedly in decay by 1510, it would equally be possible to conclude that the Chronicle was a tool its writer wanted to use to improve the reputation of his family, and perhaps even

---

[40] The genealogical table of the Musachi, Hopf, XI, 7, 532.

[41] Chronik 46, in *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, ed. Peter Schreiner (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), 341–342. 1, mentioned some Ottoman attacks and their occupation of the town Ἰδρουσή in 1480–81. Similar incursions were recorded at Otranto on 28 July 1480 (indiction 13,=6988), 11 August 1480 (indiction 13,=6988), and 13 June–19 September 1481 (indictions 14–15,=6989–6990). A similar account in *Giornalli Napolitani*, in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, vol. 13, ed. Ludovicus Muratori (Milan: Gianbatista Pasquali, 1753), 195–199, dated some Ottoman attacks upon the land of King Ferdinand before 21 August 1480, but also throughout 1481.

[42] *Giornalli Napolitani*, in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, vol. 14, ed. Ludovicus Muratori (Milan: Gianbatista Pasquali, 1753), between 1501–1504.

regain the favour of the Aragons. Of course, as mentioned in the beginning, one might also argue that by writing a family history Gioanni simply imitated his new Italian compatriots. Even if so, this could also be regarded as one of his tools of adaptation. As already noted, the lack of information in any comparable source allows several similar assumptions. Yet, the suggested way of Gioanni's adjustment to a new environment through writing a family history leads me to assess this Chronicle as a source of primary and unique significance—not for the medieval history of the south-western Balkans, but for the modes of adaptation and the uncertainties encountered by fifteenth-century refugees from the Ottomans upon their emigration to Italy.

Probationary Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphzen01@phd.ceu.hu, n_zecevic@hotmail.com

COSTUMES AS SYMBOLS OF WARRIOR SAINTHOOD: THE PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LEGEND OF KING LADISLAS IN HUNGARY[1]

Annamária Kovács

For the medieval person, clothing and dress always had a special meaning. The symbolic aspects of a given garment, and not simply the utility functions such as protection, played a significant role in medieval society.[2] Costumes composed a part of courtly life as well, their special meaning having been defined and refined by members of the aristocracy for their own use. The great changes in costumes of the fourteenth century, which can best be characterized by the spread of short upper garments among men, and the general trend towards tight-fitting dresses both in male and female clothing, can be traced in written, pictorial, and archeological sources.

The main subjects of this article are the wall-paintings depicting the deeds of St. Ladislas, sometimes called the national saint of Hungary, in the so-called Battle of Kerlés in 1068. This part of the legend of the saint is lacking from his *Vita*, but, strangely enough, is widely represented on the walls of small churches. The text of the whole story was preserved in its fullest form in the so-called Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, written around 1358, and goes like this:

> The saintly prince, Ladislas, then, espied a Pagan carrying on the back of his horse a beautiful Hungarian maiden. The prince thought that this maiden had been the daughter of the bishop of Várad, and, although being in severe wound, he started to pursue him, riding his horse whose name was Szög. But, when he reached him by a lance's point, he could do nothing, for his horse was unable to run faster, while the other's did not fall back in speed, and thus, something like an arm's length has remained between the tip of the lance and the Cuman's back. Then St. Ladislas cried to the maiden saying: "Fair sister! Take the Cuman by his belt and jump off from the horse to the ground!" And she did as she was asked. But then, when the Cuman lay on the ground and Prince Ladislas wanted to kill him with his lance, the maiden strongly asked him not to do so, but let him [the Cuman] go free. So it is clear from this as well, that there is no faith in women, for surely she wanted to spare the Cuman out of lusty love. The saintly prince, then, after a long battle, cut his [the Cuman's] sinew, and killed him. But the maiden was not the bishop's daughter."[3]

My goal with this study is twofold. The first is to fill out with details, with the help of costume studies, a statement frequently made by Hungarian researchers, that St. Ladislas—as he was viewed and propagated by the Angevin kings, the ideal ruler-knight of the realm—always wears the most-up-to-date dress and weaponry of the period.[4] The second aim is to correct it. However, already at the outset I have to deal with a problem which often arises in any kind of image research, namely, that of dating a picture. This, one might say, is often done with the help of the costumes themselves. Unfortunately, as one surveys the existing scholarship, very few murals—or works of art in general in Hungary—have been dated with the help of the costumes. Therefore, until costume elements, and their chronological order can be identified, only a hypothetical dating can be established.

The established scholarly opinion is that the figure of Ladislas, as painted on the church walls, may serve as a "model of knightly behaviour" for the young noblemen of the country, embodying, besides the secular knightly virtues, the main characteristics of a *miles Christianus*.[5] Logically, therefore, his fashionable dress could also be an example, and a kind of code: what an ideal knight—perhaps an ideal courtier—should look like. We should not underestimate the value of murals as messages for everyday life, even if in this case "everyday" refers to the days of an upper social class.

To a fourteenth-century noble in Hungary St. Ladislas might have been a kind of "ideal", wearing fashionable garments. At the same time, one might ask what

---

important to note, and will gain importance later, that in other versions of the legend, however, it is the maiden who either wounds the Cuman mortally by cutting his legs, or even herself beheads him. For the other versions: the chronicles of Heinrich von Mügeln (1352, 1360) can be found in SRH, II, 177. (the prose version of 1360) and II. 270 (the *Chronica Rithmica* of 1352). Also Zsuzsa Lukács, "A Szt. László-legenda a középkori magyar falfestészetben" (The legend of St. Ladislas in medieval Hungarian wall-paintings), in *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szt. László történetéhez* (Studies to the history of St. Ladislas), ed. László Mezey (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 161–204., 166, containing also a reference to Russian annals which mention the *historia* of Ladislas.

[4] Terézia Kerny, "Művészettörténeti adalékok a kerlési ütközet ábrázolásaihoz," (Art historical remarks on the representations of the battle of Kerlés) in Gyula László, *A Szt. László-legenda középkori falképei* (The medieval wall-paintings of the legend of St. Ladislas) (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993), 215; Ernő Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14–15. Jahrhundert" *Acta Historiae Artium* 33 (1987/88): 211–56; on the wallpaintings especially 222–230. Lukács, *A Szt. László-legenda*, 171.

[5] The system of knightly virtues, as reflected in charters and chronicles of thirteenth and fourteenth century Hungary, was organised around the virtue of *fidelitas* towards the king, linking it to the fame and glory of the brave and valorous warrior. See Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyaroroszágon a 13.–14. században* (Chivalric culture in Hungary during the· thirtenth and fourteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 221–54, and Gábor Klaniczay, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle," in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien. Bilan et perspectives* Colloque de Royaumont, mars 1989, ed. Alain Boureau and Claudio Sergio Ingerflom (Paris: Éditions de l'École Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 53–62.

these fashionable garments exactly were. Or what was considered as "fashionable" by this time? To answer these questions more precisely, I shall investigate the three central figures of the murals: St. Ladislas, the Cuman warrior, and the abducted maiden.[6]

The King

It is especially interesting to notice, how the long tunic and cloak of saints, kings, and dignified persons[7] in the Late Middle Ages are replaced in the case of St. Ladislas by the image of a fully armed knight. But the armor of a knight was always more than merely a defensive garment. Soon after its development it became an expression of a whole *ethos*, and even the meaning of each part of it was elaborately discussed in the contemporary courtly writings.[8]

In the oldest known representation of the Ladislas legend, from Kakaslomnic (Vel'ká Lomnica, Slovakia), which is usually dated around 1317[9] one may find that "cloak" is often used to indicate "surcoat," or "coat armor" for the mail hauberk, which is more than confusing. Among Hungarian scholars, the general term for coat armor is the German word *Lentner*.[10] But the development of this garment is rather more complex. In the thirteenth century the crusaders' garment, named *surcoat*, or *surcotte*, was the first stage in the evolution of both the coat armor and the universal upper garment of that age, worn by men and women.[11] In the same century the *coat armor*, that is, the garment worn over the chainmail *hauberk*, is also named *cyclas*, although this name can also be applied to a short, coat-like garment, cut in one piece and lined with fur or silk. The *surcoat* as coat armor in the thirteenth century is loose, made of cloth, and has no sleeves. This is the one worn by Ladislas in the Kakaslomnic paintings, and it is, more interestingly, striped. There were attempts to identify the color of the stripes as the coat-of-arms of the Árpádian dynasty.

---

[6] In the rest of the article, present-day names are indicated only together with the first appearance of every place-name. Otherwise the Hungarian forms are used.

[7] Odile Blanc, *Parades et parures. L'invention du corps de mode a la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 22, 136

[8] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 154–62; Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*, 258. David Edge-John M. Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight* (New York: Crescent Books, 1993), glossary in 183–89. In the following the terminology of this book will be used, as generally accepted in Western scholarship.

[9] Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 223; László, *Szt. László*, 109.

[10] Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* (The wars of the Angevin period) (Budapest: Zrinyi, 1988), 241; László, *Szt.László*, passim. See also Harry Kühnel, ed., *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992), s.v. "Lentner".

[11] Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 19–20; Marion Sichel, *Costume Reference I: Roman Britain and the Middle Ages* (London: Batsford, 1977), 32.

However, those being red and silver, the unclean colors on the wall-painting presently seen make this identification somewhat dubious.[12]

The Gelence murals, (Ghelinţa, Romania), dated to the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, give a slightly different picture of the armor of a knight. Here Ladislas' surcotte is made of leather pieces, but his red *aketon*, i.e. the garment clearly worn *under* the mail hauberk, is still long and loose.[13] The absence of arm defences and the general "mail period" look of the knightly armor confirms the earlier dating. The same can be said about the shorter hauberk and the more tight-fitting leather *jupon* (called "lamellar hauberk" in one description) worn by Ladislas in the Bögöz cycle (Mugeni, Romania). This tight-fitting effect is the characteristic and most fundamental change in male clothing in the middle of the fourteenth century. It often led towards exaggeration and extravagance, as seen in the Chronicle of St. Denis, telling about the battle of Crécy. Here the knights' garments are described as the main causes of the defeat. Their clothes, the chronicler says, were so tight that the knights had to be laced up as women; their tights were multi-colored, and the tips of their hoods dragged on the ground after them, as did the ends of their sleeves.[14]

The paintings at the Ócsa Premonstratensian church were restored in 1991. Earlier, judging from the fragments visible at that time, it was dated to the end of the thirteenth century, but in the light of some newly discovered parts the dating can now be corrected to the mid-fourteenth century. There is a scene at the beginning of the cycle, showing the so-called "Departure from Várad" (i.e. Nagyvárad; now Oradea, Romania), where the horsemen wear *cotehardies* with characteristic hanging sleeves.[15]

Fewer details can be found concerning the saint's garments in the Vitfalva murals (Vítkovce, Slovakia), dated to the mid-fourteenth century, while the "Byzantinising" style of lamellar armor of the Tereske (Slovakia) knight-king corresponds to the representations of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.[16]

---

[12] László, *Szt. László,* 113, while Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 223 defines the colours as "black and white."

[13] This garment is clearly worn *under* the hauberk, and not *over* it, as stated in Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 223.

[14] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis,* Transl. and ed. M. L. Bellaguet (Paris, 1844), V. 463, in French translation: *"Et les autres avoient robes froissées sur les reins comme femmes; aussi portoient une chausse d'un drap et l'autre d'un autre et leur venoient leurs cornettes et leurs manches près de terre et sembloient mieux jongleurs que autres gens".* This remark has sometimes been interpreted as the earliest mentioning of the corset. However, the passage refers only to the characteristic attribute of the pourpoint, continuous through the period: beside the trend of slendering, the back part was made even more tight-fitting by lacing.

[15] See Zsuzsa Lukács–Juan Cabello–Péter Csengel, "Az ócsai premontrei prépostság kutatásai," (The research of the Ócsa Premonstratensian provostry) *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 1 (1991): 16–20.

[16] Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 223.

The next stage in the development of Ladislas' image as an ideal knight is shown in the Bántornya (Turnišce, Slovenia) cycle, painted by Johannes Aquila.[17] Here the late fourteenth century short *jupons* (the painting was made in 1383) with more tight-fitting *aketons* under the even shorter hauberks can be observed, along with conical helmets, and belts on the hips.[18]

Belts were always important costume accessories. They held the dress together and, at the same time, drew a line separating the upper and lower parts of the costume, and, dividing the human body as well, bearing a deeper significance in courtly symbolism. They were more elaborately decorated in this period than in the thirteenth century, and, worn on the hips, became part of the courtly civilian garments, such as the cotehardie and *pourpoint*, and were worn with military dress, often termed as *cingulum militaris*.[19] Mounted belts—sometimes with silver—spread beyond the nobility. In Hungary, the mounted belts were found in cemeteries of peasant communities in the Alföld region (Ágasegyháza, Aranyegyháza, Kaszaper), and near Buda, at Csut, although naturally in lower artistic quality than among the aristocracy.[20]

Decorative and practical items were hung from belts, for instance, different bags, named in the thirteenth century *aumonière*, which were used mainly for almsgiving.[21] These mainly belonged to female garments. In the fourteenth century the male costume borrowed them, under the name of *gibecière* or *escarcelle*. Among other accessories, a dagger was often added, fastened to the bag: this was taken over from the knights' wardrobe for civil use.

The next two examples of wall-paintings are known only from the sketches made by József Huszka around 1898, because the originals were destroyed shortly after 1900.[22] Obvious parallels can be shown between the figure of St. Ladislas in the

---

[17] *Johannes Aquila und die Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts. Tagungsbeiträge und Dokumente aus den Sammlungen des Landesdenkmalamts Budapest.* Ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: MTA MKI, 1989)

[18] The precise dating of this cycle was helped by the identification of the painter, and by an inscription as well. See Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 224, and Lukács, *Falképfestészet*,190.

[19] An account from 1364 mentions a dress bought for the French king, with a belt: "*une surceint a une boucle et mordant et cinq clos d'or*". The testament of Louis d' Anjou, from 1379, includes a belt with mounts forming the initial letters of a popular *virelai*. Evans, *Dress in France*, 29.

[20] Kálmán Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei* (Remnants from the cultural history of the people on the Great Hungarian Plain) (Kecskemét, n.p., 1938), chapter on costume history, esp. 42–7.; Alajos Bálint, "A kaszaperi középkori temető," (The medieval cemetery of Kaszaper) *Dolgozatok a Magyar Királyi Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből 14* (1938): 7–36. László Gerevich, "A csuti középkori sírmező," (Medieval burial finds at Csut) *Budapest Régiségei* 13 (1943): 140.

[21] For an interpretation see Blanc, *Parades*, 27, and ibid., fig.2.

[22] László, *Szt. László*, 72.

Erdőfüle (Filia, Romania) church and the knights of the so-called Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, painted around 1360.[23]

He wears a red *aketon* and tights made of cloth in the same color, but there is no indication of a hauberk, at least not in the sketches. The main connection between the two representations is, however, the white coat armor (which, strangely enough, is considered as a "white mail" by one researcher).[24] It is fringed at the sleeves and below, like in many cases in the *Chronicle*'s miniatures; and the first appearance of a *gauntlet* on the murals can also be observed here. The second destroyed church was at Maksa (Moaçsa, Romania), where the main characteristics of the armor in the Illuminated Chronicle were present again: *aventails,*[25] that is, mail curtains covering the shoulders, attached to *bascinet* type helmets on the figures of the Hungarian soldiers in the battle scene; an *aketon* ending above the knee, a hauberk worn over it, and a fringed, tight-fitting coat armor with sleeves.

The paintings of Rimabánya (Rimavská Baňa, Slovakia.) church, if seen only from the point of view of knightly armor, could be dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Here Ladislas wears an almost full-plate armor, along with a supposed breastplate under his coat armor, a significantly shortened hauberk, and a complete lower arm defence (*vambrace*) with elbow guards (*couters*), and *gauntlets*. But, as will be discussed later, a special form of head-dress worn by some female figures in the first scene pushes dates the murals rather to the last third of the fourteenth century.[26]

The fifteenth century brought the flourishing of full plate armor in Central Europe, although in Western Europe it appeared earlier.[27] In some cases, however, an earlier appearance can be assumed in our region too. The armor appeared as consisting of a leather *aketon* under a very short mail hauberk; a breastplate with attached lamellar plates called *fauld,* continued on the back in the lamination of the *culet*; full arm defences (*rerebraces* and *vambraces*) including shoulder-guards (*pauldrons*) and elbow guards; gauntlets with knee pieces (the *poleyns*); and full greaves with lamellar *sallerets*.

The most splendid example of this type of armor can be seen in the Székelyderzs (Dîrjiu, Romania) murals, with some modifications: there are no

---

[23] The facsimile copy of the Chronicle was published as*: Képes Krónika. Hasonmás kiadás* (Illuminated Chronicle Facsimile copy) General editor László Kispéter (Budapest: Corvina, 1964).

[24] László, *Szt. László*, 74.

[25] Edge-Paddock, *Arms and Armour,* 66,78, 87, 183.

[26] For the earlier dating see Lukács, *Falképfestészet,* 198. Marosi in "Der heilige Ladislaus," 225, states the later date.

[27] Edge-Paddock, *Arms and Armour,*110.

shoulder defences, or sallerets, and the upper arm defences are also missing. But under the plate greaves the figure must have had at least leather greaves and pieces of mail, attached to the aketon by small cords, since this was the only way to wear plate armor.[28] In the Szepesmindszent (Bijacovče, Slovakia) paintings, beside the short hauberk and the full greaves worn by the main figure, the "pigeon chest" effect of his coat armor either indicates the tightness and padding of this type of garment, or it may show an otherwise hidden breastplate, thus confirming the later dating of these scenes.[29]

The Sepsikilyén (Chilieni, Romania) frescoes show St. Ladislas wearing an embroidered coat armor, most probably indicating a kind of ornamentally woven silk; but other details of this painting, such as the turban of the Cuman warrior, indicates a later dating to the second half of the fifteenth century. The murals of the Zsegra church, (Žehra, Slovakia) belong to the same group, but their heavy re-painting in the seventeenth century makes the study of the costumes almost impossible. Only the first part of the scenes of the legend can be considered as original, and from the short tight-fitting coat armor, barely reaching the hips, and from the developed plate armor on the legs and arms, these murals can be dated rather to the early fifteenth than the late fourteenth century, although the appearance of plate defences does not automatically support the fifteenth-century dating.[30]

The Cuman

The anti-hero, the negative stereotype of the story is the Cuman warrior who abducts the Hungarian maiden. Before discussing his garments on the St. Ladislas murals, I should like to say a few words about medieval orientalism in general, and the situation of the Cumans and other eastern ethnic groups in Hungary in the fourteenth century.

Orientalism denotes a special type of fashion, appearing in Western Europe, especially in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, involving the spread of dresses regarded as "eastern" or "Asian", as well as certain decorative motifs, Asian servants, and a general interest towards the "exotic" and so on.[31]

---

[28] Edge-Paddock,117–8.

[29] László, *Szent László*, 135–38, and Lukács, *Falképfestészet*, date the murals to the second half of the fourteenth century, while in Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 225, the very fragmentary murals are dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.

[30] Plate leg greaves appear already in fair number on the miniatures of the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. See *Képes Krónika*, fol. 47a, fol. 69'a . For the description of the Zsegra paintings see László, *Szent László*, 115–120.

[31] András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Petchenegs, Cumans, Iasians* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), for the historical background of the Steppe people in Hungary during this period. For general orientation about the

Oriental style dress elements—the caftan, the hat with upturned brim—, and features like long beards were regarded as exotic. Chronicle writers from the beginning of the fourteenth century recorded strange habits of clothing and hairstyle in territories like Styria or Bohemia. Arranging their hair *"ut Judei vel Ungari comam"* and *"more barbarorum barbas longas nutriunt,"*[32] the nobles of these territories were as eager to differ from their contemporaries as fashionable persons in any era.

In the so-called "Cuman laws" issued in 1279, King Ladislas IV granted the Cumans the right to wear their traditional costume.[33] The second paragraph of the laws assured the Cumans that they did not have to shave their heads, cut their beards, and that they would not be forced to give up their "costume habits."[34] The military prowess of these people was recognised, accepted and used by several kings in the second half of the thirteenth, and in the fourteenth century.[35] Archeological remains found in the Alföld region testify to the importance of Cuman and Petcheneg light cavalry and their leaders in the court of King Charles Robert (1302–1342) as well.

One of these finds is the buckle of the Kígyóspuszta belt, showing a knightly *mêlée* with figures wearing the characteristic armor of the 1260s. Although the buckle indicates an early date for this find, the additional mounts of the belt rather point to the beginning of the fourteenth century.[36] Another Cuman find, from Csólyos, contained elements of light cavalry armor: a helmet, a hauberk, two rounded shoulder pieces, all lighter than the contemporary Western ones, but analogous to those of the

---

thirteenth century military history of Hungary, and the role of the Cumans see also: Kristó Gyula, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi* (Wars of the Árpádian period) (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1986), 271–281.

[32] The chronicle of Anonymus Leobiensis: *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* I. Scriptores 1. (Wien: Verlag der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., 1855) 947: *"cessavit etiam tum usus mitrarum virilium, per quas inter laicos plures, Christianos agnoscebatur, a Judeo de coma etiam valde parum vel omnino ut Judei vel Ungari comam dividebant."*

[33] See István Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története* (History of the Cumans and Iasians) I. (Kecskemét, n.p., 1870), 438–42. and János M. Bak, György Bónis, James R. Sweeney, *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae / The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary* I, 1000–1301, 2nd ed. (Idyllwild: Schlacks, 1999), 67–70.

[34] *"preter abrasionem barbarum et abbreviationem capillorum et habitum vestium eorundem, super quibus venerabilis pater dominus legatus, ad nostram devotam instanciam, enitate paterne pietatis condescendens, invitios non coegit, sed in aliis se moribus Christianorum conformabunt,"* since earlier the legate prohibited the wearing of Cuman hats. See Szentpétery, SRH I. 472–473, the text of the Illuminated Chronicle: *"pileos Cumanicos, quorum usus in Hungaria jam in consuetudine habebatur, abiicere demandat"* ie. the papal legate.

[35] For a general picture see Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 252–59, and Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 250 ff.

[36] István Éri, "Adatok a kígyóspusztai csat értékeléséhez," (Data on the evaluation of the Kígyóspuszta belt buckle) *Folia Archaeologia* 8 (1956): 137–51; and András Pálóczi-Horváth, "A csólyosi kun sírlelet," (Cumanian grave goods from Csólyos) *Folia Archeologia* 20 (1969): 108–33, esp. 118.

Steppe people.[37] This find can also be dated sometime between the last decades of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth centuries. Cemetery excavations in the same region also support the theory of a continuous use of Cuman habits in dress during the fourteenth century: cloakpins or chest-discs used to close and decorate caftans were found in the graves of Kaszaper, Ágasegyháza, and Aranyegyháza.[38] In a legal case concerning six estates of the Csanád family (the relatives of the archbishop of Esztergom) in the mid-fourteenth century the estates are described as lands of the Petchenegs, living and serving the king in the "old way in military campaigns,"[39] while a papal letter from 1399 describes the Alföld Cumans and Petchenegs as follows: "they have no towns, wandering with their tents, families, and cattle."[40]

In the two Naples campaigns of King Louis the Great a considerable number of Cuman and Petcheneg light cavalry took part.[41] They are best described by the chronicler Matteo Villani who mentions such details of their costumes as leather "farsetti", that is, several jupons worn over each other.[42] The appearance of orientalising representations in Italy, can not be taken as a mere coincidence. To quote Stella Mary Newton, who dealt extensively with this problem in an international context, the appearance of these warriors in Italy "certainly made an impression, which was eventually reflected, in fashionable dress."[43] The expression "like Tartars," used in chronicles or moral treatises by that time, could simply refer to any Easterner, but especially Cumans and Hungarians, spreading through the Kingdom of Naples between the years 1347 and 1350, and remaining there with smaller contingents and mercenaries for the rest of the century.

Now let us look at the wall-paintings of the deeds of the "saintly prince." The Cuman would be expected to wear a caftan, this popular eastern garment, which could be opened in the front or at the sides, indicating two types of Eastern costume elements: a shorter variation, with a slimming seam in the waistline, closed in the middle; and a longer, more loose garment, closed on the left or the right side.[44] The

---

[37] Pálóczi, "Csólyos,": 120–133.

[38] Bálint, "Kaszaper,": 7–36.

[39] *terras Byssenorum antiquo more excercituare debentium."* National Archives of Hungary, Dl. 29138, quoted in György Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei* (Oriental elements of the Hungarian nation) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1990), 163.

[40] Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok...*, III, 532.

[41] Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok...*III, 67–8. also Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, 289.

[42] Matteo Villani, *Cronica di Matteo Villani* (Firenze: Magheri, 1825–26), chapters VI, X, XII.

[43] Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince.* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984), 92.

[44] Ödön Boncz, "Kun és magyar viselet az utolsó Árpádok és Anjouk alatt," (Cumanian and Hungarian costumes under the rule of Árpádian and the Angevin dynasty) *Archeológiai Értesitő* (1877):198–207, esp.

latter one is the "classic" caftan, while the first type is defined as a "Petcheneg" variation.[45] However, to make the picture more complicated, this is not so in all cases. In the Vitfalva (Vítkovce, Slovakia) murals, which show very schematic male figures in loose dresses, the abductor's caftan has buttons in the middle of the chest, which is at least uncommon in eastern garments. He wears a short dress of a Western type at Rimabánya (Rimavská Baňa, Slovakia): dark red, tight-fitting and surprisingly short. In the Bántornya (Turnišče, Slovenia) paintings by Johannes Aquila, the situation is the same. However, it is interesting to note in this case, that the so-called "resting-scene," where Prince Ladislas is usually resting his head in the lap of the rescued maiden, and which, logically, was in all other cases painted after the beheading of the Cuman, here follows the abduction scene, and the man who enjoys his rest is the Cuman. Either Aquila misunderstood the situation entirely, or there existed a second version, closely following the chronicle text that the maiden in fact loved her abductor.[46]

But in most cases the Cuman is dressed in a caftan, and, even more characteristically, this dress is yellow. The yellow caftan can be taken as a strong indication of a negative figure or force. In the Illuminated Chronicle, for example, King Coloman, who in the text is rather negatively described, is consistently shown wearing a yellow caftan, even on his coronation scene.[47] Perhaps this intended negative characterization was behind the depiction of the Cuman, with flames coming out from his mouth, in the Kakaslomnic, Székelyderzs and the Szepesmindszent murals, where the caftan is yellow as well.

It should be observed, however, that the caftans depicted are usually closed in the middle, and rather short, like the type defined as "Petcheneg" (Kakaslomnic, Gelence), while the Erdőfüle murals show a kind of woven decoration, with a neckline cut from left to right. A similar indication of decoration can be observed in the Maksa wall-paintings, and embroidered edges are shown on the dress of the Szepesmindszent Cuman; here his caftan is especially tight, which can be seen in the wrinkles of the long sleeves.

---

193. According to the traveler's descriptions of Rubruquis and Carpini, the caftan of the Tartars was always closed on the right. See "The History of Mongols by John of Plano Carpini," and "The Journey of William of Rubruck" in *Mission to Asia*, ed. Christopher Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 7 and 102, resp.

[45] Pálóczi, *Petchenegs*, 77.

[46] Lajos Vargyas, "Honfoglalás előtti hagyományok Szent László legendájában," (Pre-Conquest traditions in the legend of Saint Ladislas), in *Athleta Patriae*, 9–19, esp. 16. Also Marcell Jankovics, »*Csillagok között fényességes csillag*« *A Szent László-legenda és a csillagos ég* ("Shining star among the stars" The legend of St. Ladislas and the starry sky) (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó, 1987), 13–20.

[47] Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 51b.

Almost everywhere the Cuman warrior wears another typical eastern dress element, that is, a hat with an upturned brim. The trimming of the hat is always in a different color (for example, black hat with white brim in Szepesmindszent; red, with white brim at Székelyderzs). In most cases he also has a mail coif under the hat. This habit is not, however, contradicting the "light cavalry" character of the Cuman warrior.[48]

There is a clear tendency to schematise the Cuman's dress in the fifteenth century murals. In one way, this can be connected to the disappearance of these elements from the dress of the Cumans themselves, and, in another way, to the greater impact of international "stereotypes" concerning Oriental costume pieces, like pointed hats or yellow garments.

The maiden

The female costumes of the fourteenth century show less variety than the male ones, but were at least their equals in splendid appearance. The cut of the female garments in the fourteenth century had not changed significantly from that of the thirteenth, when the difference between male and female garments was not so definitely marked.

The *cotte*, an undergarment introduced in the thirteenth century, became more tight-fitting, as was the case with the male costumes as well.[49] The back was open, and laced with ribbons.[50] From the 1350s the lacing of the undergarment was transferred to the front. The skirt was cut in a comparatively loose form. In the first part of the century the sleeves were buttoned in the same manner as the male ones, and the close-fitting cut made necessary the introduction of additional pieces. The neckline was rounded, but around 1340 it began to deepen and widen. A narrow belt was worn around the hips.

However, the *cotte* itself would not have been visible if the sleeves of the surcotte had not been cut, making the armholes deeper and deeper. The two garments, cotte and surcotte, were usually mentioned together.[51] As a general trend, from the middle of the thirteenth century the cotte, surcotte, and cloak or mantle were

---

[48] See Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*, 271, and Pálóczi, "Csólyos": 120–133.

[49] Under the cotte the camise, a kind of shirt, could be worn, as well as the chainse, the undergarment of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the fourteenth century, the latter term was applied to a long undershirt. Sichel, *Costume Reference*, 157; Carolyn G. Bradley, *The Western World Costume* (New York: n.p., 1954), 151.

[50] The lacing of the undergarment was transferred to the front from the middle of the fourteenth century. Bradley, *Western Costume*, 140.

[51] In 1338 the Queen of France had a robe of four pieces, composed of a cotte, two surcottes, and a corset, a mantle with a round cut. Bradley, *Western Costume*, 31.

made of similar materials, hence the term "une robe" in the inventories of the period.[52]

At the beginning of the period the surcotte may have had a wide neckline, with or without short sleeves. In the Kakaslomnic paintings of the Ladislas-cycle, (c. 1317), the dress of the Hungarian maiden shows an early variation: a green cotte with long, tight-fitting sleeves, and a red surcot lined with white. The neckline is V-shaped, and the armholes are not yet as deep as in the second half of the century, when a special variation, the *surcot ouvert* was used almost exclusively. This garment, although clearly represented in wall-paintings, was misinterpreted by many researchers in the past, being defined as a kind of "waistcoat," lined or trimmed with fur.[53] Some examples of this misunderstandings are: "a sleeveless waistcoat," "a waistcoat was worn over it, at first reaching to the hips and was cut deeply under the arms," "a light little waistcoat." Strangely enough, research has failed to discover this error, which appears in quite recent works as well.[54] In the wall-paintings of the Erdőfüle church, for instance, even in the raw sketch available at present for researchers, one can recognize the surcot ouvert, almost identical with its French parallels. It has deep armholes, the front is embroidered, and the white cotte worn under it is clearly visible.[55] In the Maksa murals the same type can be observed, which was again identified as "a waistcoat,"[56] while in Vitfalva it appears in blue over a red cotte, with white trimmings around the neckline and the armholes.

The Szentmihályfa wall-paintings are especially interesting for the study of female garments. These frescoes, restored in 1988–89, are in a fragmentary state, but, fortunately, the scene showing the maiden beheading the Cuman has remained. Here a red *cotehardie*, that is, an outdoor dress with characteristic hanging parts, the so-

---

[52] In 1298, the Countess of Artois had a robe of five parts, namely: cotte, surcotte, gardecors (similar to that worn by men), cape, belonging to the gardecorps, and a cloak lined with miniver. Jeanne de Bourgogne, Queen of France, received in 1316 a robe of five pieces, made of pink scarlet cloth, also with miniver. Evans, *Dress in France*, 25.

[53] Mihály Nemes–Géza Nagy, *A magyar viseletek könyve* (Book of Hungarian Costumes) (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1900), 110 "a sleeveless waistcoat," referred to also in Elemér Varju, "A magyar viselet a középkorban," (Hungarian costume in the Middle Ages) in *Magyar művelődéstörténet,* (Hungarian cultural history) vol.1, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: n.p., 1940), 330; and Endre Domanovszky, *Korok ruhái* (Dresses through ages) (Budapest: Corvina, 1979), 98 "a waistcoat was worn over it, at first reaching to the hips and was cut deeply under the arms." Wagner even goes further, and beside naming the dress appearing in fourteenth-century Bohemian manuscripts, "waistcoat" ("Jäckchen" in the German text), understands the French surcot ouvert similarly. See Eduard Wagner, Zoroslava Drobná, and Jan Durdík, *Tracht, Wehr und Waffen des späten Mittelalters (1350–1450)* (Prague: Artia, 1957), 16.

[54] László, *Szent László,* 73: "a light little waistcoat."

[55] László, *Szent László,* 72–74, the dating the paintings not earlier than the 1340s. In the same picture St. Ladislas wears a white pourpoint, with fringed edge and sleeves, interpreted as a "cloak."

[56] László, *Szent László,* 69.

called *coudières,* trimmed with fur, is worn over a red cotte with close-fitting long sleeves.

The Rimabánya cycle from the last third of the fourteenth century shows a different type of dress in all its scenes.[57] Despite the current opinion that "the dress of the maiden is different in the subsequent scenes," the decoration and the cut of the dress is the same, although the color is slightly different. The same dress, with a tight-fitting bodice, hanging loose from the hips, with a deep décolletage and long, close-fitting sleeves, is also worn by Queen Elizabeth, wife of King Charles Robert, in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle.[58] In the same manuscript the dress of the Hungarian maiden in the scene of her rescue from the Cuman by St. Ladislas resembles that worn in the first scene of the Rimabánya wall-painting, but here the girl wears, under her tight-fitting surcoat, a longer *cotte* made from the same material.[59] The dress of Queen Elizabeth, mentioned above, is nearly the same, but the seams at the hips and at the waist can be easily observed.[60]

I have already mentioned the Bögöz murals showing some strange female headdresses. These resemble veils together with wimples arranged in "horns" in the middle of the forehead. This may possibly refer to a special Eastern type, like the headgear of the ladies termed as "Cuman women" in another miniature of the Illuminated Chronicle.[61]

Conclusion

In the figures showing Prince Ladislas the armor depicted is always the most fashionable of the period, as befits the saintly king, and the concept of his bravery and justness, often expressed in the fourteenth century.[62] Certain elements of the legend cycle might even have derived from the courtly epic of the chivalric world, but parallels for the two most important scenes, namely, the wrestling and the beheading, were not found in other pictorial sources. However, the literature of the Arthurian cycle, for example, contains stories about the beheading of or wrestling with an enemy, especially connected with the favourite hero of the English tradition,

---

[57] László, *Szent László,* 152.

[58] For instance in fol. 70a, Initial A.

[59] Illuminated Chronicle, fol. 36a, Initial P.

[60] Contrary to this view, Varju, in MMT II., 409, claims that the upper and lower parts of the female gown were always cut in one.

[61] Fol. 16a, according to the rubrics: *"Ingressus diversorum nationum."*

[62] Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus," 226.

Sir Gawain.[63] Also, the theme of a maiden's abduction can be derived from courtly epic, as has already been supposed.[64] But elements of old eastern folklore should also be considered, especially in the case of Hungary. The eminently fashionable elements of armor and costume in the murals show that Western garments were spread and known among the noble strata connected to courtly circles. The dress representations of the abducted maiden even document knowledge of some of the most precious and fashionable female garments, which do not appear in the important courtly manuscript of the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. By these dresses, the high social status of the maiden is clearly shown, as expressed in the existing written versions of the legend: sometimes she is the daughter of a bishop, then a high noble lady, or even the Virgin Mary.

The Cumans were one of those steppe peoples who by the fourteenth century were still pursuing their old habits in the Alföld region. The warrior of the murals, however, is represented with a number of dress elements which would generally have negative connotations for the observers of the murals.[65] His caftan, popular among the light cavalry soldiers of the Hungarian Angevin kings, his hat, his equipment of composite bow and arrows, and the yellow color of his garment, all together gave him the perfect appearance of an anti-hero.

As the examples above illustrate, costumes might be used to express, embody, signify, and define certain ideas in medieval society. One of the main functions of a given garment was to mark social rank as precisely as it was possible. Therefore, the wall-paintings of the St. Ladislas-legend can be analyzed by the means of costume studies to see whether the garments appearing in the scenes can help us to gain additional information concerning the connection between status and outer appearance.

Ph.D. candidate, CEU, Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
mphkov95@phd.ceu.hu

---

[63] On this question see the chapter on Gawain in Richard Barber, *Arhur of Albion* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961), 95–122, and Proinsias MacCana, *Celtic Mythology* (Feltham: Newnes Books, 1983), 98–99.

[64] András Vizkelety, "Nomádkori hagyományok vagy udvari-lovagi toposzok? Észrevételek Szent László és a leányrabló kun epikai és képzőművészeti ábrázolásához," (Nomadic traditions or courtly-chivalric *topoi*? Observations on the epic and art representations of the legend of Saint Ladislas and the Cuman) *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 85 (1981): 243–75.

[65] For Western European view: Blanc, *Parades...*, 166–75. and Francoise Piponnier-Perrine Mane, *Se vêtir au Moyen Age* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1995), 114, 175. Also Ernő Marosi, "Zur Frage der Quellenwerken mittelalterlicher Darstellungen. 'Orientalismus' in der Ungarischen Bilderchronik," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 22 (1991): 74–107, but expressing a different opinion.

Fig. 1. Detail of the wallpaintings
from Kakaslomnic (Vel'ká Lomnica,
Slovakia): *wrestling scene.*
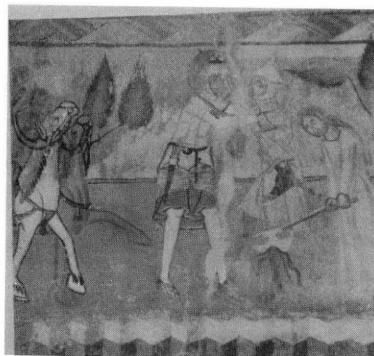
Fig. 2. Detail of the murals
from Gelence (Ghelinta, Rom.):
wrestling scene.

Fig. 3. Detail of the wallpaintings from the Bögöz cycle (Mugeni, Rom.):
"Departure from Várad" (Nagyvárad; now Oradea, Rom.)

Fig. 4. Scenes from the Vitfalva murals. (Vítkovce, Slovakia)

159

Fig. 5. Details from the wallpaintings in the Erdőfüle (Filia, Rom.)
church, destroyed shortly after 1900.

Fig. 6. Miniature in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle
fol. 36'a: Prince Ladislas and the Cuman warrior.

Fig. 7. Copies from the destroyed wallpaintings
of the Maksa (Moacsa, Rom.) church.

Fig. 8. Szepesmindszent
(Bijacovce, Slovakia):
wrestling scene.

Fig. 9. Detail from the Kakaslomnic
(Vel'ká Lomnica, Slovakia)
wallpaintings: *the Cuman*.

Fig. 10. Szepesmindszent
(Bijacovce, Slovakia): *the Cuman*.
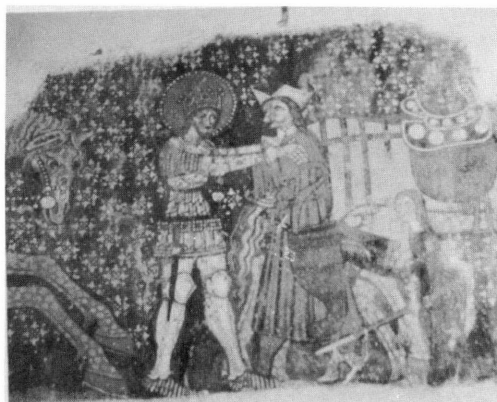
Fig. 11. Székelyderzs (Dîrjiu, Rom.) murals:
wrestling scene.

Fig. 12. Detail from the Kakaslomnic
(Vel'ká Lomnica, Slovakia)
wallpaintings: the figure of the maiden.

Fig. 13. Surviving detail of the
Szentmihályfa wallpaintings:
the beheading scene.

Fig. 14. Scenes from the St. Ladislas-cycle of the Rimabánya
(Rimavská Bana, Slovakia) church.

Constructing and Deconstructing Frontiers
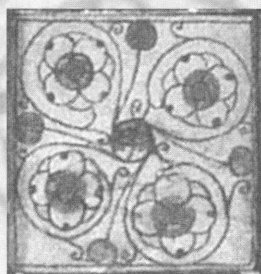
CONSTRUCTING AND DECONSTRUCTING FRONTIERS

AN INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP, FEBRUARY 19–21, 1999

The construction and existence of any kind of frontiers seem to have played a very decisive role in medieval life. This is true not only from a political and territorial point of view, but also concerning aspects of gender, social distinction, ethnic diversity, economic life, the law, culture, art, and literature. The workshop dealt with these various frontiers and boundaries, with their stability, modification, and ambiguity. It showed to what extent they were created, changed, and accepted or rejected by society and its various groups and authorities. We discussed to what extent the system could and did allow or offer possibilities to modify the frontiers between territories, between male and female, between higher and lower, or between good and bad, and so on; if, why, and in which contexts newly created or 'forgotten' frontiers became connected with phenomena of instability and disorder; if the phenomenon of constructing frontiers was influenced by necessities of compromise.

The workshop provided an open forum to deal with these problems. Beside the traditional delivery of papers, we concentrated on the guided discussion about sources and their analysis, about research desiderata, and about methodological problems. Guests from Europe, Israel, and North America presented the results of their research. A number of our Ph.D. students contributed actively to the sessions.

In the following, we would like to present the list of contributors and their topics, the introduction to the workshop, and four selected papers that were delivered.

ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS AND
THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Ann Christys (Leeds): *Christian and Muslim Frontiers in Early Medieval Spain*

Márta Font (Pécs): *On the Frontiers of West and East: The Hungarian Kingdom and the Galician Principality in the Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries*

György Geréby (CEU): *Latins versus Greeks. Remarks on the Literature of the Theological Controversies*

Martin Hinterberger (Vienna): *Crossing Religious, Linguistic, and National Frontiers in Byzantium*

Richard Hoffmann (York, Ontario): *Eating over the Boundary: Food from Beyond Natural Local Ecosystems*

Tanya Ivanova (CEU): *From the Thracian Heroes to Saint George, or: Can a Pagan God Become a Saint?*

Gerhard Jaritz (CEU): *The Multiplicity of Frontiers. An Introduction*

John Klassen (Langley): *Shifting Frontiers in Gender Studies*

Aviad Kleinberg (Tel Aviv): *Crossing Over and Double Crossing Inter-Faith Frontiers*

Rossina Kostova (CEU): *From Secular to Monastic World: Where Was the Frontier and Who Crossed It in Tenth-Century Bulgaria?*

Benedek Láng (CEU): *True and False Astronomy in Late Medieval Scientific Discourse*

Elena Lemeneva (CEU): *Caffarini's 'Tractatus de stigmatibus', or Theory and Reality of Sanctity*

Kirill Levinson (Moscow): *The Official and the Private in the Sixteenth Century: A Conflict of Discourses?*

Istvan Perczel (CEU): *What Did Language and Language Frontier Mean in the Christian Oikumene (First to Tenth Centuries)?*

Zaroui Pogossian (CEU): *The Paulicians: Frontiers of Loyalty and Faith*

Daniel Power (Sheffield): *French Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages: Concepts and Realities*

Brigitte Rath (Vienna): *Borders Without Borderlines? Local Communication between Sopron and Wiener Neustadt in the Late Middle Ages*

Péter Szabó, Andrea Kiss, and Cristian Gaşpar (CEU): *Walking on the Boundaries: Theories and Practices of Perambulation*

Richard Unger (Vancouver): *The Sea*

Lívia Varga (Toronto): *Portrait Sculpture Without Frontiers: Reconsidering the Relief Portraits of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) and Queen Beatrix of Aragon*

Ian Wood (Leeds): *The Frontiers of the Cynocephali*

INTRODUCTION:
THE MULTIPLICITY OF FRONTIERS

Gerhard Jaritz

"In the Kingdom of Bosnia, there are three nations and religions: the old Bosnians of Roman Christian religion; the Serbs of Saint Paul's religion —meaning the Orthodox—and the true Turks. The Christians are allowed to keep their religion, their priests, churches and other habits. "[1] The author of this description, Benedict Curipeschitz, a Carinthian Slovene, who was sent to the Turkish Sultan with a message of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1530, did not deal in detail widi any other kind of religious or edinic differences in Bosnia. He just added one sign: The afore-mentioned Christians of both religions use the same dress as the Turks; the only difference is that *"the Christians wear their hair, and the hair of Turks is completely cut, and they are bald-headed. By that you recognize their difference." [2]* Albeit its seeming marginality, diis singular sign of difference certainly will have initiated clear influences and consequences for the readers or audiences of the text at home. Benedict Curipeschitz's report will have lead to the construction and perception of an easily recognizable negative connotation of the Turks and of a borderline to good Christians, determined by outer appearance: In Central European society bald-headedness was a sign of lower-class people, of criminals, or of some torturers and tormenters of Christ or martyred saints whom one knew from the images in the churches.[3] The 'small', but decisive difference of outer appearance defined and constructed die frontier between different peoples and religions, between their positive and negative perception.

