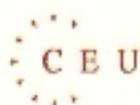


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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

The new issue of our yearbook reaches you in its traditional form and internal organization, but with fresh and hopefully thought-provoking contents. This time, structural changes do not affect the volume itself, but are present in the broadening scope of our departmental publication policy. In the eighth year of its existence, the *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* has lost its monopoly as the only serial publication of our Department in book form. In the autumn of 2001, a new series entitled *CEU Medievalia* was launched as a complex and varied publication series comprising handbooks, volumes of conference papers, and source collections. The volumes of the new series published so far include the papers presented at our 1999 conference on *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (with an extensive bibliography, edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky); a *Guide to Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe* (edited by Béla Zsolt Szakács) and the papers of the 2001 workshop on *Oral History of the Middle Ages* (a joint publication with the series *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter).

Together with this new series, the range of the departmental publications now includes four different genres. The *Medieval News*, our newsletter published twice a year, acts as a source of information for our international network. Our website presents beside up-to-date information, various kinds of educational material compiled by our faculty and students. The “senior” publication, the *Annual*, contains articles emerging from student work, research projects, or public lectures, and gives an overview of our educational activities. All these forms represent the threefold aims of our educational program: the combination of high-level graduate education, policy-oriented research projects, and the plan to present the medieval heritage of Central and Eastern Europe for an international scholarly audience.

We would like to thank our readers and partner institutions, on behalf of all the users of our library, for the valuable exchange copies provided in return for the previous volumes of our *Annual*. We hope that you will contribute to this useful circulation of academic achievements in the future as well. The editors would also like to thank all the contributors of the present volume for their cooperation, especially for Annabella Pál who gave invaluable help in editing Part II. Our colleagues Judith Rasson, Alice Choyke, and Matthew Suff helped us improve the clarity of the text; our doctoral students Kateřina Horníčková and Cristian Gașpar assisted in copy-editing, and—following the well-established practice of the previous years—the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House have turned the manuscripts into an impressive publication.



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Horarium (K.394) f41v.

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VEĆENEGA'S 'BOOK OF HOURS': A MANUSCRIPT STUDY WITH SPECIAL STRESS ON DECORATED INITIALS

Rožana Vojvoda 

Introduction

The Book of Hours as a special genre of private devotional book reached the height of its popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹ The essential parts of a Book of Hours are the Calendar, the Sequences of the Gospel, the prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead, and the Suffrages of the Saints.² However, except for the fact that they contain votive offices, the content of these books is flexible to a certain degree and in many ways shows individual cases of private devotion.³

The manuscript under study here is a private devotional book that shows many of the characteristics of the Book of Hours, which is puzzling since this manuscript originated in the eleventh century. Such an early date for a possible example of a 'Book of Hours' makes us reconsider the very beginnings of private devotion and the process in medieval society that formed this genre.

A brief note about the provenance of the manuscript must be made before the question of genre can be explored.⁴ It is preserved in the Hungarian

¹ Although most scholars agree that Books of Hours can be found as early as the end of the thirteenth century, I will refer to Hughes' brief definition that places the beginnings of the Book of Hours even later: "Book of Hours: this is essentially a late fourteenth and fifteenth-century book for private devotion excerpting from the Breviary favourite offices, such as to the Virgin and for the dead and special psalms." Andrew Hughes, *Liturgical Manuscripts for Mass and Offices: a Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 120.

² John P. Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 15.

³ It must always be remembered that no two manuscripts of Books of Hours are exactly alike, the order of the separate parts was never fixed and the number of texts included could vary as much as their position in the book. See Harthan, *Books of Hours*, 15.

⁴ The article is a shortened version of my MA thesis. The chapters containing the codicological description, the provenance, and the possible workshop are not included, nor is the catalogue with the description of each initial.



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Academy of sciences as K. 394⁵. Dated to the eleventh century and written in Beneventan script, the codex consists of 110 leaves of parchment measuring approximately 145 x 91 mm. From folio 2 to folio 109 the text is arranged in columns of approximately 105 x 64 mm, each column consisting of thirteen lines. The parchment is badly damaged in some places and signs of vertical cutting are visible. The binding is made of two wooden panels covered by brown leather, decorated with paste-down colourless ornament. Traces of lost metal clasps are visible.⁶

The manuscript caught the attention of Marijan Grgić, a Croatian scholar, in the late 1960s. He was following the oral information of Dragutin Kniewald, another Croatian scholar, about a manuscript somewhere in Budapest whose script strikingly resembled the type of Beneventan script used in Dalmatia. Grgić made minute liturgical, paleographical, and codicological analyses (*Fig. 1*) and successfully showed that the manuscript originated in Zadar and that it had been in the possession of the nunnery of St Mary.⁷

This monastery was founded in 1066 by Čika, a noble woman who decided to become a nun after the unfortunate death of her husband. The monastery gained royal liberties, land and other privileges from the Croatian king Petar Krešimir IV and later kings followed his example.

⁵ I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Marianne Rozsondai, the Head of the Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and her colleagues, who kindly permitted me to work with the original manuscript.

⁶ The two folios at the back of the codex are written in gothic script and marked with the Roman numeral two. According to Grgić, they belong to a thirteenth-century Breviary of which only parts of the All Saints' Day Office have survived. At present, the manuscript consists of twenty-three gatherings, three of them having four bifolios (eight folios, a quire), some of them less and some of them only one bifolio. The order of the folios is mixed and the majority of the original text is lost. For a reference see the following footnote. The cover measures 152 x 102 mm. Grgić thinks that the binding is a nineteenth-century work and that the manuscript was rebound around 1850, when it first came to Budapest. However, Marianne Rozsondai points out that the binding has Renaissance features, more precisely that it can be connected with the area of Padua and Venice around 1500. She also opens the possibility that the material could be purchased in Italy and that the manuscript could have been bound in Zadar. See her analysis of the binding in *Paradisum plantavit*, Catalogue of the exhibition (Pannonhalma: Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 2001), 193–194.

⁷ Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti" (Two unknown manuscripts in Budapest from the convent of Saint Mary). In *Kulturna baština samostana Svete Marije u Zadru* (The cultural heritage of the convent of Saint Mary in Zadar), ed. Grga Novak and Vjekoslav Maštrović, 123–227. (Zadar: Institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968).



Većenega's 'Book of Hours'



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*Fig. 1. Codicological tables, taken from Marijan Grgić, “Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti” (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary). In *Kulturna baština samostana Svete Marije u Zadru (The cultural heritage of the convent of Saint Mary in Zadar)*, eds. Grga Novak and Vjekoslav Maštrović, 123–227. Zadar: Institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968.*

Većenega, Čika's daughter, married, although she was in fact a promised nun and in close relations with the monastery during her lifetime.⁸ In fact, the Budapest manuscript is not a lone example, but belongs to a group of

⁸ From the document from 1092 about the dispute between Većenega and her father-in-law, we find that Većenega had already been in the monastery for twenty years, which means that she entered the monastery about 1072 and that her husband Dobroslov knew that she would enter the monastery after his death. Viktor Novak, ed. *Chartulare Jadertinum Monasterii Sanctae Mariae* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1959), 251.



Večenega's 'Book of Hours'

manuscripts that are all closely related to the monastery of St Mary.⁹ The closest parallel is with a manuscript from Oxford (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277) (Fig. 2), which is the same type of book and therefore relevant for defining the structure of the Budapest manuscript that is greatly damaged.¹⁰ Novak and Grgić made palaeographical analyses of these manuscripts and they established the approximate chronology and the dates of all the manuscripts in the group. The manuscript from Budapest was probably created some time between 1071 and 1081. The chronology and the context¹¹ as well as the existence of another book

⁹ *Chartulare Jadertinum Monasterii Sanctae Mariae*, Zadar: Monastery of St. Mary; *Officia et preces* MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, Oxford: Bodleian Library; *Evangeliarium Vecenegaie* MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61, Oxford: Bodleian Library. These manuscripts are directly related to the monastery to which they belonged until the eighteenth century, when they became part of the collection of a Jesuit and Venetian abbot, Cannonici. There are also two manuscripts that were not in the possession of the monastery but their illumination and the type of script is relevant for comparison. These are the *Evangeliarium Absarense* MS. Borg. Lat. 399, Rome: Vatican Library, and *Evangeliarium* Theol. Lat. Quart. 278, Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

¹⁰ See the codicological tables. It has to be pointed out, however, that Grgić's opinion that the manuscript had the calendar, which he concluded on the basis of the comparison with MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, can be reconsidered on the basis of new discoveries. During my work with the original I noticed signs made in brown ink which were recognized as the letters of the alphabet by my supervisor Béla Zsolt Szakács during our common examination of the manuscript. The letter "a" is on f 2r, letter "f" on f 65r, letter "l" on f 30r, letter "m" on f 38r, letter "n" on f 43r, letter "o" on f 49, letter "s" on f 78r, letter "x" on f 98r and letter "y" on f 105r. Letter "a", which marks the first quire with the preserved parts of the Office of the Holy Trinity, could indicate that the Budapest manuscript did not have the Calendar. However, it is highly probable that the marking was done later because it does not correspond to the marking systems of Beneventan manuscripts. See E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan script*, (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980, first published in Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914): 291–293. There are also irregularities if we follow the sequence of letters from the first quire to the one marked with the letter "f" (the letters go in the right order in the other part of the reconstruction). The most probable solution would be a shift of two quires with the section "*Suffragia sanctorum*" (only folio 23r-v is preserved and the rest is reconstructed) from its present place to the place after the quire marked with the letter "f".

¹¹ The monastery of St. Mary, which was founded by a noble woman closely connected to the most influential people of the period, never ceased to have a privileged position. It lived from the dowry that noble women brought to the monastery when they became nuns. From the preserved documents, there is evidence of literacy and a high level of culture in the monastery. For example, Čika's foundation charter, preserved in the Cartulary, lists books on f 12r-14r among the necessary things she brought with her: "*duo ymnaria, unum matutinale.*" On f 34v of the Cartulary a document is preserved in



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belonging to Većenega, her Evangeliary,¹² (Fig. 3) points to her as the owner of this codex. Grgić refers to the Oxford manuscript as “Čika’s Book of Hours” and the manuscript from Budapest as “Većenega’s Book of Hours.”

Fig. 2. Horae et preces
(*MS. Canon. Liturg. 277*), f 100r.

Fig. 3. Evangeliarium
(*MS. Canon. Liturg. 61*), f 45v.

K. 394 as an Early Example of the Book of Hours

Marijan Grgić, to whom my whole research is indebted, presented the liturgical arguments, together with a detailed analysis of the context in which the Zadar manuscripts originated.¹³ The system of illumination, in my view, provides

which the abbess Rožana accepted the small boy Prvoš after the death of his mother to teach him to be a priest: “...*Pruosum monasterio beate Marie tradidit, tali modo et conditione ut illum literas discamus.*”

¹² Viktor Novak, “Većenegin evandjelistar” (Većenega’s Evangeliary) *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962), 5–49.

¹³ Marijan Grgić, Časoslov opatice Čike; namjena, porijeklo i vrijeme nastanka dvaju iluminiranih rukopisa (Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277 iz Oxforda i Ms. Cod. Latini octavo 5 iz Budimpešte) (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika; the function, the origin and the time of the creation of two illuminated manuscripts (Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277 from



additional support for referring to this manuscript as an early example of a Book of Hours.

The question of the genre

The main difficulties with categorizing the Budapest manuscript are its early date and, to some extent, its content. Its small format (145 x 91 mm) is the first sign that we are confronted with a codex intended for private use and not for public service. The fact that it contains offices distinguishes it from *Libelli precum*,¹⁴ its basic contents are not psalms and therefore it can not be a *Psalterium devotum*,¹⁵ the third possibility in considering collections for private use. However, psalms are marked by the first words only and we might assume that this codex also required the use of Psalter. Among the other things that distinguish this book from a Breviary,¹⁶ as it was once called,¹⁷ are *votive offices that do not depend on the liturgical year* and additional prayers adapted to the *feminine singular*.¹⁸ Classification of the genre of this codex is always stressed as problematic.¹⁹ Nevertheless, its content makes it clear that it was created and

Oxford and Ms. Cod. Latini 5 from Budapest), Ph. D diss, Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, 1976. This work resulted from a lifelong preoccupation with Zadar manuscripts, after examining the collections of all the largest libraries in the world. Grgić, who was also a priest, used an interdisciplinary approach in dealing with this important question.

¹⁴ *Libelli precum* are liturgical collections for private use made popular by Alcuin around 800. Alcuin made *Breviarium per ferias*, prayers for the forgiveness of sin, for the use of Charles the Great. Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 9.

¹⁵ The *Psalterium devotum* does not differ very much from the official psalter except that it has parallel texts of different translations of psalms and numerous additions, Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike* 9.

¹⁶ A Breviary contains the divine offices, prayers, hymns and other texts sung by monks and nuns in choir at the canonical hours, the Calendar, Ordinary, the Proper of Time, and the Proper of Saints. It also contains a number of additional prayers and devotions. See Harthan, *Books of Hours*, 12.

¹⁷ Today the manuscript is kept under the title "Horarium" as expressed in Csaba Csapodi, ed. *Catalogus collectionis codicum Latinorum et Graecorum* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1985), 16–19. Grgić mentions that at the time he was examining the manuscript it was kept under the title "Breviarium". Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata" 129.

¹⁸ Numerous examples will be listed later during the analyses of the content.

¹⁹ The most recent statement about the problems of genre is given by Tünde Wehli in *Paradisum plantavit*, (Catalogue of the exhibition, Pannonhalma: Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 2001): 192–193. The codex was classified vaguely as "promptuarium"



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conceived for the purpose of the private devotion of one particular female person. Its content can be connected with the types of codices that are generally considered the authentic products of the late Middle Ages, Books of Hours, sometimes called the “medieval bestsellers.”²⁰

The content of manuscript K. 394 as an expression of private devotion

In the new scholarly literature dealing with the Book of Hours as a typical phenomenon of the late Middle Ages, stress is put on the private devotion of lay people. Wieck, moreover, says that “In a kind of bibliophilic jealousy, lay people sought for themselves a book that paralleled the use and function of the Breviary, the book containing the Divine Office that the clergy prayed from daily.”²¹ Another important issue that is questioned is late medieval spirituality and the special role that the cult of the Virgin had amongst the different strata of society. The Virgin Mary was considered an intercessor between God and man, the one to whom God could not refuse anything and therefore praying to her could never be often enough.

It is difficult to view the manuscript of K. 394 in the light of this new scholarly literature because these scholars deal with late medieval examples. However, certain parallels can be made, especially with recent views considering private devotion, such as those expressed by Hartman and Margaret M. Manion. Although Harthan stresses the fact that the Books of Hours acquired a worldly purpose and became a kind of status symbol of rich and aristocratic owners, at the same time he warns of the difficulties raised by such a conclusion. The fact that we can not underestimate the true reasons for acquiring a Book of Hours, namely private devotion, can be shown by listing many examples that indicate how owners used their books in this respect.²² Margaret M. Manion, taking into account the Book of Hours of Jean de Berry, which is immediately connected with artistic achievements in the lavish decoration, concentrates on “the fact that they were primarily designed for devotional use.”²³

in Polycarpus Radó, Ladislaus Mezey, *Libri liturgici manuscripti Bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 427.

²⁰ Roger S. Wieck, *Painted prayers. The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, (George Braziller in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998), 9.

²¹ Wieck, *Painted prayers*, 9.

²² Harthan, *Books of Hours*, 33.

²³ Margaret M. Manion, “Art and Devotion: The Prayer-books of Jean de Berry” in Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, ed. *Medieval Text and Images, studies of manuscripts from the Middle Ages* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, Craftsman House, 1991), 178.



The content of the Budapest manuscript and the choice of the material witness the rise of private devotion at an early date. This is the main reason why the manuscript was created and therefore an interesting basis for comparisons with later examples that have all the characteristic features of the genre present in traces in K. 394.

Votive offices and the Cult of St Mary

If we apply Harthan's definition of the essential parts of the Book of Hours to the content of the Budapest manuscript it becomes clear that there is a striking resemblance in structure.²⁴ The core of a Book of Hours, however, are votive offices of which the most important one is the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Budapest manuscript contains The Hours of the Holy Trinity, of which the text, with slight changes, corresponds to parts of Alcuin's *De fide Sanctae individuae Trinitatis Libri III* (c. 802).²⁵ The specific composition of the short chapters, which is not according to the official order nor according to the source where the excerpts were taken from, shows a certain freedom in arrangement and gives grounds for the assumption that these were readings intended for the use of one person. However, other specific liturgical features identify it as the votive office intended for private use.²⁶

²⁴ The Budapest manuscript has the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Hours of the Dead, the Suffrages of Saints and the Litany. It lacks the Hours of the Holy Spirit and instead it has the Hours of the Holy Trinity and the Hours of the Angels, while it does not have the Hours but the Adoration of the Cross. It lacks the Sequences of the Gospel, and it contains nine Penitential psalms instead of seven. It lacks the prayers *O Intemerata* and *Obsecro te*. On the other hand it contains many additional prayers and songs in the honor of the Virgin Mary. The Budapest manuscript lacks the Calendar but a possibility that it had one exists.

²⁵ The beginning of the text (f 2r) and the text on f 6r corresponds to the part from Liber I, Caput II: *De unitate Trinitatis et Trinitate unitatis*. Text on f 5r, f 5v, f 7v and f 9r corresponds to Liber I, caput IV: *Quod spiritus sanctus relative dicitur ad Patrem et Filium*.

²⁶ To summarize Grgić's main arguments that these offices are votive offices intended for private use I will refer to his conclusion: The order of the ferial psalter considering the nocturnal services and especially the form of singular (*meus* instead of *noster*) in the first psalm of Nocturn for Tuesday, the shortness of the reading in the Nocturne and unique content of "history," the specific features of the chapters, the omitting of evangelical excerpts at the end of the morning service, the system of the oratio in Nocturns and their similarity with those from the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the variety of antiphones and responsories which confirm the assumption that the Weekly Hours were to be repeated frequently not to become monotonous, the position



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The Little Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as the core of every Book of Hours and the office by which they acquired the name,²⁷ according to Grgić show local Zadar *usus*. The text upon which the Hours depend is mostly the 24th Chapter of the Book of Sirach.²⁸ Often motifs of comparison with the odour of different Mediterranean plants show the poetic impact on the Office in the choice of this particular chapter. It is further possible to declare which are the main motifs of the Hours. Grgić states that the motifs of Annunciation are not clearly expressed in the preserved parts, but that the element of intercession is strongly expressed as well as the motifs of birth and purification. Motifs of Annunciation are clearly visible in responsories.²⁹

The element of intercession is the key issue for the cult of St. Mary, which was widespread throughout the Middle Ages; it was much easier to ask mercy and forgiveness from the Virgin, to praise her, and to appeal to her gentle human nature than to approach God directly. Additional evidence of the growing Marianic cult are hymns in honor of the Virgin Mary.³⁰ Furthermore, songs³¹ in honor of the Virgin Mary appear in the collection of spiritual songs. In the song *Salve regina omnium* the poet addresses Mary to ask her to protect him and to be the intermediary so that he should not be condemned to eternal suffering. The lyric atmosphere present in the songs witnesses once again the gentleness with which medieval men and women turned for the help to the mother of Jesus. The song *Alma dei mater* shows the use of feminine singular (*Ruens misera ego*) on f 39 r. It expresses a cry for the help of the Virgin Mary in different needs. According to Grgić, it does not exist in published collections of medieval poetry or in any manuscript. Together with the hymns, which are unique and to be found only in the closely related Oxford manuscript, it is

of ferial short responsories from *Breviarium Romanum* in the Sunday part of the Weekly Hours, independent position of versicles in ferial days, specific features of the hymnarium in weekly hours, omitting of “preces” in three daily hours and in the Evening, variety and specific features of collects of the weekly hours. Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike* 76.

²⁷ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 9.

²⁸ Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 92.

²⁹ Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 102.

³⁰ Each of the daily hours has a different hymn: “*Virgo que ave perhenne*”, “*Virgo que lucem seculo*,” “*O mater sola et virgo*,” “*Lux ea rutilici*,” “*Ad laudem matris domini*,” “*Summi mater principii*,” “*Maria mater luminis*,” “*Splendoris patris genitrix*,” “*Ianua celi inclita*,” “*O felix nimis femina*,” “*Templum dei mundissimum*.”

³¹ On f 32r “*Salve regina omnium*”, on f 39r “*Alma dei mater*,” and on f 41v “*Imperatrix reginarum*.”



strong proof of the importance assigned to Virgin Mary in this particular devotional book.

In the Hours of the Angels the prayers are adapted to the feminine singular, such as on fol. 52r, *Domine deus omnipotens...si cogitavi vel locuta sum in hac nocte*. The Angel's Office, although originating from public and official prayer (lauds in the morning), became a personal morning prayer. It was not performed in church but at home or in the cell of the convent immediately after arising.³²

Before taking into account the last office of the manuscript, the Office of the Dead, it is interesting to question the reasons for its inclusion in a Book of Hours. Wieck, for example, says that "as the office of the dead was in the back of every Book of Hours death was always in the back of the medieval mind."³³ He also stresses another reason, namely the fact that "it was the cause of considerable anguish for medieval men and women to think of the potentially long periods of time their relatives would spend in the painful fires of purgatory." Therefore, the purpose of the prayer was to pray for the dead because "the dead could not pray for themselves."³⁴ The *Officium defunctorum* of the Budapest manuscript³⁵ begins with Mourning, *Dirige*; the ending is lost and it is not certain whether it had the second part (*Placebo*). It has Psalm 94 and the readings are from the book of Job. It is an expression of private devotion and is connected with a vigil over the body of the deceased (*presente cadavere*).

Votive offices as the main content of the Budapest manuscript together with the strongly expressed cult of St. Mary fit well with the main characteristics of the Book of Hours. The use of the feminine singular supports the idea that the manuscript was intended for the private devotion of one female person.

Other devotions in the Budapest manuscript and the use of feminine singular

³² Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 168.

³³ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117.

³⁴ Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117.

³⁵ It is significant that the Office of the dead is placed at the end of the codex where it was originally and that it is written in smaller letters (half the size compared to the rest of the manuscript which can probably be connected with the wish of a scribe to save parchment by not adding new pieces).



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*Commendationes*³⁶ as a personal devotion for the deceased are older than the *Officium defunctorum*.³⁷ They can also be a penitential devotion, which is manifested in the manuscript by the fact that the scribe adjusted the text to represent a personal penitential prayer in the feminine singular.³⁸ Other personal prayers that are to be performed in the church begin with *Trina oratio*.³⁹ They are connected with the morning visit to the church and followed by the list of nine penitential psalms,⁴⁰ which is not in accordance with the usual seven penitential psalms that the Book of Hours contain. However, the psalms are not a part of *Trina oratio* and according to the title (*Psalmi et capituli. Antequae communionem*) they relate to communion. Prayers performed before and after communion are all in the feminine singular, of which the most illustrative is the one spoken silently during communion; on f 74 r of the Budapest manuscript we read *domine non sum digna ut intres sub tectum meum...*⁴¹

³⁶ *Commendationes* are the various uses of Psalm 118. In the Benedictine use, each stanza is considered as a separate unit and is to be recited separately; according to Gregorian use, two stanzas are together and the whole psalm is divided into eleven parts. It has moral-didactic content and the main topic is the law of God as the source of Wisdom. Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 169–171.

³⁷ Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 154.

³⁸ On fol 11r of the Budapest manuscript it is written “*famulis tuis*” and on the top by the same hand two *es* are written to create *famule* and *tue*, respectively. Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 179.

³⁹ Since the tenth century, the fifteen gradual psalms are called *Trina oratio* because of the three-time break. However, in the Budapest manuscript these psalms are connected with the prayer *ad Spiritum Sanctum*, from which it can be concluded that on the lost leaf 71v–72r there were prayers in the honor of God the father, God the Son, and the three divine persons. The *Trina oratio* is in the case of the Budapest manuscript not connected with the fifteen gradual psalms. Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 183–184.

⁴⁰ *Domine ne in ira* (ps. 6), *Beati quorum* (ps. 31), *Domine ne in ira* (ps. 37), *Sicut cervus* (ps. 41), *Miserere mei deus* (ps. 50), *Inclina domine* (ps. 85), *Domine exaudi orationem* (ps. 101) *Benedic anima mea dominum* (ps. 102), *Domine exaudi* (ps. 142), according to Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 186.