The history of any kind of frontiers that are mentioned, described, or visualized in our sources is a history of concepts, terms and definitions,[4] of patterns of unity and diversity,[5] of differences and contrasts, of identities, of prestige and its

---

Benedict Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium oder Wegrayß Küniglich Mayestüt potschafft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türckischen Keiser Soleyman. Anno 1530,* ed. Gerhard Neweklowsky (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 1997), 56 f.

Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium,* 59.

[3]

Cf. *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung. Vom alten Orient bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter,* ed. Harry Kühnel (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1992), 98.

[4]

See Daniel Power, "Frontiers: Terms, Concepts, and the Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700,* eds. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (Houndsmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), 1-12.

See e. g., Robert Bartlett, "Patterns of Unity and Diversity in Medieval Europe," in *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. Brian Patrick McGuire, (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1996), 29-45.

hierarchies. Frontiers might have been seen as guarantors of stability but also could have become connected with phenomena of instability and disorder. They might have helped or might have disturbed.[6]

With regard to topics out of these fields of construction and deconstruction of medieval frontiers, historians are certainly asked to be particularly aware of some general problems of approaches towards the past, of source analysis and historiography in our society of today. Or, as Dominick La Capra once emphasized in another context:[7] "With respect to a critical and self-critical historiography, I maintain that there is, and ought to be, a tension between two related approaches .... The two exist in a tense and open dialectical relationship that may be negotiated with greater or lesser success. ... Each approach involves a claim about how to construe texts and implies how implausible it is to maintain that texts simply read themselves. These two approaches are contextualization in terms of the conditions of production and reception in the past, and dialogic exchange with texts in terms of an interaction between past and present with possible implications for the future." In our deconstructive reading of the sources we also have "to make manifest the hidden meanings that continue to lurk within the silences and absences that the text attempts, in vain, to impose."[8]

We are confronted with mental, cultural, political, ethnical, social, economic, religious, and several other sorts of frontiers. It seems to be obvious that we are concentrating on rather heterogeneous topics when trying to approach the field from a general, cross-disciplinary and contextualizing point of view. We are intending to deal with phenomena very different from each other, about which, however, authors and 'texts' (may they be written evidence, visual images or archeological material) sometimes obviously speak in similar ways, using equivalent patterns of arguments, particularly concerning identification, contrasts, or connotations. This is one of the main reasons why we have considered it appropriate and necessary to concentrate on the phenomenon of frontiers and their construction from such a general starting point. We are to deconstruct our texts in consciousness of the questions what those different frontiers in our minds might have had in common, and to what extent the different levels of meanings that exist within our texts followed common or similar patterns. We have to be aware of antagonism and cooperation, of diversity and closeness. We are interested in a "conglomerate" of heterogeneous phenomena, "in

---

[6] See Konrad Thomas, *Zugehörigkeit und Abgrenzung. Über Identitäten* (Frankfurt/Main: Syndikat, 1997), 84.

[7] Dominick La Capra, *Representing the Holocaust. History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 31 f.

[8] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 34.

relations of contrast and cooperation with some common features, changing over time, composing a complex dynamic structure of ... interchanges".[9]

Frontiers and frontier mentalities are to be seen in tight connection with identities and their construction.[10] Any kind of such construction of identities and of the adequate creation of frontiers should be viewed as a subjective process by which individuals and groups identified themselves or others within specific situations and for specific purposes. Thereby, different levels of power relationship might have played an important role in this context. Identities and frontiers, from political and ethnic ones to the mental, cultural, and to the social ones always were constructed and not simply born.

Already 1955, in a paper on "The Fontier in Medieval History" presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington, D. C., Charles Julian Bishko put the question: "The medieval frontier—frontier of what?"[11] Although he gave his paper mainly from a territorial point of view, I do think that his question has proved relevant for any kind of problem that we discuss in this field. To what extent does it seem to have been necessary to talk and to write about frontiers?. Were the medieval frontiers indispensable 'means and tools' to recognize and to identify oneself and others? We should never try to see specific frontiers and their role as something fixed and stable, but should always be aware that they might have been mobile and changeable, also ambivalent and ambiguous, dependent on certain situations, actions and actors, functions, needs, wishes, types and results of communication, modes of perception and creation, etc. [12]

In 1996, Brian Patrick McGuire published a conference report on *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages.* He was able to state in this volume that the addressed questions were not "merely academic."[13] The same can be

---

[9] Leif Søndergaard, "Diversity and Cultures in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1996), 272.

[10] Concerning identities and their historical analysis, see esp. Willem Frijhoff, "Identiteit en identiteitsbesef. De historicus en de spanning tussen verbeelding, benoeming en herkenning," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden,* CVII (1992), 614–634.

[11] URL: http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/kansas/aarhms/bishko.html.

[12] "Unas conclusiones abiertas al debate: Las fronteras come un organismo vivo y un fenómeno total" asking for "síntesis de formulación, percepción y creación. La fluidez entre ellas" (Emilio Mitre Fernández, "La Cristianidad medieval y las formulaciones fronterizas," in *Fronteras y fronterizos en la historia,* eds. Emilio Mitre Fernández et al. (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Instituto de Historia Simancas, 1997), 57.

[13] Brian Patrick McGuire, "Afterword. An Embarrassment of Identities," in *The Birth of Identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages,* ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1996), 360.

seen as valid for the topics and problems of our workshop. We certainly also may emphasize—concerning questions of frontiers in the past as well as in the present—that "they are the stuff of our lives and the lives of our children and grandchildren."[14]

Professor, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems
Jaritzg@ceu.hu, jaritz@oeaw.ac.at

---

[14] Mc Guire, "Afterword;" cf. Dan Power and Naomi Standen, "Preface," in *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700,* eds. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (Houndsmills: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), viii: "Frontiers are such a common and significant human phenomenon that there will always be room for a collection of ... studies which permit comparisons and contrasts between different frontiers to be made."

ON THE FRONTIERS OF WEST AND EAST: THE HUNGARIAN KINGDOM AND THE GALICIAN PRINCIPALITY BETWEEN THE ELEVENTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Márta Font

Dealing with the relationship of two states or other ethnic, political, or religious units always presupposes the existence of a frontier between them. But whether this frontier was just a symbolic one or an impenetrable dividing line, whether it separated or connected the people living on both sides of this boundary depended on the nature of the relations between them. Also, the role of the same frontier was not constant throughout the centuries, but changed according to the alterations of the conditions or the intentions of the rulers on both sides.

The following case study illustrates on the one hand the changeability of the relations and consequently that of the frontier's role. On the other hand, it also shows that—since the two states in question were themselves on the frontiers of West and East—the course of events was dependent not only on their internal situation, but also on a series of external factors. Interests of the papacy and of Orthodox Christianity; of countries and empires like those of Kievan Rus', Bulgaria, Poland, Bohemia and Moravia, Byzantium, and the Mongols—and their respective ruling dynasties—often collided along these lines. Each of them had a share in shaping the frontiers, not only in the geographical, but also in the religious and mental sense of the word. Therefore direct and indirect conclusions of the survey of relations between Hungary and Galicia can lead us beyond the boundaries of political history as well.

The Hungarian–Slavonic relations constitute an integral part of the history of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary; in fact they predate the existence of the medieval states in this territory. Hungarian and Slavic people were neighbours already prior to the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin. During the ninth century, eastern Slavic tribes were living along the middle reaches of the rivers Dneper and Dnester, near the territory of the Hungarians in the *Etelköz* area, with whom the independent tribal confederation of the Hungarians established contacts.[1]

Slavic peoples were living in the neighbourhood of the Hungarians in northern, eastern, southern, or south-western directions at the time of the Hungarian conquest and in the following centuries as well. Furthermore, we even find Slavs in

---

[1] *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, ed. S. H. Cross, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953), 62.

the West (*Charantani*), but there they soon became assimilated in consequence of the south-eastward Bavarian colonisation.[2] The importance of these relations was enhanced by the fact that the Slavs living in the Carpathian Basin at the time of the Hungarian conquest became constituents of the Hungarian ethnogenesis.[3]

The Slavonic peoples of the Carpathian Basin did not follow the same pattern in their conversion to Christianity. In Transdanubia they followed the Latin rite,[4] in the region east of the river Tisza and in southern Transylvania the Byzantine one.[5] We have evidence that Ajtony, the territorial prince *(dux)* of the Maros area maintained contacts with the Bulgarians. In the Orthodox monasteries of the region (e.g. Oroszlámos) there may have lived Slav monks as well.

A further meeting point with Orthodox influences was that the queens of Hungary were always escorted to the Hungarian royal court by the noblemen of their home country. Some of these noblemen may have been clergymen, and it is likely that a few of them decided to stay in Hungary. King Andrew I (1046–1060) founded the Basilite monastery of Visegrád for his wife Anastasia, daughter of Prince Jaroslav the Wise, who had been baptized according to the Eastern rite.[6] She later received further donations such as the abbey of Szávaszentdemeter (Sremska Mitrovica, Yugoslavia)[7] which steadily grew in wealth, even as late as under King Béla III (1172–1196) and received donations from abroad too. Nevertheless, in the following centuries Basilite monasteries in Hungary gradually diminished in

---

[2] Márta Font, "Hongrois et Slaves á l'époque arpadienne", *Les Hongrois et l'Europe–conquête et intégration,* ed. Sándor Csernus and Klára Korompay, (Paris–Szeged, 1999), 171–199.

[3] The Western sources of this period are edited in: *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Árpád descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI.* Collegit Albinus Franciscus Gombos, I–III. (Budapest, 1937–1938), Tomus IV. *Index,* composuit Csaba Csapodi, (Budapest, 1943). See also: István Kniezsa, "Magyarország népei a XI. században" (The people of Hungary in the eleventh century), in *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának 900. évfordulóján,* vol. II, (Budapest, 1938), 365–472; Imre H. Tóth, "Magyarok és szlávok a 9–11. században" (Hungarians and Slavs in the ninth-eleventh centuries), in *Árpád előtt és után,* ed. Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk, (Szeged, 1996), 75–84.

[4] Fritz Losek, *Conversio Bagoariorum et Caranthanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg,* MGH Studien und Texte, Bd. 15, (Hannover, 1997), 92; Györffy György, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his achievements), (Budapest, 1977), 67–81; Koszta László, "A kereszténység kezdetei és az egyházszervezés Magyarországon" (The beginnings of Christianization and church organization in Hungary), in *Az Államalapító,* ed. Gyula Kristó, (Budapest, 1988), 153–207.

[5] Györffy, "István király," 67–72; Koszta, "A kereszténység," 159; H. Tóth, "Magyarok és szlávok," 78–80.

[6] Imre H. Tóth, "Adalékok a korai magyar – szláv egyházi és kulturális kapcsolatok kérdéséhez" (Remarks on early Hungarian–Slavonic church and cultural connections), in *Fejezetek a régebbi magyar történelemből,* vol. I, ed. Ferenc Makk, (Budapest, 1981), 64.

[7] György Györffy, "A szávaszentdemeteri görög monostor XII. századi birtokösszeírása" (The property register of the Greek monastery in Szávaszentdemeter in the twelfth century), in *Az MTA Társadalmi – Történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei,* vols. 2–3 (1952–1953), 325–362, 69–104.

significance, perhaps as a result of the insufficient replacement of the monks. Finally they were merged into the Latin monasteries.

During the eleventh century, the Christian–Pagan antithesis was dominant for the Hungarians and Eastern Slavs alike. Learned clerics, such as Bruno of Querfurt or Bishop Gellért, were well aware of the fact that Christian confessional life in newly converted Hungary had many shortcomings. The implications of the schism of 1054, however, were reflected neither in Hungary nor in the Rus'. It can be proved by the strong dynastic links: the lack of insistence on the conversion of the marriage partners shows that both ruling houses considered themselves to be part of an undivided Christianity.[8] Sources showing an anti-Latin attitude for the early period are later compilations. "The Tale against the Latins" was a Church-Slavonic translation of the works of Greek theologians. The translation from the Greek original is proved by the name used for the Hungarians: the terms *"peons"/"paions"* are possibly simple borrowings of the "paions" used by twelfth-century Byzantine chroniclers.[9] The first text is from the fifteenth century; from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries we have different versions of this text. Generally, in pre-Mongol Rus' (before 1240) there was no hostility to the Latin rite–we can observe tolerance and even a modest interest in it.

The winds of change came in the second half of the twelfth century within the circle of clerics well educated in theology. This attitude was taken over by the royal court with a delay since the question of religious union was raised only in the reign of Andrew II. The urge for the union advocated by Innocent III and the thirteenth-century popes following his line were welcomed by the royal court because the idea of the union was in accordance with the policy of political expansion. The aim of the Roman Church was to extirpate the Bogumil heresy in the Balkans, to encourage the union with the schismatics in the north-east and convert the pagan Cumans. Consequently the expansions of the Hungarian kings in these directions enjoyed papal support. The anti-Byzantine attitude culminated in the sack of Constantinople (1204) which contributed to the emergence of a militant stand against Orthodoxy.[10]

Galicia–Volhynia, which had a common border with Hungary and Poland, had an experience of the thirteenth-century unionist policy; furthermore in the 1240s even Alexander Nevsky, prince of Vladimir, was approached by papal legates. The

---

[8]   Márta Font, "Magyarok és keleti szlávok az Árpád-korban. Adalékok a kapcsolatok egyháztörténeti hátteréhez" (Hungarians and Eastern Slavs in the Age of the Árpáds. Remarks on the Background of Church-historical Ties), in *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység*, vol. II, (Budapest–Szeged, 1998), 505–506.

[9]   Gyula Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai* (Byzantine Sources for the Hungarian History of the Age of the Árpáds) (Budapest, 1988), 194–246, 257–296.

[10]   John Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (London & New York, 1995), 96–103.

question of the union, however, seemed to be a distant problem, not provoking theological debates. The refusal of Nevsky, just like the provisional consent of Daniil of Galicia, was purely a matter of political decision. It had only become a crucial issue by the fifteenth century, i.e. the time around the council of Florence.[11] Accordingly, it invited a forceful reaction and made anti-Latin pamphlets widespread.

The Hungarian–East-Slavonic political ties constitute a special part of the Hungarian–Slavonic relations. Even if the Hungarian Kingdom belonged to Latin Christianity and the Kievan Rus' to Eastern Orthodoxy, political ties and cultural relations were continuous from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.[12]

Hungary's north-eastern neighbours in these centuries were the Kiev Rus and later the Galician Principality which was established after the dissolution of the Kievan state. Like many other states in Central and Eastern Europe, the people of the Kievan Rus' were converted to Christianity in the late tenth century (in 988), but in their case it was Byzantine or Greek Christianity.[13] The foundations of the Kiev state were laid by Grand Prince Vladimir (978–1015) and Jaroslav the Wise (1019–1054).[14] All we know about the relations of the Kievan Rus and Hungary from the time of Vladimir is that "he lived in peace with King Saint Stephen".[15] The escape of the sons of Vazul (Basil), King Stephen I's cousin who allegedly planned a revolt against the king, coincided with the reign of Jaroslav the Wise. Prince Béla, Vazul's youngest son, stayed in Poland whereas his two brothers, Andrew and Levente, fled to the Kievan Rus'.[16] They returned from there to Hungary in 1046 after they had received news about a pagan revolt.

In Kiev Andrew (the later King Andrew I) married one of the daughters of Jaroslav the Wise.[17] Andrew was probably baptized at the time of the wedding. Levente, however, practised paganism even after his return home. From the name Andrew and its early form Endre we can also suppose a baptism in Kiev since this

---

[11] Fennell, "A History..." 170–188.

[12] Martha Font, "Mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung in Ungarn und in der Kiewer Rus im Vergleich," *Ungarn- Jahrbuch*, Bd. 24, (München, 2000) (in press)

[13] The Primary Chronicle, 111–119.

[14] Simon Franklin–Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200*, (London & New York, 1996), 151–169, 184-188.; Márta Font, *Oroszország, Ukrajna, Rusz* (Russia, Ukraine, Rus) (Budapest, 1998), 41–50.

[15] The Primary Chronicle, 122.

[16] *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum ducum regumque Stirpis Arpadiane gestarum* vol. I, ed. Emericus Szentpétery, (Budapestini, 1937), 321, 344–345.

[17] *Scriptores*, 345.

form of the name derives from the Slavic "Andrej" (*Ondrej → Ondre → Endre). The name of the Kiev queen, the wife of Andrew I (Anastasia) is known only from a later source.[18] The names of their sons, Salamon and David, are very unusual in the first Hungarian royal dynasty, the Árpád dynasty, and must have been chosen by the queen. It was Anastasia who handed over "Attila's sword" to Emperor Henry III on Salamon's succession to the crown in 1063. In the first half of the eleventh century Vazul's younger brother, Szár László, also had a wife from the Rus but beside this fact nothing else is reported on her by the Hungarian chronicle.[19]

The increasing activity of the Cumanian *(Comani)* troops on the steppe and the problem of defence they created for both the Kievan princes and the Hungarian kings played, in all likelihood, an important role in the revival of dynastic contacts at the end of the eleventh century.[20] We have evidence from 1091 that one of King László I's (1077–1095) daughters was married to a prince of the Rus.[21] In the early twelfth century both Prince Álmos (1104)[22] and King Kálmán (Coloman) (1112)[23] married Kiev princesses. It was a consequence of the links to the Kiev Grand Prince that King Kálmán (1095–1116) dispatched an army beyond the pass of Verecke (the easternmost pass to Hungary through the Carpathians) for the first time (1099) when the Grand Prince of Kiev had asked for Kálmán's help against his rebellious subjects living along the frontier *(Peremisl)*. The latter were supported against Kálmán by Cumanian troops. This is why Kálmán's army suffered a defeat.[24] After Kálmán his son Stephen II (1116–1131) led troops to the Rus, this time against Volhynia *(Lodomeria)* (1123).[25]

From the 1120s onwards we can distinguish two lines of alliance between the Rus and the Árpád dynasty, one to the Kievan Grand Prince, and another to Galicia. Béla II (1131–1141) rather furthered Galician connections whereas his son Géza II (1141–1162) married Euphrosine from the family of the Grand Prince of Kiev. Géza II led altogether six campaigns to the Rus in favour of his brother-in-law between

---

[18] Ja. I. Shternberg, "Anastasia Jaroslavna, koroleva Vengrii" (Anastasia Jaroslavna, Queen of Hungary), *Voprosy istorii* 58 (1984), vol. 10, 180–184.

[19] *Scriptores*, 344.

[20] Márta Font, "Magyarok a Poveszty vremennih let-ben" (Hungarians in the Primary Chronicle), *In Memoriam Barta Gábor,* ed. István Lengvári, (Pécs, 1996), 39–51.

[21] *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima,* vol. I (1000–1131), ed. Georgius Györffy, (Budapestini, 1992), 268.

[22] The Primary Chronicle, 202.

[23] Font, "Magyarok a Poveszty vremennih let-ben," 51.

[24] Font, "Magyarok a Poveszty vremennih let-ben," 50.; Scriptores, 423–426.

[25] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkih Letopisej. Ipatevskaya Letopis* (Concise Collection of Russian Chronicles. The Ipat'ev Chronicle), Vol. II, (Moskva, 1962), 285–288; see also: *Scriptores*, 437.

1148 and 1152, twice commanding his troops personally. In most cases Géza's soldiers supported his brother-in-law, Yzyaslav, against Vladimirko, Prince of Galicia. We have evidence from the beginning of Géza's reign (1144), however, that he sided with the prince of Galicia, Vladimirko. In the autumn of 1150, when the Hungarian army was led by the king against Galicia, Vladimirko gained supporters among the Hungarian noblemen who persuaded Géza to retreat. The military campaign of 1152 ended in a similar way.[26] The annals summarize the events in the following way:

After the exchange of messages the army of Yzyaslav went to meet the Hungarians who were led by the king again. The two armies met at the river San at Peremisl. After this, the events of 1150 repeated themselves: Vladimirko was expelled and shut himself up in the castle of Peremisl. From there he sent a message to the Hungarian archbishop and the commanders, reminding Géza of his service to his father King Béla II back in 1135 when he fought against the Poles who supported Béla's enemies. With sending gifts Vladimirko managed to divide the Hungarian camp, so Géza decided not to make use of his victory.

Yzyaslav and his Russian allies wanted to confiscate Vladimirko's lands but following the advice of King Géza and the Hungarian nobles they contented themselves with the oath he took on the cross of King Saint Stephen but which he later disregarded. Géza departed with the promise that he would fight against Vladimirko again if necessary, but it never came to that. The narration of these events in the Ypat'ev chronicle differs from that in the Lavrent'ev codex. According to the corrected version, Géza was the first ally to reach the river San, from where Vladimirko fled and begged for peace. Thereafter, the armies of the Hungarian king and Yzyaslav united and defeated Vladimirko who locked himself up in the castle of Peremisl again. Although in reality he fled and asked for peace twice, the Ypat'ev chronicle merges these into one.[27]

Géza's policy was highly controversial. He became an ally of the Kievan grand prince and yet did not sever relations with his enemy, the prince of Galicia. The episode discussed above makes it clear that Géza II only committed himself to side with Yzyaslav for a short time while abandoning his former ally, the prince of Galicia, whom he had supported in 1144. His wars against Byzantium (1149–1155) and in the Rus give proof that the interpretation of the military campaigns cannot be

---

[26] *Polnoe sobranie*, 360-461.; Martha Font, "Politische Beziehungen zwischen Ungarn und der Kiewer Rus' im 12. Jh.," *Ungarn – Jahrbuch*, Bd. 18, (München, 1990), 1–18.

[27] *Polnoe sobranie*, 446–454; Font, "Magyarok a Kijevi Évkönyvben", 220–257; I. G. Berezhkov, *Khronologia russkogo letopisania* (The Chronology of Russian Chronicle-writing) (Moskva, 1963), 155–156.

restricted to bilateral links but rather has to be extended to the larger context of Hungarian–Byzantine relations; furthermore, the events must be considered as part of European politics.[28]

The second son of Géza II and Euphrosine was King Béla III (1172–1196) who was the first to try to establish an independent rule in Galicia (1188).[29] Béla's idea was to place his own son, Andrew, as prince of this territory, instead of the Galician Vladimir who had been driven away. The fights of Béla III in Galicia (spring 1188–summer 1189) were the first decisive steps towards the Hungarian expansion in Galicia. King Béla had several reasons for his intervention. He not only received a prince begging him for aid, but through his mother he was closely related to the ruling family of the Rus. In our view, this could hardly have been the only decisive factor explaining Béla's expansionist policy towards Galicia, but it did serve as a necessary means to legitimate his intentions.

From the text of the Ipat'ev Chronicle we can draw the conclusion that Béla III was deeply versed in the customs of the Rus. Wanting to stabilize the Hungarian rule in Galicia, Béla III followed Russian customs. First of all he tried to win the favour of the Galician noblemen: "he gave everything the Galicians needed." This was similar to the efforts of Roman, the Volhynian Prince: "he sent messages to the Galicians without any fear," which means that he wanted to increase the number of those supporting him in advance as was a common practice among all of the Rus. After having secured the support of the Galician ruling circles for himself, the Hungarian King sent envoys to the Grand Duke of Kiev.

Later on, legates arrived from Kiev to meet the Hungarian king and to continue the negotiations. Their leader was Gleb Sv'atoslavich, the son of the Grand Duke. As regards the content of the negotiations, we can only rely on indirect information. The Grand Duke of Kiev, Sv'atoslav, is likely to have accepted the Galician rule of Béla III or rather that of his son, Prince Andrew. This assumption is based on the fact that the Hungarian King left and that reproaches were addressed to Sv'atoslav by the "co-regent" Rurik Rostislavich. Béla III must have entered into some sort of contract *(r'ad)* with the Galicians as well, because they accepted him as

---

[28] Berezhkov, *Khronologia*, 147–149; Gyula Pauler, "II. Géza orosz–görög háborúi (1148–1156)" (Russian and Greek Wars of King Géza II between 1148 and 1156), *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 3 (1890): 1–19, 273–338; Gyula Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi* (The Wars of the Age of the Árpáds) (Budapest, 1986), 81–88; Ferenc Makk, *Magyar külpolitika 896 –1196* (The Foreign Policy of Hungary between 896–1196) (Szeged, 1993), 160–161.

[29] *Polnoe sobranie*, 659–667; Font, "Magyarok a Kijevi Évkönyvben," 292–311.

their prince. The hostages mentioned later may have served as a guarantee for the treaty.[30]

Yet Béla did not succeed: Andrew had to flee; but even if his experiences from this period were not encouraging for him, he was the next king to continue the Hungarian expansion in Galicia. After his succession to his father's throne in 1205 he devoted decades to expanding his authority into Galicia. His methods were varied, sometimes supporting allied princes in the Rus or thinking in terms of a Polish alliance, sometimes leading a military campaign alone. First, around 1214/15 he had one of his sons, Kálmán (Coloman) crowned prince of Galicia with a crown he received from the pope. Later he would have preferred to establish the authority of his other son Andrew as a prince. In spite of all his efforts, King Andrew's expansionist efforts to the north-east bore no fruit. Promoting the papal aims for a church union was rather disadvantageous for him since these aims were fiercely opposed in Galicia.[31]

It was also a consequence of the relations between Galicia and Hungary[32] that Prince Daniil Romanovich (b. around 1201, d. in 1264), who had lost his father and was still under age, was brought up between 1205 and 1211 at the court of Andrew II. His father was Prince Roman Mstjislavich who was the first to unite Galicia and Volhynia in 1199, thereby creating a principality of considerable size in the south-western part of the Kiev Rus.

The unification of Galicia and Volhynia, however, did not last long, because Prince Roman died in 1205 in the battle against the Poles at Zawichost.[33] The "protection" of the four years old Daniil and his two-year-old brother, Vasilko—as persons who "had the right"[34] to the title of Prince of Galicia and Volhynia—was simultaneously the aim of the Polish Prince Leszek the White, of Andrew II, King of Hungary, and of some of the Galician *boyar* groups. Daniil received a *volost'*, i.e. an income of his own *(Berest'e)* in 1218 when he came of age. From then on he can be regarded as a ruling prince. Between 1218 and 1238 he managed to expand his authority to his *otchina*, i.e. the territory his father had ruled. Furthermore, his

---

[30] Márta Font, "Szempontok III. Béla halicsi hadjáratainak kronológiájához" (Remarks on the Chronology of the Galician Campaigns of Béla III), in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica*, t. LXXXIV, (Szeged, 1987), 45–50; Márta Font, "Magyar–orosz politikai kapcsolatok a 12. században" (Hungarian–Russian Political Ties in the Twelfth Century), *Aetas*, Szeged 6 (1995) vol. 3: 53–57.

[31] Font, "Magyarok és keleti szlávok az Árpád-korban. Adalékok" 497–506.

[32] *Polnoe sobranie*, 715–774.

[33] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. III, ed. A. Bielowski (Lwów, 1878), 162–163.

[34] About the power of the old-Russian princes see: Font, "Oroszország, Ukrajna, Rusz," 78–84.

achievements exceeded those of his father's, for in the fights against the princes of Chernigov he seized even the former "capital", Kiev, by 1238.[35]

Between 1235 and 1240 King Béla IV (1235–1270), King Andrew's son and successor, placed a small army at the disposal of Daniil.[36] The Mongol invasion was a turning point in his relations to Daniil, when the princes of Chernigov fled to Hungary and laid claim to Galicia. One of them, Rostislav, received help from King Béla IV in the second half of the 1240s, but in 1249 they were defeated.[37] Following this, Rostislav married King Béla IV's daughter, Anna; and settling down in Hungary, he became the first Ban of Macsó (Mačva, a territorial unit south of the River Sava).[38]

Daniil's successes in conquering a significant part of southern Rus were swept away by the Mongols in 1240–42 and by the following anarchy in the 1240s. By the end of the decade he managed to break the separatism of the boyars and to thwart the Hungarian expansionist efforts.[39] From 1250 onwards, the Mongols made increasing demands. Daniil went to Batu like a "pilgrim" and by demolishing the fortified settlements once built along the southern borders of the principality he became an ally of the Mongols.[40]

At the same time he concluded a peace with the Hungarian king, they married Béla's daughter, Konstancia, to Daniil's son, Lev, and thus the Prince of Galicia enjoyed the friendship of his western neighbours." With the mediation of Béla, Daniil's other son, Roman, married Gertrud, the heiress of the Babenbergs as a niece of the deceased Frederic II. This is why he became one of Béla's supporters on the western frontier during the wars with Ottokar Přemysl, Margrave of Moravia and later king of Bohemia, for the Babenberg succession and heritage.

In the background of the alliance of Daniil and Béla there was a common fear of a renewed Mongol attack. Daniil understood that he could resist the Mongol pressure only through significant military assistance from abroad. He only regarded the alliance with the Mongols as a matter of tactics, and he would have preferred to

---

[35] V.T. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoy Rusi* (Essays on the History of the Galician-Volhynian Rus) (Moskva, 1950), 16–78.

[36] *Polnoe sobranie*, 774–778, 785–786.

[37] *Polnoe sobranie*, 795–805.

[38] Mór Wertner, *Boris und Rostislav. Beitrag zur Geschichte der russisch-polnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen* (Berlin,1889).

[39] *Polnoe sobranie*, 795–805.

[40] M. Zhdan, "The Dependence of Halyc-Volyn on the Golden Horde," *Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1957): 505–522.

[41] Toru Senga, "IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett "tatár"-levele" (The Foreign Policy of Béla IV and His "Tartar" Letter to Pope Innocent IV) , *Századok* 120 (1987): 584–611.

receive help from the West. This was why he accepted the crown from Pope Alexander IV in 1254 and was willing to acknowledge the church union.[42] This also explains why he was the only one to have the title of a king *(rex)* among the eastern Slavs. But since the hopes of neither party were fulfilled, Daniil had to make a deal with the Mongols even in spite of the crown, which involved paying tax and sending auxiliary troops to the Mongol army. Finally, Lev, Daniil's son, put an end to the relations of the Galician Principality with the Hungarian–Polish alliance and his troops aided by Mongols appeared in 1285 under the walls of Cracow.[43]

In the late thirteenth century the contacts between Hungary and her neighbours in the north-east became less intensive, mainly due to Hungarian internal politics. At the same time Galicia was reduced by the Mongols to a dependent status and Volhynia was conquered by the Lithuanians.[44]

As a result of all these events, after the thirteenth century the role of the frontier between Hungary and Galicia changed. The kings of Hungary retained the title "King of Galicia and Lodomeria" among their official titles, but they looked upon these territories from a different viewpoint. Through dynastic links and through the more intensive expansion of the European commercial network into the Carpathian basin, Hungary became integrated more into the western than into the eastern half of the continent. Therefore its ties with the Eastern Slavs were also restructured and subordinated to these interests.

Professor, Janus Pannonius University, Pécs
Department of Medieval and Early Modern History
Font@btk.jpte.hu

---

[42] Günther Stökl, "Das Fürstentum Galizien-Wolhynien," in *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands,* vol. I, 516–526; the sources: *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia,* vol. I, 28–45.

[43] *Polnoe sobranie,* 895.

[44] Bronisław Włodarski, *Polska i Rus' 1194–1340* (Poland and the Rus), (Warszawa, 1966); F. M. Sabul'do, *Zemli Yugo-zapadnoy Rusi v sostave Velikogo Knazhestva Litovskogo* (The South-western Territory of the Rus as a Component of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) (Kiev, 1987); *Istoriya Ukrayny,* ed. V.A. Smolyj, (Kiev, 1997), 57–64.

FROM THE SECULAR TO THE MONASTIC WORLD WHERE WAS THE FRONTIER AND WHO CROSSED IT IN TENTH-CENTURY BULGARIA?

Rossina Kostova

In a testament thought to have been written in 941 by the most prominent of the medieval Bulgarian hermits, St John of Rila, who is said to have founded a monastery on the mountain of Rila, in southwestern Bulgaria, in c. 930-31, we find the following statement:[1] "As soon as you have come out of die world, do not go back, neither widi your body, nor with your mind, for, as it is said, 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of Heaven' (Luke 9:62). The Apostle [Paul] too, however, teaches us to 'forget what lies behind and strain forward to what lies ahead' (Phil. 3:13). What does 'forgetting those things which are behind' mean, my children? Nothing else except to deliver to oblivion all those diings which, coming out of the world for God's sake, we have left and despised, and to strive towards the feat which lies before us, to which we were called by our taskmaster, our most gracious God and Lord Jesus Christ, who has enabled us to endure his gentle yoke, 'For his yoke is easy, and his burden is light' (Matt.ll:30)."[2]

I chose this quotation not because of its originality, but on the contrary, because of its casualness. With variations in time and space, one can find the same *topos* of leaving behind worldly diings in Lives and testaments telling the story of anchorites and monastic founders.[3] The emphasis put on the complete break of links with the outside world does not leave any doubts that those who undertook die decisive step from the secular to the monastic world truly crossed a clearly-outlined, actual, and even visible frontier.

But did all who attempted the steep and glorious way from worldly things, "left and despised", to die 'feat' of contemplation, pass through one and the same frontier? To answer this question I have chosen to undertake a case-study based on two burial inscriptions of monks who lived and died in tenth-century Bulgaria.

---

[1] For the most thorough interpretation of the life and deeds of St John of Rila see: Iv. Duj ev, *Rilskijat svetets i negovala obitel* (The Rila saint and his monastery) (Sofia: Zlat n klas, 1947).

[2] The English translation of the Testament is quoted according to: *Testament* of John of Rila. Trans. Ilija Iliev. In *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and testaments,* eds. John Thomas and Angela Constatinides Hero. Now available on http://www.doaks.org/typOOO.html.

[3] See the most recent account on the trends in Byzantine monasticism in R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium 843-1118* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7-120.

Anthony of Krepča

The first inscription is found in the rock monastery of Krepča, Tărgovište district, 75 km northwest of Preslav, the capital of Bulgaria from 893 to 970. The monastery is arranged on two terraces of the rocky massive *Hende burunu* and includes cells, a church, and a funerary chapel, all cut into the rock.[4] The inscription is incised in Cyrillic on the right side of the entrance of the funerary chapel (Fig. 1): *"In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Here lies the body of the holy father Anthony. †. And who will ever turn the church into a granary let him answer to the Lord. Unworthy Mikhail wrote this. Amen."* The date of the death of the 'holy father Anthony' becomes clear from another inscription carved into the right of the entrance of the main church which is placed west of the funerary chapel (Fig. 2): *"In 6430 [=921 AD] in October on the day [...] died the servant of God Anthony..."*[5] However, it remains uncertain, which of the three tombs found in the funerary chapel accommodated the remains of Anthony.[6]
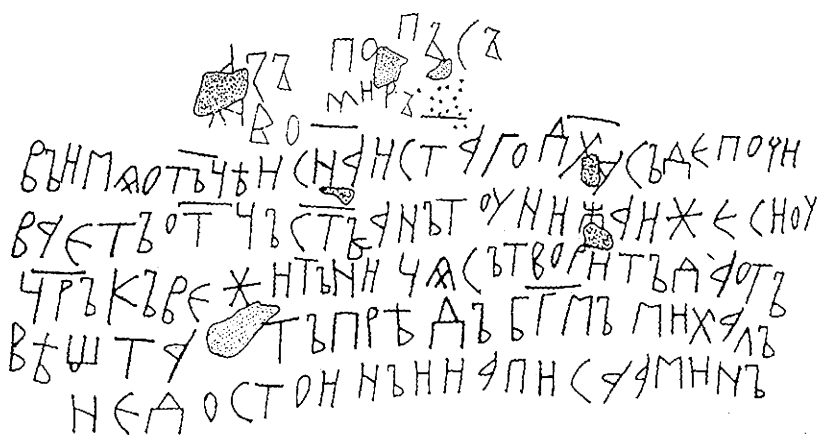

Fig. 1. Facsimile of the burial inscription of Anthony at the entrance of the funerary chapel of Krepča (after K. Popkonstantinov).

[4] K. Škorpil, *Opis na starinite po tečenieto na reka Rusenski Lom* (A description of the antiquities along the river of Rusenski Lom) (Sofia: Dăržavna pečatnitsa, 1914), 21–23, 102–104, figs. 81. 82; K. Popkonstantinov, "Dva starobălgarski nadpisa ot skalnija manastir pri s. Krepča" (Two Old Bulgarian inscriptions in the rock monastery near Krepča , Tărgovište district) *Arheologija* (Sofia) 3 (1977): 19.

[5] The text of the inscriptions is quoted according to the reading by K. Popkonstantinov, "Dva starobălgarski nadpisa," 19–25; K. Popkonstantinov, O. Kronsteiner, *Altbulgarische Inschriften*. Vol. 1, in *Die Slawischen Sprachen* 36 (1994): 47, 49. The English translation is by the present author.

[6] K. Popkonstantinov, "Dva starobălgarski nadpisa," 19, n. 3.
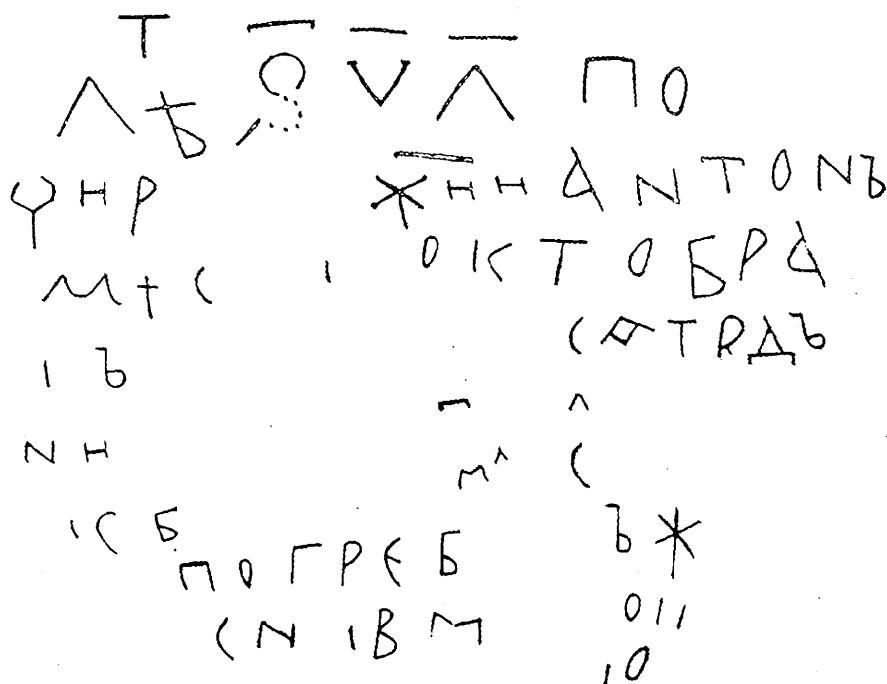
Fig. 2. Facsimile of the dated burial inscription of Anthony at the entrance
of the main church of Krepča (after K. Popkonstantinov).

Mostič of Preslav

The other monk's burial inscription is found in a building complex in Preslav. The
inscription is incised in Cyrillic on a rectangular slab of local gray limestone which
covered a brick-wall and a stone-paved tomb located along the northern exterior
wall of a cross-in-square church.[7] The inscription runs as follows (Fig. 3):[8]

---

[7] The slab has the following dimensions: 1.03 m length, 0.58 m width of the upper edge and 0.55 m width of
the lower edge: S. Stančev, "Nadgrobnijat nadpis na čărgubilja Mostič ot Preslav" (The burial inscription of
ičirgu-boilas Mostič) in *Nadpisăt na čărgubilja Mostič* (Sofia: BAN, 1955), 4–5.

[8] The text of the inscription is quoted according to the reading of Vera Ivanova, "Nadpisăt na Mostič i
preslavskijat epigrafski material" (The inscription of Mostič and the epigraphic material from Preslav) in
Nadpisăt na čărgubilja Mostič, 52. The English translation is by the present author.

Here lies Mostič
who was *ičirgu-boilas*
in the time of Tsar Symeon
and in the time of Tsar Peter

And when he was 80 years old,
he left his office of *ičirgu-boilas*
and all his property, became a
monk, and ended his life as such.
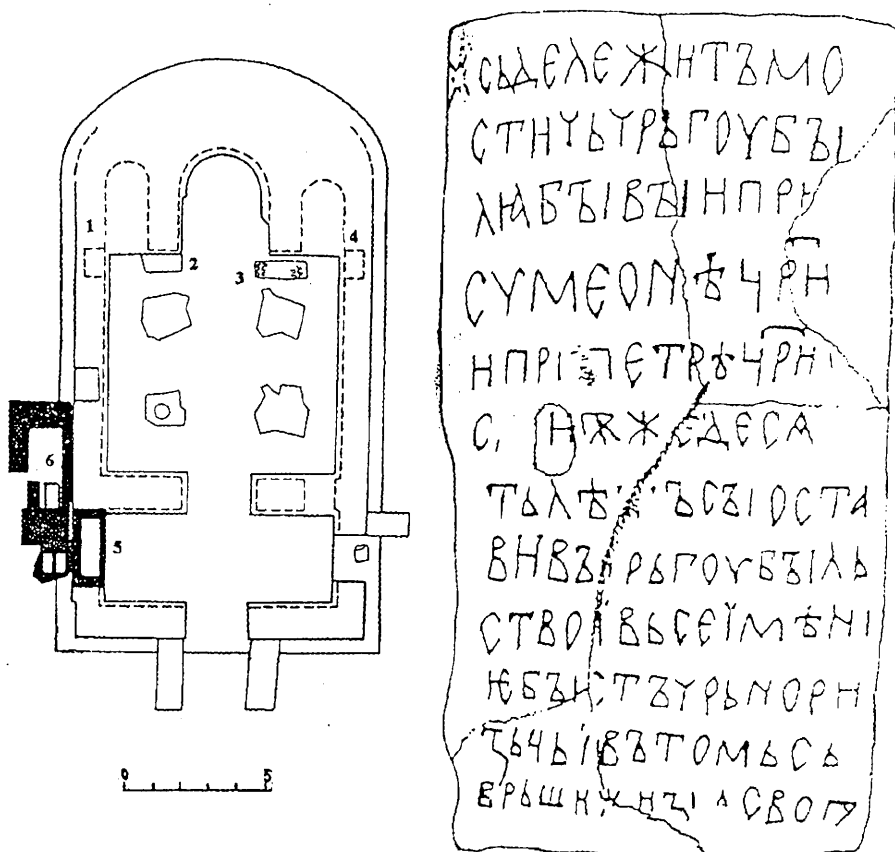
Fig. 3. Plan of the church of Mostič and facsimile of the burial inscription of Mostič
(after K. Popkonstantinov). 1–5-tombs; 6-tomb of Mostič.

Although the inscription does not bear a date, on the basis of the time period of the two tsars whom Mostič served, it is suggested that he might have died in the 960–970s.[9] The approximate late tenth-century date of the inscription is further confirmed by paleographic analysis.[10]

Apparently, the two inscriptions, identical in function though different in content, are related to people sharing a similar fate: people who crossed the frontier between the secular and monastic world, became monks, and died as such. But was the frontier common or personal? A comparison of the data provided by the inscriptions may help us to define the spatial and social aspect of the frontier which Anthony and Mostič had both crossed.

Status in secular life

The secular status of Anthony and Mostič is the necessary starting point in defining the frontier they passed to the religious life. As can be seen, the burial inscription of Anthony does not provide any hints about his secular life. It might be either that "unworthy Mikhail" who made the inscription did not know anything about Anthony's past as a layman, or that he did not consider this past important enough to be mentioned in the burial inscription of the monk. Whatever the case, it seems very likely that Anthony completely broke off his personal relations with the lay world and most probably he never remembered it in his monastic life.

On the other hand, the burial inscription of Mostič summarizes and even emphasizes the secular status of the buried monk. We learn that Mostič was *ičirgu-boilas*, that is *intimus* of the Bulgarian rulers and a high-ranking military officer. Apparently, the person who made the inscription knew Mostič quite well and found it very important to provide all the basic details concerning his lay status. What might be concluded on the basis of this peculiarity in the inscription is that Mostič died soon after he took his monastic vow, so that his secular past was still very close in time. Moreover, the lay status of Mostič was probably well known and respected by the people who surrounded him in his last days as a monk. So how did Anthony and Mostič cross the frontier to the religious world?

---

[9] Tsar Symeon ruled the state between 893 and 927, and his son and successor to the throne, Peter, ruled from 927 to 969.

[10] S. Stančev, "Nadgrobnijat nadpis," 15; V. Ivanova, "Nadpisăt na Mostič," 100–102; K. Popkonstantinov, O. Kronsteiner, *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 185.

Passing the frontier

We cannot say anything definite about the way and circumstances in which Anthony became a monk, since we do not know whether he was a peasant, a soldier, or an aristocrat. If he had any property, apparently he had abandoned it and moved to the rocky hill. As for Mostič, the inscription informs us that together with his service he left all his property when taking the monastic vow. However, we can only guess what was behind the phrase "left his property" and the most reasonable suggestion would be that Mostič had left his personal property to the monastery he went to. For instance, in Byzantium at least since the end of the eighth century it was a common practice for people taking a monastic vow to donate their property to the monasteries they entered.[11] So, let us see now what kind of monasteries Anthony and Mostič went to.

The monastery

The locations of the monasteries in which the two monks lived and were subsequently buried reveal important differences in the spatial characteristics of the frontier they passed between the secular and monastic world. Anthony's monastery was arranged on a rocky hill somewhere in the countryside of tenth-century Bulgaria. Thus, both in topography and structure, the rock monastery was totally different from the general type of medieval settlements. Indeed, at first sight the rocky hill perfectly matched "the desert" which hermits were seeking to follow "the true life for God." But the warning about the church turning into a granary shows that "the desert" was rather more imaginary than real. The fact is that in close proximity to the rock monastery, only 2.5 km west of it, a cemetery developed between the tenth and thirteenth centuries which has been excavated. Moreover, 500 m southwest of the monastery a fortress is situated which was also functioning in the tenth century, as is evident from the seal of Tsar Symeon found there.[12] Thus, the monastic haven of Anthony, though uncommonly located and arranged, was situated close to the secular world.

In contrast to Anthony's cave monastery, the complex where the tomb of Mostič is placed is situated in the eastern part of the Outer town of Preslav, a zone

---

[11] J. P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 24 (Washington D. C., 1987), 145.

[12] K. Popkonstantinov, "Kăm văprosa za otšelničeskite praktiki v Bălgarija prez X vek: sv. Antoni ot Krepča i sv. Joan Rilski" (To the question of anchorite practice in Bulgaria in the tenth century: the holy father Anthony from Krepča and St John of Rila) in *Svetogorska obitel Zograf* (Sofia) 3 (1999): 153.

interpreted in the context of the urban topography of the capital as a residential quarter of high-ranking secular officers, where they lived and performed their services.[13]

The practice

The type of monastic practice followed by Anthony and Mostič also sheds light on the frontier between the secular and religious lives. Unfortunately, in neither cases is there any surviving *typikon* or other written evidence on the basis of which one can judge the type of monastic practice which was followed. Only the layout and the architectural remains of the complexes may provide some hints.

Although not much of the arrangement of the cells has survived and despite the lack of thorough archaeological investigations of the rock monastery of Anthony, it can be suggested that the monks there may have been organized in a type of *lavra*, spending the contemplative part of their lives in private and gathering only for the common services in the main rock church situated on the lower terrace of the hill.[14]

As for the complex where Mostič was buried, it has all the features of a lay household, an *oikos*, consisting of five rows of buildings, which enclose a church (the so-called "church of Mostič") to the west, north and east. Such a layout would have served perfectly the needs of a coenobitic community.[15] Indeed, the building history of the complex reveals a transformation from a lay into a monastic foundation, which took place between the ninth and the tenth centuries.[16] Unfortunately, the functions of the five buildings around the church remain almost completely obscure, and important elements of the monastery's structure, such as the *trapeza* and the cells, cannot be identified at the present stage of excavations.

---

[13] R. Rašev, "Kăm topografijata na Preslav prez X v." (On the topography of Preslav in the tenth century) in *Preslav* 4 (Sofia: Voennoizdatelski kompleks "Sv. Georgi Pobedonosets", 1993), 52–53.

[14] For the lavriotic monasticism see: D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au Xie siècles," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 32 (1974): 158–82; Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 18–33; R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, 38–63; J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 32 (Washington, D. C., 1995), 57–137; 203–29.

[15] On the similarity in layout between aristocratic houses and coenobitic monasteries in Byzantium see: P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*" in *The Byzantine Aristocracy Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries*. Ed. M. Angold. BAR International Series 221 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 95.

[16] The excavations led by Kazimir Popkonstantinov in 1982–1987 identified four main phases in the development of the monastic site. The 'church of Mostič' belonged to the third of these. I would like to thank Professor Popkonstantinov for providing me with the still unpublished documentation of his excavations.

However, the appearance of the "church of Mostič" as a dominant architectural element supports the monastic identification of the complex. In addition, the burial structures related to the church provide further evidence.[17] In the first place, the tombs planned inside the church from the start define its function as an ossuary-church. Secondly, the location of the four tombs for secondary burials in the eastern part of the nave imply a context more specific than that of a family or parish church. Thirdly, the temporary accommodation of holy relics in the northernmost tomb in the nave, as is evident from the eight roof tiles inscribed with saints' names found there, indicate the importance of the church because of which the relics were brought there.[18] This importance certainly increased after their depositing. Finally, the tomb of a monk designated by a burial inscription found *in situ*, that is the tomb of Mostič, seems to add the strongest evidence for the monastic interpretation of the church and the complex.

However, it should be noted that the dimensions of the tomb (0.76 m long, 0.45 m wide and 0.50 m deep), and the position of the bones which are almost piled up, undoubtedly indicate that Mostič was reburied there.[19] Moreover, the tomb of Mostič was not originally planned but later attached to the church.[20] The fact that Mostič was reburied in the tomb may provoke some suspicions that although he died as a monk, he was buried somewhere else. We can point to the case of Roman Lecapenos who died in 984 in exile as a monk but whose body was transferred from the island of Prote to the family church of Myrelaion in Constantinople and reburied there.[21] Apparently the case of Mostič is different, since, according to the inscription, it seems that he left his office and property at a considerable age. In such cases a burial and commemoration in a monastery would have been the desired

---

[17] Four tombs for reburial were planned and constructed in the course of the construction of the church: two in the southeastern and the other two in the northeastern part of the nave. Furthermore, a built tomb for primary burial was planned and constructed on the northern side of the narthex. In addition, outside, along the northern wall of the church there was attached a burial chamber, which accommodated the tomb of Mostič: S. Stančev, "Nadgrobnijat nadpis," 3–4; V. Ivanova, "Nadpisăt na Mostič," 49–51.

[18] The names of the saints incised on the tiles are the following: Jonah, St Barbara, St Symeon the Stylite, St Polycarp, St Eustratius, St Cyprian, SS Cyrus and John, and St Mary of Antioch: V. Ivanova, "Nadpisăt na Mostič," 50, 89–97.

[19] For the discussion on the function of the tomb of Mostič see: S. Stančev, "Nadgrobnijat nadpis, " 5; V. Ivanova, "Nadpisăt na Mostic," 49; M. Balan, P. Boev, "Antropologično izsledvane na skeleta na čărgubilja Mostič," 157; S. Mihajlov, "Părvično li e pogrebenieto na Mostič" (Is the burial of Mostič primary ?) *Arheologija* 1 (1962): 76–77; K. Popkonstantinov, "Văprosi okolo groba i nadpisa na čărgubilja Mostič" (Questions on the grave and inscription of Mostič) in *Pliska-Preslav*, vol. 5 (Šumen: Hermes & Hermes, 1992), 269–70.

[20] S. Stančev, "Nadgrobnijat nadpis," 5.

[21] C. L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 6.

spiritual reward.[22] Therefore, it can be concluded that Mostič was both buried and reburied in the monastery in the eastern part of the Outer town of Preslav.

The monastic status of Anthony and Mostič

Their status in monastic life is the only aspect in which the burial inscription of Anthony is more precise and informative than that of Mostič. The most indicative point in Anthony's inscription is the designation "holy father." As noted by Rosemary Morris, in Byzantine hagiographic tradition the appellation *hosios pater* (holy father) is most frequently applied to *lavriotes* who were renowned as monastic founders and spiritual leaders.[23] In addition, the arrangement of the tomb in a funerary chapel as well as the incision of the two inscriptions about Anthony's death and burial at the entrances of the two churches of the rock monastery imply that he was a highly respected member of the lavriotic community, most probably its head if not the founder himself.

In contrast, the burial inscription of Mostič tells that he simply became a monk. In addition, the fact that his remains were reburied can be interpreted in the sense that Mostič was treated like the other monks, the remains of whom were buried in the four tombs in the nave. But the more specific status of Mostič is indicated by the fact that he was reburied in a separate tomb intended to accommodate only his remains, as is evident from the lid with the burial inscription. In this context it should be noted that the reburial of highly respected monks and abbots is well documented in hagiographic texts from the Middle Byzantine period: for instance, according to the Lives of Theophanes the Confessor and Theodore Studites, their bodies were moved to their final tombs a year after their deaths.[24]

Can we suggest then, how high the status of Mostič in the monastic community was? Can we assume that he was an abbot? I think that there is not enough reason for such a suggestion.[25] As noted in the inscription, Mostič became a

---

[22] R. Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries*, 117–18, 122.

[23] R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, 88–89. For the use of the terms *pater, abbas, hegoumenos* for monastic founders and heads of communities in early monastic writings see also: J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 14–15, 170.

[24] D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period" *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (henceforth GOThR) 29/2 (1984): 132.

[25] It has to be noted that an argument for the high clerical status of Mostič is a tomb found empty 3.5 m north of the apse of the church. It is interpreted as the primary tomb of Mostič for two reasons. First, the dimensions of the brick tomb (2.10 x 0.50 x 0.42 m) correspond to two slabs with the size of the slab of the burial inscription of Mostič; and second, the peculiar trapezoid concavity designed at the bottom of the tomb, which reminds us of the Byzantine custom of burying high-ranking clerics, i. e. bishops ands abbots, in a sitting

monk after reaching eighty, and the anthropological analysis has also shown that the buried person was indeed between seventy and ninety years old. In other words, Mostič died relatively soon after taking a monastic vow and it is hard to imagine that a man of such a high age and in a physical condition of progressing arthritis would have been able to go through all stages of the *megaloschemata* and even to have been appointed an abbot.[26]

In this case, it might be that the distinctive arrangement of the tomb of Mostič was a way of honoring Mostič as a founder of the monastery. The arrangement of the tomb in a chamber or small chapel can be compared to the tomb of the *ktetor* Isaac Komnenos at the *Kosmosoteira* monastery. In fact, Komnenos' tomb was arranged in something like an extension of the narthex of the church, a kind of a chamber where, according to the will of the *ktetor*, the monks had to assemble and to pray for his soul after Vespers.[27] The fragments of a grave-lamp, found in the ruins above the tomb of Mostič, indicate a similar function of the chamber where the tomb was located.[28]

However, the interpretation of the tomb of Mostič as that of a founder is made unlikely by two facts. The first is that the chamber with the grave was added to the church, and the second is that Mostič was reburied but not originally buried there. This arrangement seems quite strange since if Mostič was a founder, he would have had the privilege to arrange his tomb for a primary burial like the tombs inside the church and particularly the primary tomb in the narthex were planned and constructed.

In this case there are three possible interpretations. The first would be that Mostič died unexpectedly before the construction of the chamber had been completed and therefore, he had to be buried temporarily somewhere. Indeed, Lives of monk-saints and founders point out that the need for time to build a tomb in a proper place was the main reason for burying respected members of the communities in temporary places.[29]

---

position. However, it has to be admitted that these two characteristics of the tomb northeast of the church are not sufficient to prove the primary burial of Mostič there: K. Popkonstantinov, "Văprosi okolo groba," 268–71; J. Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs: Care of the Deceased from Death to Prothesis" *GOThR* 29/2 (1984): 55.

[26] M. Balan, P. Boev, "Antropologično izsledvane," 157.

[27] *Typikon* of the *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Kosmosoteira* near Bera (1152), trans. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 838; N. P. Ševčenko, "The Tomb of Isaac Komnenos at Pherrai," *GOThR*, 29/2 (1984): 135–140; R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 25. (Washington, D. C., 1987), 11–12.

[28] S. Stančev, "Nadgrobnijat nadpis," 4.

[29] D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death," 132.

A second possibility would be that Mostič himself wished to be treated as an ordinary monk, in other words first to be buried in an ordinary grave and then reburied in a collective tomb. However, the transfer of his remains into a separate tomb may have been done on the initiative of the community. For instance, the famous monk and founder Paul of Latros was originally buried in a collective tomb and only later his miraculously preserved body was moved into a separate tomb.[30]

It is quite possible, however, that Mostič entered an existing monastery as a donator by leaving his property to the monastery in exchange for a distinctive burial place and regular commemorative services performed by the monks. Among the many known examples, the will of the monk Genesios composed in Southern Italy in 1086 can be mentioned. He was a landowner who, because of his sickness and the coming end of his life, became a monk and left his property to an *epitropos* who was supposed to sell it after the death of Genesios and give the money to the monks in his monastery to be used for regular commemorative services for saving Genesios' soul.[31] Another similar example can be found in the *Typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople. There the founder, Emperor John II Komnenos, prescribed commemorative services at the grave of John Arbantenos, the husband of the emperor's niece. It seems, however, that John Arbantenos was honored with a burial place in the imperial monastic foundation mainly because he donated a house and lands with their incomes to the monastery.[32]

Therefore, the various reconstructions of the circumstances in which the *ičirgu-boilas* and later monk Mostič was reburied do not allow us to accept unconditionally the interpretation of the complex as his own private religious foundation.

The comparison between the two monks, Anthony and Mostič, who lived and died in tenth-century Bulgaria, shows that they passed not common but rather personal frontiers between the worldly and religious realms. Moreover, they did it in different ways. In fact, Mostič crossed a relatively negligible frontier between the two worlds. He most probably moved from his house in the capital to a monastery situated in the same urban milieu which resembled the layout of noble residences. Anthony, however, really moved from the crowds of a lay settlement to the solitude of a cave. Furthermore, he definitely passed the spiritual frontier and established his personality and authority in the monastic world as a "holy father". Mostič, on the contrary, apparently never completely managed to break off his relations with civil

---

[30] D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death," 131.

[31] R. Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries," 119, n. 33.

[32] *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* in Constantinople (1136). Trans. Robert Jordan, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 743.

life: though he died as a monk, he was remembered as the powerful lay *ičirgu-boilas*.

In this case, should we still insist on defining the frontier between the secular and the monastic world? If we turn back to Saint John of Rila and more precisely to his twelfth-century anonymous Life, we can see the frontier which he crossed: "And thus, having a strong faith, he stood up and went out of the world. He was a herdsman and so he did not have much more than a brother and an ox. And when he decided to enter the desert, he took the ox and went, and nobody realized. As he was walking on the way leaving his land, the enemy who hates the good entered the heart of his brother who persuaded the people. They caught up with him [i.e. John] in the field called Mradišta, next to the Big Oak, and at the evil's suggestion they started turning him back from the blessed way. And when they started turning him back, he asked them to pray to God, and he hardly managed to obtain the bell, which the ox was wearing, as a sign of the world, to have it for himself as a memory to know what the blessed Father John took out of the world...And then, the blessed father put his blessed hands tighty around the ox under the oak, called the Big Oak. And since then it was called the Oak of the Blessed Father..."[33]

Thus, the frontier between the world and the desert, which Saint John of Rila crossed in the tenth century lay close to his native village and was marked by a big oak. Could it really have been so simple?

Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
University of Veliko Târnovo, Department of Archeology
Rosina@vali.bg

---

[33] See the Old Bulgarian text in J. Ivanov, "Žhitija na Sv. Ivan Rilski" (Lives of St John of Rila) *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet Istoriko-Filologičeski Fakultet* 32 (1936), 28 and the translation into modern Bulgarian in *Stara bălgarska literatura. 4. Žitijni tvorbi.* (Old Bulgarian Literature. Vol. 4. Hagiographic works) Ed. Klimentina Ivanova (Sofia: Bălgarski pisatel, 1986), 123. The English translation is by the present author.

THE BORDERS AND BORDERLINES OF SAINTHOOD: ON THE STIGMATA OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA

Elena Lemeneva

As is well known, the concept of sainthood is subject to changes over time. Considering the historical development of this concept, one observes how the "borders" of sainthood blur and harden, extend and shrink. These fluctuations depend on multiple reasons, among which theological reasoning may sometimes not be as important as pragmatic political considerations.

The case of Catherine of Siena offers very suitable material for a survey of the interaction of theory, practice, and politics in the revision of the borders of sainthood.[1]

Catherine was canonized only in 1461,[2] about eighty years after her death. The altercations between the defenders and the opponents of the potential saint lasted all the while until the bull of canonization was issued, and, in fact, even long afterwards. The borders of sainthood were at stake: Catherine's peculiar life-style, and, in particular, her claim of stigmatization, challenged the common idea of what a saint should be like.

The saintliness of Catherine was rather unusual for her contemporaries.[3] Catherine was not a member of any traditional monastic community: she belonged to the "third," lay branch of the Dominican Order. Women belonging to this newly-forming penitent order took some vows and wore some kind of a habit but remained in the world, often in their families. They lived a half-secular, half-spiritual life that raised suspicions due to their uncertain status.

Catherine was actively engaged in political affairs. Both in her letters[4] and in person she played a role as the spiritual advisor of popes and rulers. She traveled to Avignon to persuade the pope to return to Rome and thus end the Schism; she harshly reproached Queen Joan of Naples for not supporting the pope in his relations with the French king. Catherine also interfered with the quarrel between the pope and the city of Florence. At the end of her life Catherine attempted to

---

[1] I am very grateful to Gábor Klaniczay who assisted me in working on this material both in counselling and in pointing out to relevant literature.

[2] See the Bull of canonization, AASS III April 30, 973–7.

[3] Alice Curtayne, *Saint Catherine of Siena,* (New York: Macmillan, 1929).

[4] *The Letters of St. Catherine of Siena*, transe. Suzanne Noffke (Binghampton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1988).

organize a new Crusade ... This life-style differed considerably from the one usual for a secluded bride of Christ.

Catherine was a mystic. She had her visions written down in the form of a dialogue between a soul and God. However, Catherine did not and could not have had a theological education, so that the theological correctness of her writings always remained questionable. In addition, Catherine's piety expressed itself in very ambiguous phenomena, particularly her extreme fasting, close to anorexia,[5] and her stigmata. None of them had ever before been generally recognized as an indicator of sainthood: at best, they would rather be seen as a deficiency of a would-be saint. In the worst case, anorexia and a claim to having received the stigmata would symptomize vainglory, a diabolic mischief, or a conscious association with the devil.

Already during Catherine's lifetime some of her opponents argued that Catherine's political activity, as well as her anorexia and the stigmata, were only means of attracting public attention, of becoming "exceptional." On the other hand, there were always people who wanted to make Catherine a saint. Therefore, a gap between "the exception" and "the norm" needed to be bridged in some way.

The altercations concerning Catherine's right to canonization showed three different ways of dealing with the "exceptionality" of the candidate. The authorities, who were to pass the decision about the canonization of Catherine, vacillated between ignoring her irregularity, as if she did not differ from other saints at all, or emphasizing Catherine's irregularity in order to discard her right for canonization. Both ways were good to preserve the norm, to keep the borders as they were. Catherine's followers chose the third, the most difficult way: to extend the borders of sainthood so as to embrace Catherine's exceptionality, to make it a norm.

I would like to begin with the third approach, that is, the revision of the borders of sainthood in favour of the "exception."

After Catherine's death in 1380, her compatriot, a Dominican theologian Thommaso d'Antonio da Siena, also called "Caffarini," became one of the most fervent promoters of Catherine's cult. The best definition for Caffarini's activity is, perhaps, the "saint-maker's craft."[6] Having a strong inclination to reform the

---

[5] This subject has been sufficiently dealt with by Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia*, with an epilogue by William N. Davis, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987). Chapter one, "I, Catherine."

[6] Caffarini was not exceptional in this respect. "Saint-making" seems to have been a common practice of late medieval religiosity. See André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Sofia Boesch-Gajano–Odile Redon, "La leggenda Maior di Raimondo di Capua, costruzione di una santa," in *Atti del Simposio Internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano*, eds. Domenico Maffei–Paolo Nardi (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1982) 15–35.

church, Caffarini was able to perceive the potential of a new type of sainthood that Catherine represented: a female saint leading a saintly life within the secular world.

The first step to secure the existence of this type was, naturally, to keep the memory of a prototype. Caffarini did his best to achieve this goal. For fifteen years he kept urging Raymond da Capua, Catherine's famous confessor, to write her biography.

The next step was to make the cult of the new saint recognized. Due to Caffarini's efforts, the official canonization of Catherine could have eventually taken place fifty years earlier than it did, were it not for the Great Schism. For his restless preaching on Catherine led him, in 1411, to be summoned by the ecclesiastical authorities with the charge of preaching the cult of a person not yet canonized. This charge made Caffarini start the so-called *Processus Castellanus*, not an official canonization process but a similar one. Caffarini spent five years collecting and confirming evidence on Catherine's saintliness. He questioned witnesses; he gathered Catherine's numerous letters and other writings. On the basis of the documents collected he composed the *Libellus supplementi*, as an extension and a supplement to Raymond's *Legenda Maior*.

Yet, it was not an easy task to achieve the recognition of Catherine's sainthood. Caffarini attempted to elaborate the theoretical explanation for the unusual reality of her life that he faced.[7] He seems to have had a threefold aim:

Firstly, to assert theoretically that Catherine's "innovations" and irregularities were nothing else but a natural continuity and a development of the previous tradition (that is, to provide Catherine's sainthood with the chronological dimension);

Secondly, to prove, also theoretically, that Catherine was, probably, the first, but not the only saint of such type (i.e., to establish a place for her in the contemporary ideology of sainthood);

And, thirdly, to secure the continuation of the new model practically, by spreading Catherine's cult.

How Caffarini dealt with the first two points is best seen through how he dealt with her stigmatization in his *Tractatus de stigmatibus*,[8] an apology of Catherine's stigmata written in 1416 as a part of the *Libellus supplementi*.

---

[7] Aviad Kleinberg, in his *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992) shows the confessor of Christina of Stommeln facing the same problem. See, e. g., p. 95.

[8] "Septimus Tractatus, De stigmatibus." In *Thomas Antonii de Senis "Caffarini" Libellus de Supplemento Legende Prolixe Virginis Beate Catherine de Senis*, introd. Imelda Foralosso, eds. Iuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso, 121–266. (Roma: Edizioni Cateriniane, 1974), 126–266, esp. 122–3.

The preceding patristic and hagiographic tradition had a limited set of meanings for the "stigma" at its disposal: it was a metaphoric invisible mark of being Christian, five wounds of Christ crucified, wounds of martyrdom, and self-inflicted injuries of penitents.[9] One more meaning appeared with the stigmatization of St. Francis: the word came to mean the spontaneous marks on the saint's body inflicted by God's power.

Caffarini completely revised the definition of stigmata. From now on the stigmata could be anything, from the wounds of Christ to the wounds of criminals, from the dead spots of witches to the invisible inner scars of saints. Caffarini then worked out an extensive, extremely sophisticated classification of the types of the saintly stigmata, with each category being supported through an example of one or another previously recognized saints. Caffarini used saints of all orders in his examples, with a detectable intention to appear objective. For almost each category of the stigmata he finds an analogue in one of the stories about St. Catherine. She had stigmata inflicted upon her by demons, she mortified her flesh both herself and with the help of her friends, she had bodily signs of excessive fast and prayer, and so on. The reader is urged thereby to understand that there had been many stigmatic saints before Catherine, so she is not exceptional in this respect. Nevertheless, she is still exceptional in another respect: she had almost all possible kinds of stigmata.

Caffarini then established an hierarchy of the stigmata, where the five wounds of Christ certainly receive the upper-most position. The self-inflicted wounds of the penitents are also valuable; however, due to their natural origin, they are inferior to the miraculous cases of supernatural stigmatization. To illustrate this statement, Caffarini finds four exemplary saints, and here he obviously loses his sense of objectivity: beside St. Francis, the three others are Dominican-related saints: Catherine herself, Helena of Hungary,[10] and Gualterius (Walter) of Strasbourg. It is noteworthy that among these four who were miraculously identified with Christ there are as many women as men.

All the four differed in the kind of stigmata each of them received: Francis and Helena had their visible stigmata, Catherine and Walter had invisible ones. Francis' stigmata bled; Helena had lilies sprouting out of her wounds; Catherine's and

---

[9] Cf. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 14 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1990), 1212; Octavian Schmucki, O. F. M. Cap. *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi: A Critical Investigation in the Light of Thirteenth-Century Sources*, trans. Canisius F. Connors, O. F. M. Franciscan Institute Publications, History Series No. 6, ed. Jason M. Miskuly, O. F. M. (New York: St. Bonaventure, 1991), 181, n. 5; see also L. Randellini, "Fondamenti biblici e valori teologico – esistenziali delle stimmate di S. Francesco," in *Studi Francescani* 71 (1974): 123–76.

[10] I was happy to have had access to an unpublished paper of Gábor Klaniczay, "The stigmata of Saint Margaret of Hungary in Images and Texts," delivered in Leeds (July 15, 1999) where he deals extensively with the legend of St. Helena and the ways in which this legend had arrived to Caffarini. See also: Tibor Klaniczay, *La fortuna di Santa Margherita d'Ungheria in Italia,* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995).

Walter's stigmata were painful. Despite Caffarini's constant assertions that all these stigmata were equally valuable, he still seems to magnify Catherine. Francis, in fact, appears in the *Tractatus* to be the only real "competitor" for Catherine, since only the two of them had all the five wounds in conformity with Christ's.

Caffarini solves the problem of visibility *vs.* invisibility in a very gracious way. On the one hand, he gets away with the competition between Catherine and Francis. Moreover, he finds a way to show Catherine being a saint greater than Francis. Caffarini narrates, on the basis of the *Legenda Maior*, that Catherine could have had visible stigmata, similar or identical to the ones of St. Francis. It was only due to her modesty that she asked for invisible pain, so that her suffering would not make her praiseworthy in the eyes of people around. On the other hand, Caffarini forges a "tradition" of invisible stigmata, where Catherine stands in one row with the Virgin Mary and St. Paul the Apostle. The discussion of the stigmata of Paul reveals an on-going competition and controversy between the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Caffarini tells about his successful dispute with *quidam dominus Episcopus et magister in theologia* regarding the nature of Paul's stigmata. The bishop claimed that Paul had carried an image of the wounds of Christ in his mind, while Caffarini argued that Paul indeed had had invisible stigmata. The discussion took place in some *loco Minorum*, on the feast of St. Francis.[11]

Caffarini indeed did his best to defend the authenticity of Catherine's stigmata and to refute the objections and suspicions on the part of his (and Catherine's) opponents. Theologically he would have been likely to convince his audience to revise the borders of sainthood and to accept the stigmatization as a norm. However, as the history of Catherine's canonization proves, the battles over the sainthood were not fought in the field of theology.

Catherine's stigmata were not the only irregular feature of her saintliness. Caffarini put as much effort and skill to enable her model of lay sainthood to persist, as he did for her stigmata. Caffarini had to emphasize the importance of the lay, penitential branch of the Dominican Order, since it was this very institutional framework that allowed the existence and the reproduction of Catherine-like saints. For this purpose Caffarini re-created the history of the Dominican Order in the same manner as he revised the history of stigmatization, so that the Third Dominican Order appeared a logical continuation of the original design.

The third point of Caffarini's supposed program must have been, as we said, the dissemination of the new model of sanctity. To make it known and desirable for the wider public he himself ardently preached on Catherine everywhere, and he

---

[11] *Tractatus*, 203 ff.

made sure that other preachers would also have her *vita* close at hand. Soon after the publication of the first biography of Catherine, by Raymond of Capua, Caffarini compiled its abbreviated version for the use of preachers.

Caffarini did not, however, only speak of Catherine. Being a spiritual director for many a penitent, he literally made them live the kind of life he envisaged for them. A brilliant short study by Fernanda Sorelli on Caffarini's *Legend of Maria of Venice* demonstrates how he played the role of a demiurg, shaping his potential saints in conformity to the new model of sanctity.[12]

Caffarini bridged the gap between the "exception" and the "norm" of sainthood by shifting the borders of the "norm." Having appreciated the reality of Catherine's saintliness (that is, the "exception"), which did not fit very well into the frame of the traditional concept of sainthood, he ventured in adjusting the concept (that is, the "norm") to have Catherine's case included. Moreover, Caffarini attempted to revise the borders of sainthood not only in theory, but in practice as well. After having re-created the theoretical concept of sainthood, he turned back to the reality around him and engaged in creating new saints according to the newly revised theory.

It is all the more interesting that Caffarini, who was so skillful in blurring the borders between theory and practice, exception and norm, did not succeed in procuring a universal recognition for his "dear *mamma*" Catherine and, particularly, her mystical stigmatization. Who guarded the borders of sainthood and why? Who was interested in preserving the "norm" and excluding any exceptions and why? It could be worthwhile to have a look at the history of the recognition of Catherine's cult and her stigmata, with an eye to the factors which impeded this process.

Beside Christ's, the only other authentic stigmata in Christian history before Catherine were believed to be those of St. Francis of Assisi.[13] St. Francis was neither the first nor the last stigmatic to turn up in the Christian world. However, any such claim before or after Francis was almost unconditionally taken for imposture. According to Matthew of Paris, in 1222 two Englishmen were burnt for their claim of stigmatization.[14]

---

[12] Fernanda Sorelli, "Imitable Sanctity: The Legend of Maria of Venice," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, trans. Margery J. Scheider, ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), 165–81. See also Gabriela Zarri, *Le Sante vive: Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra '400 e '500.* (Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1992).

[13] The detailed comparison of the two cases of stigmatization see in Antonio Lupo, "I due stimmatizati (S. Francesco e S. Caterina)," *La Nuova Rivista di Ascetica e Mistica* 46 (1977): 216–25.

[14] Peter Dinzelbacher, *Heilige oder Hexen? Schiksale auffälliger Frauen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Munich: Artemis and Winkler, 1995), 195.

St. Francis' experience of the stigmata became widely accepted very soon after the actual event.[15] The Bull of Gregory IX, issued as a result of Francis' canonization process, confirmed the fact of stigmatization.[16] The belief in Francis' stigmata being fully identical to those of Christ gained such a validity that Luke of Túy did not feel it blasphemous to "compose a treatise in 1234, which cited the stigmata of St. Francis to prove that Christ was affixed to the Cross not by three, but four nails."[17] According to Vauchez, in the period between 1237 and 1291, there were no less than nine papal bulls issued, defending the authenticity of Francis' stigmata.[18] Taking the news to the public, the *Golden Legend* recounted the miraculous event;[19] Christian art made it visual. One can suggest that such a unanimity among the official Church, theologians, artists, and preachers must have influenced and reflected the common acceptance of the fact.

The recognition of St. Francis did not, in fact, create a precedent: no other stigmatization was to be accepted. The Franciscans, starting with St. Bonaventure, did their best to assert the particularity of Francis' case. Pierre Thomas (1310–30), in his *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, gave a definite negative answer to the question *utrum beatus Franciscus potuit habere stigmata per naturam?*[20] In the same manner Bartholomew of Pisa (1385–90), in the tract called the *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu*, defended the singularity of such a grace.[21]

Upon this background, the authenticity of Catherine's stigmata could hardly be recognized.

Catherine's followers of all ranks professed their deep faith in her stigmatization. The *Legenda Maior* by Raymond da Capua narrates not only one but three instances of Catherine's being marked by her Heavenly Spouse: once when Christ exchanged hearts with her, with a scar left on the left side of her breast;[22] the second time when he stuck an invisible nail into her right palm; and the third time

---

[15] Throughout the centuries there have always been objections put forward against the authenticity of Francis' stigmatization (see André Vauchez, "Les stigmates de saint François et leurs détracteurs dans les derniers siècles du moyen âge," in *Mélanges d'archeologie et d'histoire* 80 (1968): 595–625). However, by the time of Catherine's appearance on the stage, the balance was rather in favour of those who accepted the validity of Francis' stigmata.

[16] Schmucki, *The stigmata*, 273–5.

[17] Schmucki, *The stigmata*, 278–80.

[18] Vauchez, "Les stigmates", 611.

[19] *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. Th. Graesse (Breslau, 1890; repr. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969), 667.

[20] *Franciscan Studies* 8 (1948): 292.

[21] *Analecta Franciscana* 4 (Quaracchi, 1906): 12–13.

[22] AASS III April 30, 898–899.

when she received her full-numbered but invisible stigmata.[23] Caffarini's *Processus Castellanus*, with all the testimonies in favour of Catherine's case, should have wiped away the last doubts. However, the official Church and the Franciscans were still unwilling to accept Catherine's proofs. The papal bull of canonization, issued in 1461, did not utter a single word concerning Catherine's stigmata.[24]

A harsh diatribe between the Franciscans opposing and the Dominicans defending Catherine's stigmata lasted for two centuries.[25] The Dominicans placed Catherine on their shield; they depicted her story in their churches[26] and they incessantly preached on her life and her mystical experiences. The Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV, in a series of bulls issued between 1472 and 1478, kept banning the representation of Catherine with the visible stigmata, by which he mightily displeased the Dominicans.[27] Moreover, the same pope forbade the faithful even to talk of Catherine's stigmatization.[28] In 1599 Clement VIII was still trying to reconcile the opponents. The argument resulted in an official recognition of Catherine's special mystical grace. A summary of the dispute, by Gregorio Lombardelli, appeared in 1601.[29] Finally, in 1630, under Urban VIII, the report of the stigmatization was included into the Roman Breviary, and in 1727 Benedict XIII, the Dominican, assigned 1 April as a feast day for the stigmata of St. Catherine.[30]

From this overview one can see the difference between Caffarini's approach toward the "norm" and the "exception" in sainthood and the attitude of the Church authorities. The pope who favoured Catherine's canonization pretended not to notice any irregularity in Catherine's saintliness, thus treating her case as a "norm" 'of sainthood. At the same time, the opponents of Catherine tried to discard her right for canonization and her claim for the stigmata by stressing the theological and institutional irregularity of her piety. Both approaches tacitly implied that the borders of sainthood should remain untouched. Why were they so important? Why was it so difficult to make Catherine's stigmata recognized?[31]

---

[23] AASS III April 30, 894.

[24] AASS III April. 30, 973–7.

[25] *Libellus de supplemento*, introduction, xiv.

[26] Lidia Bianchi–Diega Giunta, *Iconographia di Santa Caterina da Siena* (Rome: Città Nouva, 1988), 183.

[27] Dinzelbacher, *Heilige*, 196.

[28] Vauchez, "Les stigmates", 611–2.

[29] *Libellus de supplemento*, introduction, xiv.

[30] G. d'Urso, "L'ultimo testo agiografico cateriniano e il problema delle stimmate," in *Rassegna di Ascetica e Mistica* 26 (1975): 219–27.

[31] For the "stumbling stones" preventing recognition of Francis' stigmata see Vauchez, "Les stigmates".

I would suggest several interrelated reasons of different weight and significance.

On the theological side, Catherine's identification with Christ could cause problems. The Franciscan concept of St. Francis being *"alter Christus"*[32] had long before achieved universal acceptance. The argument was that conformity to Christ, a desire plausible for all saints, in the case of Francis made him not just "similar to Christ:" he became "another Christ." The number of "Christs on earth" certainly could not multiply infinitely: a distinction should have been drawn between imitation and identification. This borderline was clearly disregarded by the supporters of Catherine who asserted that she had had as much of Christ's as to live with his heart in her chest, to be stigmatized to his likeness, and to die at the age of thirty-three.[33] Catherine's gender is another aspect of the same theological puzzle. It was conceivable that a woman can imitate Christ, but could a woman actually become "another Christ"?

Also the invisibility of Catherine's stigmata and the irregularity of her behaviour were suspicious. The origin and the nature of her experiences were seriously questioned. *Discretio spirituum* was a serious concern of the Late Middle Ages, so the question of whether she was a saint, or a witch, or an impostor, or a victim of devilish tricks was inevitable.[34]

On the political side, the recognition of Catherine's stigmata would inevitably change the balance in the power game between the Mendicants.[35] Here theology and politics were inseparable from each other: political fights were disguised as theological arguments. The recognition of the authenticity of Catherine's stigmata would seriously undermine the weight and power of the Franciscans in the Christian world. Admittance of a Dominican counterpart to St. Francis deprived the Franciscans of the right to claim an exceptional spiritual grace given to the founder of their Order. Besides, were Catherine's stigmata admitted, how would they, due to their invisibility, stand in relation to those of Francis: were they inferior (a sheer deceit, simulation, Franciscans would claim) or superior (a pure *condolor* without showing off, Dominicans would argue)?

---

[32] To add to the previously mentioned examples: Schmucki refers to Franciscus of Meyronnes (1285–1328) who in his sermons "developed a specific theology of stigmatization: 'Francis as the image of the Crucified Christ'" (*The stigmata*, 54–5).

[33] Innocenzo Taurisano, O. P., "Le fonti agiografiche cateriniane e la critica di R. Fawtier," in Curtayne, *Saint Catherine*, 225–56: 240 ff.

[34] André Vauchez, "La nascita del sospetto," in *Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1991), 39–51.

[35] Gábor Klaniczay makes similar suggestions in his paper "The stigmata of Saint Margaret".

The Church authorities had their own problems with Catherine. Catherine's status within the Church was unclear institutionally. To the end of her days Catherine, with her Dominican affiliation, remained a lay person. The acknowledgment of Catherine as a saint was equal to the recognition of lay sanctity and of the Dominican tertiaries. Also Catherine's political activity during the Schism made the official Church partial in their attitude to her. That is why the canonization of Catherine was only made possible when a Sienese pope came to power. However, as we have already seen, in his bull the pope preferred to ignore the question of the stigmata.

Given all their differences, the factors that impeded the acknowledgment of Catherine's stigmatization are generically akin in their essence and form. On the surface of the argument, all the interested parties appear to have been concerned with the borders of sainthood: this is why they guarded the "norm" against "exception." In essence, the opponents of Caffarini constituted an opposition to revising/shifting/blurring borderlines between theological concepts, political powers, or Church institutions. The example of the stigmata of St. Catherine of Siena shows the difference between the "borders" of the concept of sainthood and the "borderlines" of saint-making. Theological "borders" depended on external, non-theological matters, among which the political "borderlines" between the saint-makers were not the least important ones.

Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphlem76@phd.ceu.hu

THE FRONTIER EXISTENCE
OF THE PAULICIAN HERETICS

Zaroui Pogossian 📥

The Paulician movement—a dualist heresy—spread in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire and die western regions of Armenia, and was most active between the sevendi and die nindi centuries. Its important centres were positioned around the frontier between two hostile states, Byzantium and the Arab Khalifat, and die members of the group appeared on different sides of the shifting border.[1] This article outlines the perception of political and economic circumstances of the period by the Paulicians in order to demonstrate that the border existence provided diem widi favourable conditions, particularly for maintaining dieir independence and widistanding die military and religious pressure of the Byzantine state. Despite their followers being mainly Armenian and Greek, the Paulicians as a group were geographically mobile, able to act on die basis of their own economic or political needs, changing loyalties and crossing frontiers, regardless of the language, culture, or religion of their allies.

I also intend to review some of the earlier interpretations of Paulician history, according to which their allegiance was sometimes dictated by dieir ethnic loyalty. For example, it has been proposed that the reason why the Paulicians participated in die revolt of die Armenian nobles was die presence of a large number of Armenians in dieir ranks.[2] On die odier hand, we know that the most powerful Paulician leader, Sergios-Tychikos, disapproved of his co-religionists killing the orthodox Greek population. His attitude has been explained by his Greek origin.[3] Armenian scholars have ascribed to die Paulicians the character of a "national liberation" movement.

These were the regions of Mananlis, Episparis in the Pontus area, Kibossa in Colonea and, during the peak of the Paulician military power, the cities of Argaoun (Argaous), Melitene, and Tefrike—the capital of the Paulician state. While the heresy spread all the way to Constantinople, and there were Paulicians in the inner parts of the Empire, such as Mopsuestia of Cilicia, Antiochia of Pisidia, and Neocaesarea, the Paulicians remained concentrated on the Arab-Byzantine border. For the most important works on the Paulicians, see Nina Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy: A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (The Hague: Mouton Press, 1967); and Paul Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *Travaux et Mémoire* 5 (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1973): 1-144.

See Bartikian, *Istočniki dija izučenija pavlikianskogo dviženija* (Sources for the study of the Paulician movement) (Yerevan: Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1961), 46-49; Aram Ter-Levondyan, *Armenija i Arabskij Xalifat* (Armenia and the Arabic Khalifat) (Yerevan: Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1977), 213-215.

3

In Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens," 122: "Ce Grec désapprouvait les raids lancés contre des Grecs, comme sans doute toute action guerrière."

However, for the Paulicians themselves, their identity as a distinct religious group overshadowed any linguistic or cultural affinities with the orthodox population of the Byzantine Empire. A simple overview of the Paulicians' alliances with Arab Emirs, the Byzantine state, and rebellious Armenian nobles may demonstrate this point.

One of the earliest and most important sources mentioning the Paulicians is the *Sermon against the Paulicians* by the Armenian Catholicos John of Ojun, written around 718–720.[4] He mentions that the Paulicians "became the allies of Antichrist, the circumcised tyrant."[5] He could only mean the Arabs, in the eyes of an Armenian Catholicos the arch-enemy of Christ and of the Armenian nation. Similarly, Michael the Syrian mentions in his chronicle that, when persecuted by Emperor Phillipicus (711–713), Armenians found refuge in Melitene, and became allies of the Arabs.[6] In these years, when Armenia was under Arab domination, a time fraught with constant conflicts and revolts, this alliance of the Armenian Paulicians with the Arabs could hardly be seen as an act of "national liberation" and, naturally, John of Ojun condemns them.

The alliance becomes logical in the light of contemporary events in the Byzantine Empire. Emperors Justinian II and Philippicus persecuted the Paulicians as heretics, and they, acting from their own considerations, stayed loyal to no homeland, be it Greek or Armenian. The Muslim Arabs were the least of evil at this time, and the Paulicians preferred them to Greeks or Armenians with whom they may have had linguistic or cultural affinities. If Armenia or the Byzantine Empire suffered from their seeming disloyalty, that was not their concern. Rather, their actions were based on their own particular interests which at that point happened to coincide with those of the Arabs.

However, in the year 748 the Paulicians participated in a revolt against the Arabs organised by the Armenian nobleman Grigor Mamikonian, which is attested by the eighth-century historian Łevond. He describes a general discontent after a population census in 725 and the imposition of new, heavier taxes.[7] This census must have affected the Paulician population negatively as well, and they turned against their former allies, the Arabs, and came to join Grigor Mamikonian, crossing the border to Pontus. We have information about the secret flight of the Paulician leaders Joseph-Aphronetus and Zacharias from Mananlis (in Arab territory) to Episparis (in

---

[4] John of Ojun, *Yovhannu Imastasiri Awjnec'woy Matenagrut'iwnk'* (Collected works of John of Ojun, the Philosopher) (Venice: St. Lazzaro Press, 1953), 46-60. (Translations from Armenian are by the author).

[5] John of Ojun, *Matenagrut'iwnk'*, 46.

[6] Quoted in Hrachia Bartikian, *Sources*, 34. Bartikian identifies these Armenians with the Paulicians mentioned by John of Ojun.

[7] Łevond, *Łevondeay meci vardapeti hayoc' patmut'iwn* (History of the Armenians by the Great Doctor Łevond) (St. Petersburg: 1887), 94-5, 123.

Byzantine territory) from Petrus Siculus, a Greek monk who lived in the Paulician capital Tefrike for nine months.[8] Siculus tells us that the Paulicians were persecuted by a local archont—Krikoraxes—who was in this region with his army at the time.[9]

Let us survey two examples of how this event has been interpreted on the basis of the "ethnic element." On the one hand, Armenian historians who had access to Armenian primary sources, for instance Łevond in his *History of the Armenians*, added chronological and geographical precision to the information supplied by Greek sources, especially Petrus Siculus. But on the basis of the evidence that Paulicians had fought against the Arabs, they characterized them as a "national liberation" movement.[10] This opinion was opposed to the view that Paulicianism was a largely a *religious* phenomenon.[11] On the other hand, if one does not consult the Armenian sources and neglects the importance of the economic circumstances of the period which are detailed in them, one would not get a convincing explanation of the flight of the Paulician leaders from Arab territory. For instance, it has been proposed that Arab border guards became wary of the Paulicians because they constituted a large group of Greeks living suspiciously close to the border.[12] This explanation would not hold if we consider that in previous and future alliances with the Arabs, the issue of the ethnic composition of the Paulicians did not seem to be of importance to any of the parties.

Thus, about thirty years after John of Ojun castigated the Paulicians for cooperating with the Arabs, they were fighting against their old allies. Now, most probably due to economic motives, this population on the borderline had changed their loyalties, turned against the Arabs, and joined the Christian Armenians, who were supported by the Byzantine Empire. In the end, the revolt did not take place, because of a discord among the Armenian nobles.

---

[8] Pierre de Sicile [Petrus Siculus], "Du même Pierre de Sicile. Histoire utile, réfutation et renversement de la creuse et vaine hérésie des Manichéens qu'on appelle aussi Pauliciens, en forme [de discours] adressé à l'archevêque de Bulgarie," in *Les sources greques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Charles Astruc, et al., Travaux et Mémoire 4 (Paris: Editions E. De Boccard, 1970): 1-67.