⁴¹ There were four prayers before confession (three are lost); “*Domine Ihesu Xpiste fili dei unigeniti qui es*” is on f 73r, three prayers during the confession; on f 74r “*Domine non sum digna ut intres sub tectum meum*”, on f 74 v “*Corpus domini mei Ihesu*” and “*Xpisti conservet animam meam in vitam eternam*”, five prayers after the confession; “*Domine Ihesu Xpiste*”, “*Filius dei uini qui ex voluntate patris*”; on fol.75r; “*Domine Ihesu Xpiste filius dei vivi creator*”, “*Corpore et sanguine tuo satiata deprecor*”, “*Corpus tuum domine quod sumpsi*”, “*Misericors et miserator domine*” is on lost leaves. Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 186.



Prayers related to communion are followed by apologies and *loricae*, which represent accusations for sins and asking for forgiveness. All these prayers⁴² also use the feminine singular.⁴³ *Letania*, which begins on f 85 r is followed by *Commendatio animae*, *Confessio*, and *Confessio pura*. In Grgić's opinion this group is a long evening prayer adapted for the needs of one female.⁴⁴ The use of the feminine singular in *Confessio pura*, which follows (*miseria ego et infelix* on f 90r and *omnibus sensibus meis confusas extinctas sunt*) and the listing of sins fit into the same context. In the prayer *Deus qui creasti omnia* (which begins on f 91r) we find again that the scribe corrected himself because he first wrote the male form of the noun. At the end of f 92r, he changed the *peccator* to *peccatrice*, while in the next line he did not make a mistake and wrote *famula tua*.

The Adoration of the Cross is not an office and although the majority of the text is lost, the preserved parts betray the use of feminine singular; for example on f 94r is written *miserere mei humillima ancilla tua*.

Educational writings in the Budapest manuscript contain different songs in honor of the saints that were not part of public liturgical services. Grgić states that with the development of the Book of Hours the content of educational writings increases and that the small amount in this manuscript testifies that collection is older. He concludes that personal taste and the cultural context are decisive in the choice of content.⁴⁵ In the Budapest manuscript we find two Christmas songs under the title *Versi de natale domini*.⁴⁶ A song of twenty-one stanzas in honor of St. John the Evangelist, *Versi de sancti Iohanni apostoli et euangeliste*, begins on f 98r. The content is based on the apocrypha *Acta Iohannis*. Grgić gives an interesting hint that since the song is abundant with dialogue it might be connected with scenic performances for the lay-folk devotion on the feast of St John.⁴⁷ *Versi de Sancta Anastasia*, on f 103v to f 106v, have didactic meaning.

⁴² On f 76r there is a prayer in the honor of St Peter, on f 78r a prayer in the honor of Christ, on f 81v a prayer in the honor of the Holy Trinity ("*Oratio sancta*") and on f 83r "*Oratio Sancti Esidori*".

⁴³ On 76r "*ego quamuis indigna*", on f 77r "*quia omnibus vitiis coinquinata sum*", on f 77v "*ut mihi peccatrici parere digneris*", on f 84r "*ego misera et infelix*", on f 84v "*peccatricem*".

⁴⁴ His conclusion is based on the expressions that these prayers contain, the appeal to God and his angels to take care of her at night as well as they do during the day: on f 88r in the Litany "...*qui me salvare dignatus es per diem, iube me salvare per noctem*..." and on f 89r in *Commendatio* "...*ego dormio et cor meum vigilet. Angeli tui me custodiant tam per diem quam per noctem*..." Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 195.

⁴⁵ Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 270.

⁴⁶ "*Rex agnos hodie*" on f 96v and "*Iudicii signum*" on f 19v.

⁴⁷ Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 261.



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The Budapest manuscript betrays many of the characteristics of the genre known in the late Middle Ages as the Book of Hours. Its small format as well as its content identifies the codex as a collection for private use. The first things that distinguish this book from the Divine Office of the Breviary are the votive offices, and no change of Holy Times (*Temporale*) and saints' anniversaries (*Sanctorale*) is present. In many prayers, nouns, pronouns, and adjectives indicate a female person. While it is almost a rule in the penitential prayers, such cases are present in the offices as well. The fact that the scribe corrected himself witnesses that he was using a pattern intended for a male person and that such books existed and were used in the place where the manuscript originated. The strong cult of the Virgin Mary and the central place that the *Officium parvum* has in the manuscript are strong links to the type of the book that would develop later. Therefore, because the manuscript from Budapest was created for a particular female person and was used for the purpose of private devotion, it is considered to fit the characteristics of the genre of Book of Hours.

The Decorated Initials of the Manuscript: A possible argument for the genre?

The illumination of the Budapest manuscript consists of 144 decorated initials,⁴⁸ which are composed of a variety of motifs. However, there are three basic categories and these are initials with human depictions, initials with animal motifs, and ornamental initials. An attempt to explore the relationship of the initials towards the text is made harder by the early date of the manuscript and the characteristics of eleventh century book illumination. The forms melt one into another and therefore each classification tends to be "provisional" to a certain extent. However, the position of the initials according to the text and their function in the manuscript undoubtedly reveal a system. The most interesting question in this context is whether it is possible to connect the pictorial program with a presumable genre of the manuscript.

⁴⁸ The capital letters will be neglected. I refer to capital letters in the sense that Hughes expressed it: "This letter does not extend appreciably into the space below or above the line of the letters, is normally not coloured nor highlighted, nor washed with colour." I also refer to large capital letters: "The large capital extends into the space above the line of letters. It may be coloured, and if it is not, it is usually highlighted. Like the capital, the large capital does not demand a new line, and occurs wherever it is required." Andrew Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and offices: a guide to their organisation and terminology* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 103.

Initials with human depictions

Human figures in the Budapest manuscript as parts of the decorated initials are depicted as busts.⁴⁹ The first initial with a human depiction is placed in the Hours of the Holy Trinity illustrating a hymn *O lux beata trinitas*. The male figure displays the characteristics of a young person, especially in the treatment of the hair, stylized in locks. The figure holds the tablets of law in his left hand. The halo is the only one in the manuscript depicted in gold-leaf. As far as the



Fig. 4. *Horarium* (K. 394), f. 23r.

concerned, it clearly stresses the importance of the figure. However, the relationship with the song that it depicts is unclear. The figure who is the divine person depicted, beyond the Father. We may also consider the figure as the "ancient of days"⁵¹, because he is holding the tablets of law. The figure has a strong connection to the Old Testament. The motif has strong ties to the office well, because the motif has strong

connections to the *Oratio Sanctorum* on f. 23r (Fig. 4). This human figure is used as a base and form the letter "D" (f. 23r, f. 41v) or "O" (f. 4r) or "D" (69v, f. 94v). The extension of the figure into the small ornaments on the top of the wavy line of the letter "D" on f. 94v, the halo together with an

extension in drawing forms the letter "D" and the figure is not set in the circle.

⁵⁰ Grgić thinks that this is the depiction of Christ-Logos which also derives from Byzantine iconography. Grgić, "Dva nepoznata," 204–205. However, I think that the position of the picture in relation to the text does not allow us to make definite conclusions, because the possibility that this is the depiction of God the father can not be excluded.

⁵¹ Although the picture is highly damaged, it is visible that no colour was added on a hair as in later depictions of Christ in the manuscript. The distinctive sign of Christ, Ancient of Day is his white hair according to the words from Daniel 7,9. The figure holds the tablets of law in his hand and reveals the important aspect of the motif. While talking about the choice of the motif in "Paris Psalter," Galaveris mentions "the emphasis on the Eternity of God, the oneness of Christ and the God of the Old testament who exist in eternity itself." George Galaveris, *The illustrations of the prefaces in Byzantine gospels*, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 99. I would like to express my thanks to Elissaveta Moussakova who helped me with valuable information about the motif.



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bust is depicted in a blue monk's habit⁵² with a yellow cross on the front and it accompanies the prayer in honor of St. Benedict *Intercessio nos quasumus*.

Fig. 5. Horarium (K. 394), f 41v, f 42r.

The third initial (*Fig. 5*) is the depiction of two human busts, one placed frontally and one in three-quarter position, forming an unusual composition of two busts under one halo. Their position in the text and the song the initial accompanies are the only way to try to identify the figures.⁵³ This initial belongs to the section of the manuscript called *Uersi* and it accompanies the song in honor of the Virgin Mary *Imperatrix reginarum*. Therefore, we can assume that the human bust turned frontally toward us is the depiction of the Virgin Mary

⁵² St Benedict is usually depicted as a monk. James Hall, *Dictionary of subjects and symbols in Art*, (London: John Murray, 1979), 44–45. The blue colour of the habit is significant since we can draw a parallel with a Montecassino manuscript illustrating the life of St Benedict (Cod. Lat. Vat. 1202) of approx. the same date and conclude that it was a spread convention in this period. For comparison, see Vatican discs, CD-rom collection and Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* vol. 1 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986), 73–80.

⁵³ Csaba Csapodi, *Catalogus collectionis*, 17 refers to the figures as two heads under one halo.

and since the only person who could be represented under one halo with her is Jesus, we may assume that it is his depiction. Although the song does not state anything that could lead us to the conclusion that the main reason for such a composition is to present an emotional moment of mother and child,⁵⁴ we cannot neglect the fact that Jesus is leaning his cheek on his mother's. It brings us to the conclusion that the initial points not just to the particular song that it illustrates, but to the whole series of songs that follow. This interpretation of the initial fits well into the whole context of the manuscript with the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the hymns and special songs in her honor.

The fourth initial is the same type of *imago clipeata* as the initial on f 4r, although in this case it is the letter D. Comparison with the depiction on f 4r is illustrative because this initial is quite poorly coloured. The colouring almost ruined the drawing underneath, which in quality does not differ substantially from the previous one. It is the same type of human bust with an elongated face and hair stylized in regular locks, although in this case the left hand is raised and the right one is hidden behind the mantle. The connection with the words of the prayer *Da nobis domine quasumus perfectam* leads us to understand the depiction as Christ. This conclusion derives directly from the relationship with

the prayer *Da nobis domine quasumus perfectam*: details are present, as for example a cross on the left hand, which is visible in the section of the manuscript called *Commendationes*.

The last initial with a human depiction is placed in the section of manuscript called "The Adoration of the Cross." In this particular case the illustration with Jesus holding a cross (Fig. 6) clearly illustrates the prayer *Domine Ihesu Christe vexillum sancte crucis tue* and the section as a whole. This depiction is the same type of bust as in the previous initials, although it is not enclosed in a circle.



⁵⁴ Late medieval examples of Books of Hours are particularly illustrative for the composition of mother and child accompanying a prayer in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary (usually "Obsecro te"). See Joan Naughton, "A Minimally Intrusive Presence: Portraits in Illustrations for Prayers to the Virgin" in *Medieval Text and Images, studies of manuscripts from the Middle Ages*. eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, Craftsman House, 1991), 111–126.



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We may conclude that there are different levels of text and image relationship in the initials with human busts. In some instances the text reinforces the depiction, which we could probably “read” without the help of the text (the case of the initial with St. Benedict). Other depictions, however, demand interpretation by means of the text (the motif of the Virgin and child). It seems that the decisive factor in the placement of the initials in the text was a principle that each section of the manuscript needed to be stressed and “explained” by the initial. Therefore, it is possible to interpret the decorated initials with human figures as the main indicators of the importance of the sections of the manuscript. They are related to the text where they are located, but expand the meaning in a sense that they illustrate and explain different sections of the manuscript.

Initials with human heads treated as ornament do not appear often in the manuscript⁵⁵ and they are related to the category of initials with the motifs of birds with hooked beaks and birds with long beaks. The human head, depicted in profile and attached to the letter by a lace, is usually placed in the lower part of the initial. Sometimes these “ornamental heads” are adorned by a hat executed in bright colours (f 43r). They are to be found in the Angel’s Office, in the Adoration of the Cross, and in the *Commendationes*.⁵⁶ (Fig. 7) These initials never appear in the Hours of the Holy Trinity or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

⁵⁵ It can be found on f 10r, on f 43r, f 44r, f 44v, f 54v and f 95v.

⁵⁶ It is important to notice that initials in *Commendationes* are substantially bigger in size, sometimes even covering the whole length of the page. They accompany prayers and collects and we may assume that there was some reason for the appearance of the motif in these specific places. Since most of the prayers and collects reveal a penitential character rather than one of a praise, it is possible to assume that the subordinated human head was inserted for that reason. On the one hand, this speculation cannot be confirmed if we consider the wider context of the appearance of the motif which is often to be found in manuscripts written in Beneventan script. In Večenega’s Evangelistary, for example, human heads are used as ornament in different places of the text (richly decorated “E” of the *Exsultet*, (f 117r) or in combination with the ornamented initials that contain a human bust at the top, (f 45v). However, even without relating to the presumable penitential character of the human head, we can conclude that these initials can be distinguished as a separate category and that their position in the sections of the manuscripts reveals a kind of a system.