[9] Pierre de Sicile "Historie des Pauliciens", 50-51. H. Bartikian thinks that Krikoraxes is the distorted version of the name Grigor Mamikonian: the name Grigor in Western Armenian, pronounced as *Krikor*, plus the diminutive *ik* (ak), plus the Greek suffix *es*. See, Bartikian, *Sources*, 48-9.

[10] This interpretation was first proposed by Bartikian in *Sources*, then widely accepted and quoted by other scholars in Armenia. It is included in a general textbook on Armenian history used by higher educational institutions *Hay žołovrdi patmut'yun* (History of the Armenian people) (Yerevan: Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1984), vol. 2, 389–415.

[11] Barseł Sargisyan, *Usumnasirut'ewnner manikea-t'ondrakec'inerou alandin ev Grigor Narekac'wo t'ułt'e* (A study of Manichaean-Tondrakite heresy and the letter of Grigor Narekac'i) (Venice: Mxitarists Press, 1893); Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy*; and Lemerle, "L'histoire."

[12] Paul Lemerle, "L'histoire," 77. Lemerle and Nina Garsoian reject the explanation of this flight based on economic reasons, proposed by Bartikian and supported by Milan Loos. See, Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy*; Milan Loos "Le Mouvement Paulicien à Byzance," *Byzantinoslavica* 24 (1963): 258–286.

But the Paulician "alliance" with the Byzantine emperors persisted for a few more years. In 752 the Emperor Constantine V recaptured the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis from the Arab Khalifat with the help of the local population. After the occupation, the population of the cities, wary of Arab retaliation, asked the Emperor to move them to a territory within the Empire. Their request was granted, they were moved to Thrace and given land there. This was useful for the Empire from a demographic point of view, since after the bubonic plague of 748, according to Theophanes Continuator, Thrace was empty of people. Talking about this move, Theophanes tells us that the population which was transferred spread the heresy of the Paulicians in Thrace. This implies that there were Paulicians among the allies of Constantine V.[13]

But the Byzantine-Arab frontier was to be crossed by the Paulicians yet again. When the Emperors Michael Rhangabe and Leo the Armenian imposed a death penalty on those accused of Paulicianism, the latter entered the so-called military stage of the movement. They again moved to Melitene, some time around 830, under the protection of the Amr b. Abdallah al-Aqta, and their military units were continuously ravaging the Byzantine territory. They were given the cities of Argaoun and Amida by the Emir of Melitene and cooperated with him in military affairs.

Their frontier position eventually gave rise to a semi-independent Paulician state. The first Paulician military leader, Karbeas, originally a soldier in the Byzantine army, allied himself with the Arabs until his death and raided the Empire from Tefrike, the capital of the Paulician state. His successor, Chrisocheir, continued the hostile policy against the Empire, although he tended to remain more independent of Arab support, until his ultimate defeat under the Emperor Basil I.

This brief overview shows the advantages that their frontier position offered to this religious group which crossed and re-crossed the borderline whenever necessary. The border between two antagonistic states, the Byzantine Empire and the Arab Khalifat, always prone to attacks and aggression from either side, was not necessarily a dangerous place for the Paulicians. Rather, it afforded them a certain freedom of movement and allowed them to maintain their identity as a distinct group, a group independent of the linguistic or ethnic background of its members. Their identity as Paulicians, as a religious entity with its own particular interests, went beyond the traditional frontiers imposed by cultural and linguistic heritage, whether Greek or Armenian.

Probationary Ph.D. Candidate, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Mphpoz01@phd.ceu.hu

---

[13] *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650-1405*, ed. Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 57–8.

The Caucasus:
Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures

FOREWORD AND HOMAGE TO EDMUND SCHÜTZ

István Perczel 📥

In 1997 the CEU Department of Medieval Studies organised a summer school and a conference on the cultural history of the Caucasus, entitled "The Caucasus: a Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures." The event consisted of two parts: a regular summer university course (June 30-July 5) and the Caucasus section of the 35th International Congress of Asian and Nordi African Studies (ICANAS: July 7-12). The organisational work of this event was shared by three persons: the warmly remembered Professor Edmund Schütz, Zourabi Aloiane, an alumnus of our department, and myself. In the second part, that is during the conference, altogether seventy-diree papers were presented. At the beginning we hoped that the majority of these seventy-diree papers would be published in a separate volume—a wish that I expressed in die 1996-97 issue of this Annual. For several reasons this wish has proved to be irrealistic, among odier reasons because we have received only some of die papers. Even so, several excellent studies have been submitted, eidier in English, or in Russian. The following section presents a selection of die papers written in English. Unfortunately, this selection does not intend to be representative for the conference, which took a bird's eye perspective of the cultural heritage of diis relatively small, but infinitely variegated region, in order to see it as a multi-cultural one, considering its Pagan, Christian, and Islamic elements as organic constituents of a whole. The conference also attempted—I think successfully—to pay equal attention to the "big" and "small" nations diat inhabit the Caucasus, independently of whether they live in a nation-state or not. Of course, the interpretation thus suggested is Utopian and the tragic and inhuman events of the last three years render it even more so. Nevertheless I believe that however Utopian it may be, it still remains a true and compelling interpretation. Even less can the papers published give justice to the variety of disciplines represented at the conference: history, art history, musicology, religious studies, codicology, and so on.

However, the four studies published here encompass a wide range of subjects and are certainly representative of the international background of the contributors. Thus, Fridrik Thordarson (Oslo) investigates the religious vocabulary of the Nordi-Caucasian Alans whose descendents are the present-day Ossetes; Mamáikban Aglarov (Maliachkala) presents an odierwise almost unknown small nation of Nordiern Caucasus, die Andis; Lela Klioperia (Tbilisi) points out the importance of the Old Georgian translations of the seventh-century Church Fadier, Saint Maximus the Confessor; finally Edmund Schütz and Kornél Nagy (Budapest) destroy a quasi-

mythical picture on the Northern emigration of the Armenians from Greater Armenia, replacing it with a historically more reliable interpretation.

However, it causes us a deep pain to know that Professor Schütz, without whom this conference could never have materialised and who was, as it were, its animating spirit, did not live to see the publication of this volume and of his study. I remember only too well the double excitement caused by his presence at the conference. He was excited to see it coming to life, and the Caucasian participants were excited to have the famous scholar lecturing to them at the summer school. Professor Schütz began every lecture of his by taking photos of the audience and at the end of his lectures the participants were eager to have themselves photographed together with him. I think these were the last public lectures that Professor Schütz gave in his life. We offer this small bunch of studies as an homage to his memory.

Associate Professor, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest
Perczeli@ceu.hu

IN MEMORIAM PROFESSOR EDMUND SCHÜTZ

Kornél Nagy

It is a most sorrowful obligation to write an obituary on my deceased teacher, Professor Edmund Schütz. The news of his unexpected death on November 1, 1999 hit me very strongly. I expected—and how good it would have been!—that he would get the pleasure of seeing the present volume, where some of the contributions to the conference "The Caucasus: a Unique Meeting Point of Ancient Cultures" are finally published; especially since he had invested so much time and energy in the organization of this conference.

Edmund Schütz was born in Budapest on March 29, 1916. His scholarly career started at the Lutheran High School, the "Fasori Gimnázium." After finishing his high-school studies, he was admitted to the famous Eötvös College. At the college he first specialized in Germanic and Hungarian studies, but before long, he also registered for courses in Oriental studies and world history. He took advantage of the oppurtunity to study with such well-known Hungarian scholars as, the Turcologist Gyula Németh, the Mongolist Lajos Ligeti, the linguist Miklós Zsiray, and the historian Gyula Szekfű, whose personalities largely influenced his own career. He graduated in 1942 as a Turcologist. However, the greatest turning point in his scholarly career occurred when one of his advisors, Gyula Németh, drew his attention to some Armenian documents which were very important for Turcological studies. From the starting point of these documents, Professor Schütz gradually developed an interest in all fields of Armenology: Armenian history, language, and culture, to such a degree that he later became not only the *doyen* of Armenology in Hungary, but also one of the most renowned Armenologists of the world.

He first earned his international reputation by the discovery and the critical edition of some "Armeno-Kipchak" texts, a hitherto entirely unexplored area in the fields of both Armenology and Turcology. Edmund Schütz defended his *Candidatus Scientiae* thesis, entitled "An Armenian-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620-1621" in 1968, and in 1992 he defended his *Doctor Scientiae* dissertation, "The Significance of Armenology in Hungarian Oriental Studies". Beside his philological studies, Professor Schütz also delved into Armenian history: he wrote several articles on the origins of the Armenian settlements in Eastern Europe, on the birth of Armenian book-printing, on Armenian sources relating to the ancient history of the Hungarians, as well as to the Mongol conquest of Greater Armenia, on the Counter-Reformation and the Armenian Church, on the historical

relations between the Crusader States and the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, and other topics.

Through many years, Professor Schütz was teaching Turcology and Armenology at the Department of Inner Asian and Turcic Studies of the Eötvös Lóránd University of Sciences in Budapest. For a number of years, he also taught several classes of Armenology as a visiting professor at the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies of Indiana University, Bloomington. He was not only an outstanding scholar, but also a gifted pedagogue. By his keen sense of humour which he kept until the end of his life, and which he used with tactful kindness, he always made his collegues and students feel comfortable. Because of his profound scholarly knowledge combined with a charming, modest, and serene personality, his presence was always welcome at the Budapest and Bloomington campuses, as well as at conferences.

Professor Edmund Schütz received several awards for his scholarly prowess. The American Oriental Society elected him an honorary member in 1975. He was a member of both the Armenian and the Turkish Academies of Sciences, perhaps the only person in the world who was equally honoured in the Armenian and Turkish scholarly circles. This testifies not only to his outstanding scholarship but also to his kind and peace-loving personality. He also played a key role in establishing close contacts and cooperation between the Hungarian and Armenian Academies. These contacts enabled several Hungarian scholars—including myself—to visit Armenia and do research in their archives, and to develop personal links with their Armenian colleagues.

For us, his colleagues and students, Professor Edmund Schütz's death is an enormously painful loss and for the rest of our lives we shall remember his fascinating personality.

Astuac lusaworē zhogin nora.
May God rest his soul!

Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Inner Asian Studies, Budapest
Nagykornel@hotmail.com

NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS VOCABULARY
OF THE ALANS

Fridrik Thordarson

1. There may be some evidence that Christian missions to the Alan tribes of the Nordi west Caucasus date back at least to the age of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (527-565). Procopius, a contemporary of the emperor, in his History of the Wars tells that the *Alanoi* and the *Abasgoi* were Christian peoples and friends of the Romans (i.e. the Byzantines) from old (...Χριστιανοί *xe* Και 'Ρωμαλοις cpÌλoι ÈK TtaXcuoö ovxeç).[1] The Abasgoi had their homes north of Colchis (Lazica), approximately in modern Abkhazia. Needless to say, such collective names do not give precise information about the ethnic or linguistic composition of the peoples they are meant to designate. Thus the term *Alanoi* in all likelihood designates various tribal communities of the north-western Caucasus. As to the ethnic identity of the *Abasgoi,* I refer to the discussions of Gamq'relidze and Hewitt.[2]

Procopius also tells us that the Abasgoi were pagans down to his own time, worshipping groves and forests which they believed to be gods.[3] Possibly the statement quoted above means that only the Greek inhabitants of the area or Hellenized natives were regarded as Christians. But during the reign of Justinian, Procopius says, they adopted Christianity and more civilized manners. The same information about the conversion of the Abasgoi at the time of Justinian is given by the *Kartlis cxovreba,* a collection of medieval Georgian chronicles *(apxazta mokceva).[4]* Lazica, at the east coast of the Black Sea, was converted to Christianity in the 520s. (Iberia, Eastern Georgia, had become Christian about 330).

According to the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, Christianity was common among the peoples of the nordiern shores of the Black Sea in the author's time, i.e. the sixth century.[5] In the Syriac Chronicle attributed to Zachariah of Mytilene, also dated to the sixth century, we are told that in the land of the "Huns" (Christian) books were translated into the "Hunnic" language; this is

---

Procopius, *History of the Wars,* (with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. I-V, (London etc.: Loeb Classical Library, 1961-62) vol. II, ch. 29,15.

[2]

T. Gamq'relidze, "On the History of Tribal Names of Ancient Colchis," *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 6-7 (1990-1991): 237-245; B.G. Hewitt, "The valid and non-valid application of philology to history," ibid., 247-263.

[3] Procopius, *History* VIII., ch. 3,12 ff.

4

Kartlis cxovreba: t'ekst'i dadgenili... q'auxčiSvilis mier. (Tbilisi, 1995) 1.1. 215.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne* (introduction, texte critique, illustration et note par Wanda Wolska-Conus, T. 1., (Paris, 1968) book III, 66.

supposed to have happened about twenty years before the time of the writing of the Chronicle, i.e. early in the sixth century.[6]

In 527/8 Gordas, called prince of the "Huns," who lived in Bosporus in the Crimea, was baptized in Constantinople, with Justinian as his godfather. After his return to the Crimea he was killed by the pagan priesthood as he tried to convert his compatriots to Christianity.[7]

A bishop named Ioannes, from Phanagoria (on the Taman peninsula) attended the synod in Constantinople in 518. A bishop named Domitianus from Zikhia (the coastal region of later Circassia) signed a condemnation of the patriarch at the synod in Constantinople in 536. The Tetraxides, who lived on the Taman peninsula, were Christians in Justinian's time. In 548 their bishop died, and they sent envoys to Constantinople to ask the emperor to provide a successor.[8] No doubt this information refers mainly to Greek colonists or Hellenized natives in the area.

The propagation of the Christian faith was closely connected with the foreign policy of Justinian and the attemps to establish trade relations with Central Asia and China. For this purpose political liaisons with the chieftains of the Alans and the other tribal leaders of the Northern Caucasus were of primary importance, as the northern Silk Route passed through their domains. Communication with China through Sassanian territory could thus be avoided. At the same time alliances with the North Caucasian tribal leaders were a bulwark against the Sassanian offensive in the North.

In 528 Justinian made himself master of the Crimea. Bosporus (Kerch) became an important Greek fortress; Sebastopolis and Pityus in Abkhazia were also fortified as Byzantine strongholds.

2. Christianity, however, was no newcomer in the northern Pontic area in the sixth century. The Christianization of the Crimean Goths dates back at least to the early fourth century. At the Council of Nicea in 325, Theophilus, bishop of the "Goths," and Cadmus, bishop of Bosporus, were present. They were without doubt Greek ecclesiastics, but their presence proves that Christianity had at least made some

---

[6] Zacharias Scholasticus from Mytilene, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), book XII, 329 ff. (From book XII only fragments survive.)

[7] J. B. Bury, *History of the Late Roman Empire, from the Death of Theodosius I. to the Death of Justinian* (New York, 1958), II, 311 ff.

[8] Bury, *History*, II, 313.

proselytes in the Crimea at this time.[9] The Crimea was a valuable base for missionary activities in the northern Pontic lands.

Armenian and Arabic sources tell that Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia (240–332), had been successful in his propagation of the Christian faith in the Northern Caucasus.[10] In the sixth and seventh centuries, Albanian and Armenian priests were engaged in missionary work in Ciscaucasia, and their work was not without results.

Christian congregations were known in Khazaria about the middle of the eighth century.[11] About the middle of the ninth century, Christian missionaries (Constantine and Methodius) were amicably received at the Khazar court, although the Khazars were not converted. According to the information of the Arab historian al-Mas'ūdī, Christinanity was well established in the Khazar Empire in the tenth century, side by side with Judaism, Islam, and tribal paganism.[12]

From this short survey, that can be supplemented by references to numerous other sources,[13] we may conclude that Christianity was not wholly alien to the Alans and other north-western Caucasian tribes in early Byzantine times; at least there can be little doubt that there were ideological contacts between the Byzantine settlements of the north-eastern Euxine shores and tribal leaders in the north-western Caucasus at this early date. We even suspect that Greeks and natives had grown together, e.g. through conjugal links, in some of the coastal towns and settlements.

3. We have no certain knowledge of this early North Caucasian Christianity, its dissemination among the population, its liturgical practices and dogmatic orientation. No doubt, Greek orthodoxy was predominant with Greek as the liturgical language; the priests were either Greeks or Hellenized natives. The possibility of Armenian influence cannot be excluded. But Christianity hardly took

---

[9] A. Harnack, *Die Missionen und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* B. II. (Leipzig, 1906), 203 ff.

[10] Gy. Moravcsik, "Byzantine Christianity and the Magyars in the Period of their Migrations" in *Studia Byzantina* (Amsterdam, 1967), 245–259.

[11] See the Vita of St. Habo (Abo) of Tbilisi, written by Ioane Sabanisdze a short time after the saint's execution in 786. Text in I. Abuladze, *Dzveli kartuli agiograpiuri lit'erat'uris dzeglebi* C'. 1. (Tbilisi, 1963), 46–81. German translation is in K. Schultze, *Das Martyrium des Heiligen Abo von Tiflis* (München, 1905).

[12] See ch. XVII. of his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, (Les prairies d'or I–III., traduction française de Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. et corr. par Charles Pellat, Paris, 1961–70). Cf. also V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th and 11th centuries* (Cambridge, 1958), 142 ff.; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), 160 ff.

[13] Cf. Gy. Moravcsik, "Byzantine Christianity"; and J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 90 ff., 116 ff., both with bibliographies.

deep roots among the tribal population who undoubtedly maintained their ancient pagan beliefs and traditions.

Our first documentary evidence of Christianity among the Alans dates from the tenth century. Among the letters of the patriarch Nicolaus (Nicholas) I. Mysticus (852–925; patriarch of Constantinople 901–907 and from 912 until his death), a valuable source for the ecclesiastic history of Byzantium, there are five letters addressed to Peter, the archbishop of Alania, written in 914–918.[14] It appears from these, mainly consolatory, letters that the archbishop was suffering great hardships in his diocese. The patriarch was particularly concerned about the lawless marriages, no doubt the polygamy, of the natives, but exhorted the archbishop to be opportunist and tolerant, especially to the upper classes (maybe remembering the tetragamy conflict of Leo VI). Ep. 79 is probably addressed to missionaries who had been sent to Alania during Nicolaus' first patriarchate. They had evidently encountered toil and obstruction in the desolate nature and among the strange people of the north-western Caucasus.

Ep. 133 refers to the Alans as "nearly called to piety" (... τοῦ νεοκλήτου πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔθνους). Ep. 135 speaks of one Euthymius, Peter's predecessor, as "herold of piety" to the Alans. In Ep. 51 the patriarch thanks the prince of Abasgia (Constantine III) for the care he has devoted to the enlightenment of the (Christian) prince of Alania (πολλὴν τὴν πρόνοιαν... εἴς τε τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ τῆς Ἀλανίας ἄρχοντος...). The same information about the king of the Alans is given by Nicolaus' Arabian contemporary Ibn Rusta.[15] Abasgia was at this time evidently a base for the Christian mission in the north-western Caucasus. But if the situation of Christianity was precarious in Alania, it was even worse among the Khazars, "that deluded nation, so nearly ravished from the bosom of piety by the evil demon" (Ep. 106, to the metropolitan of Cherson). It is thus evident that at the beginning of the tenth century Alania, then an important ally of Byzantium, was still a barren mission field.

4. In the following centuries Christianity no doubt consolidated its position among the Alans, but its strength is difficult to estimate. At the induction of the patriarch Germanus II in 1222, Bishop Theodorus of Alania, possibly a native Alan, delivered the principal sermon. In a letter written about 1225, a short time before the Mongol

---

[14] Eps. 52, 118, 133, 134, 135. See Nicolaus I. Mysticus, *Nicholas I. Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters* Greek text and translation by R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D. C., 1973). As to the chronology of the letters, see ibid. XXVIII ff. and the Summaries of the relevant letters. English translations of the editors.

[15] In his al-A'lāq al-nafīsa, completed about 912: "the Alān king is a Christian at heart, but all the people of his kingdom are heathens worshipping idols." Cf. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, 169.

invasion, he tells of his travels to his Alanic diocese. According to this source the Alans were Christians more in name than in fact.[16] According to the narrative of the Franciscan friar Willem van Ruysbroeck, who visited the North Caucasus about the middle of the thirteenth century, the Alans are Christians in name only, knowing the name of Christ but otherwise being altogether ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity.[17]

Christianity probably suffered a backslide during the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, and again after the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453. In 1590 an Alan bishop was mentioned for the last time in our sources. Nevertheless Alanic Christianity was never wholly eradicated, and even experienced a renaissance after the Russian conquest of the North Caucasus in the eighteenth century.[18]

In all likelihood the Christian faith never took deep roots in medieval Alania. Upon the ancient tribal religion Christian notions were grafted, probably often not very successfully. From this cross-breed of Christianity and pagan ideas a syncretistic religion emerged that has lived on, in local and social variants, down to modern times. For celebrating the Orthodox Mass no great learning was needed; even literacy was not always indispensable. Among ancient religious rites which have been practised almost down to our own times the burial rites called Horse Consecration (*Bækh fældisyn*) deserve special mentioning. In the sermons that were delivered at the burials of tribal chieftains, pagan, Christian, and even Islamic eschatological notions mingle with one another; but there is every reason to believe that these rites are rooted in Scytho-Sarmatian antiquity.[19]

5. The priests of the Alans were no doubt either Greeks or Hellenized natives. The liturgical language was Greek; according to the narrative of Willem de Ruysbroeck, mentioned above, the Christian Alan priests used Greek books. The South Ossetes of Georgia, whose oldest settlements date back to late medieval (post-Mongolian)

---

[16] *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca* (MPG) t. 140, cols. 388–413, ed. J. P. Migne. Cf. C.-H. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959) 689.

[17] Willem van Ruysbroeck, "Itinerarium" in *Sinica Franciscana I: Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert OFM, (Quaracchi-Firenze, 1929), ch. XI. 145–332.

[18] See Chr Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen. IV. Der Kaukasus" in *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters II: Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, ed. K. Schäferdiek, (München: 1978), 313 ff.

[19] Cf. F. Thordarson, "The Scythian Funeral Customs: Some notes on Herodotus IV, 71–75" in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Leiden, 1988), 539–547; V. Kouznetsov-Lebedynsky, *Les Alains, cavaliers des steppes, seigneurs du Caucase* (Paris, 1997), ch. VI.; G. Charachidzé, *Le système religieux de la Géorgie paienne* (Paris, 1968).

times, seem to have adopted the language and liturgical practices of the Georgian church.[20]

Christian liturgical books in the Alanic language are not known to have existed. There are no vestiges of the Christian books that according to a Syriac source (see above) were translated into the "Hunnic" language (whatever language this may be); nor is this information reliable. The Khazar Cambridge Document, written in Hebrew possibly in the twelfth century, tells of Greeks, Arabs, and Jews who were trying to convert the Khazar princes.[21] But the princes of Khazaria said: "Behold, there is a cave in the valley of Tizul. Bring forth for us the books which are there and explain them to us." And they went into the cave. "And behold, there were the books of the Law of Moses."[22] From this Mrs. Chadwick concludes that the Document refers to a library or book store in a rock-built church dug out by Greek monks in the eighth century, but this only says (if the document is authentic) that there existed Jewish (Hebrew) scriptures in the Khazar Empire (the passage is supposed to refer to happenings at the beginning of the tenth century).

6. The Zelenčuk inscription, which for epigraphical reasons is dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries, shows that the Greek alphabet was at least occasionally used for writing Alanic.[23] It is hard to believe that this text was unique in its time.

A few years ago the Danish Byzantinist Gudrun (Sysse) Engberg, studying a Greek manuscript from St.-Petersburg from the thirteenth century came across a short list of words written with Greek letters, marginal notes translating Greek names of Orthodox feasts; the words are to all appearances Alanic, although their interpretation raises problems.[24]

7. We know nothing, or next to nothing, about the terminology used by the medieval Alans to express Christian notions. As already said, Abkhazia (Abasgia) was already in the early Middle Ages an important base for the propagation of Christianity in the north-western Caucasus. The rôle played by the Georgian

---

[20] At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Georgian nobleman Ivane Ialghuzidze made the first known attempts to translate Christian scriptures into Ossetic (the idiom of the South Ossetes). Prospects of an edition of the manuscripts of these important texts were held out by the Oriental Institute of the Georgian Academy of Sciences several years ago; but these plans have as yet made slow progress.

[21] Cf. P. B. Golden, *Khazar studies: An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origin of the Khazars*, vol. I, (Budapest, 1980), 121.

[22] N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History: An Enquiry into the Sources* (Cambridge, 1946), 46.

[23] See L. Zgusta, *The Old Ossetic Inscription from the River Zelenčuk* (Wien, 1987). Cf. F. Thordarson, Review in *Kratylos* 33 (Wiesbaden, 1988): 91 ff.

[24] St.-Petersburg, Akademija nauk, Q 12. It is to be hoped that this interesting document will be published before long.

(Iberian) church is less clear. The *Kartlis cxovreba* relates that about the middle of the seventh century the *k'atalik'osi* of Kartli (Mcxeta) had the right to ordain archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops not only in Kartli and K'axeti (Iberia) but also in the whole of Ossetia.[25] In the heyday of Bagratid power in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, Alania was a Georgian sphere of interest; consequently Christian missionary work became a part of Georgian imperialism in the North Caucasus. The Ossetic popular tradition tells of Queen Tamar's church-building activities in Ossetia; no doubt this is founded on historical facts.

The Ossetic religious vocabulary shows some influence of Georgian, that has in part acted as a transmitter of Greek terms. The chronology of the borrowings is often difficult to establish; some of the them need not be old. A number of these words have entered Ossetic from the dialects of the neighbouring East Georgian mountaineers (the Pshavs, Khevsurs, Tush). These Georgian tribes, the Ossetes and the Ingush-Chechen mountaineers share a number of cultural features, so that they may be said to constitute a Central Caucasian cultural "province" within the greater cultural area of the North Caucasus.

As an example of such Georgian loanwords I mention Iron (East and standard literary Ossetic) *dzwar*, Digor (the more archaic dialect) *dziwar*, from Georg. *džvari* (O.Georg. *džuari*) "cross" (originally apparently "pillar," corresponding to Greek σταυρός "stake, cross"). The Ossetic word signifies both a divinity or a saint and his (her) shrine. In the dialects of the Georgian mountaineers the word is used in a similar way, being synonymous with *xat'i* "picture, icon, sanctuary, divine being."[26]

Ir. *xuycaw* (Dig. *xucaw*) is the word used for the monotheistic (Christian, Islamic) notion "God." But it is also found in the expression *Xuycæwtty Xuycaw*, lit. "God of Gods," the name of the chief deity of the pagan religion. Abaev connects this word with Georgian *xuci, xucesi* "old man, priest."[27] Among the East Georgian mountaineers the word denotes a priest of a pagan *xat'i*.[28] The *-aw* of the final syllable may be due to an analogy with *xicaw* (Dig. *xecaw*) "chief," an ancient social term of Iranian origin. If Abaev's etymology is correct, we must presume an older meaning "lord, dominus," originally in all likelihood not a Christan term.

The question of linguistic and religious contacts between the Ossetes and the Georgians will be treated in some detail in a forthcoming study. In the following I

---

[25] *srulad ovsetsa*; - text of Q'auxčišvili, I: 132; French transl. in *Kartlis cxovreba, Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle* I., trad. du géorgien par M. Brosset I, (Paris, 1849), 236.

[26] Cf. *Kartuli enis ganmart'ebiti leksik'oni (KEGL)*, a., čikobavis saerto redakciit, t'. 1–8, (Tbilisi, 1950–64), VIII, cols. 1580, 1353.

[27] V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka (IES)*, I–IV, (Moskva–Leningrad: 1958–89), IV, 255.

[28] Details in Charachidzé, *Le système*, 232 ff.

will confine myself to a handful of words of Iranian origin that in the modern language have a Christian denotation.

8. Ir. *sygdæg* (Dig. *sugdæg*) "holy" derives from ancient **suxta-*, past participle of **suč-* "to burn," plus the suffix **-ka-*, i.e. "burnt, purified; morally or ritually pure."[29] In pre-Christian Alanic this word probably had a religious meaning (denoting some shamanistic qualities?) which made its use as a Christian term natural.

9. The verb *kuvyn* (Dig. *kovun*) means "to pray"; past participle *kuyvd* "prayer, ritual banquet," *kuyddon* "sanctuary, church," *kuvægkag* "toast in honour of a divinity."[30] Benveniste connects *kuvyn* with a Vedic liturgical term, *kubhanyú-*, an epitheton of the Maruts (hap. leg. in RV V, 52,12), assuming a (hypothetical) Indian root **kubh-* "célébrer un rite de communion."[31] This etymology was accepted by Renou,[32] who translates the passage: "Rythmant les mètres, *voués à un rite-communiel*, (ces) bardes dansent à la fontaine" (my italics).[33]

If we accept Benveniste's comparison of the Vedic and the Ossetic words, it is natural to assume an Indo-Iranian root **kaubh-*, originally meaning "to shout, raise voice," which in Scytho-Sarmatian antiquity developed a religious connotation "to pray, perform a sacrificial rite." In mediaeval Alania it was adopted as a Christian term, while it has in part retained its pagan denotation until this day.

Benveniste's etymology was contested by Szemerényi who derives *kuvyn/kovyn* from the Iranian root *gaub-* "to speak" (OP *gaub-*, NP *guftan* "to say," Man. Sogd. *gwbty'* "praise"[34]). But his arguments are not valid. O.Ir. initial *g-* becomes Dig. *ğ-*, Ir. *q-*, not *k-*. Ir. *kayn*, Dig. *kayun* "futuere," which Szemerényi adduces in support of his etymology, does not exist. The true forms are Ir. *qæjyn*, Dig. *qæjun*; the *q-* of the Digor form, instead of the expected *ğ-*, is either expressive

---

[29] For cognate Iranian words I refer to Abaev, *IES* III., 188 ff.

[30] See Vs. F. Miller, *Osetinsko–russko–nemeckij slovar (MF)*, I–III., pod. red. i s. dopol. A. A. Frejmana, (Leningrad, 1927–34), II., 698; and Abaev, *IES*, I, 603 ff.

[31] E. Benveniste, *Études sur la langue ossète* (Paris, 1959), 12 ff.

[32] L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāninéennes*, t. X. (Paris, 1962), 28, 80.

[33] RV V, 52, 12: *chandahstubhah kubhanyava utsamā kīriṇo nṛtuḥ* Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, explained *kubhanyavah* as *udakecchavaḥ* "desiring water." This has a semantic parallel in RV V, 54,2, where *udanyavaḥ* is used about the carts of the Maruts (the masters of rain), but lacks etymological support. K. F. Geldner, in his Rigveda translation, *Der Rig–Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt*, I. (Cambridge Mass., 1951), 58. does not translate the word. J. Pokorny in his *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I. (Bern,1959), 590, derives the Indian word from an IE root **keu-/ku-* "to bend, bow," and translates "sich drehend, tanzend."

[34] O. Szemerényi, "Iranian studies," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 76 (1960), 67 ff.

or due to an interdialectal borrowing (if the information of the dictionary is correct).[35]

10. Another word of Iranian derivation that has been adopted as a religious term by the Christian church is the verb *arğawyn*, Dig. *arğawun*. It is used in the sense "to celebrate, participate in the Mass, to get baptized or married"; the past participle *arğud* means "divine service, baptism, wedding ceremony," i.e. the Christian sacrament. The nominal derivative *arğwan*, Dig. *arğawæn* is used in the meaning "church." In the Gospel translation (Syğdæg evangelie) of 1902 it denotes the Jewish Temple (e.g., Mt. 12,6; 24.1), the basic meaning being "a place intended for a divine service" (the suffix *-æn* "designed to, suited for"). The verb *arğawyn* is also found in a profane sense "to scold, abuse." An old meaning "to read" is still retained in Digor; it is apparently not alien to Iron either. Sjögren, in his Ossetische Sprachlehre, translates German "lesen" by Ir. *arğawyn* and *kæsyn*, Dig. *arğawun*.[36] Iosif, in his Russian-Ossetic dictionary,[37] gives *arğawyn* and *kæsyn* as the equivalents of Russian *čitat'*.[38] The noun *arğaw* "tale, story" also belongs to this stem.

Abaev has convincingly derived this group of words from an Indo-Iranian root **gar-/gr-ə-*, I.E. **g^wer-H-*, plus the preverb *ā-* (in this case the verb and the preverb have amalgamated into an unanalyzable lexical unit; the perfective aspect of the past tense needs a second preverb).[39]

In Old Indian we find a number of derivatives of this root, used with religious connotations: *grṇāti/grṇīté* "invokes, praises," *gūrti-* "(song of) praise"; *jarā-* "invocation"; *jaritar-* "invoker, praiser"; with the preverb *ā-*: Ved. *ā-gurasva* (pres.imp.med., RV), *ā-guráte* (pres.ind.med.).; Brāhm.[40]

The same root has been identified in three verbal forms in the Avesta in the sense "to praise," twice with the preverb *aibi-* (Y. 70.1; Vr. 4.1), once with the preverb *ā-* (Yt. 12.50, in the passive voice). There also exists a root noun *gar-*

---

[35] *MF*, I, 438. For other views I refer to Abaev, *IES*, I, 603 ff., and M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen (EWA)*, I–II (Heidelberg, 1986–96), I, 367.

[36] A. J. Sjögren, *Ossetische Sprachlehre* (St. Petersburg, 1844)

[37] Iosif, episkop' Vladikavkazskij, *Russko–osetinskij slovar'* (Vladikavkaz, 1884).

[38] The use of *færsyn* "to ask" in the sense "to read" is probably due to Georgian influence, cf. Georg. *k'itxva*, *v-k'itxulob* "(I) read," and, at least today, mainly limited to South Ossetic. Formerly, however, the latter sense was found in the Iron dialect of North Ossetia (private communication of Prof. Tamerlan Guriev, Vladikavkaz).

[39] *IES*, I, 65 ff.

[40] See Mayrhofer *EWA*, I, 468 ff.

"praise, eulogy" (garō.nmāna-/dəmāna-) "House of Praise, the Zoroastrian Paradise."[41]

The identification of Av. *gar-* with O.Ind. *gṛṇāti* etc. was, for semantic reasons, called into question by Benveniste more than 60 years ago.[42] His explanations have since been accepted by various scholars. According to Benveniste Av. *gar-* belongs to an Ir. root **gar-* < I.E. **g'her-* = Sanskrit *har-* "to take." The arguments were based on an interpretation of the passages where the verbal forms occur. Recently, however, Kellens, in his study of the Avestan root nouns, has examined these passages thoroughly and convincingly shown that the meaning of the Avestan verb is "to praise, glorify, celebrate, officiate." His interpretations were supported by Narten in her comments on the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti: *aibi.jarətar-* "praiser, who pays honour and glory in worship."[43] There is hardly any reason to doubt that in prehistoric Aryan derivatives of the root **gar-* (Indo-Eur. **gʷer-H-*) were used in a religious sense "to glorify, extoll in words or song." In Indo-European languages outside the Aryan family we also find derivatives of this root with religious (or at least solemn) connotations.[44]

In Old Indian and Avestan the present tense was formed from the the root by means of a nasal infix: (O.Ind. 9th class): O.Ind. *gṛṇāti* etc., Av. *aibi.gərānte*. In Ossetic the verb has been formed from the root by means of the suffix **-aw-* (I.E. **-ew-*): **ā-gr-(ə)-aw-*.. The Old Indian and the Avestan verbs are derived from a set root. This cannot be decided in the the case of the Ossetic verb. But the co-existence of set and anit roots is well known in Old Indian (and other I.E. languages), cf. *stṛṇāti* "spreads out": *stṛṇóti* "lays low, overthrows," *stīrṇá-* "strewn, scattered": *stṛtá-* "thrown down";<I.E. **ster-H-* vs.**ster-*.

A verb used in a religious sense and derived from this root is probably found in Sogdian: Buddh. Sogd. *ngr"y* = **ni-gr-āy-* "to praise, honour".[45] Also Christian Sogdian *gr/'/ty'* "praise" (*nm'č' 't gr/'/ty'* "veneration and praise").[46] This root is found in a more profane sense in the Yazghulami verb *ǧ(ə)raw-* "to cry,"[47] and in

---

[41] See Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), col. 512.

[42] Benveniste, "Termes et noms achéménides en araméen," *Journal asiatique* CCXXV (Paris, 1934): 177 ff.

[43] See J. Kellens, *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 21 ff.; and J. Narten, *Der Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 88 ff.

[44] See Pokorny, *Indogermanisches*, 478 ff.

[45] *The Sūtra of the Causes and Effects*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, (London, 1970), l. 542; cf. also pp. 61 ff.

[46] O. Hansen, *Berliner sogdische Texte*, II. (Wiesbaden, 1955).

[47] Cf. D. I. Edel'man, *Jazguljamskij–russij slovar'* (Moskva, 1971), 103; T. N. Paxalina, *Issledovanie po sravitel'no–istoričeskoj fonetike pamirskix jazykov* (Moskva, 1983), 145.

the Roshani verb *tiğréw* "idem."[48] Oss. *dzuryn*, Dig. *dzorun*, "to speak" may also belong here, if from **jar-u-* (with umlaut, i.e. **jaur-(u)-*). Note also the profane sense of Oss. *arğawyn* "to scold, abuse." (This is not meant to be an exhaustive list of all Iranian derivatives of this root.)

11. From these facts I find it natural to conclude that derivatives of the Aryan root **gar/gr-(ə)-* developed a religious meaning "to praise, glorify, celebrate a divine service" (or the like), and that this development is common to both Old Indian and Iranian (or at least some of the dialectal variants of both the Aryan families). The original meaning of the root was probably "to raise voice." The profane meaning seems to have been retained in the Pamir languages quoted above, and in part in Ossetic (unless the semantic development has been in the reverse direction?).

Old Alanic *arğawun* (or its forerunner) was thus used, if my reasoning is sound, as a religious term in the sense "to recite some kind of a solemn text, a hymn, at a sacrifice"; *arğawæn* were the sacred precincts where this sacrifice took place. The Christian missionaries adopted this pagan term for their own liturgical usages, instead of resorting to Georgian or Greek words. Similar Christian borrowings of words and expressions belonging to the vocabulary of the traditional tribal religion were probably not uncommon.

The chronology of this adoption, as well as its social and local circumstances, can hardly be established, but I am inclined to believe that at least the adoption of the verb dates back to early Christian times.

There is some possibility that the past participle *arğud* occurs as a Sarmatian proper name in Greek inscriptions found in the North Pontic region:

Αργοδα, Αργοτου (both in the genitive), cf. Abaev 1979: 279. If this is correct, the meaning is probably "blessed, consecrated" or, perhaps, "baptized." Ἄργωδα, the name of a Crimean town mentioned by Ptolemaeus (III, 6,5), may also belong here, meaning "a holy, consecrated place"; possibly also Αργουαναγος, a proper name recorded in Olbia: **Arğwanaka-* "to be praised, benedicendus" (?)[49]

12. Needless to say, the Ossetes, through long-standing cultural contacts with the Turkic and North Caucasian neighbour peoples, as well as through an extensive bilingualism, have been exposed to a strong influence from their neighbours. This applies both to their material and spiritual culture. We are no doubt justified in speaking of a North Caucasian cultural area. Nevertheless the Ossetic language has

---

[48] V. S. Sokolova, *Genetičeskie otnošenija jazguljamskogo jazyka i šugnanskoj jazykovoj gruppy* (Leningrad, 1967), 90 ff.

[49] See Abaev, *IES*, 1. c.

been remarkably resistant to foreign influence; changes have to a large extent taken place within a hereditary framework. This is obvious in the case of grammatical structure, but it applies to vocabulary as well. There exist numerous words relating to traditional social and spiritual culture which date back to Iranian, and even Aryan, antiquity, not, of course, without undergoing semantic changes, but nevertheless testifying to cultural continuity. The words that have been commented on in the preceding paragraphs are meant as an evidence of this assertion.

Professor, University of Oslo, Department of Classical and Romance Studies
P.O. Box 1007 Blindern
N-0315 Oslo, Norway

THE OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATIONS
OF SAINT MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S WORKS

Lela Khoperia (with the contribution of Basil Markesinis) ⬇

The old Georgian translations of Saint Maximus the Confessor's works, as literary monuments, reflect the processes of cultural exchange that took place between Georgia and Byzantium between the seventh and the twelfth centuries. They can also be used to shed new light on some problems concerning the life and the legacy of this Church Father.

Throughout the centuries Georgia maintained close political and cultural contacts with the Byzantine Empire. Whatever happened in Byzantium also influenced Georgian reality in one way or another and left its traces on it. This is why the Georgian translations of Byzantine authors are relevant not only for the study of Georgian literature and culture in general, but often they also permit a better understanding of the cultural processes in the Byzantine Empire. They present interesting material for the study of the literary heritage of Greek authors—among others Maximus the Confessor.

The most tragic events of the life of Saint Maximus closely connected him with Georgia. This Father of the Greek and Latin Churches was the leader of the opposition against the Monothelite heresy which was the official confession of the Byzantine Emperors and the Patriarchs of Constantinople in his time.[1] Following several trials, he was condemned and, as is written in a document attached to the *"Disputatio Bizyae" (CPG 7735)*[*], after his right hand and tongue were amputated in Constantinople[2], he was exiled to Lazica[3] in the north-western part of present-day Georgia. According to a letter of Anastasius Apocrisiarius, *"Ad Theodosium Gangresem" (CPG 7733)*, Maximus arrived at Lazica not earlier than on the 8 June 662. He was immediately imprisoned in the fortress of Schemaris[4] (present-day

---

[*] for abbrevations, see p. 232.

[1] *Ekthesis* (A. D. 638; *CPG* 7607).

[2] *Disputatio Bizyae*, 836–837, ed. P. Allen–B. Neil, *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii (CCSG* 39) (Turnhout–Leuven: Brepols 1999), 151; see also *Hypomnesticum*, ch. 50–52 and 78–88, 199 and 201–203.

[3] *Disputatio Bizyae*, 845–846, Allen–Neil, 151.

[4] *Epistola Anastasii Apocrisiarii ad Theodosium Gangresem*, 17–32, Allen–Neil p. 175.

Tsikhe Muris in Lechkumi, near Tsargeri),[5] where he died on 13 August in the same year.[6]

It is noteworthy that in this part of Georgia, Lechkhumi, the memory of Maximus is still alive. The local inhabitants preserve legends about his last days. The remains of an ancient monastery, which even today is called the "Monastery of Maximus," are believed to be the place of his burial, and in the beginning of this century the local inhabitants were still celebrating Maximus' memorial day on the Thursday after Easter—along with the official memorial day of Maximus on the 13 August.[7]

Remarkably enough, until the tenth century not a single work of Maximus had been translated into Georgian, though most of the outstanding Byzantine Church Fathers had already been introduced into the Georgian literature before that time by the translation of at least one text. This fact can partly be explained by the fact that in Georgia between the seventh and the tenth centuries predominantly liturgical texts and collections were translated, corresponding to the practical needs of the Georgian Church. However, this bias may also reflect the theological and literary interests in Byzantium in those centuries. Although St. Maximus had a great impact on Byzantine theology in the period following his martyrium and enjoyed great popularity, however the interest in him and his popularity, were not equally intense in all epochs.[8] Thus—although this question would need further study—the fact that Maximus had not been translated into Georgian until the tenth century might indicate that his works were not so widespread in Byzantium in the first two centuries after his death either.

Be that as it may, the beginning of the translation of Maximus' works into Georgian in the tenth century, along with the changes of the cultural situation in Georgia, was determined by an increase of interest towards Maximus' writings in

---

[5] For the identification of Georgian toponyms related to St. Maximus' last exile, see P. Allen–B. Neil, *Scripta Saeculi VII*, Introduction, XLIV–XLVI.

[6] *Epistola Anastasii* (Latin transl.), 83–85, P. Allen–B. Neil, *Scripta Saeculi VII*,. 176–178; see also *Hypomnesticum*, 251–280, 215–217. For a good introduction to St. Maximus' life and times in English, see Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor* (The Early Church Fathers) (London–New York: Routledge 1996), 3–18; see also Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator. The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, 2nd ed. (Chicago–La Salle, Illinois: Open Court 1995), 1–7.

[7] The Greek ecclesiastic calendar also commemorates St. Maximus on 13 August, but that is the memorial day of the transfer of his relics to Constantinople. His main feast is now celebrated on 21 January, "perhaps in order to include the Confessor in the series of the great Doctors of the Church, commemorated during January," *Le Synaxaire. Vie des Saints de l'Église Orthodoxe. Adaptation française par Macaire, moine de Simonos-Petras.* Tome second : Décembre, Janvier. (Thessaloniki: To Perivoli Tis Panaghias, 1988), 468, n. 1.

[8] See *The Works of St. Maximus the Confessor.* Translation, introduction and commentaries by A. Sidoroff. (Moscow, 1993) Vol. 1., 70. [in Russian].

Byzantium, starting from the second half of the ninth century, with the so-called Macedonian Renaissance and the revival of various spiritual interests.[9] In this period, presumably already in the tenth century, the Greek "Life of Maximus,"[10] based on earlier sources, was composed.[11] The translation of Maximus' works into Latin also started in the ninth century.[12]

In the second half of the tenth century, a new period of Georgian culture began. It was characterised by an increasing orientation towards Constantinople, in contrast to the previous epoch, when Georgia had close cultural relations with the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, particularly with Palestine. Georgian translators were trying to adopt the cultural achievements of Constantinople and raise the level of Georgian literature to that of the centre of the Byzantine Empire. Many works from various branches of church literature were translated, and several Byzantine authors—including Maximus—were introduced.

In the tenth and twelfth centuries most of Maximus' works were translated into Georgian following various methods. Some of these translations were made in the end of the tenth century at the Athonite literary school by the outstanding Georgian translator Evtheme Athonely (Euthymius of Mount Athos), while others come from the Gelati literary school in the twelfth century. Therefore, some works exist in two different Georgian translations.

The different Georgian translations of St. Maximus' works reflect the changes in the cultural situation, and the development of the spiritual interests in Georgia. These also resulted in a certain shift of interest towards other aspects of the Confessor's writings. All these processes were largely influenced by similar changes in Byzantium. These translations also reflect the changing attitudes of Georgian translators of different epochs towards Maximus' works and demonstrate how they were transferring Byzantine literary traditions and cultural tendencies into Georgia, creatively adjusting them to their spiritual demands and requirements.

---

[9] See for example the interest that Photius has shown, in the third volume of his *Bibliotheca*, toward five codices containing the works of St. Maximus: the codd. 192 (A)–195 (see Photius, *Bibliothèque. Tome III ["codices" 186–222]*, ed. R. Henry, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1962), 74–89.

[10] *Vita ac certamen PG* 90, 68 A–109 B.

[11] See W. Lackner, "Zu Quellen und Datierung der Maximosvita (BHG³ 1234)," *AB* 85 (1967), 285–316. According to R. Devreesse, "La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ces récensions," *AB* 46 (1928), 5–49, this Life is based on material collected already during the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople A.D. 681). This *Vita* also contains rather unreliable information on St. Maximus' early life in Constantinople (see also Louth, *Maximus*, 4).

[12] On ninth-century Latin translations of St. Maximus' works see C. Laga–C. Steel, Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium I. Quaestiones I–LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scoti Erivgenae iuxta-posita (CCSG 7), XCI–XCVIII; see also Allen–Neil, *Scripta Saeculi* VII,. XXIV–XLI.

As mentioned above, Evtheme Athonely was the first to translate the works of Maximus into Georgian. His translations in most cases differ significantly from the known Greek originals. The texts have been reshaped and transformed in various ways—some of them were excerpted, others were compiled or interpolated. The aim of these changes was to make the translations more easily understandable, and to adapt them to the needs of an average, simple reader who was not used to complicated theological-philosophical texts.

The characteristic feature of Evtheme's method of translation was the adaptation of Greek models. He was often purposefully transforming the works of Byzantine authors, sometimes excerpting and simplifying, sometimes extending parts of the texts, adding commentaries, inserting interpolations from the works of the same or other authors, and compiling different texts. This seems to have been a conscious choice on the part of Evtheme, as can be inferred from the words of a younger contemporary of his, another Georgian translator of the eleventh century, Ephrem Mtsire. Ephrem mentions that Evtheme was reshaping the Greek models "in accordance with the needs of his epoch, feeding the spiritual infancy of Georgian readers with the milk of his translations."[13]

Whatever the local needs for such a method of translation may have been, it was elaborated on the basis of existing Byzantine literary traditions.[14] Being a person of wide learning, who had spent all his life on Mount Athos in a Byzantine Greek environment, Evtheme was well aware of the Byzantine literary traditions and the spiritual interests and cultural tendencies of his epoch. The tradition of reshaping texts for various purposes already existed in Byzantine literature. Evtheme made creative use of this tradition, emulating the freedom of Greek compilers to reach his own goals. Sometimes, however, he was using an already existing Greek adapted version of the text as a model, when it corresponded to his aims.[15]

Evtheme's adapted translations of Maximus' writings very often reflect the Byzantine literary tradition. This means that they might indicate the existence of an adapted, simplified Greek version of Maximus' writings for the average reader in

---

[13] See T. Bregadze, The Description of Georgian Manuscripts Containing the Works of Gregory Nazianzen. (Tbilisi, 1988), 149 and 174. [in Georgian].

[14] See K. Bezarashvili–M. Machavariani, The Peculiarities of Evtheme Athonely's Translation of Gregory Nazianzen's 2nd and 3rd Homilies and a Colophon of Ephrem Mtsire. *Philological Research*, 2. (Tbilisi, 1995), 226–288. See also Michel-Jean van Esbroeck, "Euthyme l'Hagiorite: Le traducteur et ses traductions." *Revue des Études Georgiennes et Caucasiennes* 4 (1988): 73–107.

[15] For example, Evtheme's translation of "The Miracles of Archangel Michael" by Germanus of Constantinople was believed to be heavily interpolated by Evtheme, but not long ago an exact Greek model of this interpolated version was discovered in a Greek manuscript of the eleventh century. [Vat.Otob. 442] See M.-J. van Esbroeck, *Euthyme*, 98–102.

the tenth century. This seems even more likely if we take into account the complicated character of Maximus' works. Even Patriarch Photius, a man of very wide erudition and a bibliophile, complained that it was hard to understand Maximus' writings.[16]

Some Greek manuscripts, which contain compiled versions of some of Maximus' works also testify to a tradition of reshaping.[17] Evtheme's translations might preserve additional information about this tradition. For example, Evtheme has also translated the *Questiones ad Thalassium*, in which St. Maximus interprets various difficult passages of the Bible. Evtheme has extended his translation by various interpolations—instead of the sixty-five chapters of the Greek original, the translation consists of one hundred.[18] One of several interpolations inserted in this translation is the *Diamerismos tes ges* of Epiphanius of Cyprus. We do not know about any existing Greek text that could have served as a model for this translation. However, M. van Esbroeck has pointed to the Byzantine literary tradition of composing "centuries" (works consisting of hundred chapters) from Maximus' works and to the fact that inserting the so-called "*Diamerismos*" into works of Scriptural exegesis was also in accordance with traditional procedure.[19] Thus, Evtheme, while reshaping the "*Questiones ad Thalassium*," was following a Byzantine literary tradition, though we cannot completely exclude the possibility that his translation corresponds to a lost Greek original.

Another work attributed to St Maximus in the Georgian text tradition, but not extant in Greek, is the "*Life of the Virgin*" (*CPG*, 7712), which was also translated by Evtheme. Many scholars have doubted the authenticity of this work, but M. van Esbroeck, after very thorough investigations, has concluded that it is one of the

---

[16] See Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 192 (A), 156 b26–157 a1.

[17] For example, this is the case with the compilation entitled *Diversa capita ad theologiam et oeconomiam spectantia deque virtute et vitio* (*CPG* 7715); about the sources—among which are also genuine works St. Maximus—used by the compiler of the *Capita*, see C. Laga–C. Steel, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium* I, LXXVI–LXXXII; II, quaestiones LVI–LXV (*CCSG* 22), (Turnhout–Leuven, 1990), XLV–XLVII; see also M.-J. van Esbroeck, "Euthyme l'Aghiorite," 98.

[18] On these chapters ("Quaestiones ad Thalassium quae graece non inveniuntur" in *CPG* 7722) see M.-J. van Esbroeck, "Euthyme l'Hagiorite," 97–98 and id. "La question 66 du 'Ad Thalassium' Géorgien" in *Philohistor, Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* eds. A. Schoors – P. van Deun, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60, (Leuven 1994), 329–337, and id. "Ein unbekannter Traktat 'Ad Thalassium' von Maximos dem Bekenner" in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement 10.*, (Stuttgart, 1994), 75–82. See also the comments of C. Laga and C. Steel, on this thesis in *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium* II, LII–LIV.

[19] M.-J. van Esbroeck, "Euthyme l'Hagiorite", 97–98.

earliest works of St. Maximus.[20] Others, like E. M. Toniolo, still have serious reservations concerning the authenticity of this work.[21]

Evtheme also translated the *Vita* of Maximus. There are two main versions of Maximus' Life—one in Greek and one in Syriac.[22] They contain completely contradictory information about the early years and background of Maximus. The Georgian translation on the whole follows the Greek version of the *Vita*, but it contains a few interpolations from other sources and also some additional information about certain moments of St. Maximus' life. The description of Maximus' stay in the monastery of Chrysopolis, the information about his first visit to Rome, where he was living in a cave and was visited by his followers, and the story of Maximus' third interrogation, all come from these external sources, probably picked by Evtheme from the *scholia* of Greek manuscripts. Therefore, the Georgian translation of Maximus' Life is also of interest for the study of Maximus' biography.

The translation of Maximus' works into Georgian continued in the twelfth century in the Gelati literary school, following completely different principles, in accordance with the changed cultural situation. The Gelati literary school, one of the most important centres of culture in twelfth-century Georgia, was characterised by strong hellenophile tendencies. The spiritual interests of the school were to a great extent determined by the cultural processes in Byzantium, through the close connections with the Byzantine world. The outstanding representatives of the school, who were educated in Constantinople, transferred to Gelati and there developed the cultural trends and spiritual interests characteristic of advanced cultural circles of the capital of the Byzantine Empire in the twelfth century.

The special interest of this school in theological-philosophical literature was to some extent a reflection of a similar increase of interest in Byzantium in that period.[23] The scholarly character of the literature translated in Gelati determined the development of a particular, very erudite theory of translation, aimed at the most precise translation, elaboration, and systematisation of philosophical terminology.

The translations of Maximus' works, performed in the Gelati school according to this latter theory of translation, reflect an increase of interest in the philosophical-

---

[20] See Maxime le Confesseur, *Vie de la Vierge*. Traduit par Michel-Jean van Esbroeck. Corpus Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Iberici, 22. (Leuven, 1986), v–xxxviii.

[21] E. M. Toniolo, "L 'Akathistos' nella 'Vita di Maria' di Massimo il Confessore" in I. M. Calabuic, *Virgo, liber Verbi, Miscellanea... Besuti* (Roma, 1991), 209–228.

[22] See S. Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *AB*, 91 (1973), 299–346.

[23] This Byzantine interest in Maximus during the eleventh-twelfth centuries is manifested by their compiling a great *Corpus Maximianus*, containing all available works of the Confessor. On this *Corpus* and its codices see C. Laga–C. Steel, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium* I, XLII–LVI.

theological aspects of Maximus' thinking, his Neo-Platonic ideas, and the use of the methods of dialectical argumentation to support Christian dogma. The margins of the manuscripts copied in the Gelati school and containing these translations are covered with exclamations and expressions of excitement ("Beautiful!", "Delight in it!", "Pay attention to it!", etc.) made by scribes or translators, marking the complicated logical argumentation of Maximus, his philosophical statements, and original theological ideas.

These translations which, unlike Evtheme's works, were intended for well-educated readers, are word-by-word translations, which try to capture all nuances of Maximus' thinking, and all the delicacies of his argumentation. Great attention is paid to the exact translation of theological-philosophical terms. Since they were made by highly educated translators, they present interesting material for the interpretation of Maximus' works as well.

The Greek model of the twelfth-century Georgian *Corpus Maximianus* has been found, containing the greater part of the translated texts. This is the manuscript Coislinianus 90, one of the testimonies to the Greek *Corpus* mentioned above,[24] which once belonged to the library of the Great Laura of Mount Athos. It has Georgian superscriptions and notes, which show that the manuscript was used by a Georgian scribe or translator.[25] This fact indicates close contacts between the Gelati literary school and the centres of Byzantine culture. The manuscript is much damaged, so that the literal Georgian translation will be very helpful in reconstructing the content of the original Greek manuscript and, consequently, in establishing the critical text of Maximus' writings included in this corpus.

The study of the Georgian translations of Maximus the Confessor's works is an ongoing process, and this work is far from completion. Several interesting questions have come up and we hope that future investigations will bring answers to them.

---

[24] See above, n. 23.

[25] The codex was described by R. Devreesse. See *Bibliothèque national, Département des manuscrits, Cathalogue des manuscrits grecs II: Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), 78–79; for supplementary information, see C. Laga–C. Steel, *Maximi Confessoris*, LIV–LVI; P. van Deun, *Maximi Confessoris opuscula exegetica libri duo* (CCSG 23), (Turnhout–Leuven 1991), XXXIII–XXXIV.

Appendix: Abbreviations in the text and the footnotes

AB   *Analecta Bollandiana*. Brussels, 1882 ff.
CCSG   *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*. Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols-Leuven University Press, 1980 ff.
CPG   Christian Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983 ff.

Researcher
7 Tamarashvili st. apt # 45,
380062, Tbilisi, Georgia

THE SMALL NATIONALITY OF THE ANDIS:
A PART OF THE AVAR ETHNIC GROUP IN DAGHESTAN

Mamaikhan Aglarov 📥

The name of the country—*"Daghestan"*—can be translated from the Turkic as "the land of mountains." Daghestan is sometimes called "the mountain of languages" or "a museum of peoples" due to the large number of nationalities and ethnic groups inhabiting this part of the Caucasus. There are more than thirty indigenous peoples (that is of Caucasian origin) here, with five major and several minor nationalities. The subject of this article is the Andis who form the largest group among the national minorities of Daghestan. Since 1959 this group has been officially registered as part of the Avar ethnic group, though earlier it had been considered as a separate national minority with the name of *"Andis."* At present the size of the Andi population is about 30,000. In 1938 the Andis officially numbered 9,750. By 1990 the population had grown to over 25,000.

The Andis live in western Daghestan. Their neighbours to the north-west are the Chechens, and to the south-east small ethnic groups speaking other Andian languages, and the Avars. The Andi language belongs to the Andian subgroup of the Andi-Avar-Dido Group, itself a subdivision of the Daghestanian branch of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family.

The traditional administrative centre of the Andi territory is the village of Andi, laid out like a medieval mountain town; it is divided into quarters *(rekhkhun)* with a central square *(kaw)* and a mosque for Friday services. Each quarter also has its own *kaw*. Such quarters and squares are likewise found in all other Andi villages. The Andi settlements are arranged as in an amphitheatre along the western and northern slopes of the Andi ravine (the villages of Andi, Gukhna, Gagatl, Rikvani, Ashali, Zilo, Chanko, Rishukha) and in the valleys of the larger rivers (the villages of Muni and Kvankhidatl). The older type of Andi settlement was a tightly packed cluster of buildings. Each village had a territory reserved for its exclusive use, the boundaries of which were clearly marked and respected. The Upper Andi settlements were twice destroyed and burned down: after the invasion by Tamerlane, and during Vorontsov's campaign of 1845.

Archaeological evidence from the Kuro-Araxes culture (fourth to third millennia B.C.) excavated on Andian territory near the villages of Gagatl and Ashali, along with linguistic evidence, link the Andis with the Caucasian world. In addition, there is a tradition based on sources from the ninth century B.C. that the Andis, after having been routed by the Assyrian King Sargon II, migrated to the Caucasus from die Near East. There is reliable testimony from Pliny the Elder (first century A.D.)

that the Andis had already settled in the Eastern Caucasus at the beginning of the Christian era. According to toponymic evidence, the Andis once occupied a wide expanse of territory by the Andiskoe Koysu River, but evidently they were assimilated by an Avar-speaking population. Another segment of the Andi people, along the middle and upper Andiskoe Koysu River, were later subdivided into seven ethnic groups, each with a distinct language: the *Botlikhs, Ghodoberins, Akhvakhs, K'arat'ins, Bagvalals, Ch'amalals*, and *T'indals*. Historical accounts and chronicles record the incursion of Tamerlane's troops into Andia and their destruction of the home of Khan Yoluk at Gagatl and the establishment of Islam there at the same time.

Documents describe Andi society as having an established political system. In the seventeenth century the Andis won a decisive victory in the battle at Akhkhulatly over the militia of the Avar *nutsal* Turulava, who had disputed the right of the Andi lords to collect tribute and exercise control over the neighbouring communities of Avaria and Mountain Chechnia. The Andis became Russian subjects in 1731, but shortly afterwards they broke away to support the Chechens against the Russian General von Frauendorf. The Andis also participated in the victorious pan-Daghestanian campaign against the forces of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah in 1741. The Andi cavalry took an active part in the Caucasus Wars (1817–1864) from the beginning and distinguished themselves by their bravery. Among the better-known participants in this fight for independence were the Andi *naib*s Gaziyav and Labezan.

The Andis are Sunni Muslims. They definitely adopted Islam in the fourteenth century; the Muslim faith supplanted a form of Christianity syncretized with more ancient religious beliefs. The pre-Islamic Andis had a cultic centre on the peak of the mountain of Bakhargan, which was associated with their chief deity, Ts'ob. The Bakhargan cult declined after the propagation of Islam but did not disappear entirely. Even now, in times of summer drought, men and women ascend the mountain to perform rain-making rites. They offer thanksgiving there and perform a ritual dance (*zikr*, a term also used for Sufi rituals). This type of *zikr* was founded by Kunta Haji, a Chechen religious figure of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Andia has been referred to as a "federal republic" (S. Bronevski) comprising seven self-governing communities: Andi, Gukhna, Gagatl, Rikvani, Ashali, Zilo, and Chanko. The villages of Muni and Kvankhidatl were part of a neighbouring political entity (*tekhnutsal*). The Andian alliance was once the strongest in Western Daghestan, particularly in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, at the time of the *shamkhalate*, the authority of which extended to the neighbouring Avarian and Chechen communities. Administrative and judicial powers were exercised by governors called *khan* or *hilatabul* and a council of elders (*jamati*) representing the populace. The most general powers and functions were delegated to the government of the federation. The governors were selected and sworn in annually. The police

function was fulfilled by appointees of the council of elders (*dorghaqol*), and military matters devolved upon the leaders called *seduqan*.

The courts based their decisions on the traditional code of laws (*adat*), custom, and the Sharia. Justice (according to the Sharia) and spiritual authority were upheld by the *qadi*s (judges), present in each village, from among whom was chosen the chief *qadi* Ali Mirza alAndi, who bore the title "*Sheikh-ul-Shyukh.*" Because of this juridical pluralism, a plaintiff could choose among different juridical systems. Public opinion exerted an important regulatory constraint, as did the *maslaat* (mediatory) courts. In many instances the parties settled matters without resort to the courts, on the basis of tradition and negotiation. According to Charles de Montesquieu's classification, this political system has been referred to as an "aristo-democratic republic" in historiography, since before the Caucasian war only persons of the first estate were admitted to the government. During the time of the *imamate* (mid-nineteenth century) and annexation to Russia, an Andian *naibate* (part of the Andi *okrug*) replaced the earlier federation and was subsequently liquidated with the establishment of Soviet power. At the present time, village soviets exercise local authority.

Traditionally, the Andis manufactured noteworthy Caucasian felt cloaks (*burkas*) of long, durable black or white wool, from a local breed of sheep. The manufacture of *burkas* goes back to ancient times. Historical records mention black felt cloaks as part of the battle garment of mountaineers at the time of the campaign of Alexander the Great in the Near East. Andian *burkas* were in great demand in the Caucasus and in Russia, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the profits of this handicraft were an important element of Andian traditional economy.

The most special Andi feast day was the festival of the "bull's departure," celebrated on New Year's Day, which traditionally occurred around the spring equinox. Twin bulls were yoked to a plough, and the first furrow was ploughed by a person who had volunteered for that task on the previous holiday. During the festival, champions in running, wrestling, and stone tossing were elected, and horse races were held, with prizes awarded. An especially impressive ceremony is the reconciliation of the parties in a blood feud, accompanied by oratory and speeches, an offering of thanksgiving, and so on.

As mentioned above, the Andian ethnic group that had been much more numerous in ancient times was considerably reduced as a result of assimilation by the Chechen substratum in the West, and by the Avars in the North and the East. The main kernel of the population consisted of eight ethnic units. In our time, these are separate ethnic and language groups, which belong to the so-called Andian subgroup of nationalities. Not only in Daghestan but in the whole Caucasus, the territory of Andian residence is the most variegated in ethnic and language peculiarities. The reasons at the bottom of such an intensive ethnic divergence was often searched for

in this part of Daghestan. In the scholarly literature there are two different approaches to explain the phenomenon. The first and the earliest is connected with the theory of the heterogeneous nature of languages and peoples. According to the second approach, diversity proceeds from the natural and geographical factors (i.e. the mountainous landscape which isolated communities).

Both versions are obviously false, they can easily be refuted by a rough analysis of the facts. A special study directed by the author towards the understanding of the phenomenon points to the *politogenesis* as the principal agent of the ethnic divergence. Individual phases of ethnogenesis and formation of languages were closely connected with the peculiarities of *politogenesis*. (The results of this study were reported at the XII ICAES in Zagreb.) A very short summary of this new explanation can be presented as follows: the ethno-linguistical pluralism of Daghestan has its fundamental explanation as a phenomenon of cultural response to the forms of political organisation of the society. Individual communities at the level of sovereign micro-political entities took on the appearance of small nationalities, while some other communities set up unions and formed political entities of federal types, being thus distinguished as bigger nationalities (individual communities, which constituted unions are only ethnographically "stretched" here). The next tier of entities were unions of unions or federal compounds, with big territories and population—even larger ethnic compounds of Daghestan.

Though the Andis are formally registered as Avars, they retain their language, way of life and self-consciousness. Students at high schools and universities are mastering European and Oriental languages. In addition, a script has been developed for the Andi language, which is used for local communication and correspondence, but not in publications. Folklore and literary works have been written in Andi: e.g. the translation of the Gospel by Luke into Andi language has just been finished. This is the only extensive work written in the Andi language. The official written languages before the Revolution were Arabic (for clerical and religious matters) and Avar (for literature, press, and religion). In the 1930s Avar became the medium of instruction in primary schools, with subsequent education being conducted in Russian. The Arabic script was used until 1928, when a Latin-based alphabet was promulgated, followed by the introduction of a Cyrillic orthography in 1937. The Andis have long been a polyglot people: most have a good command of Avar, and some speak Chechen. Since the 1960s the majority can speak Russian as well. Andi folklore and literature is marked by bilingualism (Andi and Avar).

Professor, Daghestan State University, Department of History and Theory of Culture
367030 Mahachkala, ul. 26 Bak. Komissarov, 75, Daghestan, Russia

SOME REMARKS ON THE MONGOL CONQUEST
OF GREATER ARMENIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Edmund Schütz and Kornél Nagy

Introduction

It is widely accepted that in the history of the Armenian people, the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century should be regarded as the Selǰuq-Mongol period. For almost an entire century, a very serious debate has been going on about the exact date of the first appearance of the Armenians in the area of the Black Sea and in Galicia (Poland). During this period of debate, two contradictory theories have been in circulation; the one connected the Armenian immigration to this region to the Genoese rule over the southern coast of the Crimea in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, while the other dated this event to the eleventh century, as a result of an *en masse* emigration from the Armenian fatherland, triggered by the incursion of the Selǰuq troops. The partisans of the latter view generally treat the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century nearly as a coherent unity; in fact, they extend the conclusions drawn from the reports of thirteenth-century chronicles on the Mongol predations to earlier times.

Certainly, in principle, the results of the nomadic attacks, devastation, and decimation may have been similar; nevertheless, we should establish a more precise chronology of the mass migration that followed the two invasions which were separated by two centuries. In both cases we have lenghty narratives about the direct results of the depredations by nomadic troops, the devastation of the country, the genocide against the population, and the dragging away of thousands of inhabitants as captives. The contemporary chronicles about the Selǰuq and Mongol invasions are full of jeremiads concerning these deplorable events.[1]

However, there is no trace in the chronicles of emigrants leaving their fatherland for good. Obviously, the population did not want to leave its home and personal belongings. They bewail the dead and hide in cellars, caves, and mountains. In any case, there are a few thousands who flee at the first news of the enemy's

---

[1] *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastiverc'woy,* (Aristakes Lastivertsi's History) ed. and publ. by K. N. Yuzbašean, Erewan, 1963; *Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Patmut'iwn Hayoc',* (History of Armenia) publ. by Melik'-Ohanǰanian, Erewan, 1961.; T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh-New York, 1978); D. Kouyumjian, "L'Arménie sous les dominations des Turcomans et des Ottomans (Xe–XVI siècles," in *Histoire des Arméniens,* ed. G. Dédéyan (Toulouse, 1982).

approach. In the case of both the Selǰuq and the Mongol invasions the sedentary inhabitants had previous experience of earlier attacks. The Selǰuq troops made incursions in 1048, 1054, 1062, preceding the final strike, the capturing of Ani, the capital of medieval Armenia, in 1064. The Mongols first came twenty years before their final attack on *Ciscaucasia*, that is in 1221.[2] Notwithstanding these experiences of the majority of the population, it still happened in districts that lay further away from the main military roads that the village population, in the illusion that probably 'the devil may not be as black as depicted', headed by their priests and *vardapets* who were holding high the holy cross, moved in procession to receive the Mongols cordially. However, they paid a heavy price: they were all killed.[3]

During the Mongol invasions, a large number of Armenians appeared in the Crimea, a fact that is testified by several manuscripts from the 1280s, connected to trade deals between Armenian and Genoese merchants.[4] Certainly, the Armenians, because of their trading experience all around the Near East, were welcome partners in commercial companies that dealt with Eastern and Western countries mostly via Trapezunt to Persia and further on, or towards the South, to Egypt. However, such documents do not give us any exact information on the citizenship of these Armenians; they may have been individual settlers, or simple clients of Genoese factors.

Minas Bžškeanc''s view on the appearance of the Armenians in East-Europe (Crimea and Galicia)

Those who deal with the Armenian mass emigrations generally treat the results of the Selǰuq and Mongol disasters indiscriminately, saying that after the Mongol invasions, during the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, the Armenians fled to the North and to the South. But where did this generally recurring comprehensive statement originate?

If we try to verify the assertion above, which was disseminated by Armenian clerical authors of the last century, we necessarily arrive at the conclusion that, directly or indirectly, the very popular book by Minas Bžškeanc', entitled *"Travel in Poland"* (in Armenian: *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan*) served as the major source of this theory. However, we should also remark that Bžškeanc' was not a pioneer who

---

[2]   Mention must be made of the disastrous predations of the Shah of Xwarezm, Jalal ad-Din in 1225–1228 as well; Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 224-225; *The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 5, The Selǰuq and Mongol periods*, ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), 330.

[3]   Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 202.

[4]   V. Mik'aelean, *Łrimu haykakan gałut'i patmut'iwn* (History of the Armenian settlements in Crimea.), (Erewan, 1964), 113-120.; G. I Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281–1290)*, (Bucarest, 1927), 144.

based this statement on his own research into the old documents and inscriptions of the Armenian settlements. Instead, he followed some other outstanding clergymen before him, and he was not the last in the line either.

Minas Bžškeanc', having been appointed vicar of *Tauria (Crimea)* in 1820, left for a long journey to visit all the centers that belonged to his diocese; on his way he visited all significant and important Armenian diasporas in Galicia and the Crimea. Before his travels, he made thorough studies concerning the past and present state of these colonies. He published the first results of his studies on the past of the Black Sea area in his *Patmut'iwn Pontosi* in 1819. He could make good use of the information given by H. Zohrabean and S. R'oškay whose research in the 1780–90s in the Lwów Archepiscopate and other archives had been incorporated into the encyclopedic digest of historical geography edited and pulished by the Mhit'arist Fathers in San Lazzaro, Venice.[5]

In his book, which contained accounts on his research in the different Armenian communities, Bžškeanc' tried to give a summarised history of their fatherland and the destruction of Ani; he also gave a survey of the recent state of each settlement in the first half of the nineteenth century. To the question when the first Armenian colonies in Galicia were established, he proposed different answers that contradicted each other.

We find an extensive summary in the first passage of his chapter on *"The dispersion of the inhabitants of Ani" (C'rumn Anec'woc')*, where he describes the subsequent waves of refugees as follows: *"In the year 1060 of the Lord, when Ani fell to the hands of the enemies, a large number of the inhabitants of Ani... together with their fellow-countrymen who lived in the surrounding area, took their leave from Armenia, and started on a way to Poland (T'agaworut'iwnn Lehac') and Bogdan (Moldva). And in the year 1062 of the Lord, when the Persians (Seljuqs) beleaguered and looted Ani, the majority of the inhabitants set forth on the tracks of their antecedents winding their way towards Moldavia and, from there, to Poland. But at the time of the sixth capture of Ani, in the year 1239 of the Lord, the leaders of the remainder of the population left for T'at'aristan and settled down in the suburb of Ažderxan (Astraxan) in Aq-Saray, and others dispersed to different places, such as to Sis (Cilicia), Van, Naxijewan."*[6]

In this report we find a wrong date for the capture of Ani. Bžškeanc' considers the attack of Alp Arslan, the Great Seljuq Sultan, into Greater Armenia as the motif that brought about the exodus of the Armenians, but, in fact, the seizure of Ani

---

[5] L. Injijian, *Ašxarhagrut'iwn čoric' masanc' ašxarhi,* (Armenian Geography) I–XI, (Venetik, 1802–1805)

[6] M. Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan,* (A Travel in Poland), (Venetik, 1830), p. 83, paragraph 130.

happened in 1064, instead of 1062. Here, Bžškeanc' repeated again the assertion that the Armenian settlers of Poland had stemmed from the emigrants of the Selǰuq period.[7]

If we read carefully the chapter on *"The Dispersion..."*, we can find the clue for this distortion of the date in the much disputed source of the *Archepiscopate Archive* in *Lwów* which says: *"Theodor, The Grand Dux (sic!), son of Demetre, to the Armenians of Našoxač. Whomever it pleased to come here should come to help and aid me, and I have the intention to grant and donate them freedom for three years. And when you should be with me, you might freely go wherever it pleases you. In the year 1062"*[8] It seems that it was this date that encouraged Bžškeanc' to correct the right date of 1064 to 1062. The author in his colophon says that the text of the source was a translation from Old Slavonic into Armenian; however, the Old Slavonic text does not bear any date. Moreover, the Old Slavonic text, compiled and published by the Polish scholars and philologists F. X. Zacharyasiewicz and T. Gromnicki, is quite different from the Latin translation, being rather a somewhat amplified version of the latter.[9]

It is uncertain whether Bžškeanc' had ever seen the Old Slavonic version, because his Armenian version literally agrees with the Latin; it even contains the date 1062 that is missing in the Old Slavonic but is present in the Latin. Furthermore, the phrase *"dux"* in the Armenian text supposes a Latin and not an Old Slavonic original. Had the original contained the corresponding Slavonic title *Kniaz* or—as is sometimes the case—*Vojevod*, it would rather have been translated as *išxan* or *melik'* in the Armenian text.

Bžškeanc' used the document also with reference to the Armenian inhabitants of Kamenec-Podolski: "In the year 1062 Dux Theodor invited the people of Ani to come and find a new home in Podolia (Galicia), in the capital of Kamenic."[10] Although this sentence is not put within quotation marks in the original, the wording reflects the text of the abovementioned document, only the explicit mention of the city of Kamenic is absent from the latter. The fact that the Austrian historian Ferdinand Bischoff could not see the document when he was in Lwów in 1822 also makes it rather questionable that Bžškeanc' could have seen the original.[11]

---

[7] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan*, p. 54, paragraph 81.

[8] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan*, p. 85, paragraph 134-136.

[9] Zacharyasiewicz, *"Wiadomość o Ormianach w Polsce: Bibl.. Nauk Zakladu im. Ossolinskich, vol. 2,* (Lwów, 1842), 17–35; T. Gromnicki, *Ormianie w Polsce. Ich prawa historia,* (Warszawa, 1889), 32–45; Ya. Dachkévitch, "Les Arméniens à Kiev," REArm (=*Revue des études arméniennes*) X, (Paris, 1976), 340–342.

[10] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan,* p. 135. paragraph 214.

[11] Ya. Dachkévitch, "Les Arméniens... ," 345–347.

A somewhat different version was published by A. M. Pidou, a theatinian priest and emissary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, in his *Breves relationes* in 1669[12], and a similar text in the *Compendiosa relatio* by an anonymous author in 1676. The only essential difference between the two was the place of origin of the Armenians to whom the invitation was addressed: *Armenians of Tataristan* in the former, and *Armenians of Xersons* in the latter.[13] Pidou's *Breves relationes* in Latin did not exert any influence on historical thought, because it has never been published in its original language, but only in a Polish translation in 1876 and later in Armenian, in 1884.

The original document was used by the Armenian Archbishopric of Lwów to prove the ancient rights of the community, and was confirmed in 1641 by the Polish King Władysław IV (1632–1648). The disputes of the church authorities about the rights of the Armenian Church in Poland, though compiled in Latin, remained in ecclesiastic circles, preserved in Ukrainian, Polish, and the Vatican archives. The historical interpretations and disputes about the authenticity of the document in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were published in Polish and Russian and were therefore disregarded by Western historiography.[14]

The historical problems concerning the Armenian colonies in Galicia and the related documentation were first introduced into western historiography by Ferdinand Bischoff, professor of the History of Law for ten years at the University of Lwów (1855–1865), and then for thirty years in Graz (1865–1896).[15] At any rate, the Armenian researchers had a wider influence on historical and public thought, although from Stepannos R'oškay's *Annals of the Armenian Church*, only a segment was published in the last century (1896) and the complete text only recently (1964)[16], while H. Zohrabean's research never appeared separately, but only incorporated into Akontz's geographic encyclopedia.[17] However, M. Bžškeanc' used both of these sources. From paragraphs 130 and 134 of his work it is evident that he had R'oškay's *Annals* in his hand. In his explanation, he simply mixed R'oškay's information with the current version: in 1060 Demetre's son, Theodor, invited the Armenians to serve

---

[12] *Br'ni Miut'iwn Hayoc' Lehastani* (The church union of the Armenians in Poland) (St. Petersburg, 1884), 11.

[13] Br'ni Miut'iwn, 152.

[14] Ya. Dachkévitch, "Les Arméniens," 341–349.

[15] F. Bischoff, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Armenier in Lemberg,* (Wien, 1864); *Das Alte Recht der Armenier in Polen*, (Wien, 1857), No. 28, 217–220

[16] L. Ališan, *Kamenic', Taregirk' Hayoc' Lehastani ew R'umenioy* (Kamenic: Annals of Armenian communities in Poland and Romania) (Venetik, 1896), 131–151; St. R'oškay, *Žamanakagrut'iwn kam tarekank' ekełec'akank',* (Annals of the Armenian Church) (Wien, 1964), 112–114.

[17] Inǰiǰian, *Ašxarhagrut'iwn...*, I–XI.

as auxiliary troops in his army.[18] However, Bžškeanc' failed to mention that the rebellious subjects, against whom Theodor needed help, were Poles. This, certainly, did not fit into the context of supporting the privileges of an Armenian community in a territory, the Lwów district, that later became incorporated into Poland (1341–46).

Thus, the date indicated by R'oškay was the third one that Bžškeanc' incorporated into his narrative. In his effort to bring these different variants into harmony, he mixed up the various components of information. Beside the three versions of the date, he proposes even more variants for the place of origin of the Armenian immigrants: T'at'aristan (Pidou), Xerson (Comp. relatio), the people of Ani, and two versions in the document of the Arhiepiscopal Archive of Lwów: Nošoxač'ean or Kosoxackie. Already in 1853, A. Petruševič, the renowned Ukrainian scholar, tried to explain the *kosoxackie* attribute that indicates the place of origin with the help of an emendation in his thorough critical study, accepted by Yaroslav Daškevič, as *kosolxackimsvc*, meaning "*Solxacensibus Armenis*", i.e. "*the Armenians of Solxat*".[19] In fact, this correction makes sense. Even if the authenticity of the document is doubtful, it may still reflect some reliable tradition: a considerable number of the Armenian community of Lwów and the neighbouring district, Kamenec-Podolski, may have come from the region of Solxat in Crimea.[20]

The most essential point in the enumeration of the historical interpretations of the northern emigration of the Armenians in the eleventh century is that it must have been only this alleged document in Lwów that had induced earlier historians and, first of all, Minas Bžškeanc' and the Armenian authors in his wake, to proclaim that the earliest Armenian settlers of Lwów and Kamenec-Podolski were emigrants fleeing the Seljuq conquerors, who left their fatherland after the conquest of Ani in 1064.

The Mongolian period in Greater Armenia and its relation to the development of the Armenian colonies in Eastern Europe

Bžškeanc' and his followers have completely left out of sight an important historical fact: the accumulation of a dense Armenian population in Cilicia after the Byzantines had conquered the Bagratid Kingdom, and the Seljuqs the principality of Vaspurakan (the feudal state of the Arcruni' dynasty).[21] That Bžškeanc' was completely aware of his neglect is shown by the sentence he added to his narrative about the dispersion of

---

[18] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan,* 83–85.

[19] Dachkévitch, "Les Arméniens," 342–343, 354.

[20] Dachkévitch, "Les Arméniens," 355.

[21] *Patmut'iwn Matt'ewosi Ur'hayec'woy* (History of Matthew of Edessa) (Yerusalēm, 1869), 261–265.

the Armenians after the Mongol conquest in 1236 or 1239: *"The leader of the remnants of the population went to Aq-Saray, and the others dispersed to different countries and places, like Sis, Džuła, and Van."*[22] He took over the last clause from the so-called *Chronicle Nesvita* word by word, only the sequence of the communities was altered into a chronological order, so that Sis, the capital of Cilician Armenia, was put first.[23]

Earlier research has already proved that the Lwów document, upon which the theory of the northern and north-western direction of mass emigration was mostly based, was not authentic. Above, we have tried to demonstrate that the major propagator of this version was Minas Bžškeanc' whose popular work has greatly contributed to the dissemination of the idea of a northern route of Armenian emigration after the capture of Ani.

But at the same time, the book by Bžškeanc' contained the most essential narrative source, the colophon in a Crimean *Haymsawurk'* (*Book of Menologion*), the so-called *Chronicle Nesvita,* the relation of *History of Caffa.*[24] The Chronicle was presumably compiled in Caffa by Deacon Dawit', around 1690, but the story was not invented by the deacon; it was partially taken over from an earlier source about the northern route of flight after the Mongol invasion to Aq-Saray and, later, to Caffa.

The essentials of the connection were included in the *History of Ani* written by Kat'olikos Abraham (1734–37)[25], whose story was also represented in the cherished literary manual of Łazar Džahkec'i (1737–1751), *The Wished Paradise.*[26] But the two venerable ecclesiarchs linked the mass flight of the inhabitants of Ani with an earthquake (1319) that destroyed the city because of the sinful life of the people. Nor was the story an invention of these clerics, since we possess an even earlier versified version of the narrative by Martiros Xrimec'i, according to whom the mass emigration of the Armenians was a result of the Mongol occupation.[27] A variant of this later explanation can also be found in the *Chronicle Nesvita,* and the preceding paragraph repeats word by word some chapters of Kirakos Ganjakec'i's narrative on *The Capture of Ani.*[28]

---

[22] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordu·'iwn i Lehastan,* 83, paragraph. 130.

[23] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan,* 337.

[24] Matenadaran MS. No 7442-7443; Bžškeanc', 335–345.

[25] In the Appendix of his *"Patmut'iwn",* (Vałaršapat, 1870), 101–109.

[26] *Girk' astuacabanakan or koč'i Draxt c'ankali,*(A Theological Book called "Wished Paradise") (Polis (Constantinople), 1735), 629.

[27] Martirosean, *Martiros Xrimec'i,* (Erewan, 1956), 142–155.

[28] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn,* 258–259.

The mass emigration that followed the Mongol conquest is also generally connected to a fixed date: 1236. However, we would like to emphasize that these emigrations should not be imagined as a single event at a single date, but as a gradual sequence of waves of emigrants, a continuous reduction of the population, beginning with the panic of the sudden attack, and continuing for a whole century as a consecutive dying-out of the productive groups in Armenian society. For the entire history of the Mongol invasion of Ciscaucasia, we have narrative sources, the heart-rending depiction of the great decimation, the devastation of the country. Most of the people sought shelter in fortified places, as remarked by Kirakos: *"neither did the earth hide the squatters, nor did the rocks, cliffs and caves cover the people who took shelter there, nor the tough walls of fortresses, nor the deep valley of coombs.*[29]

In the *Chronicle* of Kirakos', who was a personal eyewitness to these sad events, we have an accurate picture of this process of how the people of the villages, the serfs, and the peasants from the fields fled to the surrounding mountains. When Vanakan *vardapet* (*vardapet* means Doctor Theologiae), the great magister, after the destruction of his monastery (Getik) led his pupils to a cave next to the fortress Tawuš, a group of country people joined them. However, before long, the Mongol troops came in large numbers and the chronicler himself was also taken captive.[30] Despite all these heart-breaking accounts, we have not found in any of the contemporary Armenian sources any relation on, or even a direct allusion to, a mass flight of the Armenians to foreign countries.[31]

According to the so-called *Chronicle Nesvita*, the first time when the Armenians fled to Aq-Saray, Crimea, the residence of the Mongol qan of Joči Ulus, was in 1299. Albeit this date does not agree with the date of the Mongol attack on Ciscaucasia, we can take into consideration the possibility that the memory of the different events might have become entangled during the following years. We would like to suggest a theory about the intrusion of this date into this confused information. The year 1299 was marked by a pivotal event, the death of Qan Noγay, the Qan-maker of the Golden Horde (*Altin Orda*), who was by his office a supreme authority, a co-ruler. This event must have been deeply imprinted into the memory of the

---

[29] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 238.

[30] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 243.

[31] Vanakan *vardapet* and Kirakos were eyewitnesses of these events, another author named Vardan Arewelc'i gave us just a succint summary on the Mongol invasion in Greater Armenia. His book is likely taken from the disappeared of *Vanakan's Chronicle*. See H. Oskean, *Hovhannēs vanakan vardapet ew iwr dproc'e*, (Vardapet Vanakan Hovhannes and his Academy in Getik) (Vienna, 1922). Grigor Akanc'i: *Vasn Azgin Net'oɫac'* (On the people of the archers), concentrates on the history of the Cilician Armenian Kingdom in the later Ilkhanid period.

people of Caffa when Noγay took revenge on the town for the assasination of his grandson, who had been murdered in Caffa on his tax-collecting route.[32]

There is no reason for us to doubt the reliability of the account in the *Chronicle Nesvita*, according to which the first station on the route of the fleeing Armenians may have been Aq-Saray ("White Camp"), the residence of Qan Batu. Although the Ciscaucasia was governed by military leaders: Čormaγan, Baiyu, the overlord was the head of Džoči Ulus, at this time Qan Batu (1241–1256). Thus, the subjected peoples took refuge with him. Surely many people turned to him after the invasion, but this group must have consisted mainly of the noble classes: *"Kings, princes, feudal landlords, traders had applied to him (Qan Batu), all who had endured injustice and had been deprived of their family estate. And he made justice..."*[33]

The supremacy of the *Golden Horde* over *Ciscausia* was maintained even after the death of Qan Batu in 1256, but after the Hülegids' (Ilkhanids) rule over Persia was established in 1258, their right was challenged by the Ilkhanids and Ciscaucasia became a battlefield between the two Mongol States. The mass emigration of the Armenian population was not a single event brought about by the incursions of the Mongol troops, but a continuous outflow of fugitives was prompted by a serious decline in their economic situation. Of course, the first deadly strike to the medieval Armenian economy was dealt at the very onset of the Mongol conquest, given the fact that the Mongol troops had no sense for protecting agriculture. In 1236 *"they [the Mongols] arrived*—as depicted by magister Kirakos Ganjakec'i—*just at the time of the harvest season, when the crop had not yet been reaped and gathered into the barn. They let their horses and camels graze up all the grain, green barley, and tread down the rest."*[34] Furthermore, they rooted out the vineyards,[35] using the fruit-trees, just as the vines, for fuel.[36] When the Mongols withdrew to their winter camps in the Mughan steppe area *"the surviving husbandmen had nothing to eat, nor any grain for sowing, nor any cattle to till the land."*[37]

The Mongols had destroyed the means and instruments of production, so that the situation could hardly turn to the better. The subsequent period of peace saw the establishment of the customary nomad administration system of the Mongols. As

---

[32] B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Russland, 1222–1502* (Leipzig, 1943), 75–76.

[33] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 358.

[34] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 261.

[35] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 236–238.

[36] It should be noted that it was regarded as a sinful act in Ciscaucasia if someone tried to cut down fruit-trees even at times of war. Mxit'ar Gawš, *Girk' Datastani*, (Law's Book), ed. X. T'orossean, (Erewan, 1975), 302.

[37] *"Still by the omnipotent Lord's mercy and their work they were able to carry on."* Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 262–263.