Većenega's 'Book of Hours'

Fig. 7. Horarium (K. 394), f 9v, f 10r.

Initials with animal motifs

The initials with animal motifs are the most numerous in the manuscript and to a large extent decisive in forming a general esthetic judgement about the illumination. However, the use of animal motifs varies considerably and this makes us reconsider their function. There are initials where the body of the animal, although totally subordinated to the letter which it represents, reflects traces of naturalism. This is first visible in that they are not included in the ornamental play and that their bodies are complete. In contrast, some animal motifs clearly belong to a different level of representation; they are included in the ornamental play and their depictions are only partial, namely only their heads are depicted. Such is the case with motifs of the birds with hooked beaks and long beaks.⁵⁷ Although generally we may speak of three different types of

⁵⁷ They are incorporated into the interlace pattern with which the letter is decorated and they usually bite the laces of the pattern or the stem of the letter itself.

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animal “families”: birds, reptiles, and beasts, the division that follows is based on the criteria of the “independence” of the animal motif from the letter.

Among the initials with “independent” animal motifs, the peacock-eagle motif, the dragon motif, the dog motif, the dog-lion motif, and the dog-beast motif are the main types. At several places in the manuscript we find the same type of *peacock- or eagle-like bird* executed in bright colours and large in size (*Fig. 8*).⁵⁸ Their main function is to point to especially important places in the text such as a hymn or a song. They also witness the importance of certain sections of the manuscript. The Hours of the Holy Trinity and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary are distinguishable at first glance because the number of these motifs is greatest in the manuscript precisely in these offices.⁵⁹ The appearance of the bird sometimes resembles a peacock more, because of the elaborate tail depicted in bright colours, but due to its hooked beak we tend to recognize it as an eagle. In some instances we can refer to it as an eagle with the help of the text. This is the case on f 98v, where the bust of a bird with a hooked beak and raised wings is placed in a circular frame. Since it accompanies the song in honor of St John the Evangelist, it is clearly an eagle, a symbol of St John (*Fig. 9*).⁶⁰

Fig. 8. Horarium (K. 394), f 26v.

the Holy Trinity and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary are distinguishable at first glance because the number of these motifs is greatest in the manuscript

Fig. 9. Horarium (K. 394), f 98v.

⁵⁸ f 2r, f 3r, f 6r, f 26v, f 27v, f 66r, f 71r, f 75r, f 98v.

⁵⁹ There are three motifs in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, three in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and three other motifs are spread in different places, one accompanying parts of Psalm 118, one accompanying the prayer “*Domine Ihesu*” (prayer after the confession) and one illustrating the song in honor of St John the Evangelist.

⁶⁰ The reason why the symbol of St John is included in the category with the eagle-peacock depictions is for the purpose of comparison with the motifs. Otherwise, the depiction of a bust enclosed in a medallion corresponds to the initials with the human depictions.



Fig. 10. *Horarium* (K. 394), f 57v.

Fig. 11. *Horarium* (K. 394), f 30r.

The body of the *dragon-motif*⁶¹ (Fig. 10) is usually completely distorted in order to create the shape of the desired initial and its function corresponds to a great extent to that of the peacock-eagle motif. The motif occurs in largest numbers in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary⁶² (where it is usually placed before the lessons) and in *Commendationes*. The *dog-dragon motif* has some features of both creatures, although it can be more closely connected with the dog. We find just one depiction on f30r (Fig. 11) accompanying the prayer in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On f 51r the dog-motif is depicted illustrating one of the lauds (Fig. 12). From the modest treatment of the initial it is possible to assume that the depiction did not serve to point specifically to

Fig. 12. *Horarium* (K. 394), f 51r.

⁶¹ I refer to the peculiar depiction of the animal as the dragon because its elongated body with rounded belly, and the elaboration of the neck visible in drawing in places where the layer of the colour is very thin, distinguish it from the animals with fur.

⁶² The motif can be found in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary on f 17r, f 20r and f 57v, in the Hours of the Holy Trinity on f 9r, in *Commendationes* on f 70r and f 90r, and on f 74v accompanying the prayer after the confession.



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a certain laud, but that it was intended for that place for purely aesthetic reasons.⁶³

The *dog-beast* initial on f 32r (*Fig. 13*) accompanying the song in honor of the Virgin Mary (*Salve regina omnium*) is unique in the manuscript. The shape of the body resembles depictions of a dragon, but its fur puts the motif in the family of beasts. The drawing underneath the thin layer of colour is very skillful and the whole treatment of the animal motif reveals it as a luxurious initial. It is possible that the reason is that this initial is the first one after the title *Versi*, written in red colour, which introduces

Fig. 13. Horarium (K. 394), f 32r.

songs in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The motif of the *dog-lion* (*Fig. 14*),⁶⁴ present in the initial on f 47v, illustrates the prayer in the Hours of the Angels.

The initials with independent animal motifs betray certain characteristics in their position towards the text. In many cases they point to a certain hymn, song or a particularly important prayer. We find the motifs in similar places, in the Hours of the Virgin Mary, where these motifs are the most abundant, in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, once each in the Hours of the Angels and in the *Commendationes*. The fact that they are small in number can lead us to the interpretation that they were regarded as equally important to the initials with human depictions and that their function was to point to and to enrich some of the most important places in the manuscript.

Fig. 14. Horarium (K. 394), f 47v.

⁶³ The folios of the Budapest manuscript rarely have just one depiction on the page and the two depictions require a variety. Since the initial that follows is the ornamental one and it is also a letter “L”, the illuminator probably decided to use something different such as the dog’s depiction.

⁶⁴ The motif reveals most of the characteristics of dog depictions but it can also be connected with a lion because of the stylized interlace pattern that comes from the mouth forming the extension of the letter “A” and making us draw parallels with a lion as well.



Fig. 15. Horarium (K. 394), f48v, f49r.

Initials with the animal motifs incorporated into the ornamental play include initials with motifs of birds with hooked and long beaks, subordinate fish and dragon motifs and the fish motif. The type with *motifs of birds with hooked and long beaks* is the most numerous in the manuscript (*Fig. 15*). The motifs are combined with interlace patterns and adorn the shapes of letters in an extensive repertory of forms. Because of the large number of initials in the manuscript they have various functions, in other words they accompany different types of text and they are spread in all sections of the manuscript,⁶⁵ except in those where no illumination appears at all. This type of initial represents a constant in the manuscript and they divide lessons, prayers, antiphons

⁶⁵ f 3r, f 4r, f5r, f 5v, f 7v, f 8v, f 12r, f 12v, f 13v, f 14r, f 15r, f 19v, f 24r, f 25r, f 25v, f 26r, f 26v, f 27v, f 28v, f 29r, f 30v, f 31r, f 31v, f 43v, f 45v, f 45v, f 46r, f 46v, f 47r, f 48r, f 48v, f 49r, f 49r, f 50r, f 51v, f 52r, f 54r, f 56v, f 58r, f 58v, f 60r, f 60r, f 62r, f 63r, f 64v, f 65v, f 67v, f 68r, f 68v, f 69r, f 70v, f 71v, f 7 r, f 91r, f 94r, f 95v



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and, in certain instances, hymns. Those initials accompanying hymns are larger than the usual ones, more richly elaborated, and they are all in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁶⁶ There are three cases where the initial contains different motifs, but due to their subordinate position they do not form a separate category. These are motifs of dragon-heads and fish.⁶⁷ They are placed in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which distinguishes this part of the manuscript as not just the most richly decorated, but also as having the greatest variety of animal motifs.

Ornamental initials

These categories of initials vary considerably, but the main difference from the rest of the initials in the manuscript is that they lack figural motifs. The main expression of the initial lies in geometric ornament, interlace pattern, and bright colours. In the Budapest manuscript the ornamental initials are small in number and treated modestly in most of the cases.⁶⁸ It is also noticeable that the interlace pattern appears less often than in the initials with the motifs of the bird-heads and sometimes the initials are decorated just with stylized foliage

⁶⁶ On f 24r illustrating the hymn "*Summi mater principii*" on f 25v "*Maria mater luminis*," on f 30v "*Templum dei mundissimum*," on f 58v "*Lux ea rutili ei sole*" and on f 60r "*Ad laudem matris domini*."

⁶⁷ On f 29r, forming an extension of the letter "E" and illustrating an antiphon "*Ex te Maria virgo percussit deus et homo*" and the motifs of dragon heads in the initials on f 14r illustrating a lesson and on f 27v illustrating a collect. The initial with the fish motif on f 55v appears independently of the motifs of birds and illustrates the lesson in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

⁶⁸ It is hard to classify one of the most beautiful illuminations in the manuscript on f 71r (Fig. 14), because it is formed of two independent parts; one is the circular ornamental part representing the lower part of the letter "D" and the other is the extension of the letter which is in fact a depiction of the bird (eagle or the peacock). Since the bird represents the highest level of the independence of the animal motif (at first glance it is impossible to realize it as the extension of the letter and it resembles more the marginal depictions), it would be appropriate to say that the letter belongs to the category with "independent" animal motifs. However, in spite of the striking realism of the depiction (it is the only bird-motif depicted with claws) it seems to me that this letter was not intended to have the same function as the already discussed examples and that the letter was primarily conceived as the ornamental one (the central ornamental part is the most elaborate both in drawing and colouring of all the ornamented initials in the manuscript).



forms. They accompany lessons, prayers, and antiphons.⁶⁹ As far as their specific place in the manuscript as a whole, the largest number of the initials is in the Angel's Office (there are two or sometimes three on the same page). However, ornamental initials in the Budapest manuscript never accompany a hymn and they are rarely present in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Fig. 16. Horarium (K. 394), f 107v, f 108r.

Small initials (*Fig. 16*) executed in red ink are spread in almost all the sections of the manuscript,⁷⁰ used for the beginnings of the antiphons, for responsories, benedictions, and versicles. There are cases in the manuscript where the same type of the initial is executed in brown ink, but their treatment and

⁶⁹ There are cases, however, when the ornamental initials accompany songs, such as for example on f 39r, initial "A" accompanying the song in honor of the Virgin Mary, "*Alma dei mater*," and on f 96v the initial "R" accompanying the song "*Rex agnos hodie*."

⁷⁰ They are to be found on f 2r, f 3r, f 4r, f 4v, f 6r, f 6r, f 8r, f 8v, f 11v, f 12r, f 16r, f 16v, f 18v, f 20r, f 23r, f 53r, f 54r, f 55r, 59r, f 65r, f 66r, f 67r, f 68v, f 69v, f 74r, f 103r, f 106v, f 107v, f 108r, f 108v, f 109v.



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function are the same as the rest of the initials. These initials are decorated with a small floral ornament and two parallel pen strokes.

Conclusion

The classification of the motifs in the Budapest manuscript shows a hierarchy from the human depictions down to small, decorated initials. The position of the initials in the text is rather to attract attention and only in the case of human depictions may we speak of an illustrative component. Analyses of the initials with human figures showed that they relate more to the entire section they “illustrate” than to the immediate text where they are put. Every depiction becomes more clear if we consider its position in the specific office or section.

The hierarchy of animal motifs shows that the initials with “independent” animal motifs are small in number and especially related to the important parts of the texts (song or hymn). Although they have different functions we may say that they are equal in importance to the initials with the depictions of human figures. Although the question of size is implicit, the hierarchy of the initials is based on the choice of motifs. The richest variety of motifs and the biggest number of “independent” animal motifs is to be found in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The initials with animal motifs incorporated into ornamental play are a constant in the manuscript. The variety of forms complements the variety of functions. When they are more elaborate they accompany the hymns in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. If they are enriched with some additional motifs they are also to be found in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

We can not find completely identical initials in the whole manuscript. A variety of categories and types of initials in the manuscript complement the variety of functions. Still, a certain system can be traced for each category. If the initial is treated differently than the rest of its category, we try to find the reasons in the text. The omission of the initials sends the same message. Therefore, the decorated initials of the manuscript create an interesting basis for another insight into the text. In this context it is a question of the genre of the manuscript. Is it possible to connect the pictorial program of the manuscript with a genre?