Kirakos said in his book: *"One of the head admininistrators, called Buɣa, had sent out tax-collectors; the Muslims, Nestorians, Persians were the most wicked in exaction and extortion.*[38] This state of affairs did not alter under the succeeding rulers. During the reign of the great Qan Möngke (1251–1259) a general recensement was held in the subdued provinces: *"Registers of the taxable population were drawn up, including even the boys from 10 years on. The serfs were deprived of the remaining resources. The ones, who tried to escape and hid, were whipped or even murdered; of the miserables, who had nothing to give, the children were seized and taken away to be sold as slaves."*[39]

The economic situation was equally deplorable throughout the entire Ilkhanid rule, the tax-pressure became no lighter with the distance of the government centre. Instead, it even got steadily worse as local tax-collectors exacted from the people with impunity ever higher taxes for their own benefit. The permanent exactions were largely instrumental in provoking even the labouring masses to abandon their homeland. Devastated lands were left behind, no labour was available. The state of affairs is shown in the votive inscription of a rich merchant dated to 1283, who *"bought the village called Hovk' for 4000 gold thalers during hard times, when land was very cheap, and gold so precious, and donated it as a gift to the monastery of Nor-Getik in Gawšavank'."*[40] This inscription, found in Gawšavank', is an eloquent instance of the serious result of the devastation and domination of the nomads.

The situation remained the same during the entire Ilkhanid period, as was clearly announced by the *jarliq* (order) of Qan Гazan: *"As a consequence of the insults and pillages the most part of the inhabitants in the country has left their homeland and found a new home in foreign countries; the towns and villages were left empty."* Qan Гazan (1295–1306) and his chancellor, the Persian chronicler Rašid ad-Din, were entirely aware of the sorrowful consequences of the exploitation and tried to stop the local authorities from making further extortions.[41]

The turning point of this process of depopulation of Greater Armenia becomes evident in a *jarliq* of Abu Said (1316–1335), at the time of the last Ilkhanid qan. The order can be dated to the decade between 1320 and 1330, since it was preserved in a bilingual, Armenian and Persian, inscription, dated to 1330, on the wall of the mosque Manuč'ê in the town Ani: *"Beside the t'amłas signed and the justified*

---

[38] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 213–214.

[39] Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 363; Grigor Akanc'i, transl. A. Boyle, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949): 324–325.

[40] H. A Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, transl. N. Garsoian, (Lisbon, 1965), 186.

[41] Rašid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisej* (Historical Accounts), transl. A. Arends vol. III. 251–252.; V. Barthold, *"Persidskaja nadpis' na stene anijskoj mečeti Manuče"* Sočinenija, vol. IV. 318.

tributes, no other tax must be raised from anyone under the auspice of kalan, nemeri, tarx, and other kinds of taxes as formerly it has been in use in the town of Ani and other parts of Georgia...Unlawful levies had been collected and violence applied. The places became desolate, the common people dispersed, the mayors of the towns and provinces left their movable and immovable estates and have gone away."[42] All these historical sources attest to the fact that mass emigration, leading to the depopulation of Armenia, was a gradual process, as a consequence of the marauding, of the merciless extortions, briefly, of the nomadic predatory lifestyle of the conquerors.

Let us now return to the end of the route, Crimea and Galicia, which were the end-stations of these emigrants. The so-called *Chronicle Nesvita* succintly remarks: *"The Armenians in Aq-Saray, having been permanently terrorised and insulted by the Mongols (Tartars), sent an envoy to the Genoese authorities to Caffa and ... [the Genoese] concluded an agreement with them to settle down there in 779 (1330).*[43]

The above date for the foundation of the Armenian colony in *Caffa* (1330) coincides with the date of the above-mentioned inscription in Ani. Even though we should not take this coincidence too seriously, this clip of information in the so-called *Chronicle Nesvita* may have preserved the memory of the arrival of the immigrants. This remains true even if we suppose, as we reasonably can, that this agreement did not mark the very foundation of the Armenian colony in the city of Caffa, but rather a certain state of repletion of the colony.

Conclusion

The most difficult problem disputed over a century has been the exact time of the arrival of the first Armenian settlers in the Crimea and Galicia. The strained formula, which in this respect treated the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century as a compact entity and closely connected the Selǰuq and Mongol warfares, left out of account the historical fact that in the Selǰuqid period Cilicia and North-Syria were freshly supplied with a dense Armenian population, and that none of the sources on this period mentions the Northern route.

The theory of a mass emigration of the Armenians towards the North in the Selǰuqid period has been based on a single source of the Archives in the Lwów Archepiscopate, dated to 1062. The authenticity of this document must be regarded as doubtful, because the city of Lwów was established by Duke Danil, the Prince of

---

[42] Manandian, *Trade and Cities,* 178.

[43] Bžškeanc', *Čanap'arhordut'iwn i Lehastan,* pp. 338–339, paragraph 504.

Holič, in 1267. Armenian historiography, because of the proximity of the dates of this doubtful source (1062), and of the capture of Ani (1064), connected the document to the latter event and on this basis established the theory of the northern route in the eleventh century. This theory owed its wide dissemination to *A Travel in Poland* by Bžškeanc', the popularity of which was greatly enhanced by the attraction that a direct Ani lineage of the Lwów colony exerted on the minds of the Armenians residing in Poland. This is also reflected in an apocryphal subtitle of the work, under which it has been popularised ever since: *The History of Ani or Journey to Poland.*[44]

Minas Bžškeanc' and his followers (including Kristóf Szongott, a Hungarian Armenologist in Szamosújvár, Transylvania) mostly investigated the first appeareance of the Armenian colonies in Poland and Moldavia. The most important sources had been found in the Crimea, but, in order to underpin their theories, they also utilized a number of sources that have since been proved to be inauthentic, or at least doubtful. In this way, they have misled the experts for more than a century. Against their early dating of the Armenian colonies in Galicia (Holicz, Lwów), we have found the earliest mentions of these colonies in documents from the middle of the thirteenth century. The birth of these large colonies might not have occurred without the Mongol invasions in Greater Armenia.

---

[44] *Catalogo delle publicazioni,* Casa editrice armena dei patri mechitaristi, San Lazzaro (Venezia, 1960), 32.

PART II.
Report of the Year

REPORT OF THE YEAR

József Laszlovszky

The Academic Year of 1998–99, like the previous one, was a year of transition in the life of the department. Or perhaps it is fair to say that it was even more of a year of change. In the middle of the academic year János Bak returned to his regular duties, to be the moving engine and permanent brainstormer of the department, and from that point on he no longer bore the official duties of the head. As was planned and announced in the previous year, the administrative burden of the head now falls to me. I have to admit that handing over the keys and documents was not a single act, but rather a long process in the whole fall semester, during which János was keen to share all information and some of the duties with me in order to help me start the new year and the new position in a well-prepared way. However, the change does not only mean transformation in the administrative system but also— and perhaps more so—in academic issues. The Ph.D. program became a standard part of our educational system and we had a fairly large group of doctoral students. This resulted in a rethinking of our reading course and seminar system. It was a fairly long process, one in which M.A. and Ph.D. students started to pursue studies and research together, a typical advantage of a real graduate school.

This was the first time that several Ph.D. students or alumni acted as recommenders of M.A. applicants, so in our selection process we were able to rely on their judgement and expertise. I do regard this as a crucial element of our educational system, because these former M.A. students of our department are really familiar with our teaching system and academic requirements as well as with the "social" life of the Department of Medieval Studies. They make it clear to the new applicants, much better than we ever managed to do, what it means to be a student for a year at CEU. They perceive far more clearly the advantages and disadvantages of our program, and as present Ph.D. students or members of a large alumni network, they can shape it much better than we ever expected. Therefore, it was very interesting to see the statistical breakdown of the incoming class. The growing interest in CEU in Romania was even more evident than in the previous year: we accepted seven students from that country, and we also had a student from Moldova. We also had students from countries which were represented for the first time, such

as Albania or Armenia. Otherwise the M.A. group was very well-balanced in terms of countries: Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, and, as usual, Hungary—all these appeared in the ID cards of students as their countries of permanent address. Concerning their research topics, we had the usual wide range of interesting themes. We had a strong—and larger than usual—group of M.A. students interested in the material aspects of medieval life, working on castles, urban topography, or funerary architecture. A small research team was formed during the year from the students interested in the study of social groups, particularly the nobility. This coincided well with the research project on various aspects of medieval nobility by János Bak, who created a small discussion group for comparative studies. There were interesting projects connecting the spiritual aspects and the material side of medieval life, e.g. the study on Catholic piety in Transylvania, based on written evidence in testaments, or the staging of the Easter *officium* in medieval Poland, a study using liturgical texts and architectural sources to interpret this complex phenomenon. Many of the topics were not so well defined in the beginning, but they had already started to take shape by the end of the first month of the academic year, as the result of planning discussions. Looking back now, most of them went through very significant changes during the year, and finally all students managed to put together the proper triangle of thesis writing: the sources, the topic and the supervisor.

The first preparatory month went by without any major changes in the system, since we have in the last few years developed a fairly coherent scheme of intensive academic writing, reading source languages, and introduction to research resources. Before this very hard period of learning, we went on our usual academic trip, this time to the southwestern part of Hungary. The first day involved visits to a nice mixture of "traditional" medieval monuments, such as medieval castles, Benedictine abbeys or medieval urban centers. However, the students who were not so familiar with Hungarian culture or history could also experience the multicultural aspects of modern Hungary. The Neo-Romanesque cathedral in Pécs, with a Turkish mosque built on top of Palaeo-Christian monuments, was a good introduction to the understanding of different cultural values. Another aspect of the same problem was well presented in the equally multicultural, extremely noisy disco-life of the student hostel. This introduction continued in the Classical Philology Department of the Janus Pannonius University, which proved to be a treasure trove for the students eager to read Greek or Latin sources in their excellent library. The last day of the excursion also offered interesting insights into the very complicated Central European past. The recent debate on the creation of a huge memorial monument to Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent at Szigetvár can be seen as a classic example of

the impact of the Middle Ages on present-day life. This aspect was also crucial in the acceptance of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU. The story of the fight between the famous Hungarian (or Croatian) hero, Miklós Zrínyi, and the most powerful Turkish ruler proved to be highly relevant to our modern understanding of ethnic and religious problems. Most of these questions were present in the daily discussions of students and professors, particularly on present political issues and conflicts. This has always been a very special aspect of CEU with its multicultural student body and faculty.

The beginning of the fall semester was marked by the first public lecture, given by Samuel Rubenson on the manuscripts of Egyptian monasteries. With this event we started a long series of public lectures dedicated to "Approaches to Medieval Manuscripts." Samuel Rubenson also contributed to the course of István Perczel on Eastern monasticism. This type of short visit and teaching proved to be very interesting for the students. Robert Markus contributed in a similar way to the very popular course of Marianne Sághy on "Christianizing Europe." Some members of the resident faculty offered new courses this semester, such as that of Gábor Klaniczay on the topic "Religion at the Courts." Johannes Koder continued to commute from Vienna to teach Byzantine topics, this time on the historical geography of Byzantium.

In November and December, the public lectures concentrated on methodological issues of studying manuscripts. Among these, the role of the Web and the Digitization Campaigns were discussed.

The *Nobility in East and Central Europe* workshop was in many ways the summing-up of a long research project led by János Bak. At this time, Curriculum Resource Center visitors from the region also took part in the discussions. A new, small, and informal research group emerged as well, mainly with the active participation of M.A. students, some of which became Ph.D. students the following year. Thus the research project maintains its internal continuity, instructing a new generation of scholars.

The winter semester ended with our Christmas party with the students, which was followed by another social event just before the last day of the year. A smaller group of the resident faculty celebrated the end of a successful year, and in a small ceremony János Bak received the symbolic (and real) flag of the department to thank him for his assiduous and devoted work as head of department.

The winter semester may be best described as characterized by the presence of many visiting professors and many guests coming for the workshops. Ben Schomakers took over many courses from István Perczel, and also some of his duties as head of the Ph.D. program. Richard Unger and Richard C. Hoffmann introduced

many new ideas in their courses on medieval technology and environmental history, and students and staff were able to learn many interesting things from fields of study which are not traditionally parts of medieval studies programs. Richard C. Hoffmann also contributed to our public lecture series, presenting texts and images of a very particular source, the first printed book on fishing. Lívia Varga discussed funerary architecture in her course, offering a good opportunity to analyze architectural as well as spiritual aspects of this particular type of medieval monuments. She posed an extremely thought-provoking problem for a group of students working on architectural or archaeological studies on the one hand, and on problems of religious iconography or spiritual life on the other.

Some of our recurrent visiting professors were also present in this semester, offering courses on "Gender and Power" (John Klassen) and on "The Illumination of the Bible" (Hana Hlaváčková).

The Winter Semester was also an intensive period of other academic programs. At the beginning of the new year Dmitrij Mishin defended his Ph.D. dissertation. This event not only marked another important step in our Ph.D. course, but was also a good example of the complex issues of this program. At an earlier stage of the development of our Ph.D. scheme we decided not to have students with dissertation topics without having experts of the field in our resident faculty. However, Mishin's case can be regarded as one of the few exceptions. During his M.A. studies, he demonstrated that he has an excellent command of all the languages relevant for the topic. Furthermore, Budapest has always been regarded as an important center of oriental studies, with the special collection of the Academy Library and with many experts of this field teaching at various universities, such as Eötvös Loránd University and Pázmány Péter Catholic University. With the external supervision of these scholars we were able to support Mishin's research, and his dissertation was praised for its pioneering approach and high scholarly values.

February was busy with the workshops on the problems of frontiers. One can hardly find another topic which has been so much discussed and debated in East Central Europe. In our daily work we are always confronted by this fact! Our students, writing their first seminar papers at this department, have to learn that the form of personal and place names are standard problems of academic writing, since the changes of frontiers in the past have caused a continuous transformation of these names. The sad events in the Balkans also convinced us that a discussion of frontiers is a relevant topic of a workshop for medievalists. The program was organized in two main parts. The first focused on the theoretical and general aspects of frontiers (see the introduction by Gerhard Jaritz in a previous section) while the second part concentrated on a particular historical problem, the expansion of the

frontiers of medieval Latin Christianity through the Crusades and the military orders.

The organizers of the workshop had as their main objective to bring together fellow medievalists from different countries and enable them to exchange results of their own research as well as that of their respective countries. We asked our western colleagues from the main research centers to delineate the principal trends and new approaches in the historiography of the field, concentrating on their respective fields of expertise. We were happy to invite some of the most distinguished scholars in the field of the Crusades and the military orders (Rudolf Hiestand, Farhad Daftary, John H. Lind, Peter W. Edbury, Thomas Asbridge, Michael Metcalf, Michael Gervers, Theresa Vann, Benjamin Z. Kedar, Karl Borchardt, Anthony Luttrell, and others). Furthermore, historians and archaeologists from Eastern and East Central Europe were asked to present the results of their particular research with a special emphasis on sources related to the history of their region. Bringing these people together created very important scholarly discussions during the workshop, since the new results of research and studies published in this field are hardly recognizable in the bibliographies or new publications of Crusader studies.

The history of the Crusades and the military orders has hitherto been a much neglected field in Eastern and East Central Europe, and new publications have made very little impact on the historiography of the region. This phenomenon can be seen as the negative result of many different factors. Researchers from Eastern and East Central Europe have encountered many difficulties in attending international conferences held in the West, and have had limited access to current western literature in this field. Ideologically influenced historical interpretations tended to minimize the role of the Crusades in the Middle Ages, and research into religious military orders was also very much abandoned in this region— as being part of church history. Archaeological, architectural or art historical studies were more common even in the last deacdes, but they suffered from the lack of modern historical background studies and international comparative literature. Although some important new results were published, the lack of communication can be seen in this whole field of research. Therefore the participants of the workshop concluded that a joint publication by eastern and western scholars, with a summary of the present state of research, as well as a large comparative bibliography, would be the best way out of this unfavourable situation. This idea was taken up by our department, and we are now working on the publication of the workshop, with our Ph.D. student Zsolt Hunyadi who also played a crucial role in organising the event. The publication is also supported by the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East.

After the very intensive winter semester and the research break we turned to the north and traveled to Slovakia for our Spring Field Trip. The itinerary was a result of the previous year's trip, when we decided that we should spend more time in the Spiš region, as well as in other parts of Slovakia. The program (which may be found in the section on activities and events) was extremely busy: castles, parish churches, and museums came after each other like parts of a never-ending story of the Middle Ages. However, we never tired of them. The explanation of this is very simple: we had never had such an opportunity to enter otherwise closed castles and churches. Anybody who has traveled in East Central Europe and wanted to visit monuments in remote places knows all about the difficulties of finding the man (or the venerable old lady) with the keys. During this excursion we did not have this problem. It was not only because we were already familiar with most of the places, but also because of Marek Klatý. Beside being a native speaker, this M.A. student also really knew the language of the local people. One cannot teach these things in the medieval studies program, but you can hardly be a scholar dealing with these monuments without this special knowledge.

The academic part of the trip was busy, but we also had other nice experiences in the historical monuments. A small musical group, formed by our students *in situ* played beautiful church music in one of the medieval parish churches in Northern Hungary. Musical training also took place in the bus: we all managed to learn to sing some parts of the *Carmina Burana*. In this very last part of the program we had an extra impulse, a visit to a historical wine cellar in Eger, of course with a purely academic interest: to learn more about medieval and early modern viticulture.

The spring session was just another very busy and short period packed with courses by guest professors. Most of them were old friends and recurrent visiting professors of the department, and they offered courses for our students on musicology (Nancy van Deusen), political lyrics (Maria Dobozy), and the Papacy (Bernhard Schimmelpfennig). Two other courses were organized by Ben Schomakers and Richard Newheuser on the fascinating subjects of "Negative Theology" and "Sins and Sinners in Medieval Western Culture."

The year of changes was also a year of celebrations. The most important of these was the ceremony at Kalamazoo in honor of János Bak, who turned seventy in April. This was marked by the publication of a voluminous *Festschrift*, created with collegial cooperation and conspiracy. I do believe that the publication of this volume (edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők) is representative of the activity of the department, and one may see the scholarly as well as the personal input of János Bak in the academic work of many scholars and in the daily life of the Department.

256

The last part of the Academic Year was a short period of very successful defences. Twenty-five of our M.A. students defended their theses in front of committees chaired by Patrick Geary, Nancy van Deusen, Maria Dobozy, Heinz Miklas, and Richard Unger. At the same time we announced the final decision on the admission of new Ph.D. students, the largest group ever in the life of our department. With this moment, and with the final Graduation Ceremony, a successful year of studies came to an end for our students—but the academic year did not finish for most of the staff and resident faculty. A large group participated in the work of the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, and some of our colleagues worked hard during July to organize the summer course on "The Many Cultural Centers of the Early Medieval *Oikoumene*." The standard holiday period in August was also marked by academic activities: alumni of the department and some of our professors contributed to the international conference in Sofia on "Cults of Early Christian Saints from Central and South-Eastern Europe." One could hardly have hoped for a better program to finish the academic year than this conference, a joint scholarly achievement of students, alumni, friends and professors of the department. There were only three days left for a break before the start of the new academic year 1999–2000. So the year of changes and transition was over, to see the coming of another one, with students old and new, with ideas old and new, but definitely with a significant change in the leadership of the University with the coming of a new rector and pro-rector.

ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS IN 1998/1999

1998

August 27–29	Field trip to South-West Hungary (see Academic Excursions for details)
August 31 – September 25	Pre-session courses: General English, Latin, Greek, computing, visits to libraries and museums, planning discussions on M.A. research topics

FALL SEMESTER

September 28	Fall Semester starts
November 2–8	Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from universities of the region attend the Workshop on *Nobility in East and Central Europe* (November 6–8)
December 16	Departmental Christmas Party
December 18	End of Fall Semester

1999

WINTER SEMESTER

January 11	Winter Semester begins
February 15	Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Dmitrij Jevgenjevič Mishin on *Saqlabi Servants in Islamic Spain and North Africa in the early Middle Ages* (See its abstract below)
February	Medieval Frontiers I & II. Two Interdisciplinary Workshops on Frontiers in Medieval Society. I: Constructing and Deconstructing Frontiers, February 19–21; II: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity: The Crusades and the Military Orders. February 26–28

February 20–28	Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from the universities of the region participate in the workshop
April 2	Winter Semester ends
April 6 – 18	M.A. Research Break
April 19–25	Spring Field Trip to Slovakia (see Academic Excursions for details)

SPRING SESSION

April 26	Spring Session begins
May 6–9	34th International Congress on Medieval Studies at the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA. Two sessions organized by the Department. Book-launch of *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways*. Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak. Edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők
May 24 – June 14	M.A. Thesis Writing workshops
June 15	M.A. theses submission deadline
June 21 – 23	M.A. theses defences
June 23	Medieval Studies graduation ceremony

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

July 12–15	International Medieval Congress organised by the International Medieval Institute, University of Leeds. Nine sessions organized by the Department
July 5–23	Summer University Course: *The Many Cultural Centers of the Early Medieval Oikumene Shifting Centres, Encounters, Barriers, Borderline Conditions*. The course directed by István Perczel, György Geréby with the assistance of István Bugár
August 22–24	Conference on *Cults of Early Christian Saints from Central and South-Eastern Europe* jointly organized by the University of Sofia, the Southwestern University in Blagoevgrad, the University of Veliko Tarnovo and our Department

ACADEMIC EXCURSION

Southern Hungary
August 27-29, 1998

August 27, Thursday

Simontornya: medieval and Renaissance castle
Szekszárd: ruins of Romanesque abbey
Pécsvárad: Romanesque Benedictine monastery and castle
Pécs: walk in the city

August 28, Friday

Pécs: urban topography
Paleo-Christian mausoleum
Cathedral and Romanesque lapidary
Dsami of Jakovali Hassan
Visit at the Classical Philology Dept., Janus Pannonius University
Optional program: Csontváry Museum
Siklós: castle and Augustine church with Gothic mural paintings

August 29, Saturday

Cserkút: fresco decoration of the parish church
Szigetvár: fortifications museum
Somogyvár: ruins of the Romanesque Benedictine monastery

SPRING FIELD TRIP

Slovakia and Northern Hungary
19-25 April, 1999

April 19, Monday
Győr: Episcopal castle, Cathedral, Reliquary of St. Ladislas

April 20, Tuesday
Bratislava: St. Martin's Cathedral
Bratislava: castle
Devin (Dévény): castle
Bratislava: Slovak National Gallery
Jur pri Bratislave (Pozsonyszentgyörgy): Academia Istropolitana Nova,
    parish church
Bratislava: cinner with local scholars

April 21, Wednesday
Hronský Benadik (Garamszentbenedek): Benedictine abbey
Banská Štiavnica (Selmecbánya): St. Catheriné's church, museum
Nitra: cathedral and castle; meeting with scholars and students from the
university

April 22, Thursday
Kremnica (Körmöcbánya): castle church
Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya): church
Orava (Árva): castle
Dravce (Szepesdaróc): parish church

April 23, Friday
Levoča: St. James church, church of the Minorite Order, local museum,
archive (optional)
Spišská Sobota (Szepesszombat): parish church
Matejovce (Mateóc): parish church
Spišská Kapitula (Szepeshely): church
Spišský Hrad (Szepes vára): castle

April 24, Saturday
  Sárospatak: castle and parish church
  Karcsa: Romanesque church
  Pácin: castle
  Sátoraljaújhely

April 25, Sunday
  Vizsoly: church
  Szalonna: church
  Tornaszentandrás: church
  Bélapátfalva: Cistercian monastery
  Eger: wine tasting

Seminar on castle architecture at Spišsky Hrad

Hronský Benadik (Garamszentbenedek), Benedictine abbey

COURSES IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1998/1999

FALL SEMESTER
September 28 – December 18, 1998

M.A. Thesis Seminar
 Resident and Visiting Faculty
Academic Writing I
 Mary Beth Davis
Field Trip Consultations
 Béla Zs. Szakács
Introduction to Research Tools: Handbooks and Bibliography
 Resident Faculty
Computing for Medievalists I
 Gerhard Jaritz
Medieval Philosophy
 György Geréby
Introduction to Medieval Literature
 Mary Beth Davis
Palaeography and Diplomatics
 János M. Bak, László Veszprémy
Gothic Art and Architecture
 Lívia Varga (University of Toronto)
History of Everyday Life
 Gerhard Jaritz
Historical Geography of Byzantium
 Johannes Koder (Institut für Byzantinistik, Universität Wien)
Christianizing Europe (A.D. 400–1000)
 Robert Markus (Nottingham), Marianne Sághy
Religion in the Courts (Saints, Heretics, Mystics, Witches)
 Gábor Klaniczay

Oriental Christian and Byzantine Monasticism
    István Perczel, Samuel Rubenson (University of Lund)
A Local Society in Transition: Law, Memory, and Society in the Henryków Region (1160–1310)
    Piotr Górecki (University of California, Riverside)
Memoria in Towns
    Neven Budak
Readings in Byzantine Greek I
    István Perczel
Latin Intermediate
    György Karsái
Latin Advanced
    György Karsai
Old Church Slavonic
    Margaret Dimitrova (Southwestern University, Blagoevgrad)
Greek
    György Karsai
Ph.D. Seminar
    Resident and Visiting Faculty
Ph.D. Research Seminar
    Resident Faculty
English Style Consultations
    Alice Choyke and Frank Schaer

WINTER SEMESTER
January 11 – April 3, 1999

M.A. Thesis Seminar
    Resident and Visiting Faculty
Academic Writing II
    Mary Beth Davis
Field Trip Seminar II
    József Laszlovszky
Medieval Archaeology and Architecture
    József Laszlovszky
Computing for Medievalists II
    Gerhard Jaritz

Images as Historical Sources
    Gerhard Jaritz
Historical Anthropology
    Gábor Klaniczay
Palaeography
    László Veszprémy
Gender and Power in Medieval Europe
    John Klassen (Trinity Western University, Langley, B.C.)
Byzantine Court Literature
    Wolfram Hörandner (Institut für Byzantinistik, Universität Wien)
Legal Systems and Sources
    DeLloyd Guth (University of Manitoba, Winnipeg)
Medieval Technology—Economy and Intellectual Impact
    Richard Unger (University of British Columbia, Vancouver)
The Bible in the Middle Ages
    Marianne Sághy
Medieval Ethics
    György Geréby
Negative Theology
    Ben Schomakers (Leuven)
Environmental History of Medieval Europe
    Richard C. Hoffmann (York University, Toronto, Ont.)
Illumination of the Bible: History and Iconography
    Hana Hlaváčková (Institute of Art History, Prague)
Manuscripts and Illumination
    Elissaveta Moussakova (Cyrill and Method National Library, Sofia)
Funerary Architecture
    Lívia Varga (University of Toronto)
The Crusades and the Military Orders
    József Laszlovszky, (Feb 25–28) workshop
Constructing and Deconstructing Frontiers
    Gerhard Jaritz, (Feb 18-21) workshop
Readings in Byzantine Greek II
    Ben Schomakers
Latin Intermediate
    György Karsai

Latin Advanced
    György Karsai
Greek
    György Karsai
Greek Test Reading
    Ben Schomakers (Leuven)
Ph.D. Seminar
    Resident and Visiting Faculty
Ph.D. Research Seminar
    Resident Faculty
English Style Consultations
    Alice Choyke
Ph.D. Academic Writing
    Mary Beth Davis

SPRING SESSION
April 26 – May 21, 1999

Negative Theology
    Ben Schomakers (continuing from Winter Term)
Sins and Sinners in Medieval Western Culture
    Richard Newhauser (Trinity University, San Antonio)
The Papacy in the High Middle Ages
    Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Universität Augsburg)
German Political Lyrics
    Maria Dobozy (University of Utah, Salt Lake City)
Music as a Quadrivial Art
    Nancy Van Deusen (Claremont Graduate University)
Readings in Byzantine Texts
    Ben Schomakers
Thesis Writing Workshop
    G. Klaniczay, M. Sághy, J. Laszlovszky, B. Schomakers, G. Jaritz,
    M. Dobozy, M. Davis
Ph.D. Seminar
    Resident Faculty
For course descriptions visit CEU's syllabi database:
    http://www.ceu.hu/crc/syllabi

PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES

"Approaches to Medieval Manuscripts"

28 October
Samuel Rubenson (University of Lund, Sweden):
The Manuscripts of the Egyptian Monasteries: A Hidden Source for Patristic Studies

4 November
Gerhard Jaritz (CEU and Austrian Academy of Sciences):
What's Useful for Manuscripts on the Web?

25 November
Yuri Zaretsky (HESP Resident Fellow from Taganrog Pedagogical Institute):
The Manuscript of St. Alexis, the Man of God, and the Idea of Medieval Autobiography

9 December
Hans Petschar (Austrian National Library, Vienna):
Digitization Campaigns of Medieval Manuscripts and Early Modern Books in National Libraries

24 March
Richard C. Hoffmann (York University, Toronto, Ont.):
Marketing an Innovation, Visualizing a Craft: Images in the First Printed Book on Fishing, 1493-1557

12 May
Werner Beierwaltes (Ludwig Maximilians Univesität, Munich):
Centrum Tocius Vite. The Significance of Proclus' Theologia Platonis *in the Thought of Nicolas Cusanus*

19 May

Richard Newhauser (Trinity University, San Antonio):

Pecia Manuscripts and the Transmission of Peter of Limoges's Tractatus moralis de oculo

28 May

Jacqueline Hamesse (Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, Louvain-la-Neuve; Academia Belgica, Roma):

L'importance des marginalia dans les manuscrits universitaires medievaux

Other public lectures organized by the department

12 May

Brian Patrick McGuire (Institute of History and Political Theory, Roskilde University):

When Jesus did the Dishes and Joseph Helped Call on a Change in Late Medieval Spirituality

23 March

Kate Cooper (University of Manchester, England) and Felice Lifshitz (Florida International University, Miami) – co-organized with the Program on Gender and Culture

Gender, Imitation and Identity: Identificatory Exegesis (i.e. Women Readers) in the Early Middle Ages

4 June

Natalie Zemon Davis (University of Toronto) – co-organized with the Gender and Culture Program and the History Department

The Knot of Slavery: Joanna and Stedman in Suriname (A Story from the Braided Histories)

M.A. THESIS ABSTRACTS

The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares: Anti-Latin Scholia
in the Context of Canon Law of the Orthodox Slavs
Victor Alexandrov (Russia)

Thesis supervisor: Ralph Cleminson
External reader: Dmitrije Stefanovic, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the anti-Latin scholia of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares, a canon law code compiled around 1335 and translated into Slavonic a few years later, to establish their place in the canon law of the Orthodox Slavs, and to evaluate the changes which they underwent in the Slavonic translation.

A peculiar feature of the *Syntagma* in which this code differs greatly from other ones is the mixture of the canon and the commentary in one article. As a result, these two texts, different in authority, cannot be distinguished from each other by an ordinary user. Due to such a method of compilation, the canon law corpus of the Orthodox church was given a strong imprint of Blastares' personal bias towards the ideology promulgated by the patriarchate of Constantinople in the fourteenth century. There are reasons to believe that the Slavonic translation, in its turn, was completed by the supporters of this patriarchate or even commissioned and promoted directly by Constantinople. In terms of cultural history, this translation should be considered one of the extreme manifestations of the movement in the Orthodox Slavonic countries which was orientated strongly towards Byzantium and imitated it on many levels in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

One of characteristics of the *Syntagma* is its sharp anti-Latin attitude. In general, there are eleven scholia against Latins in this code: three concern the most crucial problems of polemics between the Greek and Latin churches; the other seven touch upon issues which may appear today as minor. Blastares is never original in his choice of subjects for the polemics, following tradition. The direct source of his nine polemical scholia is the commentary Theodor Balsamon, a great Byzantine commentator of the twelfth century. At the same time, Blastares frequently transforms his sources, sometimes considerably. The most interesting example of such a transformation is the prohibition against mixed marriages between Orthodox

women and Latin men: Blastares creates it expanding the general prohibition of marriage with heretics to cover the case of Latins.

In the edition of the Slavonic translation, made after the Krušedol manuscript of 1453, all anti-Latin scholia are separated from the body of those articles, in which they were included in the Greek original, and supplied with headings. This visual change significantly influences the perception of the scholia, since now they cannot be mistaken for a part of the canons. The intentions of a Slavonic redactor, or redactors, which stand behind this change, however, cannot be identified precisely because of the lack of evidence as to what extent the difference between the canon and the commentary was understood by redactors and scribes in that period. It seems likely that the appearance of the scholia was not changed by the translator into Slavonic, but that such a change occurred later in the history of the text.

The *Syntagma* became very popular in Orthodox Slavonic countries in the period between the fourteenth and seventeenth century, especially among the Balkan Slavs. Hence, the message of the patriarchate of Constantinople found its addressee and, in particular, fed the attitude of the Slavs towards the Latins for several hundred years. Proceeding from the existing edition of the Slavonic text, one can expect to find considerable fluctuation of the attitude towards Latins in the Slavonic manuscript tradition of the *Syntagma*. This fluctuation can be traced in the appearance of the scholia, in their headings, and marginal notes. One of the by-products of this study is a conclusion that the Slavonic *Syntagma* requires a new edition.

The Cult of the Virgin Mary and its Images in Lithuania from the Middle Ages until the Seventeenth Century
Aušra Baniulyté (Lithuania)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External reader: Hana Egger, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna

The development of the Marian cult in Lithuania can be divided into two main periods: the first one lasting from the Christianization of the country in the late fourteenth century until the Reformation, and the second one covering the Counter-Reformation. The analysis of the topic in this thesis is also divided into two main chapters. Following an introduction, the second chapter analyzes the first period, and mainly describes the development of Christianity as it may be understood through the influence of the cult of the Virgin Mary. It is important to note that an understanding of Lithuanian religious and cultural processes, as well as Lithuania's geographical position, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century are crucial to the comprehension of the later seventeenth-century development of the Marian cult.

The third chapter of the thesis describes the later development of the Marian cult in the seventeenth century. This was established during the Counter-Reformation in Western Europe, and reached Lithuania as well, where it was adopted and spread widely. This second period is also that of the consolidation of the Catholic faith in Lithuania. The first part of this chapter presents an analysis of the historical and religious context; the second is a discussion of the Marian cult; and the third analyzes the iconography of the Marian images of this period. In the seventeenth century, the cult of the Virgin Mary was very strong and comprised various forms of worship; however, images of the Virgin played the most significant role in her veneration. Therefore, I have compiled a catalogue of the most venerated images in Lithuania and appended to the thesis, as a basis for the analysis. This catalogue describes the iconography of the images, and provides data on their context and their veneration. In my opinion, the growth of the cult of these images, best represents the spread of the Counter-Reformation in Lithuania.

Although these images were very popular during the Counter-Reformation their distinctive veneration and particular role in the society of the seventeenth century lie in Lithuania's relationship with Orthodox culture over the centuries. During these two main periods Orthodox religion and culture made a significant impact on Lithuanian culture. Therefore, this thesis also argues that these Marian images and their cult represent the confluence of two cultures: Western and Eastern.

The Filial Quarter: Inheritance of Noblewomen in Medieval Hungary
Péter Banyó (Hungary)

The main purpose of this study is to describe the development and functioning of a peculiar Hungarian legal institution, the so-called filial quarter, from the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century. This was a kind of compulsory share due to noblewomen from the landed property of their fathers. They were not to receive land as their quarter, however, since customary law prohibited land donations to women. This prohibition was principally due to the special in heritance system of the Hungarian nobility, in which every member of the kindred had hereditary rights in the estates that were inherited from their common ancestor. This system strongly prohibited alienation of estates, and as a consequence barred land donations to women, since the estates given to them would have passed to another kindred with their marriage.

The filial quarter appeared abruptly in the sources in the first half of the thirteenth century, first in a royal decree from 1222, and a few years later in charters as well. It had a strong customary character already at that time, which seems to imply that its formation had begun earlier. Several suggestions have been made as to its origins, from the possibility of a Roman legal origin to the idea that it was a result of the internal development of Hungarian customary law. In the absence of earlier sources, however, none of these suggestions can be corroborated or rejected.

A quantitative analysis of the sources see med to be the most appropriate method for this research. Such an examination has covered about six hundred cases concerning the filial quarter. The analysis has led to an unexpected finding: in the period between 1222 and 1416, in more than fifty percent of the filial quarter cases land was donated to daughters. This seems to contradict both customary law as reflected in its only medieval collection, the *Tripartitum* of Stephen Werbőczy, and the results of recent social historical research on the hereditary and possessory system of medieval Hungarian nobility. The explanation for this discrepancy may be that medieval customary law was much more flexible than it is often thought: it not only allowed the consent of the parties or arbitration but even preferred these expedients to a judicial sentence. Dispute was settled by consent or arbitration in the majority of the filial quarter cases. The actual needs and interests of the parties influenced the result to a great extent. The most important of these needs and interests was probably familial affection: the father wanted to provide for his descendants, his daughters as well as his sons, even if this injured the "solidarity" of the kindred and the interests of his collateral relatives.

Another interesting feature of the filial quarter may be noted: it was often given out after a considerable delay, of thirty to fifty, or sometimes even a hundred years. My only explanation for this phenomenon is that delayed donations were also consequences of the flexible interpretation of customary law.

The results of this study have two main implications. The first is that the "solidarity" of the kindred was not as strong as customary law and traditional historiography suggest. As recent social historical research has also proved, the collective hereditary rights of the kindred were often limited by other interests of the individual members. In order to understand better the structure of medieval Hungarian nobility and the changes in this structure, these modifying factors should also be taken into consideration. The other important implication of this thesis is that our view of the social position of medieval noblewomen must also be modified. The inheritance and possession of land must have secured some power for women, and this power has never been examined by historians; the practice of giving out the quarter in land proves that women were not always in such a subordinate position in their families as has previously been thought.

Arresting the Crusader: The Case of Richard I
Ionuţ Epurescu Pascovici (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: Marianne Sághy
External reader: DeLloyd Guth, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg

The history of Europe in the twelfth century was marked by crusades and crusaders. It was the age when some of the most remarkable rulers of the continent left their homes and headed for the Holy Land to fulfill crusading vows. Amongst them, the case of Richard I, King of England (1189–99), was exceptional, not only because he was one of the most important rulers of Europe at the time, but also because he distinguished himself as a crusader like few others, inflicting heavy defeats on the infidels. Richard's case was quite unique in that he was arrested, in 1192, while still on God's service, by a fellow Christian prince—Duke Leopold V of Austria—in violation of century-old papal norms. Against the same norms, he was held captive for one year, from 1193 to 1194, by the emperor Henry VI, and during his captivity his Norman possessions were invaded by Philip II Augustus, King of France.

Most of the numerous modern works about Richard have merely mentioned the legal and ethical implications of Richard's captivity, without providing an analysis. In the only detailed research on the topic, by James Brundage, the focus has been on the canon law aspects, as perceived by the learned lawyers of the time.

This research—essentially a case study—analyzes the late twelfth-century Western European reaction to Richard's captivity, in terms of the violation of the norms protecting the crusaders. The purpose of the research was to illustrate how the people of late twelfth-century Western Europe related to some of the legal and ethical principles of crusade, namely, the protection of a crusader's person and possessions, guaranteed by the papacy in a series of decrees. The key features examined are the perception of the episode, the debate surrounding it, and the concrete actions taken by Richard's contemporaries, the way people viewed Richard's captivity, what they thought about it, and what they did about it. Many referred to Richard's captivity in terms of a violation of both canon law regulations and more general ethical principles; yet there were also secular and ecclesiastical lords, as well as contemporary authors, who did not. While those directly involved in the politics of the captivity emphasized the legal issues at stake, the contemporary chroniclers put the episode into perspective and underlined the violation of ethical principles. Put together, these elements may facilitate an evaluation of the importance of crusading moral norms in the eyes of those who lived in the so-called "age of crusades."

The main conclusions of the research regard the level of perception of the norms, the line of argumentation developed in the debate surrounding Richard's captivity, and the relation between the legal/ethical norms and contemporary

politics. The crucial feature was, it appears, the interplay of politics and ethics: moral as well as legal arguments were used to condemn or, alternatively, legitimize the actions taken against Richard. Political and economic factors, however, proved to be decisive in choosing whether to intervene in defence of the norms, or against them. To sum up, in this case as well, ethics were determined by politics.

The Mirror of Neagoe Basarab: Themes, Motifs, and the Byzantine Tradition
Mariana Goina (Moldova)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz, János Bak
External reader: Martin Hinterberger, University of Vienna

The main focus of this thesis is an analysis of the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to his son Theodosius*, a didactic source written at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the extant manuscripts the work is attributed to the Wallachian prince Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521) and may be described as belonging to the literary genre known as the mirror of princes or advice-book. The work has been the object of scholarly debate and investigations for the larger part of this century. The lack of attention given to the literary characteristics of the mirror of princes genre has led to many erroneous theories. In this respect, the main aim of my thesis is to make a literary analysis of the ideas expressed in this source in the light of the tradition of the genre. The method used is a comparative contextual analysis between Byzantine and Wallachian sources with regard to the consistent motifs and themes. These books were not concerned with novelty, nor did they have any strong connection with any particular historical reality. Their main interest was the model of the perfect ruler and the moral and practical advice which would help him acquire the necessary moral virtue and practical knowledge for the good administration of the country. Through a comparative study between the possible Byzantine prototypes and the Wallachian source, a remarkable continuity can be pointed out. The author of the Wallachian work follows the Byzantine tradition and is concerned with almost the same themes and motifs with regard to both moral and practical issues. The Wallachian prince, like the Byzantine *basileus*, should be wise, self-restrained, just. He is divinely appointed, divinely inspired, and endowed with grace. His duties, imposed by his high status, have the same structure: duties towards God, towards his subjects, and towards himself.

The similarity between Neagoe's mirror and the other works analyzed in this thesis comprises not only the moral aspect, but also the use of almost the same practical instructions for good administration, namely, concern for the poor and weak, justice, the need for counsel before any action, and maintaining peace. Another characteristic of the genre, the authors' lack of regard for contemporary

historical events may be noticed in both Byzantine and Wallachian mirrors of princes. In spite of this, Wallachian works still reflect some proximity to the time when they were written. In this tenuous connection to reality lies the main difference between the Wallachian mirror and the Byzantine works.

Thus, the author of the Wallachian mirror was a connoisseur of the genre. In the political organization of the state and in his ethical advice, the Wallachian prince continues the Byzantine pattern. In some of his practical advice, his approach combines Byzantine tradition with Wallachian historical reality. The scarcity of the preserved documents makes it difficult to specify precisely where the Byzantine influence ends and Wallachian practices begin. However, it is clear that the main ideas of the book are deeply embedded in the Byzantine tradition.

Learning in *Slavia Orthodoxa*: Educational Activities and Concepts of Education in the First Bulgarian Kingdom
Tanya Ivanova (Bulgaria)

Thesis supervisor: Ralph Cleminson
External reader: Dean Worth, University of California, Los Angeles

Education as a part of medieval cultural activity has received much attention from historians, literary critics, and anthropologists as a way to survey cultural *"ideologemasta"* in the historical context of the Middle Ages. The educational process has usually been examined through the constituents of literacy: learning writing and reading, viewed as indicators of both stability and change in society.

In light of current research, the present study focuses on the problem of the educational process in a particular place and time—the First Bulgarian Kingdom between the ninth and the tenth centuries. This is an investigation which has not been undertaken before, due to the deficiency of primary sources of educational activity in Bulgaria as well as to the availability of later copies of the ninth- and tenth-century writings.

Therefore, the general approach of this study is to juxtapose explicit examples from different sources (i.e. from hagiography) with implicit ones, in the form of cultural remnants produced by educational activity (i.e. graffito-inscriptions). More specifically, the thesis investigates educational practices in their particular representation as learning, reading, and writing activities, by an interpretation of the educational concepts of Slavonic Bookmen implied in their literary works—a methodology based on the difference between facts and hypotheses.

The first and most general conclusion of the present work is that the teaching of literacy was part of the catechetical process. Teaching letters and preaching faith emanated simultaneously from the particular historical and cultural situation in the

First Bulgarian Kingdom. This combined activity of the Slavonic educational practice differed from the contemporary Byzantine one, and adapted Christian culture to the needs of the Slavs in this particular period. The very short time in which the educational structures had to be established, the lack of enough trained Slavonic teachers, and the complex political and ethnic situation in Bulgaria in the ninth century, can all be regarded as reasons for the emergence and development of this specific model of Slavonic education.

Apparently, the goal of universal literacy was not intended to be reached by the first Slavonic apostles and teachers. Rather, the dissemination of letters within a limited circle must have been one of the main aims of early Slavonic education. The very nature of the Slavonic alphabet was perceived on the one hand as sacred, leading the Slavs to enlightenment and on the other hand, as functional, serving the acquisition and utilization of literacy.

The results obtained from the investigation of the earliest Slavonic grammatical texts show that the systematic teaching of grammar was not present in the Bulgarian curriculum as it existed in Byzantium. Rather, Slavonic *litterati* must have used some Greek grammatical treatises without translating them but simply adapting the grammatical models in the process of translation. In other words, the translation practice itself can be perceived as a kind of standardization of grammatical paradigms.

The models which the grammatical treatises of tenth-century Bulgaria explicate show the ideology behind the educational process of the Slavs, namely, enlightenment through understanding, apology and panegyric of the alphabet as a part of a holy enterprise, and a subordination of the theory of translation to the concept of "meaning." All these concepts were created in Slavonic soil partly on the basis of Greek models and "*ideologemasta*," but it was their applicability in the Bulgarian cultural space which imbues them with new connotations.

The Reception of the Vatican Mytographers in the Early Renaissance
Gábor Kiss Farkas (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: Tamás Sajó
External reader: Marianna Birnbaum, University of California, Los Angeles
With distinction

The three Vatican Mytographers were among the most important sources of ancient myths from the High Middle Ages to the Early Renaissance. Several shorter treatises were compiled out of their texts (particularly of the Third Vatican Mytographer, hence MV III), and many late medieval handbooks referred to them.

In my thesis, I try to demonstrate how the usage of the MV III differed in each case according to the interests of the compiler.

One of the crucial problems using the MV III in the Late Middle Ages was how to handle the evidently inauthentic allegorical interpretations of pagan gods contained in this treatise. On one hand, the medieval commentators in the fourteenth century, the "English friars" and their followers (Trivet, Waleys, Holcoth and Berchorius) accept them, on the other hand, Petrarch and the anonymous writer of a short treatise (*Libellus de imaginibus deorum*) seemed to reject the allegory of gods, which made some scholars (Liebeschütz, Seznec) think of a "purist," proto-Renaissance program to revive the pagan gods.

First, I argue that the *Libellus*, which had been known in only one copy, belongs to a slightly different tradition of mythology than has been previously supposed. A new manuscript of this work, found in the Archiepiscopal Library of Eger, proves that it must have been conceived in Padua, or at least in the region under Venetian cultural influence, around 1420. Second, I show that Petrarch did not refuse the allegorization of gods, rather, he makes good use of it in a famous letter (*Sen.* IV, 4). Nor did the author of the *Libellus* despise the moral allegory, although it is restricted to the second, less quoted part of the treatise, dealing with the twelve labours of Hercules.

Consequently, we cannot talk of purism: only the difference of purposes made Petrarch and the *Libellus*-writer reject the allegory. I tried to trace the origin of the allegories of Hercules and the canon of twelve labours contained in the *Libellus*, and it turned out that although the Boethian tradition was known to him and used, perhaps with medieval commentaries, the main stream of the allegories is parallel to those of Coluccio Salutati. However, Salutati's elaborate interpretations are adapted to a school audience. Another interlude shows the significance of the Veneto schools for the survival of the Vatican Mytographers. On the basis of a codex in the University Library in Budapest, I argue that for a short period in the 1460s this treatise was found and copied in great numbers, until it turned out that all the material contained in it was second-hand and worthless. However, the discoverer, Gabriele da Concoregio, belongs to the history of Venetian humanism, and the short, but vivid success of this treatise reveals important traits of the culture of Veneto in the fifteenth century.

Therefore, in the final chapter, I set the cases enumerated in chapters II-IV in the light of the types of mythological interest in the early fifteenth century Veneto. I conclude after listing several examples, that in the first half of the century most cases were connected to the teaching in schools (Guarino and other grammar teachers among them), as a passive reception of the ancient mythology, based on medieval tradition, while from the 1440s the exclusively rhetorical use of myths becomes obsolete and insufficient in itself: one needed to find new myths or interesting parallels, and the sources of it could not be obscure treatises any more,

only authentic writings. This is reflected by the fate of the Vatican Mytographers: after a short time they were forgotten in Italy, and thereafter in other countries of Europe as well.

The Ethnic-cultural Perception of "Otherness" in a Frontier Region as Reflected in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle
Marek Klatý (Slovakia)

Thesis supervisor: Ralph Cleminson
External reader: Márta Font, Janus Pannonius University, Pécs
With distinction

Observing human behavior in relation to "other" ethnical groups is interconnected with the quest for those mental attitudes which may be typical for a certain period and a certain geographical region. The present study attempts to analyze the perception of various ethnic groups, as reflected in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, and the way this perception changed in the course of time within the given text. I try to demonstrate that this perception was not of a constant stereotypical character, but was greatly influenced by the frontier nature of the region where the Chronicle originated. Thus the determinants of a frontier region must have made an impact also on the mentality that shaped the narrator's ethnic-cultural perception of the "outsider" ethnic groups. The character of this perception ranged from the extremely negative to the more positive, that is to say, remaining ambivalent or changing its connotations.

Being a "captive" of a frontier region, the narrator did not only follow the traditional, stereotypical perception of the other peoples. Instead, he introduced and employed specific attitudes that were the result of the radiation of the frontier region. The development was greatly precipitated by the influence of its neighbors from the West. This supposition seems highly plausible in the light of Danil's coronation who accepted a monarchic title from the pope.

Reconstructing the narrator's perception of the peoples from the West, a mysterious—albeit comprehensible—mountain of discrepancies emerges in front of the observer. However, the image of these peoples, in the immediate neighborhood of the Principality, for instance the Poles, is marked by a stamp of strangeness and often inferiority. The perception of Westerners from the religious viewpoint did not, however, automatically imply the anti-Latin animosity that one might expect from a source originating from a Greek Orthodox environment. On the other hand, the general image of the pagan peoples (either coming from the steppe or the marshes and forests of the North) remained in the chronicler's perception as a trace of the traditional image of pagan, that is, non-Christian, communities. They were often

assessed according to the stereotypes taken over from the Christian historical-eschatological tradition of the previous periods, applied to such peoples as the Polovtsy or the Tatars. But political developments precipitated a change in the understanding of them, because both the Polovtsy and the Lithuanians had temporarily emerged from their categorization as a "non-culture" type.

To sum up, the analysis shows that the narrator's perception of the "other" peoples was not only biassed in one direction; rather, the conditions of the frontier region, where he wrote his work, greatly contributed to his changing and ambiguous attitudes.

Poverty in the Cistercian and Carthusian Orders:
Concept and Practice as Revealed in the *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* and the *Chartae Capitulorum Generalium* (Ordinis Cartusiae)
Etleva Lala (Albania)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External reader: James Hogg, University of Salzburg

Voluntary poverty, a very important element of the monastic lifestyle in the Middle Ages, was a common motto for both the Cistercian and Carthusian Orders at the time of their emergence in the twelfth century. Both orders came into being as a reaction against the old Benedictine attitude towards poverty, striving to realize a stricter application of voluntary poverty in monastic life. Their views, based on the Rule of St. Benedict, were very similar at first. They both sought and achieved not only individual poverty but communal poverty as well. In the course of time, however, the Cistercian and Carthusian experience of voluntary poverty became quite different; the order developed in a communal direction, the latter did not. Within a relatively short time the Cistercians became the richest order of the Middle Ages, whereas the Carthusians continued to enforce strict poverty in their personal as well as in their communal lifestyles.

This study, a comparative approach to the Cistercian and Carthusian Orders' respective attitudes towards poverty in a period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, is aimed at discovering the change in, or the maintenance of, the original attitude towards poverty in as revealed in the published statutes or *chartae* of their General Chapters. The study highlights the contrast between their attitudes, and so sheds light on some reasons why that of the Cistercians changed and that of the Carthusians remained static. It also shows how slowly economic change was reflected in the mentality of the Cistercians.

The study demonstrates three main reasons why the Cistercians and Carthusians developed their attitudes differently. First of all, there was their nature as intrinsically dissimilar orders, which found their inspiration in different sources. The Carthusians were much more consistant than the Cistercians in their realization of strict poverty, since they were inspired essentially by the desert tradition, whereas the Cistercians found their inspiration only in cenobitic monasticism and in the Rule. Furthermore, the two orders developed their conception of poverty as an ideal quite differently; reasons for this may be found in their fundamental documentation. In the early documents of the Cistercians poverty seems to have been much more of an ideal. The Carthusians, on the other hand, derived their customs from practice. The *Consuetudines* is an account of actual practice. In the personal area it does not even mention specific cases, such as renunciations, on which the Cistercian fundamental writings had laid such great stress. It is also very important to mention the way in which the General Chapters proceeded against the faults committed. On the one hand, the Cistercians had created a system of precedent out of their authoritative documents. *De jure* they referred back to the fundamental documents, whereas *de facto* they made recourse to the statutes set out in the previous General Chapters. On the other hand, the Carthusians always made recourse to the fundamental documents and did not allow themselves any other authoritative legislation.

The present study is concentrating only on specific explicit references to poverty as an ideal and the different ways in which it could be practiced or demonstrated by the monks. Hopefully it will stand as a first step towards a more thorough comparative analysis of documents pertaining to this particular strain in medieval monasticism.

Classificatory Strategies in Celestial Sciences
in Late Medieval East-Central European Sources
Benedek Láng (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External reader: György Endre Szőnyi, Collegium Budapest

The notion of astrology had a double history throughout the Middle Ages. Theological discourse (Isidore, Hrabanus Maurus, Hugh of Saint Victor, and Jean Gerson) emphasized its demonic, dangerous, and forbidden character, while scientific discourse (practicing astrologers or astronomers, such as Ptolemy, Haly, Leopold de Austria, Antonius Montulmo, Pierre d'Ailly, or Albumasar) referred to the subject in a more neutral way, without implying demonic intervention, but rather laying stress on the potential usage of those occult, hidden correspondences of

the world which were considered convenient ways of influencing and manipulating nature.

Besides a brief presentation of these discourses, this thesis aims to ascertain the place of astrology within the classificatory schemes of late medieval Central European scientific discourse, that is, in the texts written by Hungarian, Polish, Viennese, and Czech astronomers and astrologers in the 1450s and 1460s. The peculiarly tolerant milieu of Central European courts and universities attracted wandering scholars, and provided them with an opportunity to deal with astrology and astronomy simultaneously, without the need to distance themselves from the former.

Four groups of sources have been analyzed. In the first chapter, quotations from Marsilio Ficino's oeuvre show the attitude of a hermetic thinker. He did not accept every version of astrological practice, but rather made a distinction between "true" and "false" astrology. This differentiation had a long medieval tradition. Therefore, the second chapter focuses on this tradition of dichotomies in scientific classifications, and culminates in an analysis of Jean Gerson's opinion. Gerson made explicit many arguments which he inherited from earlier classificatory schemes and which served as sources for later Central European classifications, where condemnation of the so-called "false" astrology is much more restrained. The criteria for differentiating between the branches of celestial sciences are, however, similar to the criteria used by Gerson and his sources: the Central European distinctions are rooted in the earlier Western tradition. In the third chapter, I examine one genre within these classifications, the visually elaborate charts containing definitions of and differences between astrology and astronomy. For more sophisticated opinions on the same questions, in the fourth chapter, I look at hidden and scattered sentences in the texts of astrologers and astronomers. As a result of this textual analysis, we can say that the criteria for differentiation and the arguments used are similar and convergent in all of the four types of sources. However, not surprisingly, the proportions of each category are different. For Gerson the majority of astrological practice belonged to the non-tolerated group. Ficino's categorization was the same, but he rejected fewer elements of astrology. Our Central European sources (which are sometimes mere repetitions of Western sources, but sometimes present original arguments) cover a wide range of levels of tolerance; however, most of them are much more lenient towards astrology than the former western texts.

Emphasizing the continuity of the attitude towards astrology in the second half of the fifteenth century, I attempt to show that the rise of hermetic thinking and the new approach to magical sciences did not influence the attribution of veracity and utility to astrology as considerably as has been suggested by Frances Amelia Yates.

The study also makes an attempt at characterizing what fields were separated by the permeable, semi-permeable, and impermeable borderlines of these scientific

classifications and styles of definition. Were they magic or science? In the case of astrology, it seems rather that two kinds of magic were on the two sides of the frontier: black and white, to be encouraged (or at least tolerated) or rejected (or at least seen as dangerous). Apparently, the question of rationality is at stake here, but the reason for rejecting some types of astrology was not always that they lacked rationality. Looking for a frontier was a common feature of our scholars, astronomers, astrologers, and theologians, even if they did not agree on what was on which side, or what was to be pursued and to what extent.

Catholic Piety in Transylvania during the Middle Ages: An Analysis of the Donations and Testaments Given to the Monasteries and their Churches
Maria-Magdolna Lupescu (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External reader: Brigitte Pohl-Reisl, University of Vienna

This thesis explores the ways in which lay men and women in medieval Transylvania tried to achieve their salvation. Many of them sought to answer this spiritual question by making donations to monasteries and their churches. The thesis concentrates on one aspect of medieval devotion—personal piety in relation to monasteries—in Transylvania, using specific types of charters: donations and testaments given to specific monasteries and their churches. Its scope, geographically, is Transylvania, the eastern territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Chronologically, it deals with the period between the twelfth and mid-sixteenth century (the date of the first surviving donation and the beginning of the Reformation in Transylvania).

Avoiding the history of institutional structures, the thesis concentrates on personal involvement in religion, particular forms of worship, individual acts of devotion: everything that could generally be called personal piety. However, besides this "spiritual" aspect, piety involves a "material" aspect as well. This can be observed through an analysis of the categories of objects given to the monasteries and/or their churches.

After an outline of the basic characteristics of monasticism in medieval Transylvania, the thesis is organized into a series of thematic chapters, which analyze the nature and significance of various manifestations of devotion and piety.

The first chapter analyzes how monasteries and mendicant friaries were involved in community life. It offers possible reasons why these orders were established in Transylvania, describes their specifically Hungarian traits, summarizes the characteristics of the relationship between religious houses and

their donors, and reveals the important role of the donors and their donations in the development of Transylvanian monasticism.

This overview is followed by an account of how Transylvanian lay men and women expressed their concern about the afterlife and individual salvation by making donations to different religious houses. The first basic question is that of the donors' social status and its influence in their choice of making gifts. The second major problem is the categorization of the objects donated to the monasteries and/or their churches and of the donors' "expectations."

Moreover, the thesis investigates the meaning of the *post mortem* services, and the role of divine and human intercessors, emphasizing the latters' duties and responsibilities as donors or testators. No previous general treatment of monasticism has looked in detail at the role of the laity and their relationship, as donors and testators, to the monastic houses.

The investigation of published donations and testaments has allowed me to conclude that the beliefs and practices of Transylvanian donors and testators during the Middle Ages can be compared quite well with those of late medieval Europe in general. Although there were differences, the basic patterns were similar to those as far away as France. Transylvanian donors believed that their bequests, along with prayers and divine and human intercessory help, eased the transition from this world into the next.

Future research on Transylvanian Catholic piety during the Middle Ages should address not only the role of the regular clergy's settlements, but also those of the parish churches. From a methodological point of view the comparison between donations to the secular and regular clergy, and between Transylvanian devotional patterns and those from Western Europe, would give a clearer picture of the special characteristics of local piety.

A Cadaster of John Hunyadi's Castles
Radu Lupescu (Romania)

Thesis supervisors: József Laszlovszky, János Bak
External reader: István Feld, University of Miskolc

In this thesis my intention is to survey Hungarian castle architecture of the fifteenth century. I have tried not only to approach the castles using archaeological and art historical methods, but to investigate them from the point of view of the owners as well. In order to explain the significance of the castle in fifteenth-century society it is useful to select a suitable magnate who was the owner of many castles and about whom we have sufficient written sources. John Hunyadi was such a magnate: he had

more than twenty castles in his possession and the family archives have survived almost intact.

The thesis comprises two main parts: the repertory of the castles, and the conclusions. The repertory is structured like a database covering the following topics: the history of the castles, their estates, the primary written sources, the description and the architectural history. There is also a bibliography on each castle. This database covers thirteen castles, with a further nine castles from Trencsén County presented together under one entry. The conclusion is the analytical part of the thesis, which addresses three major questions concerning these castles: the ownership of the castles (how and why did Hunyadi acquire them?), the management of the castles (what was the role of the castellans, how was an estate structured, for what purposes was the income of an estate used?) and their construction (what was their architectural organization, for what purpose were the castles built or rebuilt?).

During his career Hunyadi held his castles under various legal conditions. Those which were his private property were acquired in three groups: the Transylvanian castles (Déva, Görgény, and Diód), obtained under the reign of King Wladislas, the castles acquired from George Branković (Munkács, Tokaj, Világosvár, Érsomlyó); and the castles of Trencsén County. Concerning the reason for acquiring so many castles, mainly in the eastern part of Hungary, we should consider the double strategic importance of this area for Hunyadi: the first in relation to the imminent Ottoman danger, the second to an "internal opposition." Research shows that even in a period of Ottoman threat, Hunyadi used his large number of castles not so much to defend the Hungarian Kingdom, as to counter the internal offensive of those magnates of Hungary who opposed him. In the management of the castles the authority of the castellans reached its highest point in this period. They were Hunyadi's most trusted confidants, the basis of his political power. Not surprisingly, some of these castellans used their position to ensure a better position for their families in the social hierarchy of Hungary.

Hunyadi had a special interest in the maintenance of the castles as well. His primary intention was to increase their defensive capabilities both against Ottoman attacks and those of his opponents among the magnates. He also used his castles as representative noble residences. Besides Hunyad, it seems that the castle of Temesvár was transformed in this way, and can be considered his second residence. His aim was to transform it into a comfortable and representative residence worthy of his rank. Such aristocratic display became a fashion in fifteenth-century Hungary, closely connected to current social changes: the magnates, who were becoming wealthier and wealthier, used every opportunity to show their power and opulence.

Bohemia During the Tenth Century in the Light of Imported Artefacts
Jan Machula (Czech Republic)

Thesis supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External reader: Miklós Takács, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology

The tenth century is a unique epoch in the history of Central Europe. It is not only the period when the first written documents of domestic provenance shed some light on the otherwise almost unknown history of the peoples inhabiting this area, but is also the time when their society underwent significant changes and started to join the community of traditional European Christian states. In order to explain the processes which so significantly changed those societies, namely, the gradual concentration of power in the hands of a single dynasty and the process of spreading Christianity, it is necessary to take into consideration the results of archaeology as well.

The basis for my investigation about the beginnings of the Bohemian state consists of the evidence of the material objects of non-domestic origin. These objects have already been partly collected, examined, and categorized according to the different cultural spheres of their origin; however,. no attempt has been made to include all of them in one work, assessing the role of different cultural influences in Bohemia, and the interactions between them. I have considered the evidence of the written sources and early Bohemian coinage, putting it into the framework of contemporary European trade. The situation in Hungary has also been partly taken into account, in order to detect similarities and differences between these two countries. Although by the beginning of the tenth century the Hungarians and the Bohemians had reached very different stages of social development, both of them had managed to create a principality by the end of the century.

The quantity of foreign objects in Bohemia was fairly small, although in the middle of the tenth century, Bohemia became more attractive for international trade, as documented in the written sources. The archaeological evidence can only partially confirm the eastern and south-eastern directions of Bohemian trade at that time. Likewise, there are only few indications of interaction with the West, which was certainly the main source of cultural and social change. In contrast, archaeological findings suggest that interaction with the territories north of Bohemia, about which the historical sources are almost silent, seem to have been intensive.

There are also significant differences in the structure of "imported" objects between Bohemia and Hungary. Some of these dissimilarities undoubtedly result from Hungarian military raids. Others must be related to the economic situation, as suggested by the presence of Arab coins in Hungary and the lack of them in Bohemia. However, the findings from these two territories also reveal some

similarities, such as the presence of Western weapons, Byzantine pectoral crosses, and artifacts with Viking motifs.

Slimnic Castle and its Position in the Development of Military Architecture in Medieval Transylvania
Monica Neacsu (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External reader: Hermann Fabini, Sibiu, Romania

Medieval castles and fortified churches are currently attracting considerable attention among scholars. In Transylvania there is a large amount of source material on this matter, which has not yet been studied in detail.

The problem of military architecture and the way it developed in the particular case of Slimnic (Szelindek, Stolzenburg) castle, situated in the German-speaking (Saxon) part of Transylvania, are worthy of a detailed examination. The purpose of this thesis was to analyze the stages of development of Slimnic castle and to reach a conclusion concerning the function this castle may have had during the Middle Ages. The methodology which I have used for dating Slimnic castle is based on the interdisciplinary analysis of different sources. Dating has been established through analysis of the castle itself in conjunction with written sources. Therefore, the study starts with an architectural analysis of Slimnic castle and continues with the discussion of other castles in order to identify parallels in the context of medieval Transylvanian military architecture. The available written sources on Slimnic castle have been analyzed and their interpretation correlated with the preceding analysis. The critical evaluation of the previous research concerning Slimnic castle has been done in the light of the analysis of the primary sources.

Material changes may indicate a series of changes in the function of the building. This study has revealed that this castle was probably adapted to meet successive functional requirements, the traces of which are still visible. A relative chronology was established in the first chapter. First phase: the northern chapel; second: the building with a regular ground plan, here referred to as the basilica; third: the second phase of the basilica, the rectangular and triangular precincts; fourth: the upper parts of the east and west walls of the basilica, the north-western tower with the precinct extension walls and the southern part of the castle (the barbican). The house of the warden is a modern construction.

The absolute chronology established is as follows: the northern chapel—fourteenth century, the original building on the place of the basilica—between the end of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, the rectangular and triangular precinct and the second phase of the basilica—until the

end of the fifteenth century, the north-western tower and its extension walls and the south barbican—sixteenth century.

Having ascertained an absolute chronology, one may proceed to a tentative identification of the castle's different function over time, including a prestige function, a religious function, and a defensive function. It is possible that this castle served not only the protection of the community of Slimnic village but also that of a neighboring village.

The results of my analysis have been presented in two forms, i.e. drawings and written material. The study I have made of Slimnic castle could constitute the first step of a restoration project. In order to confirm or disprove the results gathered from the present analysis, more archaeological research needs to be carried out.

The Tondrakite Movement in Armenia and the Paulicians:
A Comparative Study
Zaroui Pogossian (Armenia)

.

The Paulician (sixth to ninth century) and the Tondrakite (ninth to twelfth century) movements were the most powerful and widespread heresies in medieval Armenia. The Paulicians also constituted a significant threat to the Byzantine Orthodox Church and the secular state. This analysis of the relationship between these two movements, based on Greek and Armenian sources, is aimed at demonstrating the independent character of the Tondrakite movement from the historical, religious and social points of view. A comparative reconstruction of their respective religious systems is of particular importance for understanding the differences between the two movements.

The existing sources, which are all anti-heretical, have been analyzed from three perspectives: to see whether the Armenian sources viewed the Tondrakites as an off-shoot of Paulicianism or distinguished between the two; whether the Tondrakite religious ideology and practices were different from those of the Paulicians; and whether the two movements had any similar or common social goals and significance.

The Greek sources often associated the Paulicians with the Manichaeans, while the Armenian sources did the same with respect to the Tondrakites. Thus, both groups were classified as Manichaean, which could mean that they were identical. However, by exploring the usage of the term *Manichaean* in the Armenian texts and putting this tradition into the context of heresiological literature as a

genre, it can be shown that the accusation of Manichaeism did not necessarily mean an identification of the Tondrakites with the Paulicians by medieval authors.

A comparison of theological concepts and religious practices points out even more divergences between the two groups. The Paulicians were depicted as dualist heretics, whereas no mention of Tondrakite dualism is found in the sources. They also differed in their Christological concepts. While the Paulicians rejected the real incarnation of Christ, his human substance, and could be called Docetist, the Tondrakites rejected Christ's divinity, at least at his birth, and emphasized his humanity. Neither the Paulicians nor the Tondrakites recognized orthodox rites, liturgies, or symbols, such as the cross, the icons, and the material building of the church. However, their own religious practices differed from one group to the other.

The social significance and background of these movements reveal more differences. They were heterogeneous in their social composition, since members of various social strata with diverse motivations joined them. The Paulicians and the Tondrakites were active in different socio-historical settings, one in the Byzantine Empire, the other in Armenia, and, therefore, they may not be characterized as having a common, single social goal.

Although the descriptions of the Paulicians and the Tondrakites in anti-heretical sources resemble each other, a more thorough exploration of the sources reveals many differences between the two. The influence of the Paulician movement on the shaping of the Tondrakite ideology appears not to have been significant. The Tondrakite movement emerges as a distinct heresy with its own ideology and social significance, which only superficially resembles that of the Paulicians.

The Formation of the Romanian Nobility from the Banat in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries
Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: János Bak
External readers: Martyn Rady, SSEES, London; Ioan-Aurel Pop, Babes-Bolyai University; Patrick Geary, University of Notre Dame

The aim of this research was to investigate the process of formation of the social layer which the written sources from the Banat region refer to as *nobiles Valachi*. The chronological scope of investigation is determined by the availability of relevant written sources; the research is limited to the period between the mid-fourteenth century and 1457. The subject of study is the social evolution of the Romanian elite, the *cnezes (kenesius,-ii* [Lat.], *cnez, -i* [Rom.], *kenéz,-ek* [Hung.]). This social layer underwent a process of gradual transformation, many of its members eventually being called *nobiles* or *nobiles Valachi*.

The investigation begins with the analysis of the clearest document referring to this group, the royal charter of 29 August 1457, which confirmed the privileges of the Romanian nobles and *cnezes* from eight districts of the Banat. This act not only confirms the existence of this social group, but also defines some of its specific features. An examination of individual charters granted to members of the Romanian elite from the 1350s to the 1450s is then pursued, in order to identify the stages and the specific paths of evolution taken by the *cnezes* who obtained a noble status or title. This research consists of an analysis of the privileges and rights granted by the royal authority to individuals. An important point of the study is the comparison with the rights and privileges of the Hungarian nobility, (or the *veri nobiles regni* as they are often referred to in the written sources), in order to understand the difference between the Hungarian and Romanian nobility. Much of the investigation consists of a careful examination of the variations in terminology referring to Romanian nobles.

The conclusion of this study is that the Romanian nobility represented a specific type. Their position as landowners justified their noble status, and they enjoyed noble privileges specific to the Hungarian nobility. The Romanian nobles and Hungarian nobles differed in the specific obligations of the former towards royal local officials, such as taxes paid in money, presents, and kind, and, most importantly, military service in defence of the southern borders of the Kingdom of Hungary. These special features were due to the specific way of evolution of the *cnezes*, who obtained charters for their possessions, which granted them noble status while maintaining the former *cnezial* obligations. For the royal chancellery it was necessary to make a terminological distinction between this type of nobles and the Hungarian ones. The distinction was expressed most clearly by the term *nobiles Valachi,* denoting both ethnicity and social specificity. Later, at the removal of these obligations, the Romanian elite became socially identical with the nobility of the kingdom, being simply named *nobiles.*

The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows: Evolution, Function, and Interpretation
Dóra Sallay (Hungary)

Thesis supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External reader: Miri Rubin, Oxford University
With distinction

This thesis attempts to offer a systematic survey and interpretation of a group of images that depict the Man of Sorrows with eucharistic symbols. The main objective of my research was to clarify in what forms, what time period, and which regions

these images were created, what purpose they served, and how they were experienced by their audience.

Although my basic approach to this material is art historical, I also try to answer questions about the relationship between the images and the eucharistic devotion of the Late Middle Ages; between the visual representation and the related textual forms, and between particular forms of representation and the political, religious, and social milieu in which they occur. Since most works of art studied in my thesis are little-known in art historical literature, I begin with a survey of the surviving examples of these iconographical types, then on the basis of this collected material I draw various conclusions, some hypothetical, which can be summarized as follows.

With the rise of eucharistic devotion in the Late Middle Ages, a very popular representation, the Man of Sorrows, came to be regarded as the quintessential portrayal of the Christ of the Eucharist. From the middle of the fourteenth century the inherent eucharistic content of this representation was occasionally further enriched by the addition of a eucharistic symbol such as the chalice, host(s), grapevine, and stalks of wheat.

The resulting new types, to which I have referred under the collective term Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*, can be traced in Western art for more than two hundred years, but they seem to have been relatively infrequent. Most of the surviving examples were created for parish churches, functioning in various ways according to the context in which they were experienced.

One important function of these representations was to mark those places in churches that had eucharistic relevance, such as tabernacles, altars, and places where relics of the Holy Blood or of miraculous bleeding hosts were preserved. In these contexts such images served to indicate, as well as visually invoke, the real presence of the body of Christ in the church.

Another function of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* was to explain visually the origin of the species of the Eucharist to the believers. Since in these images the eucharistic symbols were directly related to the body of the suffering Christ, they were especially suitable for teaching and reinforcing the doctrine of transubstantiation; furthermore, they could also refer to the doctrine of concomitance by the direct association of Christ's blood and the host. The surviving inscriptions on some of these works, in which Christ himself declares the truth of the dogma, underline this function of these images.

Besides these primary functions, it is possible that the images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows were experienced by their audience in a number of other ways. The fact that portrayals of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* with the chalice outnumber by far those with a host seems conspicuous, since the laity, to whom these images seem to have been primarily addressed, had no access to the communion chalice which these images emphasize. Although there are some factors

that can partly explain this phenomenon, it is possible that these works were used also in devotional practice as objects of contemplation through which spiritual communion could be achieved.

Finally, it seems that factors like dogmatic controversies, or political and social tension, could also exert an influence on the iconography and distribution of some types. Under circumstances when the truth of the theological dogma underlying the inherent concept in the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* was questioned, new, more emphatic versions were created in order to counter-act disbelief and heresy. A case in point is the nearly exclusive occurrence in Central Europe of the *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice, a phenomenon which seems to be related to the contemporary Hussite movement in this area.

Vision and History: An Interpretation of the Genesis of Early Jewish Mysticism
Ágoston Schmelowszky (Hungary)

Thesis supervisors: György Geréby, István Perczel
External reader: Mauro Zonta, University of Rome
With distinction

The main body of this thesis deals with the genesis and interpretation of Jewish mystical texts which belong to the *Hekhaloth*, or *Merkavah*, literature, especially with the text *Shi'ur Qomah* or *Measure of the Body*. The Hebrew word *hekhaloth* means "chambers," referring to the chambers of the Temple in Jerusalem; and *merkavah* means "chariot," referring to the chariot of God as it appears in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel (Ez. 1.). These texts gained their shape during a long and complicated process of redaction in Babylonia in the sixth or seventh century C.E. They are narrations of visions in which the mystic travels through the heavens seeing the chambers of the Temple in heaven, and God's chariots in them, and finally arrives at the body of God itself, and sees and measures it. In the interpretation of the texts, I first use philological methods, then try to enumerate those historical, psychological factors which gave a stimulus to the genesis of the *Merkavah* literature.

After a general introduction to the material, problems, and methods, the first chapter gives a short overview of the scholarly literature dealing with the topic. I have confined myself to those books and articles which had influenced my views or attracted my criticism. The second chapter deals with the origin of the mystical motifs in the Talmudic literature. It concludes that four main subjects of mystical speculation were present in the earliest strata of this corpus. The third chapter deals with the interpretation of the text called the *Measure of the Body*. After a philological analysis, I use a psychological approach to understand of the bizarre

images of the text. The conclusion is that in the motifs of the visionary material in general, and of this text in particular, we can recognize a creative re-adaptation of two historical dramas, namely the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., and the suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt in 135 C.E. In the last chapter, I turn to the genesis of the symbols of the ten powers of God, named *Sefiroth*. I try to investigate the traditions at the heart of the genesis of this symbolism, among them the *Merkavah* texts. I argue that the symbol of the ten *Sefiroth* has two origins, one in the visionary texts, the other in the works of Philo of Alexandria. The conclusion emphasizes that for the continuation of the research we should include early Christian and Gnostic material. That type of comparative analysis could promote a deeper understanding of the genesis of Christianity and the nature of Gnosis.

Manichaeism in the anti-Manichaean Literature:
The Figure of Mani in the *Acta Archelai*
Eszter Spät (Hungary)

Thesis supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Ben Schomakers
External reader: Jan Van Oort, University of Utrecht

This thesis concentrates on the *Acta Archelai* (written c. 340 A.D.) of Hegemonius, the first Christian refutation of Manichaeism, and on its historical value as a part of the early Christian polemical literature. It attempted to analyse the picture of Mani, founder of the Manichaean movement, presented by the *Acta Archelai* and to trace how the traditional methods and tools of anti-heretical polemics were employed in depicting, and denigrating, the figure of the heresiarch and through it this new heresy.

As a conclusion it can be stated that the aim of the *Life of Mani* in the *Acta* is to insert Mani and his followers into the traditional view taken of heretics. Hegemonius wished to achieve this through constructing a 'Life of Mani' based partly on real but distorted and partlyon fictitious elements. The *Acta* manages to combine two traditional methods of attack against heretics: attack on an ideological level which aims at excluding the heretics from the community of Christians, and attack on the figure of the founder, by drawing a caricature. In the case of the *Vita Manis*, the ideological attack appears not in the usual form of statements and arguments as to the real nature of heretics and their pseudo-Christian system, but rather in ascribing to Mani such biographical elements that convey the same message, so that the attack on the ideological level can also be realized through the caricature of the founder.

Three different levels of attack could be distinguished within the *Acta*. On the first level we find the "biographical" elements, relating the deeds and religious

294

career of Mani as a self-proclaimed prophet, that constitute the attack on the ideological level. Though these elements are fictitious in their details, they still reflect, even if in a distorted fashion, Manichaeism's relation to Christianity and how this relation could have been perceived and interpreted by contemporary Christians.

The elements on the second level, closely connected to the first, are clearly taken from Mani's life, his death, his healing activity, missionary activities, and even from his genuine religious teaching on the bringer of the Gnosis, though embedded in the third, wholly fictitious level. These elements are however, distorted to such an extent, as to serve as a caricature of Mani and present him as a pseudo-prophet.

Finally, we can point at a third level which manifests itself through completely fictional elements, the life stories of Mani's two spiritual predecessors or teachers, who appear solely in the *Acta* or in later writings based on the *Acta*. The false *"vitae"* of these two imaginary teachers place Mani within the framework of the "Simonian succession," that is, the notion, developed by Justinus and Irenaeus, that all heretics stem from Simon Magus. Such a connection between the figure of Simon, father of all heresies, and Mani's teachers is clearly attested by a number of motifs taken from the life of Simon, analyzed in detail by the thesis. For the existence of this level two possible explanations can be put forward (neither of them exclusive): It might be an attempt to prove the theme of the first two levels, "just another heretic," in an even more conclusive way, by making Mani just one more of Simon's numerous descendants. It might also be the influence of anti-heretical writings that served as model for the *Acta*.

The final chapter of the thesis deals with the possible sources that served as literary models for this polemic work. The ideological level of presenting Mani according to the general image of how heretics and their systems were perceived evidently goes back to the anti-heretical works of Church Fathers like Irenaeus or Hippolytus. Certain other characteristics of the *Acta*, its structure, the repeated debate and a number of romance elements indicate that the apocryphal Acts on Peter's and Simon's debate, that is, the *Acta Petri*, the *Acta Petri et Pauli* and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, a theological romance depicting the verbal contest between Peter and Simon, might also have served as literary models. The number of parallels and similar motifs in the *Acta* and *Recognitiones* strongly suggest that the latter served as a model of anti-heretical debate for the *Acta*.

Finally, in my conclusion, I draw attention to other, later, polemical writings, which contain similar motifs and suggest the existance of a anti-heretical literary genre into which the *Acta* can be fit. Furthermore I indicate some directions, which possible future research on early Christian polemical literature could take.

Funerary Chapels in East Central Europe:
The Bakócz, Lázóy, and Sigismund Chapels
Cristina Stancioiu (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: Lívia Varga
External reader: Árpád Mikó, Hungarian National Gallery

This thesis concerns the late Gothic and early Renaissance period in East Central Europe, where the Italian art of the Renaissance was adapted to local tradition and demands. To illustrate this complex and controversial phenomenon, the example of three important funerary chapels are surveyed: the Bakócz, the Lázóy, and the Sigismund Chapels, attached to the cathedrals of Esztergom in Hungary, Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg) in Transylvania, and the Wawel cathedral in Cracow in Poland, respectively.

Preceded by a local form of humanism, Renaissance style was introduced in order to enhance the reputation of the commissioners. The artists represent different Italian centers, such as Tuscany, Lombardy, and Venice. Although relations between Italy and Hungary and Poland were close and intense, the local artistic production did not change radically or definitively, but remained for a long time within the Gothic tradition. In this synthesis and syncretism Renaissance elements were primarily used as decoration, and rarely as structure.

There were at least three manifestations where the ideology, aesthetics, and mood of the Renaissance expressed the patron's program: manuscripts and illuminations related to a broader context of humanist culture; residential architecture and its decoration; and funerary architecture and decorative sculpture, the central point of this study. This last may be subsumed within a residential program, due to the special relation between the commissioner and his monument. The funerary chapel as an eternal residence offered a patron the possibility to express his tastes and ambitions and to convert his ideas, his cultural and political orientation, and his social status, into a visual language.

All three chapels have been presented in the scholarly literature as the first Renaissance monuments in their respective areas. This study contests the notion that they represent a "pure Renaissance" style. The notion of a "pure" style has to be redefined, and then applied to a peripheral region, unfamiliar with the conditions and organic development of the culture of the Renaissance, in Italy. What Hungary, Transylvania and Poland did was to adopt, and in most of the cases transform, original Italian elements. Therefore neither of the three chapels is a perfect copy of one Italian monument, but rather a synthesis of Italian elements, the patron's demands, the architect's abilities, and local needs. The Lázóy Chapel, which has not previously been associated with the other two, belongs to the same category of monuments regarding its concept on structure, and decoration. It was designed to

represent the patron, to serve his purposes and preserve his glory, with a Renaissance *rationale*; it had a Gothic structure, transformed to fit a Renaissance composition; and it featured decorative elements reminiscent of Italian models among which some resemble the Bakócz Chapel, while others were later absorbed into Transylvanian urban art.

Incorporating all those tendencies of the art and architecture of the time, the Lázóy Chapel was an eclectic monument, connecting a Gothic structure with a richly decorative program in the style of the Renaissance. Unlike the Bakócz and Sigismund Chapels, which gave expression to a later development of an East Central European Renaissance, the structure of the Lázóy Chapel corresponds to the earlier tendency, characterized by the embellishment of existing Gothic buildings with Renaissance decorations. The patron, Johannes Lazarius, made use of a workshop staffed by Hungarian masters, acquainted with different Italian models. The eastern and western recesses of the chapel were designed for the altar and for the patron's tombstone. Therefore the creation of the western portal occurred after Johannes Lazarius was buried in Rome, the recess becoming superfluous.

In spite of some similar elements present in later architecture, neither a similar construction nor any genuine Renaissance building with regard to both the structure and decoration was known in Transylvania. Therefore the very term "Transylvanian Renaissance" is a problematic one, applicable only to this one chapel and a certain number of decorative elements belonging to urban residential architecture. Instead, one might find it more convenient to speak of a quality of synthesis, syncretism, and eclecticism.

Medieval Urban Development in Wallachia: Craiova
Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica (Romania)

Thesis supervisor: Neven Budak
External reader: András Kubinyi, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

This research focuses on a case study of the medieval settlement of Craiova in the Oltenia region, Romania. Its purpose is to define the specific characteristics of urban development in medieval Craiova and to compare these with urban patterns elsewhere in the region. A wide range of sources and other materials has been used in order to understand the emergence of Wallachian urban patterns.

The basis of the multi-criteria analysis of the urban development of Craiova is provided by a comprehensive survey of the extant written sources: medieval and early modern charters and descriptions by foreign travelers. The various charters have been studied according to the nature of the information contained in them, since for the purpose of this study different levels of interpretation proved to be

suitable in different cases, according to the factors taken into account: the bans of Craiova, as the second-most ruling power in the Wallachian feudal state, the status of the land property within the settlement, the political-administrative status of Craiova in the Middle Ages, and to a certain extent the structure of the settlement. The descriptions by foreign travelers, in chronicles or travel notes, provide evidence on the structure and features of Craiova. However, these subjective statements are treated with caution, due to the authors' background, and also because the information is limited by the length and routes of their journeys.

Cartographic research proved essential for the understanding of the evolution of Craiova. According to their scale these cartographic sources are used in different ways: maps for data on the position of medieval Craiova within the Wallachian settlement system and plans for a sequential analysis of the settlement structure. The multi-criteria analysis has resulted in four different levels for a hypothetical reconstruction of the evolution of Craiova in the Middle Ages: a diachronic analysis of the urban development in relationship to the territory; a synchronic analysis of the morphological elements of the settlement; an analysis of the architectural programs represented within the settlement; and an analysis of the organizational pattern of the settlement structure. These analyses are carried out using the information provided by the earliest extant plan of Craiova, which is a part of the map made by the Austrian topographer Specht in 1790. This study makes use of a new method of graphic transposition of the historical plans onto the contemporary topographical plan in order to gather supplementary data for the historical morphological study of Craiova's urban fabric.

Furthermore, the results of this sequential morphological analysis have been used for the reconstruction of the character of the settlement in the Middle Ages through a regressive method based on the stability of urban structure. However, the conclusions of this study can only be confirmed or disproved by archaeological research on the site identified by the morphological analysis of the settlement structure.

Staging the Easter *Officium* in Medieval Poland: Aspects of Production and Performance
Jolanta Szpilewska (Poland)

Forms of Easter observance were extremely rich in medieval Poland. The main features of these celebrations were: spectacular Palm Sunday and Easter

processions; ceremonial Feet Washing and the ceremony of the Lord's Supper on Maundy Thursday; the Way of the Cross on Good Friday; as well as the custom of erecting Easter Sepulchres in churches which were the central sites for the Paschal Triduum events, and for the staging of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* plays. All these ceremonies belong to the liturgical theater standing between the liturgy of the Mass or the Liturgy of Hours and elaborate vernacular Biblical plays. Their exact classification poses a problem which shows that the borderlines between the liturgy proper and the liturgical impersonation were not clearly defined.

The present study of a corpus of liturgical ceremonies and plays from the twelfth to the sixteenth century aims to describe the specific features of these records from a literary and performative aspect. The research is also meant to facilitate the on-stage reconstruction of early religious plays. One criterion for selecting materials was that they should be elaborated rubrics, or commentaries that were interpolated into the liturgical text. On the textual level they were treated as glosses, but they would become stage directions on the level of the theatrical script. For the textual analysis I have selected texts from different locations, such as Cracow, Brzeg, Nysa, Wrocław, Poznań. The texts are discussed in the order in which they would be performed and experienced in the context of Holy Week.

From the study of a number of the liturgical ceremonies from Poland there emerges a picture of the Church as an institution that was engaged in theatrical production. The work notes several cases when the congregation is included in the dramatic script: sometimes it is supposed to become the witness of the Resurrection, it takes part in the active veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, and it walks in the grand Palm Sunday Processions. On the basis of textual analysis we may assume that the setting of the ceremonies was either the city or the church building. Urban space was transformed into theatrical space for the time of the processions from beyond the city walls to the church. Church buildings housed more ceremonies, and called for a variety of stage movement solutions. The positioning of the Easter Sepulchre in the cathedral churches of Cracow and Poznań could be determined only by a comparative study. I assume that the location of the identified sepulchre would be the middle of the church, either in the central nave, or in one of the aisles, in either case close to the altar. From a discussion of the scene from the Visitation plays when the burial shrouds of Christ were displayed to the congregation, it appears that medieval religious theater was concerned with the language of gesture as much as verbal language, or, more precisely, language combined with melody. The mixed mode of representation that this theater employed included both chanting and miming. Mimed parts of the Visitations were always combined with the chanted parts, and there is no rubric that presupposes a moment of silence. Thus, medieval liturgical narratives may be seen as the earliest musical drama. In general, research has shown that the church building was a place of spiritual and artistic exchange between the actors and the spectators. There was a specific point in time and place

where the congregation would gather, and thus fill the space available with communal movement, chants, and prayers.

Materials that support the second part of the research are, unfortunately, rather limited. I consulted manuscript editions referring to the members of the Cracow chapter as well as the cathedral inventory. They cannot be directly related to the dramatic records, since they precede them by at least eighty years. In the case of the positioning of the Easter Sepulchre I have followed a comparative approach, and provided examples from the neighboring regions of Germany and Bohemia. Not all the archives have been explored in search of documentation for liturgical plays and ceremonies. The results of the research are tentative and I expect to add further analyses of sources in the future.

The *Testament of John of Rila*:
A Further Contribution to the Establishment of its Authenticity
Olga Vavilkina (Russia)

Thesis supervisor: Ralph Cleminson
External reader: Cynthia Vakareliyska, University of Oregon

The present thesis is a contribution to the debate about authenticity of the *Testament of John of Rila*. This document, the exact origin and dating of which is not yet determined, plays an important role in the context of Bulgarian culture in general, particularly regarding its religious and literary history. This special position of the *Testament* is due to several reasons: its genre, as is an example of the monastic foundation documents in the Byzantine tradition; the influential personality of St. John of Rila, who can be considered the most venerated Bulgarian saint; and the significance of the Rila monastery, which was most probably founded by St. John and became the most important monastery in medieval Bulgaria.

In the first chapter, I highlight those results of previous studies which can be used as a starting point for my research, namely, the division of the *Testament* into two main parts: the didactic part and the narrative part. In the second chapter, the examination concentrates on the external factors which could have led to the creation of the *Testament*. Special attention is paid to the life of St. John of Rila and the place of the *Testament* in the development of his cult. As attributes of the saint's veneration, the hagiographical tradition and the numerous translations of his relics are analyzed. Two basic conclusions are drawn. First, the analysis of the life of St. John suggests that the date of origin indicated in the source (March 25, 941) is likely. Second, the changing image of the saint's veneration marks the two most active periods of the development of his cult, namely in the twelfth century and from the end of the fourteenth to the first part of the fifteenth century.