Although one must be cautious in the same way as with the text because the manuscript is damaged, the analyses of the initials showed the concordance of the pictorial program and the content. First of all, the illumination complements the genre because of its richness. The Hours of the Virgin Mary as the most precious section of the Book of Hours is accordingly the most richly decorated. In the context of the specific initials, it means that this section



Većenega's 'Book of Hours'

contains the initials with “independent” animal motifs in their greatest variety and number. The use of initials with human figures in a way that they are related to the entire section of the manuscript might be regarded as the beginning of late medieval elaborated programs with different iconography and rules for the each section of the Book of Hours. The omission of illumination is especially significant because of its connection with non-liturgical sources. In this way, the lack of pictorial prototypes witnesses that the type of book was new. The content of the Budapest manuscript shows a great similarity with examples of “real” Book of Hours. Its pictorial program shows a very clear system in its variety and we may say the text and the images of the Budapest manuscript communicate together, reinforcing the idea of the Budapest manuscript as an early example of a Book of Hours.



CONSTRVI ET ERIGI IVSSIT REX COLLOMANNVS: THE ROYAL CHAPEL OF KING COLOMAN IN THE COMPLEX OF ST. MARY IN ZADAR

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Questions of the symbolical significance of the layout or of the parts of a structure are prominent; questions of its dedication to a particular Saint, and of the relation of its shape to a specific dedication or to a specific religious—not necessarily liturgical—purpose. The content of architecture seems to have been among the more important problems of mediaeval architectural theory; perhaps indeed it was its most important problem.¹

Introduction

“Content,” that is, function and symbolic significance, was the most characteristic element of architecture for the medieval mind, so it is exactly at this content that one should look for the reason for erecting a certain building in a certain form in a certain place. Individuals who founded churches and monasteries in those times were greatly interested in the form in terms of its relation to the symbolic representation that its content (or function) conveyed. Even the workshops that were invited from other countries, in addition to the high skills which they employed, were chosen because of the symbolic connotation of their place of origin and of the churches and monasteries they had worked on. Thus, form in the Middle Ages derived its symbolical content not only in terms of the classical notion of iconographical content, which one may call a narrative one, but also from the content of its function and provenance.

This is especially visible in royal foundations, because they featured the highest level of representation. Not only were workshops invited, but the spatial organisation of these churches repeated established schemes to create recognisable *royal space*. In addition, the purpose of all the decoration (carvings, fresco and mosaic cycles, as well as products of the applied arts) was clearly connected with royal representation and therefore its form and placing have iconographic content even if they are purely ornamental and decorative. The study of the role of these motifs in a particular architectural setting and their afterlife in their

¹ Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of the Mediaeval Architecture,’” *Journal of Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 5 (1942), 1.



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spread to other areas can reveal a great deal about the primary function and significance the building had for its contemporaries.

The particular aim of this paper is to discuss these problems of royal representation as they appear in the architectural programme of a space related to the Hungarian king, Coloman, (1095–1116) and his political and military campaign in Dalmatia in 1105. The well-preserved architecture, abundance of different kinds of other sources, and an interdisciplinary approach allowed a comprehensive analysis of the case, the results of which will be of general interest for the scholarship on issues related to royal representation.

Coloman's Reign in Dalmatia: The Facts

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the city of Zadar went through important political changes as well as changes in artistic production. After several years of anarchy following the death of the last Croatian king, Zvonimir, the Hungarian Árpád dynasty took over the rule of Croatia in 1102 and of Dalmatia around 1105. The Hungarian king, Ladislas, (1077–1095) ruled the northern part of Croatia since the early 1090s, but only in 1102 Coloman succeeded in being crowned the king of Croatia in the Croatian royal city of Biograd.

Three years later Coloman undertook a military campaign in Dalmatia in order to complete the plan of his predecessor. Although the precise course of his advancing is not reliably documented in the sources, Coloman surely conquered the four most prominent cities of Lower Dalmatia: Zadar, Split, Trogir, and Rab. Although Split, having taken over the tradition of the Salonitan church, was the seat of the archbishop, Zadar retained its role of the political center of Dalmatia, since as early as the second half of the ninth century it became the seat of the Byzantine *thema* Dalmatia.

Considering the long urban and ecclesiastical tradition of Dalmatian cities, and their relative autonomy under the Byzantine rule, the abundance of privileges issued by Coloman to the cities and their churches is not surprising.² These sources confirm that Coloman bore the title *king of Croatia and Dalmatia*, which was previously used exclusively by the kings from Croatian dynasty. Although Coloman crowned his son, Stephen, king of Dalmatia in 1114, he himself exercised power in the Dalmatian cities, and immediately after his death in 1116, Venice regained the rule over Dalmatia.

By the time of Coloman's conquest the monastery of St. Mary had won a considerable reputation, although it had only been founded in 1066. This status was due to several interrelated reasons, all based on local Dalmatian events of

² Although the authenticity of the contents of the privileges might be discussed, the fact that Coloman issued privileges is generally accepted in the scholarship.



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the second half of the eleventh century. In the first place, the abbesses of St. Mary's (first Čika, who founded the monastery, and then her daughter Većenega, who was the abbess in Coloman's time) belonged to the most prestigious family in Zadar, the Madii. Secondly, the monastery was one of the first reformed Benedictine monasteries in Dalmatia and was a part of the reform activity of Archbishop Lawrence of Split and Bishop John of Trogir. These were the probable motives why, as the third reason, the monastery was especially protected by Croatian kings, notably Petar Krešimir IV (1058–1074).

Coloman's architecture in Zadar: The questions

In this historical context one should reconsider the appearance of the High Romanesque style that was introduced to Zadar through two buildings (constituting an ensemble) erected by the Hungarian king, Coloman: the chapter house

and the bell tower of the monastery of St. Mary (2 and 3 on *Fig. 1*). Since they are not the result of any previous local architectural development, it seems credible that one should look for their origin by tracing the historical context of their conception or, more precisely, the liturgical function of these buildings connected to the king himself.³

Fig. 1. Ground plan of the complex of St. Mary (after Jeras-Pohl, "Obnova kapitula").

The inscription on the external wall of the bell tower, on the cornice separating the ground floor from the first floor, explicitly states that Coloman built the bell tower in the year 1105: ANNO INCAR[NATIONIS] · D[OMI]NI · N[OST]RI · IE[S]V · CHR[IST]I · MIL[LESIMO] · C · V · POST VICTORIAM ET PACIS PRAEMIA · IADERAE INTROITVS · A DEO CONCESSA || PROPRIO SVMPTV · HANC TVRRI[M] S[AN]C[T]AE MARIAE · VNGARIAE · D[AL]MAT[IAE]

³ As far as the earlier architecture of St. Mary's is concerned, only the church consecrated in 1091 has been preserved (1 on *Fig. 1*): it is a basilica with three apses and arcades featuring capitals of the *acanthus spinosa* type. These elements were typical for Early Romanesque Italian architecture of the eleventh century, and in Dalmatia they persisted well into the twelfth century. In this context the appearance of the mature Romanesque style of Coloman's ensemble in St. Mary's less than fifteen years after the completion of the Early Romanesque church is of special importance.



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• CHROA[T]IAE • CONSTRVI • ET ERIGI || IVSSIT REX COLLOMANNVS,⁴ but strangely enough this explicitness has never inspired scholars to open the question of the original function of Coloman's ensemble.

The complex of the bell tower and the chapter house of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar is important from both the formal (or stylistic) and the functional point of view. In both regards it is possible to interpret it as highly elaborate and outstanding architecture. However, the form and the function should not be examined separately, because the appearance of completely formulated and mature Romanesque features has its explanation in the exceptional purpose of the architecture. In other words, not only did certain architectural forms follow the strictly defined use, but also from the aesthetic point of view this important function required an elaborate articulation. Therefore, the aim of this research is not only to explain the appearance of a new style and the spread of the forms, but also to attempt to analyse Coloman's rule in Zadar from the perspective of its architectural consequences. The commission of a royal chapel in Zadar, the fact that he introduced there new and highly sophisticated features (such as cross-ribbed vaulting, a heart-shaped palmette frieze, or cubic capitals), and, finally, his choice of the convent traditionally linked to Croatian kings as his main ally, lead to broader historical conclusions. Thus, these facts reveal another aspect of Coloman's rule in Dalmatia that has not been included in general research so far: the role of Coloman as the commissioner of a royal chapel in Zadar.⁵ Art history scholarship discussed the bell tower and the chapter house of St. Mary as two separate entities, and therefore they did not take into consideration the function of the ensemble, but

⁴ The transcription is taken from Miroslav Marković, "Dva natpisa iz Zadra" (Two inscriptions from Zadar), *Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauka* 36 (1953): 101, except that Marković replaced "V" with "U," and used lower case with capitalisation.

⁵ The only hint at the complex being the royal chapel of king Coloman that I have managed to find in the literature so far is in a footnote in a guide to the artistic monuments of Zadar ("...cappella di Colomanno..."), Carlo Cechelli, *Zara: Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia* (Rome: La libreria dello stato, 1932), 68. However, this was not an allusion to the liturgical function of the complex, but rather a notion of who commissioned the building. On the contrary, Jackson wrote about the tradition that in the chapel "Većenega used to sit to hear mass." Thomas Graham Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria with Cetigne in Montenegro and the island of Grado* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 306. The only relatively recent inference on the function of the gallery was made by Cvito Fisković, who presumed that it served as the choir, but with no further explanation. Cvito Fisković, *Dalmatinske freske* (Dalmatian fresco painting) (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1965), 13.



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only concentrated on the stylistic innovations.⁶ Traditional historical scholarship on Coloman's rule in Dalmatia did not emphasise sufficiently the importance of the convent of St. Mary in Coloman's strategy of following the tradition of Croatian rulers, and the figure of King Coloman as the commissioner of the ensemble was taken into account only insofar as the pure fact of dating was concerned. Apart from this, all possible connotations of the royal foundation were completely neglected.

Function: the Royal Chapel

*Architectural structure*⁷

According to its form, the bell tower of the church of St. Mary belongs to the so-called Lombard type, that is, the number and the width of windows gradually increase as they approach the top (*Fig. 2*). It is detached from the church and placed next to its northwestern corner so that its southern wall is parallel with the northern church façade (*Fig. 3*).⁸ This was the usual setting of the bell

⁶ For older literature concerning the monastery, see the comprehensive bibliography in Ivan Ostojić, "Izvori i literatura za povijest samostana sv. Marije u Zadru" (Sources and literature for the history of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar), *Zadarska revija* 2–3 (1967): 211–221. The most important study on the architecture of St. Mary's is still Ivo Petricoli, "Umjetnička baština samostana sv. Marije u Zadru" (The artistic heritage of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar), in *Kulturna baština samostana sv. Marije u Zadru* (The cultural heritage of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar), ed. Vjekoslav Maštrović and Grga Novak (Zadar: Institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968), 61–100. The most recent articles dealing with the origin of stylistic features of Coloman's buildings at St. Mary's are Miljenko Jurković, "Prilog poznavanju hrvatsko–ugarskih likovnih veza u doba romanike" (Contribution to the knowledge of Croato–Hungarian artistic connections during the Romanesque period), in *Hrvatska / Mađarska / Europa: stoljetne likovno umjetničke veze* (Croatia / Hungary / Europe: Centuries of artistic relationship), ed. Jadranka Damjanov (Zagreb: Društvo mađarskih znanstvenika i umjetnika u Hrvatskoj, 2000), 29–39; and Kálmán, Magyar, "Somogyvár i Saint Gilles – o vezama Somogyvára i Zadra s Francuskom u XII. stoljeću" (Somogyvár and Saint Giles – Relationship of Somogyvár and Zadar with France in the twelfth century), in *Hrvatska / Mađarska / Europa*, 15–28.

⁷ For all the unpublished information on the architecture of St. Mary's, as well as for his immense help in this research, I would like to thank Prof. Pavuša Vežić, who conducted the investigations in the chapter house and the bell tower.

⁸ The original façade was recessed in respect to the bell tower. The present church façade was built in the first half of the sixteenth century when the church was extended by two bays towards the west.



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towers of the Early Romanesque Benedictine churches in Dalmatia,⁹ probably the result of their indirect connection to the north Italian reformed Benedictines (especially the abbey of Pomposa, which shows an identical positioning of the bell tower). Nonetheless, the bell tower of St. Mary's can also be interpreted as an axial bell tower, being situated in front of the chapter house with which it is spatially connected through its first floor, thus becoming a western gallery.¹⁰ These peculiarities in the spatial organisation of the ensemble make sense in the context of its function.

Fig. 2. Façade of the church with the bell tower (photo: Péter Banyó).