Since the *Testament of John of Rila* is to be considered in a broader genre context, the next aim of the study was to examine the characteristics of the document by placing it in relation to the Byzantine tradition. On the basis of this comparison and through the consideration of the composite structure of the *Testament*, it can be assumed that St. John of Rila wrote an instruction, *poučenije*, to the monks of his community, which can be seen as the didactic part. On the other hand, the narrative part has "autobiographical" features of Byzantine *ktetorika typika*, originating between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. In this context, the *Testament of John of Rila* can be viewed as a compilation of the *poučenije* of St. John and the components which were introduced to the initial text, resulting in a document which is considered to be part of the testamentary genre.

The fourth chapter investigates the biblical quotations occurring in the *Testament* by applying literary and textological methods. The focal points of interest are the quotations from the Gospel, which belong to the didactic part, and from the Psalter, which are present in both parts. On the basis of this examination, we can prove that the didactic part contains biblical quotations which correspond to the oldest Bulgarian manuscripts. Thus, this part could be an authentic one; it can be considered the earlier component of the *Testament*. The comparison of the quotations from the Psalter suggests that the differences in the manner of quoting in the *Testament* are an additional indication of the discrepancy between the narrative and the didactic parts.

In conclusion, the didactic part of the *Testament* can be regarded as a text written in an earlier period, possibly in the tenth century by St. John of Rila, while the narrative part can be considered as a later addition. Placing these conclusions in the context of the development of the cult of St. John, it can be assumed that these changes in the original text were made between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and this is probably the time when the *Testament of John of Rila* was composed. The concluding chapter also indicates possible directions in which further research might proceed in analyzing the authenticity of the *Testament of John of Rila*.

Pledges, Disputes, and the Noble Community of
the Galician Rus' in the fifteenth century
Yuriy Zazulyak (Ukraine)

Thesis supervisor: János Bak
External readers: Márta Font, Janus Pannonius University, Pécs;
                  Janusz Kurtyka, Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow
With distinction

The present study explores a series of land disputes which arose in the middle of the fifteenth century in one particular region of the Polish Kingdom, generally known throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the Galician Rus' or the Rus' palatinate. The disputes were a consequence of the donation policy of the Polish king, Wladislas III (1434–1444), in Hungary ruling as Wladislas I (1440–1444). In a short period of time, the king granted in pledge an immense number of royal estates, located on the territory of Galician Rus', thus raising money for his Hungarian and Ottoman campaigns and to pay his debts to the Polish nobility. One of the problems of this policy was that the king donated estates which were already in the possession of others. The present research focuses on a particular group of defendants: nobles, mainly of Ruthenian descent, whose rights to their hereditary property were challenged by the royal grants. The distinctive feature of the status of these nobles was the lack of written confirmation of their holdings. In the course of the disputes, they legitimized their claims to the contested estates by relying on the oral tradition of their rights, conveyed through the collective memory of the local noble community in the form of witnesses' testimonies. By concentrating on the ways in which the representatives of this group of nobility responded to the disputes, this investigation will serve as a point of departure to address a range of questions related to the social history of the nobility of the Galician Rus' in particular and of the Eastern European region in general.

An observation of the specific social position of the Galician nobility as well as an analysis of the consequences of the pledge policy of Wladislas III provide the context within which these disputes are examined. Against this general background, two principal problems are addressed. First, the thesis discusses the use of the witnesses' testimonies in dispute settlements by describing and analyzing the function of the witnesses in maintaining and transmitting the collective memory of the noble community. Second, by investigating the social bonds between the witnesses, it reconstructs the network of nobles which mobilized in the course of the disputes, and thus defines the effect of group solidarity on legal processes in late medieval Galician Rus'.

The results of the study can be summarized as follows. The analysis has demonstrated a considerable degree of uncertainty about the noble rights to landed

property in late medieval Galician Rus'. This situation arose as a consequence of several basic trends in the development of the Galician nobility. First, the peculiarities of the donation policy of the Polish kings limited the rights of the nobility in the free disposal of estates granted to them, and reserved important power for the representatives of royal authority. Second, there was no clear distinction in social status between some groups of the nobility and the upper strata of privileged people who were obliged to military service. The latter groups, widespread in Galician society, gradually penetrated the ranks of the nobility, as a result of the high social mobility and blurring social barriers of late medieval society. This contributed on a large scale to the ambiguity of the status and property rights of many Galician nobles. Third, the massive distribution of land, initiated by the kings, deeply affected the social and power relations in the Galician Rus', and sharpened the rivalry for landed property among the nobles.

All these factors were more or less explicitly articulated in the course of the examined disputes. Many cases have shown that the challenge to the rights of the old owners to their estates was accompanied by an accusation of ignobility, taking advantage of the ambiguity of social status of these Ruthenian nobles. In this regard, these land disputes were a critical factor in the reassessment or reaffirmation of the noble status of the Ruthenian owners. Two basic and closely interconnected elements can be singled out in the strategies employed by the Ruthenian nobles to succeed in the disputes and thus reaffirm their noble status. The first was the statement that the contested estates had belonged to them as their hereditary property for a long time. This emphasis on their age-old rights as a main legal argument in the dispute was usually supported by witnesses, and their role provides the second element. Witnesses functioned in this context as custodies of legal knowledge, whose testimonies, strengthened by oath, transmitted the local wisdom, and were therefore accepted by the courts as sufficient legal proof. The question which remains to be answered is whether the claims of some of these Ruthenian owners really reflect a status of *antiqui incolae et heredes* of Galician Rus, or whether that status was intentionally constructed and promoted in the course of the disputes with the aim of defending their landed property and entering the rank of nobility. In any case, the witnesses' testimonies were exactly the kind of collective contribution to the legal process which ensured the successful outcome of the disputes for many of the defendants.

The analysis of the lists of witnesses demonstrates the lines along which support for the claims of the defendants was mobilized. The triad of contexts— kinship, neighborhood, and partly common ethnic-confessional identity—played a decisive role in the process of recruitment of witnesses. Finally, the examination of the ties between the witnesses reveals the high level of coherence and solidarity within this group, maintained and reaffirmed through participation in collective legal actions.

REPORT ON THE PH.D. PROGRAM

István Perczel

In the past year the Ph.D. program has suffered a great loss: Ralph Cleminson who in the previous year served as Director of Doctoral Studies accepted a position at the University of Portsmouth and—though maintaining close ties with our department—had to resign from this office. Ever since, we greatly miss Professor Cleminson's organisational skills and his calm attention to the students' needs—two qualities that have greatly contributed to the development of our program. His less able successor—myself—has found himself in a very favorable situation: by the time when I took over the direction of the Ph.D. program, the organizational framework of the program had been virtually accomplished; some minor adjustments were, and are, still needed, but on the whole, from the legislative angle, the program can go on its way as it is. The main task for all those involved in the direction of the medieval Ph.D. studies at CEU (that is, the entire permanent and, to a lesser degree, the visiting faculty) remains to fill this framework with real life and work. There remains also the duty to find out new, more efficient means for fulfilling the program's mission, that is, to educate highly qualified medievalists, experts who know and apply the international scholarly standards both in their research and their teaching, and who will be able to renew medieval studies in post-Communist Eurasia. In what follows I shall briefly report on the achievements and failures of the past year, before resuming the discussion of the main tasks of the program in the future—as I see them.

The 1998-99 academic year

This year we began to implement the new principles and regulations accepted in the previous academic year as a result of intense, sometimes very animated, debate among both the faculty and the student body, initiated by Ralph Cleminson.

A) *Dissertation committees*

Field exams had been re-organized; instead, the main requirement for becoming a full/regular—not only probationary—Ph.D. candidate, besides the normal course requirements, is the preparation of a serious thesis prospectus, on the basis of which the dissertation committees can be established. This change proved to be rewarding; while earlier there had been problems with the field exams—indefinite postponements of the exams and also some failures had occurred—in the last year none among the first-year Ph.D. students, that is, probationary doctoral candidates (PDC), missed presenting an interesting dissertation prospectus, on the basis of which the doctoral committees have been established and all the PDCs could be accepted as full doctoral candidates. This new system not only has the advantage of "legitimising" the students' research and setting it into the framework of international scholarship, but it also involves in a more or less official fashion distinguished outside scholars in the students' supervision. On the whole, the reply of the experts invited to serve on the committees was positive, sometimes even enthusiastic, although we also had to experience some refusals. Notwithstanding the insignificance or, in fact, symbolic value, of the retribution we could offer them, our Western- and Eastern-European colleagues showed their willingness to participate in our experiment and to do all in order to help the young Eastern-European scholars who study at the CEU. In most cases, they are already working with the students—sometimes very thoroughly—thus taking upon themselves a part of the heavy burden of thesis supervision. By this behaviour, once again, they have shown their sympathy to the principles and practice of our university and, within it, our department. Thus, let this be the place to thank them all.

However, one cannot keep silent about a failure connected to the same innovation: with the introduction of the new system of doctoral committees we also have the duty to establish *a posteriori* the same type of boards for the advanced doctoral candidates who have been admitted to this status under different conditions. This has been done to a very insufficient degree and many among these higher-year doctoral students continue their studies under circumstances less favourable to their development, that is, in a condition where they are not responsible to an entire body of internationally qualified scholars, but solely to their CEU supervisors.

B) *The Doctoral Seminars*

The focal point of the doctoral candidates' work at the university is constituted by the doctoral seminars. These seminars have several—scholarly and also social—roles.

They constitute the only formal occasions that gather together all the doctoral students who are currently present in Budapest and at CEU, the forum where the students—and also the faculty—can follow the progress of each other's work. The importance of such opportunities does not need to be emphasised in the case of such a wide-ranging and flexibly structured program as ours. Once again, the innovations introduced in the preceding academic year have proved to be fertile also in this matter. The division of the doctoral seminars into "research seminars" where a smaller number of students, whose research fields are relatively close to each other, meet in the presence of some of their supervisors and into "plenary seminars" where all the students and, in principle—though unfortunately not always in practice—all the available faculty meet to discuss the most important issues of common interest, permits not only more intense and efficient work, but also more interesting meetings. In this way—I hope—we can virtually eliminate boring and all too formal obligations. As far as I know, there has been no difficulty filling the research seminars. The real challenge was, and still is, the animation of the plenary meetings. I believe we found a solution for the 1998/99 academic year: whenever no defense or pre-defence was in the agenda of the day, we "played conference." Students, or even faculty members, presented conference papers that either they were preparing to read at a conference or workshop, or had already read and had to revise for publication. There was a "moderator" chosen from among the students who had to present the orator, watch for the observation of the time-limits, and to organise the debate. This was useful and amusing, but, unfortunately, not sustainable. The present, 1999/2000, academic year is already more loaded by official duties, like defences and pre-defences of final theses and the defences of the dissertation prospecti, so that there remains less place for "mini conferences." However, it is also true that one cannot always find volunteers for such performances.

C) Defences and Pre-Defences

In the previous issue of this Annual, after the first doctoral defences of the Medieval Deparment and, thus, also of the CEU had taken place, Ralph Cleminson could write with a certain pride that, by the high quality of the theses, testified to by the laudatory comments of the examiners, this positive start had firmly placed us on the academic *mappa mundi*. Besides the quality of the theses, he also stressed the relatively short time during which the theses had been prepared and expressed his hope that "other candidates of the same vintage" (of those who received their MA. in 1994) would defend their theses during the 1998/99 academic year. I do not think that the general quality of the work done ever since would have betrayed his hopes. However, during

this study year we had only one defence, that of Dimitrij Mishin, and even not from the "same vintage," (he received his MA. in 1995). This is a warning, though still not too serious, that all things might not go as smoothly as we expected in our first enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the other four candidates from our first Ph.D. year are steadily working and we expect them to defend in the 2000/01 study year. Moreover, although the last year has produced only a modest crop as regards the Ph.D. defences, the current year promises a better yield, given that by its closure we expect to have three or four new Ph.D. alumni of the department. More about this in the next Annual.

During the previous year we also changed the system of the defences. Besides minor administrative changes we have introduced the alternative possibility of an informal pre-defence. This is a borrowing from the earlier Hungarian *Candidatus Scientiae* system, that proved to be very important in the latter, given that many times these pre-defences have produced an excellent debate and thorough critical remarks, such as one could not expect during the more formal, final ones. Contrary to the former Cand. Sci. system of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the pre-defence is not obligatory at our department. It is organised at the advice of the thesis supervisor, if he/she feels that the thesis, though ready or close to completion, still needs to be refined. Then we organize a pre-defence with the contribution of one or two internal or external experts who are encouraged to criticise the work. This helps the candidate to become conscious of the possible hidden weaknesses of the thesis and also exposes him/her to the conditions in which the final defence will take place.

Hitherto two pre-defences have been organized, one before the final defence of Dimitrij Mishin (opponent: Prof. Miklós Maróth, Dean of the Arts Faculty at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University), and the other before the forthcoming defence of Levan Gigineishvili (M.A. in 1995, opponent: Prof. Péter Lautner, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Pázmány University). The experience gained from both occasions is entirely positive. Thanks to the masterly expertise, the diligence, and the thoroughgoing criticisms of the opponents, the pre-defences resulted in a substantial amelioration of the theses.

D) Experiences Gained and Further Tasks

Two basic experiences gained through the four years' existence of the Ph.D. program at the Department of Medieval Studies are that the everyday tasks of the faculty are more numerous than what it can accomplish, so that they cannot be accomplished without the help of the students and that the students themselves need not only purely academic training but also preparation for the practical side of the academic life. The

introduction, in the 1999/2000 study year, of a new form of training, "academic *practica*," serves both purposes. In these *practica*, under the guidance of the faculty, the students earn experience in various tasks of university life: organisation, contact-keeping with other academic institutions, library development, administration, edition, and—last but not least—teaching. Thus, these *practica* will be useful both for the students, who in this way get a better insight into the way a university department functions, and for our department, the work of which will much improve—and already has much improved—through the input of the Ph.D. students.

However, the most important experience gained from our short history seems to me that close thesis supervision is the very backbone of the entire enterprise. In fact, our task is not simply to produce new citizens of the international City of Learning, as is the case with most of the Western universities, but also to break the isolation into which the many decades of Communist rule have thrown the East-Central- and East-European, and Central-Asian countries. It is a well-known fact that this isolation has resulted into an introversion of the scholarly life in the communist countries and a reinforcement of the national peculiarities. Thus, we at CEU are in a particular situation. There are very few universities in the world who have access to such a large pool for recruitment and, per consequent, to so many excellent, gifted and industrious, students. Moreover, very few universities can benefit from such a variety of its students' cultural and scholarly backgrounds. However, naturally, this also means that every student's situation is so different that no general rules or laws apply to their scholarly development.

Therefore, although the role of the Ph.D. advisor is very important in any serious Ph.D. program of the world, here, at CEU, we need even more conscious concentration on the joint personal work of the Ph.D. candidates and their supervisors. The advisor should not only watch at all the stages of his/her students' work and assist them in the writing process, but he/she is also responsible for embedding the candidates' work in the international scholarly life. This latter duty begins with finding the appropriate persons who would serve on the doctoral committees and reaches, through sending the students to international conferences, approaching the scholarly reviews where they can publish their contributions, etc., to an over-all care for the supervisees' future academic carreer. If, until now, the Ph.D. program at the Department of Medieval Studies has been a success, this is mainly due to the joint work of the students and their advisors to overcome the difficulties. And if the program still functions less well than it could do in the present conditions, the "medicine" for this is to be looked for in a further improvement of the super-vision system.

I think that we should particularly keep in mind that the students make the greatest possible progress in their thesis writing during their three-year Ph.D. scholarship at the CEU. This is extremely important, because those who, after their stay here, assume jobs in their East-Central-, or East-European, or Central-Asian homelands, find themselves suddenly bereft of the conditions that they have enjoyed while being here. In these countries life is very difficult, the salaries low, the tasks demanding, while the libraries are ill-furnished, the possibilities for travelling abroad remain limited, and scholarly leisure becomes a rare good. Thus, although late submission of the Ph.D. theses is a well-known and accepted phenomenon in every post-graduate school of the world, we should still strive to obtain that, at the end of their studies in Budapest, our students may go home with at least a draft-thesis that needs only completion or further refinement. Only in this way can we assure a good continuation.

ṢAQLABĪ SERVANTS IN ISLAMIC SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Ph.D. dissertation in Medieval Studies by *Dmitrij Jevgenjevič Mishin*
Defended on 15 February, 1999 at CEU

Dissertation supervisor: János M. Bak; External Supervisor: Vitalij V. Naumkin, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
The Examination Committee consisted of Chair: Katalin Péter (CEU, History Department); Members: Pierre Guichard (Université Lumiére-Lyon 2); János M. Bak; István Elter (Researcher, Arabic Studies)

Abstract of the dissertation

This dissertation is devoted to the history of the servants known in Islamic literature as *Ṣaqāliba*. The research aims at a complex study of the *ṣaqlabī* servants' history in connection with general historical processes of the Early Middle Ages. The goal thus established presupposes studies in European history (the importation of *ṣaqlabī* captives to the Islamic world) as well as in Islamic (history of the *ṣaqlabī* servants in al-Andalus and North Africa); therefore, both Western and Oriental sources are used.

Although *ṣaqlabī* servants are referred to in many sources, the reconstruction of their history presents a difficult task. As a matter of fact, even the sense of the word *Ṣaqāliba* is interpreted in various ways—as Slavs, European slaves, eunuchs, etc. Therefore, the research begins with an attempt to ascertain the sense of the word *Ṣaqāliba* as applied to servants in the medieval Islamic world. An analysis of the most illustrative cases of the use of the word *Ṣaqāliba* by Islamic writers reveals that the name in question was applied to a particular group of servants, those originating from the people of *Ṣaqāliba*.

This conclusion poses another problem, that of the identification of the "people of *Ṣaqāliba*." To resolve this problem, a study of references to *Ṣaqāliba* in Islamic geographical literature is carried out. Accounts of travellers who visited Central and Eastern Europe and saw the *Ṣaqāliba* with their own eyes are regarded as the most authentic and trustworthy evidence. These writers usually apply the name *Ṣaqāliba* to

Slavs. In the works of writers who used evidence borrowed from other sources, the word *Saqāliba* is occasionally applied to non-Slavs, but this is due to the compilers' mishandling of their sources rather than to a change in the meaning of the name. Therefore, by the word *Saqāliba*, the Slavs are generally understood. However, since the possibility of a deviation from this norm exists, it is more correct to speak about *Saqāliba*, not about Slavs.

Among the routes by which *saqlabī* captives were brought to Islamic Spain and North Africa, the most important ones were two—from Germany and Bohemia via France to Islamic Spain and further on to North Africa, and from Dalmatia to North Africa via Venice. The first of those routes was the principal one; it was by this way that practically all *Saqāliba* serving in Islamic Spain and most of the *Saqāliba* serving in North Africa were imported. In the 1010s and 1020s the slave-trade on this route experienced a serious crisis due to internal troubles in al-Andalus. As a result after the 1030s, references to *saqlabī* servants disappear from the sources dealing with Islamic Spain and become extremely rare in the sources devoted to North Africa.

In Islamic Spain and North Africa, *saqlabī* servants are found both at the court and in the possession of private individuals. Since sources chiefly focus on political history, most of the evidence we possess on *saqlabī* servants is evidence of *Saqāliba* serving at the court. The way *saqlabī* servants were employed at the court depended on the typical features of a given state. In Islamic Spain the *Saqāliba* were palace servants; however, they formed a strong and influential group which took part in the political struggles at the end of the tenth and at the beginning of the eleventh century. In contrast to that, the Fāṭimid *Saqālibī* carried out missions outside the palace and held high state posts, but were unable to influence the state's political life.

Special attention is paid to the *saqlabī* servants' culture. Living in Muslim society, *saqlabī* slaves experienced its influence, learnt Arabic and embraced Islam. At the same time, they did not forget their mother tongue and probably kept elements of their own culture in their memories. In Muslim society *saqlabī* servants regarded themselves as a particular group, different from the surrounding Muslims.

RESIDENT FACULTY AND INSTRUCTORS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AND ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES IN 1998/1999

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

Publications
- "Hungary: crown and estates," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. VII c. 1415–c.1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 707–26.
- [with E. Fügedi †] "Fremde Ritter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Questiones Medii Ævi Novæ* 3 (1998): 3–18.
- [Ed. and trsl. with M. Saleanu] E. Mályusz, "The Four Tallóczy Brothers," *Questiones Medii Ævi Novæ* 3 (1998): 137–75.
- [with J. R. Sweeney and L. S. Domonkos] *The Medieval Laws of Hungary—Decreta regni mediævalis Hungariæ* vol. 1 (1000–1301), Second, revised edition (Schlacks: Idyllwild, CA, 1999), lix, 251 pp.
- "Zeremoniell," "Zunft," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. 8 (Munich: LexMa., 1999)

Papers and lectures
- "Ritual Transfer of Sanctity in Royal Ceremonies," Hagiography Society, Ammerdown, U.K., July 1998.
- "Constructing Two Giselas," 34th International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University, May 5, 1999.
- "New Studies on the Events of 1000 A.D.," Conference in Motovun (Istria), May 28, 1999 [paper read in absentia]

Academic and Professional Service
- Control Commission, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution Public Foundation, Chairman
- Board (Kuratórium) of Hungarian Ministry of Education, Research Grants for Higher
- Education Competition; Member, til December 1999.
- Editorial Advisory Board, *Budapest Review of Books*, Member
- Editorial Advisory Board, *Journal of Medieval History*, Member

☒ Editorial Advisory Board, *East Central Europe—l'Europe de Centre-Est. Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, Member

NEVEN BUDAK
Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Zagreb
Early medieval history, Christianization, ethnogenesis, urban history
E-mail: budak@ceu.hu

Publications
☒ "Was the Cult of St. Bartholomew a Royal Option in Eraly Medieval Croatia?" in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János Bak*, eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 241–249.

☒ "'Anali' u hrvatskoj historiografiji. Borba za modernizaciju povijesne znanosti" ('Annales' in the Croatian historiography. The combat for the modernization of history-writing), in *Zbornik Mirjane Gross* (Zagreb, 1999), 459–467.

☒ "Etničnost i povijest" (Ethnicity and History), in E. Heršak ed., *Etničnost i povijest* (Zagreb, 1999), 11–24.

☒ "Diplomacija – politika pregovaranja i sporazumijevanja u hrvatskom ranom srednjovjeklju" (Diplomacy – politics of negotiation and reaching agreements in Croatian early Middle Ages), *Zbornik Diplomatske akademije* IV, 2 (1999): 13–25.

Papers and Lectures
☒ "Etničnost i povijest" (Ethnicity and history), Etnički razvitak europskih nacija: Hrvatska – Europa, Zagreb, 1999.

☒ "Hrvatska i povijesni aspekti europskog identiteta" (Croatia and the historical aspects of European identity), Identitet Europe u suvremenoj konstelaciji svijeta, Zagreb, 1999.

☒ "John of Palisna, the Hospitaller Prior of Vrana," Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity. The Crusaders and the Military Orders. CEU, Budapest, February, 1999.

☒ "Slavery in Dalmatia from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century: Labor, Legal Status, Integration," La servitude dans les pays de la Méditerranée occidentale chretienne au XIIe siècle et au-delà: déclinante ou renouvelée? Rim, 1999.

☒ "Memorija u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji u 10. i 11. stoljeću" (Liturgical memory in Croatia and Dalmatia in the tenth and eleventh century), Stoljeće oko godine tisućite – Le siècle de l'an mil, Motovun, 1999.

☒ "Hrvatska historiografija o srednjem vijeku" (Croatian historiography on the Middle Ages), Prvi kongres hrvatskih povjesničara, Zagreb, 1999.

☒ "Hrvatski identitet i ranosrednjovjekovno kraljevstvo" (Croatian identity and the early medieval kingdom), Prvi kongres hrvatskih povjesničara, Zagreb, 1999.

Academic and Professional Service
☒ Chair of the Croatian National Committee for Historical Sciences

☒ Head of the Southeast European Studies Program, CEU

☒ Secretary of the Croatian Alexander von Humboldt Club

☒ Member of the Textbook Committee of the Joint History Project, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe, Thessaloniki

☒ Member of the Southeast European Academic League, Sofia

☒ Member of the Scientific Board, *Österreichische Osthefte*

☒ Organizer of the workshop *Hungarian Legacy in Southeastern Europe*, CEU-Budapest, 18–19 December, 1999.

☒ Member of both the Organizing Commiteee and the Scientific Board of the First Congress of Croatian Historians, Zagreb, 8–11 December, 1999.

ALICE CHOYKE
Senior Instructor, Ph.D., SUNY, Binghamton
Academic writing consultation, archaeozoology
E-mail: choyke@ceu.hu

Publications
☒ [Co-editor with H. Buitenhuis and M. Mashkour], *Archaeozoology of the Near East IV. Proceedings of the 4th Conference of ICAZ-ASWA.* (Paris, 1998, ARC Publications, Groningen).

☒ "Bronze Age Red Deer: Case Studies from the Great Hungarian Plain," In *Man and the Animal World. Studies in memoriam Sándor Bökönyi.* P. Anreiter, L. Bartosiewicz, E. Jerem and W. Meid eds. (Budapest, Archaeolingua, Main Series 8, 1998), 157–178.

☒ "The Human—Animal Relationship at Roman Aquincum: An Archaeozoological Perspective," *Otium* 5–6 (1999): 1–22.

☒ "Comments on the Osteological Identification of Neolithic Bone Tools from Switzerland," *Acta Arch. Hung.* 50 (1999): 233–242.

☒ "Camelid Bone Implement from Incarracay, Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia," in *The Chacaras of War. An Inka Ssite Estate in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia.* J. Gyarmati and A. Varga eds. (Budapest, Museum of Ethnography: 1999), 111–113.

☒ [with L. Bartosiewicz], "Bronze Age Animal Keeping in Western Hungary," in *Archaeology of the Bronze Age and Iron Age: Experimental Archaeology, Environmental Archaeology, Archaeological Parks.* E. Jerem and I. Poroszlai eds. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, Main Series 9, 1999), 239–249.

Papers and Lectures
☒ "Red Deer Canine Pendant Copies in the Late Neolithic of Hungary," 2nd Meeting of the Worked Bone Research Group, Budapest 31 August – 5 September 1999.

Academic and Professional Service
☒ Principal organizer of the 2nd Meeting of the Worked Bone Research Group (Budapest) 31 August – 5 September 1999

☒ English language editor of the *Aquincumi Füzetek*, (1999 excavation reports of the Aquincum Museum, Budapest)

MARY BETH L. DAVIS
Assistant Professor, Ph.D. Texas A&M University
Academic writing, methods of literary analysis, fourteenth-century female mistics
E-mail: davism@ceu.hu

Publications
- "'Spekyn for Goddys Cawse': Margery Kempe and the Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy" in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János Bak*, eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 250–265.

GERHARD JARITZ
Professor, Dr. phil., Graz
History of everyday life and material culture of the Middle Ages, computing in medieval studies
E-mail: jaritzg@ceu.hu

Publications
- [ed.], *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, 40–41 and special volume VII.
- [ed.], *Disziplinierung im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 17), (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999)
- "Medieval History and Digital Image Processing," Schede Umanistiche. *Rivista semestrale dell'Archivo Umanistico Rinascinamentale Bolognese*, n.s. (1998/1): 201–209.
- "'Sve su životinje dvovrsne: za pohvalu i za pokudu.' Srednjovjekovna životinjska simbolika i njezino trajanje" (The Creatures are twofold: the praiseworthy and the blameworthy. Medieval Animal Symbols and Their Continuity), *Otium* 5– 6 (1997–1998): 23–29.
- "Young, Rich, and Beautiful. The Visualization of Male Beauty in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János Bak*, eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 61–77.
- "A végrendeletek és a városi mindennapi élet: A Duna-völgy példája a késő-középkorban" (Last Wills and Urban Daily Life: the Example of the Danube Area in the Late Middle Ages), *Soproni Szemle*, (1999): 325–330.

Papers and Lectures
- "Constructing the History of Medieval Daily Life," History of Medieval Life and the Sciences, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Krems (Austria), October 1998.
- "Kontraste im Alltag – Alltag der Kontraste," Kontraste im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Krems (Austria), October 1998.
- "Historische Bildanalyse," Berlin, Humboldt Universität, February 1999.
- "The Multiplicity of Frontiers," Constructing and Deconstructing Medieval Frontiers, Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, February 1999.

⚗ "Serra ex ferro" – "Serra ex vitro": Medieval History – Computers – Image Messages Reconsidered, Images and History. Towards a New Iconology, Copenhagen, May 1999.

⚗ "Appearance – Status – Identity. 'Legitimacies' of Their Change in the Late Middle Ages," International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 1999.

⚗ "History of Late Medieval Everyday Life: A History of Patterns and Contrasts," New Trends in Late Medieval Studies, Copenhagen, August 1999.

Academic and Professional Service

⚗ *History of Medieval Life and the Sciences,* round-table, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Krems (Austria), October 1998.

⚗ *Kontraste im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,* conference, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Krems (Austria), October 1998.

⚗ *Historical Image Analysis,* guest professorship at the University of Copenhagen, November 1998.

⚗ *Constructing and Deconstructing Medieval Frontiers,* workshop, Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, February 1999.

⚗ Member of the Program Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds.

GYÖRGY KARSAI
Senior Intructor, Dr. Phil., ELTE Budapest
Greek and Latin philology, history of ancient theatre
E-mail: karsaigy@ceu.hu

Publications

⚗ *A Szép és a Szörnyeteg* (The Beauty and the Beast) (Budapest: Osiris, 1999), 596 pp.

Papers and Lectures

⚗ "Circé," Colloque sur la Magie, Montpellier, March, 1999.

⚗ "Le corps dans l'époqée Homérique," Université Caen, November 1999.

GÁBOR KLANICZAY
Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest
Comparative study of sainthood, popular religion, heresy, witchcraft, historical anthropology in medieval and early modern Central Europe
E-mail: klaniczay@zeus.colbud.hu

Publications

⚗ "The Cinderella-Effect: Late Medieval Female Sainthood in Central Europe and in Italy," *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre Est. Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift,* 20–23 pt. 1 (1993–1996) (appeared in 1998): 51–68.

⚗ "Angevins de Hongrie," "Arpadiens," "La Hongrie," "S. Ladislas," – Lexicon entries in *Dictionnaire Enyclopédique du Moyen Age Chrétien, (DEMAC),* ed. André Vauchez

(Paris: Seuil, 1998), 68, 125, 740–742, 859 – same in Italian translation: *Dizionario enciclopedico del Medio Evo Cristiano* (Roma: Città Nuova, 1998).

⊘ "«Vinum vetus in utres novos». Conclusioni sull'edizione CD del Leggendario ungherese angioino," (avec Tamás Sajó et Béla Zsolt Szakács) in *L'État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècle.* Actes du colloque international.... Rome–Naples, 7–11 novembre 1995. (Roma: École française de Rome/Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1998), 301–316.

⊘ "Il culto dei santi ungheresi nel Medioevo in Europa," in *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység. La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo.* Eds. J. Jankovics, I. Monok, J. Nyerges, P. Sárközy (Budapest-Szeged: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság – Scriptum Rt., 1998), 53–65.

⊘ "Movimenti, ordini e culti religiosi nella costruzione delle identità territoriali nell'Europa Centrale," in *Vita religiosa e identità politiche: universalità e particolarismi nell'Europa del tardo medioevo*, a cura di Sofia Boesch Gajano e Giorgio Chittolini (San Miniato: Centro Studi sulla Civiltà del tardo medioevo, 1998).

⊘ "Montaillou harminc éve" (Thirty years of Montaillou), *Budapesti Könyvszemle – BUKSZ* 10 (1998): 168–179.

⊘ "Michel Foucault és a történetírás" (Michel Foucault and the historiography), *Magyar Lettre Internationale*, 30 (Fall 1998): 13–16.

⊘ "Elisabetta d'Ungheria," "Gisella," "Ladislao," "Margherita d'Ungheria," "Stefano d'Ungheria," Lexicon entries in *Dizionario dei Santi,* eds. Claudio Leonardi, Gabriella Zarri, (Edizioni di San Paolo, Cinisello da Balsamo, 1999), 591–594, 960–961, 1300–1302, 1825–1829.

⊘ "A magyar szentek kultusza a középkorban" (The cult of the Hungarian saints in the Middle Ages), *Rubicon* (1998, 9–10): 15–21.

⊘ "Előszó" (Preface), in *Árpád-házi Szent Margit legrégibb legendája és szentté avatási pere.* (The oldest legend and the canonization trial of St. Margaret) Translated by Ibolya Bellus and Zsuzsa Szabó (Budapest: Balassi, 1999), 7–16.

⊘ "Images and designations for rebellious peasants in late medieval Hungary," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak.* ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 115–127.

⊘ "A rontás- és gyógyításelbeszélések struktúrája: maleficium és csoda" (The stucture of the narratives of miracles and maleficia), in *Démonikus és szakrális világok határán. Mentalitástörténeti tanulmányok Pócs Éva 60. születésnapjára.* (On the borderline of demonic and sacral worlds) Eds. K. Benedek – E. Csonka-Takács (Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet, 1999), 103–120.

⊘ "*Rex Ivstus.* Le saint fondateur de la royanté drétienne," in *Les Hongrois et l'Europe. Conquête et intégration.* Textes réunis par Sándor Csernus et Klára Korompay. (JATE, Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle (CIEH) – Institut Hongrois de Paris: Paris – Szeged, 1999)

⊘ "Miracoli di punizione e *malefizia*," in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, a cura di Sofia Boesch Gajano e Marilena Modica, (Roma: Viella, 1999), 109–137.

⊘ "Структура повествований о наказании и исцелении. Сопоставление чудес и малефисиа" (The structure of narratives on misfortune and healing. A confrontation of miracles and maleficia), *Одисей, Человек и общество: проблемы самоидентификаци*

– *Odysseus. Man in History. Person and Society: Problems of Self-Identification* 1998 (Москва, Наука, 1999).

☒ "Boszorkánság vagy tündéri varázslat?" (Witchcraft or enchantement), in *Budapesti Könyvszemle—BUKSZ* 11 (1999), 352–363, English version: *Budapest Review of Books*

Papers and Lectures

☒ "La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins aux XIVe et XVe siècles," Le culte des saints dynastiques sous les Angevins, Université d'Angers, 3–6 June 1998.

☒ "The Iconography of the Fantastic. European Iconography East and West," Celestial and Diabolic Visions in the 14th and 16th Centuries, József Attila University, Szeged, 12–16 July, 1998.

☒ "Il pubblico dei santi. Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici," Miracoli e i loro testimoni: la prova del sovrannaturale, III Convegno di Studio del AISSCA, Università degli Studi di Verona, 22–24 October, 1998.

☒ "L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento," L'antichità cristiana nell'Ungheria del Medioevo, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, 9–11 November, 1998.

☒ "Bizonyíték és tanúvallomás a természetfelettiről. Szentté avatási per és boszorkányper a középkorban és kora újkorban" (Proofs and testimonies on the supernatural. Canonization trial and witch-trial in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times), Pécs, Janus Pannonius University, Kerényi Károly Kollégium, 16 November, 1998.

☒ "Humanities in Historical and Comparative Perspective," Townsend Center for the Humanities, UC Berkeley, March 1999.

☒ "Cult of Saints as a Tool of Dynastic Memory: The Holy Kings in Medieval Hungary," Mythologization of the Memory, University of Haifa, 19 April, 1999.

☒ "Santità e società: modelli e realizzazioni," Seminario di fromazione in storia religiosa (secoli XIII–XV), Centro Interuniversitario di Studi Francescani, Assisi, 14–26 June, 1999.

☒ "The Stigmata of Saint Margaret of Hungary in Images and Texts," International Congress of Medieval Studies, Leeds, 11–16 July, 1999.

☒ "The Legend and Imitation of St. Alexius in Medieval Central Europe," Cults of Early Christian Saints from Central and Southeastern Europe, University of Sofia "St. Kliment of Ohrid", 22–24 August, 1999.

☒ "Kingship and Sainthood in Eastern Europe," University of Sofia "St. Kliment of Ohrid," 23 August, 1999.

Academic and Professional Service

☒ Rector of Collegium Budapest

☒ Senate Liaison Member of the CEU Rector Search Committee

☒ CEU Press Academic Board Member

☒ CEU Senate Member (Chair of Doctoral Senate Commission)

☒ Chairman of the Editorial Board of *Budapest Review of Books*

♨ Co-editor of the continued series *Mikrotörténelem* (Microhistory) at the Osiris Publishing House (with Gyula Benda and István Szíjártó)

♨ Co-editor of the series *Central European Medieval Texts* at CEU Press (with János M. Bak, Urszula Borkowska, and Giles Constable)

JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY
Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., ELTE Budapest
Medieval archaeology, monastic and mendicant architecture, medieval settlement systems, history of material culture
E-mail: laszlovj@ceu.hu

Publications
♨ [edition of] *Tender Meat under the Saddle. Customs of Eating, Drinking and Hospitality among Conquering Hungarians and Nomadic Peoples.* (Krems, 1998), 178 pp. [Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband VII. Studia archaeologica mediae recentisque aevorum Universitatis Scientiarum de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, II.]

♨ "Research Possibilities into the History and Material Culture of Eating, Drinking and Hospitality during the Period of Hungarian Conquest," in *Tender Meat under the Saddle. Customs of Eating, Drinking and Hospitality among Conquering Hungarians and Nomadic Peoples.* Ed. J. Laszlovszky. (Krems, 1998), 44–61.

♨ [with Patrice Beck], "Le Couvent des Cordelliers," in *Rapport annuel d'activité scientifique 1998 du Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray.* (Mont Beuvray, 1998), 133–138.

♨ "Apres Bibracte, activités religieuses et survivance d'un fréquentation saisonniere," [with Patrice Beck, Walter Berry, Christine Canat, Kathrine Gruel, Benjamin Saint-Jean-Vitus, Christian Sapin] *Gallia* 55 (1998): 13–18.

♨ "Field Systems in Medieval Hungary," in *...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak.* Eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 432–444.

♨ [with Patrice Beck], "Le Couvent des Cordeliers," in *Rapport Annuel d'Activité Scientifique 1999 du Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray.* (Glux-en-Glenne, 1999), 275–283.

Papers and Lectures
♨ "Space and Place of Animals in the Medieval Hungarian Settlement System," Settlement and Cultural Landscape, University of Aarhus, Prehistoric Archaeology, Moesgard, May 1998.

♨ "Wharram Percy and the Archaeology of Deserted Medieval Villages in East Central Europe," International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 1998.

♨ "Depopulation and Settlement Change in the Later Middle Ages," Moderator of the session, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 1998.

♨ "Archaeology end Settlement in East Central Europe," Moderator of the session, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 1998.

- ✍ "Urban Growth and Planning," Moderator of the session, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 1998.
- ✍ "Medieval Archaeology. History, Theory and Methods," International School of Archaeology, University of Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, August 1999.

Academic and Professional Service
- ✍ Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Visegrád, Hungary (co-directing with Gergely Buzás)
- ✍ Excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, France (Center of European Archaeology, Bibracte. Co-directing with Patrice Beck, Paris)
- ✍ Field survey project in the Upper Tisza region (co-directing with John Chapman, Newcastle)
- ✍ Member, Program Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds.

BALÁZS NAGY
Library Curator, Dr. Phil., Budapest
Economic history and medieval social history
E-mail: nagybal@ceu.hu

Publications
- ✍ ...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak. Edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők. (Budapest, CEU Press, 1999), 714 pages.
- ✍ "Transcontinental Trade from East-Central Europe to Western-Europe (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries)," in ...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak.. Eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 347–356.

Papers and Lectures
- ✍ "Beyond natural local eco-systems. Long-distance trading in fish and wood in the Netherlands, 1300–1700," 8 April 1999, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

Session organised
- ✍ "Pattern of economic and political integration in central and Southeast-central Europe, 15th–17th centuries," 12th International Economic History Congress. A session (C4) organised with Dr Erich Landsteiner (Vienna), 24–28 August 1998, Sevilla – Madrid.

Fellowship
- ✍ February – June 1999: Magyar Fellow, Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, Wassenaar, The Netherlands

ISTVÁN PERCZEL

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., ELTE Budapest
Church Fathers and Byzantine ecclesiastical writers, Neoplatonic philosophy, history of
Byzantine monasticism, comparative history of spirituality
E-mail: perczeli@ceu.hu

Publications

- *Az Isten felfoghatatlansága és leereszkedése: Szent Ágoston és Aranyszájú Szent János metafizikája és misztikája* (Incomprehensibility and condescension. Metaphysics and mystics in Saint Augustine and Saint John Chrysostom). (Budapest: Atlantisz,1999), 248 pages.

- "L'intellect amoureux et 'l'un qui est'. Une doctrine mal connue de Plotin," *Revue de Philosophie Ancienne* (1997/2): 223–264.

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

- "Új Theológus Szent Simeon és az isteni lényeg filozófiája" (Symeon the New Theologian and the Philosophy of the Divine Substance), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* VI/3 (1998): 49–64.

- "Mankind's Common Intellectual Substance: A Study in the *Letters* of Saint Antony and his *Life* by Saint Athanasius," in *...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways ... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak.* eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők, (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 197–213.

- "Denys l'Aréopagite, lecteur d'Origène," in *Origeniana Septima*, eds. W. A. Bienert and U. Kühneweg, (Leuven University Press-Uitgeverij Peeters Leuven, 1999), 673–710.

- "Une théologie de la lumière: Denys l'Aréopagite et Evagre le Pontique," *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 45/1 (1999): 79–120.

Academic and Professional Service

- Organizer with György Geréby CEU's Summer University Course, *The Many Cultural Centers of the Early Medieval Oikumene*, July 5–23, 1999.

Fellowship

- Mellon Fellowship at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, January–March, 1999.

MARIANNE SÁGHY

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., ELTE Budapest and Ph.D. Princeton
Late antique and medieval intellectual and social history, political history
E-mail: msaghy@compuserve.com

Publications

- [editor of] Peter Brown, *Az európai kereszténység kialakulása* (The making of the European Christianity) (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1999).

- "The *adventus* of Constantinus II to Rome 357 A.D.," in *...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways...* Eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők. (Budapest, CEU Press, 1999), 148-159.

✍ "Prayer at the Tombs of the Martyrs," (Rome: Augustinianum, 1999), 33–48.

Papers and lectures
✍ "Dislocating Boundaries between the Living and the Dead: Pope Damasus' Religious and Artistic Program in the Roman Catacombs," *Constructing and Deconstructing Medieval Frontiers*, Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, February 1999.

✍ "Pierre Dubois and the Idea of the 'National' Crusade," *Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity. The Crusaders and the Military Orders.* CEU, Budapest, February, 1999.

✍ "Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome," Roman Martyrs – Project, Vienna, March 13–15, 1999.

✍ "A 'Female' Exegesis of the Bible? Marcella and Jerome," *The Latin Fathers and the Bible*, Istituto Patristico Augustinanum, Rome, May 7-10, 1999.

✍ "Politics, Religion, Culture in Late Medieval France," *Colloque internationale Jeanne d'Arc*, Rouen, May 25-30, 1999.

✍ "Les femmes de la noblesse angevine en Hongrie," *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen-Age*, Angers, June 3–6, 1998.

✍ "The Making of the Roman Cult of the Saints," *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, July 1999.

Academic and Professional Services
✍ Academic director of the Institut Hongrois, Paris (since August 1999)

FRANK SCHAER
Research Fellow of Central European Medieval Texts, Ph.D., University of Adelaide
Medieval Latin, Middle English, text editing
E-mail: shaerf@ceu.hu

Publications
✍ [co-editor and translator with L. Veszprémy] Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*. (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999).

Fellowship
✍ University of Kentucky, Latin Program, January–June, 1999

MARCELL SEBŐK
Instructor
E-mail: sebokm@ceu.hu
Late medieval and Renaissance cultural history, Humanism and Reformation

Publications
✍ *...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak.* Edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők. (Budapest, CEU Press, 1999), 714 pp.

- ☒ [transl. and postface of] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*. (Budapest: Osiris, 1999), 176 pp.
- ☒ "Sebastian Thököly and his Sensitivity Towards Religious Questions," in ...*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways...* Eds. B. Nagy and M. Sebők. (Budapest, CEU Press, 1999), 583–595.

Papers and Lectures
- ☒ "Sebastian Thököly and the Patronage of Late Humanism," Workshop on the Roles of Early Modern Nobility, ELTE Budapest, June 14, 1999.
- ☒ "The Benefits of the Republic of Letters: Humanist Correspondence Revisited," In Search of the Republic of Letters – Colloquium, NIAS-Wassenaar, June 26, 1999.

Academic and Professional Service
- ☒ Academic coordinator of the Early Modern Republic of Letters–Dutch-Hungarian Study Center.

The Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University

is an interdisciplinary center of postgraduate education and research

located in Budapest. It gathers students from all over Europe

who are interested in studying the medieval past.

This volume offers a series of articles on various aspects

of the history of medieval Central and Eastern Europe

and gives an overview of the activities of the department

in the academic year 1998-1999.