Fig. 3. Ground plan of the church, the chapter house, and the bell tower with the additional reconstruction of the stairs leading to the gallery. (after Jeras-Pohl, "Obnova kapitula").

⁹ Tomislav Marasović, "Tipologija predromaničkih i romaničkih zvonika u Dalmaciji" (Typology of the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque bell towers in Dalmatia), in *Rapski zbornik*, ed. Andre Mohorovičić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1987), 295. St. Peter in Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab and St. Andrew in the city of Rab are the geographically closest examples of such positioning.

¹⁰ The western gallery opened to the balcony, which was situated in the chapter house and supported by probably three columns. The balcony has not been preserved, but traces of semi-columns, consoles, and a parapet were found in the western wall of the chapter house as well as probable foundations of the columns supporting the balcony; Zlata Jeras-Pohl, "Obnova kapitula benediktinskog samostana sv. Marije u Zadru" (Renovation of the chapter house of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar), *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 1 (1975): 96.



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The problems of the Westwerk and the western gallery are among the most discussed problems of the architecture of the Middle Ages.¹¹ Aware of the impossibility of tracing models or parallels of St. Mary's, I will only mention the main theories insofar as they can be reflected in the particular architecture discussed here. Of the four interpretations of the Westwerk listed by Möbius in his classic study, two are relevant in the case of Coloman's ensemble at St. Mary's: the secular and the liturgical interpretation.¹² In fact, the architecture and its position in the monastery can provide arguments for both interpretations.

In this particular case there are two possibilities for the royal use of the gallery; the first is that the king observed the mass from the gallery (or the balcony) (Fig. 4) overlooking the altar at the eastern end. This supposition does not necessarily clash with the liturgical interpretation because the dimensions of the space are rather small, so the distance from the king to the altar is not far, even if the king were situated on the balcony. Moreover, since the chapter house was a part of the nunnery, and since one of the two accesses from the convent to the church leads through the chapter house, a

Fig. 4. Axonometric reconstruction of the chapter house (after Jeras-Pohl, "Obnova kapitula").

certain spatial physical separation of the king's and the nuns' space could be expected.¹³ In addition, an altar placed in the chapter house is mentioned twice, albeit in quite late sources. *Illyricum sacrum* contains a brief description of the

¹¹ For the basic studies of the Westwerk problem see Friedrich Möbius, *Westwerkstudien* (Jena: Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, 1968); and Günter Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1951). The liturgical interpretation in Carol Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre Architecture et Liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963).

¹² The four interpretations of the Westwerk are the following: liturgical use on certain holidays, as the choir of St. Saviour; the Westwerk taking over some functions of the parish church; the secular use connected to emperor, king, or aristocrat; and as a fortification; Möbius, *Westwerkstudien*, 9–22.

¹³ According to the visitation of Agostino Valier in 1579, there were two accesses from the monastery to the church: one through the chapter house, and the other through the sacristy; Amos Rube Filipi, "Samostan i crkva sv. Marije u Zadru prema dokumentima iz godine 1579. i 1603." (The monastery and the church of St. Mary in Zadar according to documents from the years 1579 and 1603), *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 13–14 (1967): 254.



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altar, but without any information about its position or its date of origin.¹⁴ A source from the first half of the nineteenth century mentions the altar to which a statue of St. Mary was added in the restoration of the chapter house in 1792.¹⁵ However, such a use of the chapter house has not been proved, and one cannot exclude the possibility that the liturgy was conducted in the western gallery despite its small dimensions. The highly decorated space of the gallery supports this hypothesis. However, if the royal liturgy were performed on certain feasts in the small room on the first floor of the bell tower, the use of the balcony should be explained. Moreover, in the first-floor cell no trace of an altar niche has been found, the existence of which would certainly be the best proof of the liturgical use of the gallery. In this case, the balcony would probably have served for the king's attendance at certain secular gatherings in the chapter house.

In all of these cases, one should be careful about applying the analogies of western galleries in, for example, France, Germany, or Hungary to this particular hybrid space with its specific characteristics. The ensemble in St. Mary's differs from typical examples of churches with western complexes in several ways: firstly, it is not a church, but an assembly space with a possible additional liturgical function; secondly, the bell tower of St. Mary's is an "atrophied Westwerk," lacking the crypt on the ground floor;¹⁶ finally, the small dimensions of the space limited the possible uses and made them different from most of the other examples. Therefore, the research should concentrate on the function of the royal space and its actual features, such as access to the gallery, which can reveal its particular use.

¹⁴ "un Correto di Pietra sostenuto da' Colonne con sopra un Altarino...," Daniele Farlati and Jacopo Coleti, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 5 (Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1775); quoted in *Memorie*, f. 7v. If the altar was placed at the eastern end of the chapter house, provided we accept its original existence from 1105, we can connect this to the placing of Večenega's tomb close to the altar. Since both sources speak of a small altar, one may think of a portable altar that could be brought from the main space to the western gallery if the liturgy required it. However, there is no proof of the early existence of an altar in the chapter house.

¹⁵ "Il Capitolo descritto di sopra L'anno 1792. fu ristaurato, ... e sopra L'Altarino esposta La Statuetta di Maria Vergine Addolorata...," Giovanni Tanzlinger-Zanotti, *La Dama Cronologica: cronistoria zaratina dalle origini al 1729*. MS 762 (autograph), and MS 739 (excerpts), Državni arhiv u Zadru (State archives in Zadar); quoted in *Memorie sopra La Chiesa e Monastero delle Nobili Reverende Monache Benedittine di Santa Maria di Zara*, R-No 1, Arhiv samostana benediktinki u Zadru (Archives of the Benedictine nunnery in Zadar), f. 2v.

¹⁶ Heitz, *Rapports*, 19. Heitz uses the term *l'église-porche atrophie*. The ground floor served as the treasury and the archive, according to Petricioli, "Umjetnička baština," 64.



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Reconsidering the access to the western gallery leads to the key argument for the usage of the gallery by a person not belonging to the monastic community. Detailed examination of the building elements showed certain telling points: on the penultimate step leading from the chapter house to the gallery, grooves and holes for the door wings are visible, as well as holes on the lintel. These details reveal the original level of the landing in front of the entrance to the gallery. Under the threshold and the doorposts of the present entrance to the gallery (part of the rebuilding of the fifteenth century), the construction frame of the original door has been discovered. On the top of the fifteenth-century stairs leading to the upper part of the bell tower, another Romanesque threshold and lintel have been discovered in secondary use. Their dimensions correspond precisely to the dimensions of the frame of the entrance to the gallery. Therefore, two doors bordered the landing on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides, while the other two sides were open, from which one can deduce an open-air landing. An open landing indicates that the access to the gallery was from the outer side, that is, by external stairs. Such stairs were already inferred by Jeras-Pohl, but without any explanation of their purpose, and they were reconstructed as if they stood against the church façade (*Fig. 3*).¹⁷

In contrast, one detail of the treatment of the external skirting board of the bell tower demonstrates that the stairs stood against the bell tower. The skirting board is interrupted about one meter from the western corner of the bell tower and it does not continue on the southwestern side of it, hence we may infer that the stairs had an “L” shape and stood against the wall of the bell tower.

Thus, the architectural details suggest that a person who was not a member of the monastic community used the gallery. In the medieval period, it was not unacceptable for a stranger or a male to enter a monastic complex because nunneries had to accept the strict enclosure only after the Tridentine council,¹⁸ when even the door from the chapter house to the church was ordered to be walled in.¹⁹ Therefore, we may infer that the partial spatial

¹⁷ Jeras-Pohl, “Obnova kapitula,” 91.

¹⁸ Not only monastic contracts, but patricians’ as well, were concluded in the monastery, moreover even in the abbess’ room (*in camera abbatissae*), Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictines in Croatia), vol. 1 (Split: Benediktinski priorat - Tkon, 1963), 135. Also in the source from the year 1554: “Ed acció si sappia, che neppur Le Monache di Zara erano in perfetta Clauzura...,” *Archivio Pubblico in Zadar*, vol. 33, 231; quoted in *Memorie*, f. 7r.

¹⁹ Filipi, “Samostan i crkva,” 257.

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separation of the gallery from the chapter house was the only means of dividing the nuns' space from the royal space.

Architectural articulation

The first floor of the bell tower contains the first reliably documented cross-ribbed vaulting in European architecture (*Fig. 5*). The date of 1105 is an extremely early date for such vaulting, although it is much simpler than the twelfth-century French and Lombard examples. However, this innovative vaulting indicates the importance of the space of the gallery where it was employed. It is important to stress that this vaulting was not needed for structural reasons, so it was executed only for the purpose of decorating the space of the western gallery and making it more monumental.

Fig. 5. Cross-ribbed vaulting in the gallery on the first floor of the bell tower (photo by the author).

The architectural sculpture in the bell tower shows the same motifs as in the chapter house (palmette friezes bordered by dentils), except that the former is somewhat more elaborated. In the bell tower the palmettes decorating the impostes of the capitals consist of double strips and therefore are more decorative, as if they were executed for a close view (*Fig. 6*). In addition, the step-like profile of the cubic capitals is much more elaborated in the gallery than in the chapter house, and the capitals in the gallery bear the inscription on one side and a row of dentils borders the top. Finally, the capitals in the gallery are executed in marble, while in the chapter house limestone was used. These facts indicate that the gallery and the chapter house were conceived as integral parts of a whole, and at the same time that the gallery was more important than the chapter house. In addition, the inscription that reads R[EX] | CO | LLO | MAN | NVS distributed on the four capitals of the columns placed in the corners of the gallery. It demonstrates the importance of this space and its connection with the king. Otherwise, the inscription on the outer wall would be sufficient to commemorate the king's

Fig. 6. Cubic capital in the gallery of the bell tower.



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role in the building of the ensemble, and there would be no reason for such a decoration of the interior of the bell tower.

Royal liturgy and iconography

The so-called “Zadar *laudes*,” a later addition to the *Evangelistarium Jaderense*, provide a valuable insight into liturgical practices related to Coloman.²⁰ In the text of the *laudes*, the usual triple invocation of Christ is followed by the names of Pope Pascal II, King Coloman, his son Stephen the king of Dalmatia, Gregory the bishop of Zadar, and Cledinus who was Coloman’s governor (*comes, banus*) of Zadar. According to Novak, *laudes* were certainly performed in the king’s presence on the first occasion in 1105, and probably on the occasions of the king’s subsequent visits to Zadar.²¹

Considering the dates of Stephen’s coronation (1114) and of Coloman’s death (1116), it is possible to date the writing of the *laudes* between the years 1114 and 1116, possibly for the occasion of Stephen’s coronation. However, it is probable that a version of the *laudes* for Coloman was performed before these were written down.

A vague indication of the use of the chapter house for the liturgy is the previously mentioned altar in the chapter house. Since up to the Tridentine council nuns were allowed to enter the church,²² it is possible to assume that some kind of special liturgy was conducted in the chapter house. The above indications suggest that it might have been the royal liturgy.

Fragments of fresco paintings have been preserved on the first floor of the bell tower.²³ Despite their fragmentary preservation, it is partly possible to trace their stylistic features and iconographic content. The best preserved frag-

h *laudes* is kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, MS Berlin, f. 1v. See Virginia Brown, *Handlist of Beneventan Manuscripts in e litteratura*, 1980), 25. For the text of *laudes* with further t Hartwig Kantorowitz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical ! Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, Los Angeles: University of California, 1946), 147–153; and šćavana kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od VIII. do d category of the Dalmatian historical sources from the eighth *Radovi Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 3 (1957):

una kategorija,” 60.

²² Filipi, “Samostan i crkva,” 245.

²³ The frescos are published in Fisković, *Dalmatinske freske*. A detailed description accompanied by two sketches is provided in Petricoli, “Umjetnička baština,” 75, 77, and 82–86.

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ment is the main part of the iconographical cycle dedicated to Christ, that is, *maiestas domini*, the Majesty of Christ or Christ Enthroned (Fig. 7). It is flanked by St. John and St. Mary (*déesis*), and occupies the whole surface of the south-eastern wall above the door leading to the balcony. On the north-eastern wall are remains of scenes of the Lamentation and Three Women at the Tomb; nothing has been preserved on the other walls. The eastern section of the vault, just above the Christ in *mandorla*, shows the depiction of an archangel with a herald's baton in his hand;²⁴ some traces of the heart-shaped-palmette ornament can be seen on the ribs.

The iconographic representation of the *maiestas domini* is generally used in the main apse of a church or a cupola.²⁵ However, the representation of Christ as the ruler is also used in connection with royal representation, and therefore may appear in other parts of the church, indicating the analogy between the terrestrial and the celestial ruler.²⁶ In this sense, the cult of Christ the Saviour is usually connected with the western complexes of churches as well as with the cult of St. Michael.²⁷ The most notable example of the depiction of *maiestas domini* in connection with the royal liturgy is the eighteenth-century copy of the Carolingian mosaic in the cupola of the royal chapel of Charles the Great in Aachen.²⁸ Another influential example is the mosaic in the apse of St. Mark's in Venice, which is a palatine chapel as well.²⁹ Though not

*Fig. 7. Fresco depicting
maiestas domini on the
south-eastern wall
of the gallery.
(after Petricioli,
"Umjetnička baština").*

²⁴ For the iconography of the archangels see Heinrich and Margarethe Schmidt, *Die vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst: Ein Führer zum Verständnis der Tier-, Engel- und Mariensymbolik* (München: Beck, 1984), 148.

²⁵ *Maiestas domini* is an iconographical motif that derives from the iconography of the Apocalypse, and can be a part of a larger scene such as the Adoration of twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse as in Aachen, or combined with the tetramorph (which in the West replaced the apocalyptic beasts) and *déesis* as in Zadar. For the typology of *maiestas domini* see Otto Demus, *Romanesque mural painting* (New York: Abrams Publishers, 1970), 14–16.

²⁶ For example in the dome of the royal burial chamber (1054–1067) in the narthex of the Panteón de los Reyes in León; Demus, *Romanesque mural painting*, 484–485.

²⁷ For the liturgical interpretation of western complexes see Heitz, *Les Rapports*.

²⁸ The original mosaic is known from two descriptions and sketches from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but for this purpose it is sufficient to deal with the iconography that reflects Charles as regent of Christ. Carol Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne: Les formes et leurs fonctions* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 74–77, with further bibliography.

²⁹ Demus, *Romanesque mural painting*, 16.



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rare in Dalmatia,³⁰ the motif of *maiestas domini* is placed in St. Mary's in an unusual position, the vaulting of the bell tower.³¹

Together with other evidence, the iconography of *maiestas domini*, being connected to the representation of rulership, indicates the specific function of the gallery. This iconography, though, has a more complex nature than just a plain analogy of Christ and king as rulers. The cycle in the bell tower of St. Mary's shows certain iconographic analogies to the content of the *laudes regiae*. In the part of *laudes* dedicated to the king, the same saintly figures are always called upon to look after the king: Christ the Saviour at the beginning, then the Virgin Mary, the three archangels (Michael, Gabriel and Raphael), St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen the Proto-martyr.³² If we look at the depictions of the frescos in St. Mary's, we can recognise four of these figures: Christ the Saviour with St. Mary and St. John (*déesis*) in the main location on the southeastern wall facing the chapter house, and an archangel above in the accompanying section of the vault. One may infer that the other two archangels and St. John the Baptist or St. Stephen were depicted in the other two sections of the vault.³³ Besides being a part of *déesis*, St. Mary is present in the dedication of the church itself. Thus, we can establish the connection of the western complex with both the iconography of *maiestas domini* from the secular aspect of rulership and the iconography of the Apocalypse (from which *maiestas domini* derived) on the liturgical level of dedication to St. Saviour or St. Michael.³⁴ The Zadar *laudes* for

³⁰ The geographically and chronologically closest depiction of the motif of *maiestas domini* in the region is the carving on the portal of the church of St. Lawrence in Zadar, dated to the second half of the eleventh century; Ivo Petricioli, "Crkva Sv. Lovre u Zadru" (The church of St. Lawrence in Zadar), *Starobrvatska prosvjeta* 17 (1987): 71.

³¹ There is a French example of placing the depiction of *maiestas domini* in the chapter house in the nunnery of St. Andrew in Lavadieu (Haute-Loire) from the twelfth century; see Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*. Tr. Marthiel Mathews from the revised French edition 1953. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1990), 37; however, I did not succeed in tracing the same positioning of this iconographic theme as in St. Mary's.

³² For the structure of *laudes regiae*, see Kantorowitz, *Laudes*, 31–53; 142–146, and elsewhere.

³³ An iconographic parallel can be drawn with the tenth-century Byzantine ivory triptychs showing the representation of *déesis* with the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; Kantorowitz, *Laudes*, 48, and 248. See also, Ernst Hartwig Kantorowitz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 56–81.

³⁴ For the connection of the liturgy of western complexes with the Apocalypse of St. John and of the cult of St. Saviour with imperial representation, see Heitz, *Les rapports*, 128–160.



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Coloman and his suite have, however, a simple form without the invocations of saints and archangels, but the general structure of royal *laudes* (certainly familiar to the authors of the Zadar *laudes*) is probably inherent in the iconographic programme of the frescos in the chapel.

Charters and written sources on the palace

Apart from the evidence provided by the chapel architecture itself (with its decoration), there are certain other, mainly written, sources that can support the hypothesis of a royal chapel. Charters indicating Coloman's presence in Dalmatia lead to further examination of the source information about his palace in Zadar. The existence of the royal chapel is closely related to the existence of a royal residence, and its location is also relevant to the problem of the chapel.

According to the written sources, Coloman's visits to Dalmatia were quite frequent. Charters issued on various occasions imply Coloman's regular presence in Dalmatian cities. Charters of the confirmation of privileges to the convent of St. Mary in 1102,³⁵ to the archbishopric of Split in 1103,³⁶ to the city of Zadar in 1105,³⁷ to the city of Trogir in 1108,³⁸ and to the church of Rab on the synod held there in 1111³⁹ allowed Györffy to discern the pattern of Coloman's visits to Dalmatian cities once every three years.⁴⁰ The charter issued by Coloman to the city of Trogir (the only one proven to be entirely authentic)

³⁵ Tadija Smičiklas, ed, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2 [further on CD II] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904), 9.

³⁶ CD II, 10–11.

³⁷ CD II, 24.

³⁸ CD II, 19. The charter has recently been dated to 1105 by Ludwig Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1984), 70, and further.

³⁹ CD II, 22–23.

⁴⁰ This is paralleled by the fact that Béla IV (1235–1270) kept the same rhythm of visits to Dalmatia, so it has been interpreted as the usual protocol by György Györffy, “O kritici dalmatinskih gradskih privilegija 12. stoljeća” (On the critique of Dalmatian town privileges of the twelfth century), *Zbornik Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu* 6 (1969): 100–101. However, some of these charters are considered by certain scholars to be later forgeries, Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem vijeku* (History of Croats in the Middle Ages) (Zagreb: Globus, 1990); and Nada Klaić, “Nekoliko riječi o kartularu samostana Sv. Marije u Zadru” (A few words about the chartulary of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar), *Historijski zbornik* 19–20 (1966–67): 514. Nevertheless, Györffy holds the opinion that even from the non-authentic charters it is possible to rely on certain facts such as the presence of King Coloman at the synod in Rab, Györffy, “O kritici,” 101.



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gives particular proof of Coloman's frequent presence in Dalmatia; it states that when the king comes to the city on state business he will not reside in citizens' houses, that is, he will not use the *ius hospitii*.⁴¹ This sentence opens the question of Coloman's residence in Dalmatia. The *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* mentions the palace that Coloman built for himself in Zadar.⁴² This has been discussed by Croatian scholars only in respect of the location of the palace, in connection with research on the palace of the Angevin kings in Zadar.⁴³

Although it is not possible to establish the exact location of Coloman's palace, the mere fact that Coloman had a palace in Zadar is interesting for the question of the royal chapel. Considering the context of the siege of Zadar and the short periods he spent in the city (the fortress in which Cledinus and the Hungarian army resided certainly took rather a long time to be finished), it seems probable that Coloman would have taken an already existing building and redecorate it to be suitable for a king's residence rather than he starting to build a new palace for himself. Since Coloman's building activities were concentrated on the monastery of St. Mary, it is possible that he redecorated part of the monastery for that purpose. In this sense, one should consider the *hospicium* that was situated in the wing north to the church, next to the bell tower, and

⁴¹ "Cum autem ad vos coronandus aut vobiscum regni negotia tractaturus aduenero, nemini ciuium vis inferetur domorum suarum, nisi quem dilectio vestra susceperit..." *CD II*, 19.

⁴² "Cumque rex esset in Dalmacia in civitate Zadur et cogitaret civitatem succendere pro duritia gentis illius, dormierat in pallacio suo, quod ibi edificaverat..." *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. In *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum*, ed. Alexander Domanovszky and Imre Szentpétery, vol. 1. (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938. Reprint, Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 426.

⁴³ Stjepan Antoljak, "Vladarski dvor (palača) i kraljevske kuće u srednjovjekovnom Zadru (s posebnim osvrtom na doba Arpadovića i Anžuvina)" (The ruler's palace and royal houses in medieval Zadar [with special attention to the age of Arpadian and Angevin dynasties]), *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 17 (1984): 56–57, and Ivo Petricioli, "O položaju kuće kralja Ludovika Anžuvina i crkve Sv. Silvestra u Zadru" (The location of the house of King Louis Angevin and of the church of St. Silvester in Zadar), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 15 (1985): 124. A nineteenth-century book gives the information about Coloman erecting a *castello* in which he located his garrison, Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Fasti di Zara religioso-politico-civili* (Zadar: Tipografia Woditzka, 1888), 20. Unfortunately, the author does not give the source of the information. In addition, the sources provide several mentions of an *arx* in which Coloman's governor Cledinus was supposedly residing, Antoljak, "Vladarski dvor," 69.

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detached from the main wings of the monastery (5 on *Fig. 1*).⁴⁴ If one accepts the interpretation that the external stairs leading to the gallery had an “L” shape, then their orientation in the direction of the north-eastern side of the *hospicium* towards the monastic buildings indicates a semi-internal access from the *hospicium* to the western gallery.

Another possibility is that Coloman took over the palace of the noble family of Madii. The Madii were the most influential family of Zadar in the tenth and eleventh centuries, whose power extended to other parts of Dalmatia as well. However, after more than a century of abundant documents concerning the family, from the beginning of the Hungarian rule in Dalmatia there is no mention of the Madii in the contemporary records. Some scholars connect this to Coloman’s extermination of the former ruling family, which would result in his taking over the Madii palace as a definitive confirmation of the new rule. However, this assumption can be doubted because Coloman did not show that attitude towards the most important family of Zadar. Quite the contrary, he used his connections with the very same family to establish stable rule over the city.⁴⁵

The architectural layout and decorative elements (carvings and fresco), as well as circumstantial evidence such as the existence of a royal palace of Coloman in Zadar, the *laudes regiae* and their reflection in the iconographic programme of the fresco cycle, and charters that imply Coloman’s presence in Dalmatian cities, support the use of the ensemble of the bell tower and the chapter house as the royal chapel. The main points in favor of this interpretation are the architectural features of the ensemble: the general spatial organisation, and the architectural details that reveal the external access to the western gallery for a user who was not a member of the monastic community. The elaborate decoration and, moreover, the inscription and the iconography of the fresco in the gallery reveals the identity of the user-commissioner whose name is, however, already inscribed on the external wall of the gallery.

⁴⁴ A *hospicium* was built by Čika for monks and guests; Viktor Novak, *Zadarski kartular samostana svete Marije* (Cartulary of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar) (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1959), 45–46. Later the building was used as the parlatory; Ksenija Radulić, “Konzervatorski zahvati poslije oslobođenja u kompleksu sv. Marije” (Post-liberation conservation interventions in the complex of St. Mary), *Zadarska revija* 2–3 (1967): 200, fig. 1. Another inscription with Coloman’s name on the wall of the monastic courtyard is mentioned by Ostojić, *Benediktinci*, II, 350, but without the exact position, the text of the inscription, or source of the information.

⁴⁵ See Zrinka Nikolić, “The Madii: An example of the Dalmatian urban elite in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries” (unpublished paper), 6–7.



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Although similar structures were known on Croatian territory from the ninth century onward,⁴⁶ it may be inferred that of the western gallery owes its form to the fact that this was a concept with which Coloman was familiar, and which he brought with him and realised according to the situation.⁴⁷ In addition, the cathedral of Biograd where Coloman was crowned king of Croatia in 1102, was a basilica with an axial bell tower and probably a western gallery.⁴⁸ Further research and comparison of Croatian western galleries to Hungarian and western European examples could shed new light on the problem of the function of the ensemble in St. Mary's and add to the present argument.

The problem of the liturgical use of the complex is still not solved: further research on the early written sources could discover whether the gallery had an altar, or whether the liturgy was performed in the chapter house. However, one should discern the intended or initial function that determined the shape of the ensemble from the real historical situation or the development that assigned it

⁴⁶ The most important example of the western gallery in Dalmatia is the *rotonda* of the Holy Trinity just opposite the complex of St. Mary, an episcopal chapel that acquired its definitive form with the ambulatory gallery in the beginning of the ninth century; see the comprehensive case-study: Pavuša Vežić, *Rotonda Sv. Trojstva u Zadru* (The *rotonda* of the Holy Trinity in Zadar) (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2001). In addition, a group of churches built in the Croatian medieval state mostly in the ninth century, features the element of the western gallery, Miljenko Jurković, "L'église et l'état en Croatie au IXe siècle: Le problème du massif occidental carolingien," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 23–40. The further development of this element in the territory of Croatia has not been a subject of research so far. However, for later examples in the territory of Zadar see Petricioli, "Crkva Sv. Lovre" 53–73; and Ivo Petricioli, "Romaničke jednobrodne crkve sa zvonnicima na pročelju u našim primorskim krajevima" (Romanesque churches with axial bell towers in our littoral regions), *Histria Archaeologica* 20–21 (1989–1990): 179–190.

⁴⁷ The western gallery was widespread in Hungarian Romanesque architecture. See Géza Entz, "Westemporen in der ungarischen Romanik," *Acta Historiae Artium* 6 (1959): 1–19; idem, "Zur Frage des Westemporen in der mittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur Ungarns," in *Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Ernst Schubert, 240–245 (Weimar, 1984); Andrzej Tomaszewski, *Romańskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi: Polski, Czech i Węgier* (Romanesque churches with western emporas: Poland, Czech and Hungary) (Wrocław, Warsaw, Krakow, and Gdansk: Ossolineum, 1974); Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Ambivalent Spaces in Western Complexes of Medieval Hungarian Conventual Churches," in *Czas i przestrzeń w kulturze średniowiecza* (Time and space in the medieval culture), 30–32 (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1994); and idem, "Western Complexes of Hungarian Churches of the Early XI Century," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 149–163, with further literature.

⁴⁸ Miljenko Jurković, "L'église et l'état," 33.



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to a different use. Therefore, one should take into consideration a possible double function for the ensemble: that of the royal chapel and that of the chapter house. From the written sources only the latter function is guaranteed. It is stated in the inscription on Večenega's tomb, which is built in to the southern wall of the chapter house,⁴⁹ but it does not rule out the use of the chapter house for the royal liturgy because as the most important part of the monastery it was not unworthy of it.

Form: the High Romanesque⁵⁰

Certain problems connected to the architectural features and carvings are closely related to the function insofar as their provenance and spread are concerned. Therefore, I will only point out those stylistic problems that can be related to the royal status of the architectural ensemble: how the architecture, being a royal chapel, on the one hand acquired innovative High Romanesque architectural and decorative features, and on the other spread them further, either as imitations or through employing masters of the same provenance.

Stylistic analysis has shown that one of the best workshops of the time was employed, probably the same workshop that some dozen years before worked on the so-called Contarinian phase of St. Mark's in Venice, consecrated in 1094 (Figs. 8 and 9). The church of St. Mark, being the Doge's palatine chapel, was a well-founded choice symbolically as well.⁵¹ However, if we take

⁴⁹ "... fabricam turris simul et capitoli astruxit," in Miho Barada, "Iz kronologije hrvatske povijesti" (From the chronology of Croatian history), *Časopis za hrvatsku povijest* 1 (1943): 129. Surprisingly, the reading "capitolia struxit" (in which the genitive sg. of *capito(u)lum* is replaced with accusative pl. of *capitolium!*) still persists in the literature.

⁵⁰ Only the main conclusions of a chapter on form of my MA thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU have been included here.

⁵¹ The political relations between Coloman and Venice at the time were not stable, since after signing the *Convenientia amicitiae* with the Doge Vitale Michieli (probably in 1101), Coloman broke the agreement and occupied the Dalmatian cities. See Gusztáv Wenzel, ed, *Monumenta Historica Hungariae*, vol. 6, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus (1001–1235)* (Budapest: Eggenberger, 1860), 43. On Coloman's policy towards Venice and Dalmatia see Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte*. However, the fact that Coloman did not meet Venetian resistance during the campaign indicates that there was no military conflict, but only a diplomatic one. In addition, it seems that Dalmatian cities (or at least Zadar) were under direct Byzantine rule immediately before Coloman's conquest, Neven Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* (The First Centuries of Croatia) (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994), 121. According to such a situation, Coloman's occupation of



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into account all the elements of the Zadar ensemble (architecture, carvings, and fresco), a heterogeneous provenance of the forms can be discerned (including Venice, Lombardy, and southern France). This shows that the aim was to bring together all that was required for a dignified royal representation: innovative and sophisticated forms adjusted to the traditional function.

Fig. 8. Cornice with palmette frieze in the chapter house. (photos by the author).

Fig. 9. Cornice on the gallery of the church of St. Mark in Venice. (after Fulvio Zuliani, I marmi di San Marco. Alto medioevo, vol. 2. Venice: Centro Internazionale delle Arti e del Costume – Palazzo Grassi, n.d.).

As with the provenance, the influence of the carved material of St. Mary on both Dalmatian and Hungarian material was determined by the functional importance of the architecture. Three elements that probably made their first appearance in Coloman's buildings in St. Mary's complex were used in later Dalmatian buildings: cross-ribbed vaulting, cubic capitals, and the heart-shaped palmette friezes. In addition, the axial bell tower with the western gallery (re)appears in the same areas. The context of church history demonstrates that the main wave of the further spread of the elements of Coloman's architecture in St. Mary's was connected with the expansion of the jurisdiction of the church of Zadar, especially after being raised to the level of an archbishopric in the year 1154.⁵² In addition, the geographical distribution of the fragments featuring heart-shaped palmettes similar to these from St. Mary's, in Trogir,⁵³ Gora (*Fig.*

Dalmatia should not have been an obstacle to inviting Venetian masters to work in Zadar.

⁵² The best evidence for this is provided by examples from the island of Krk. See Ivan Žic-Rokov, "Romanička crkva Majke Božje od zdravlja u Krku (bivša opatijska crkva Sv. Mihovila)" (Romanesque church of St. Mary in Krk [ex-abbey church of St. Michael]), *Bulletin Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1–3 (1967–1971): 13–40; and Miljenko Jurković, "Uloga Zadra, Clunyja i kneževa Frankopana u promociji romanike na otoku Krku" (The role of Zadar, Cluny, and the counts Frankopan in the promotion of the Romanesque on the island of Krk), in *Umjetnost na istočnoj obali Jadrana u kontekstu europske tradicije*, ed. Nina Kudiš and Marina Vicelja (Rijeka: Pedagoški fakultet Rijeka, 1993), 177–187.

⁵³ Unpublished fragment kept in the lapidarium of the City Museum of Trogir.

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10),⁵⁴ and Knin,⁵⁵ the Croatian royal seat, would, together with the analogies found in Székesfehérvár (Fig. 11),⁵⁶ require further study.



Fig. 11. Fragments of an arch from the basilica in Székesfehérvár (Székesfehérvár, Szt. István Király Múzeum).

⁵⁴ The Romanesque church of St. Mary in Gora was donated to the Templars by an Hungarian king Béla III in the last quarter of the twelfth century, Drago Miletić, “Župna crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori” (The parish church of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora), *Godišnjak zaštitite spomenika Hrvatske* 22–23 (1996–1997): 127–151. Gora was one of the most important archdeaconries of the Zagreb bishopric in the Middle Ages. Its connection with the Árpád dynasty existed already in the time of Ladislaus, as the toponym *meta s. Ladislai regis* suggests, Mladen Ančić, “Vlastelinstvo hrvatskog hercega u gorskoj županiji” (The domain of the Croatian duke in the County of Gora), *Povijesni prilozi* 15 (1996), 210. The similarity of the carvings from St. Mary in Gora to those from St. Mary in Zadar can be used as additional evidence of this connection. The fact that the Templars built a new church in Gora may imply that the Romanesque church was already in a poor condition at the end of the twelfth century, which would date its building at least to the early twelfth century.

⁵⁵ Vedrana Delonga, *Latinski epigrafski spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj* (Latin epigraphic monuments in early medieval Croatia) (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1996), 86.

⁵⁶ The earliest documented friezes of heart-shaped palmettes in Hungary belong to the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár and are dated to the first half of the twelfth century; Árpád Mikó, and Imre Takács, eds, *Pannonia regia: Kunst und Architektur in Pannonien, 1000–1541*: Exhibition catalogue (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), 101, fig. I-44. They are fragments of the arcade above the apsidal seats, that was encompassed within a bigger arch decorated with dentil ornament. These fragments are related to pillar capitals of the same provenance, which feature the dentil motif on the upper border, *Pannonia regia*, 102–103, fig. I-45; and Dezső Dercsényi, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* (The royal basilica in Székesfehérvár) (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1943), 132, fig. 38.



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Fig. 10. Fragment of the arched lintel from the church of St. Mary in Gora near Petrinja.

Since the similarity of the execution of the carvings of Székesfehérvár and St. Mary's in Zadar is striking, the historical context that would explain the similarity should be established. After St. Stephen's canonisation in 1083, Coloman was the first in a row of six twelfth-century Hungarian kings to be buried in the basilica, and in 1116 Coloman's son Stephen was crowned there. Just two years before his crowning in Székesfehérvár Stephen was crowned king of Dalmatia in Zadar, where he probably attended mass in the royal chapel, or at least saw the newly erected ensemble decorated by one of the best workshops of the time. These historical facts, as well as the stylistic comparison, suggest dating of the Székesfehérvár fragments to the years of Coloman's or Stephen's reign. Although it seems as if Székesfehérvár decoration was executed by masters of the same provenance as the masters of St. Mary or the Venetian St. Mark's, tracing the actual way in which it spread (direct from Venice or through Zadar) is far beyond this research. Merely as a direction for further research, the already mentioned fragment of an arch with palmette frieze and dentils from Gora near Petrinja, the only one in continental Croatia and from the probable royal estates of the Árpád dynasty, should be mentioned here. Still, though establishing a kind of geographical connection between Zadar and Székesfehérvár, and showing the same features, the fragment from Gora is not as close to either of the two as they are to each other.

The mentioned examples bear witness not only to the high quality of the artistic rendering, but also to the importance that Coloman's buildings, notably the western gallery, had for contemporaries and which was sustained throughout the century. An excellent example of the political background of this architectural influence is the case of the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica near Split. This church featuring cubic capitals and octagonal columns was built by the nuns of the monastery of St. Benedict in Split, and consecrated, having acquired a relic of St. Stephen the King for its *mensa*, in 1160 by Absalon, the bishop of Split.⁵⁷ It should be noted that at that time Split was again temporarily under the Hungarian rule, Absalon himself being a Hungarian.

⁵⁷ Joško Belamarić, "Capsella reliquiarum (1160.) iz Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici" (*Capsella reliquiarum* from 1160 from the church of Ss. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica), *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 31 (1991): 41–60.



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Tradition: Rulers of Dalmatia and the Convent of st. Mary

Having discussed the questions of function and form, Coloman's motives for choosing the convent of St. Mary to be his main ally and the place to build his royal chapel can be addressed. The convent of St. Mary retained strong ties with Croatian kings, so it is probable that Coloman continued this tradition in order to take over Zadar in a peaceful way and establish good relations with its citizens.⁵⁸ That Coloman took over the title *king of Croatia and Dalmatia*,⁵⁹ used exclusively by Croatian kings and not by Byzantine sovereigns in Dalmatia,⁶⁰ and that he was crowned in Biograd as Croatian kings were, shows that Coloman intended to strengthen his position as the ruler of Dalmatia by the continuation of the pre-existing patterns of rulership.⁶¹ He also established connections with churches of Dalmatian cities, issuing privileges to them (before and after the conquest in 1105), and negotiating with cities through their prelates, notably John the bishop of Trogir.⁶²

However, the most convincing parallel between Croatian and Hungarian rulers can be drawn regarding the status of the convent of St. Mary. The

⁵⁸ This intention is indicated in the description of Coloman's campaign in Dalmatia in *Vita S. Joannis episcopi Traguriensis*: "...et eos, quos armis non poterat, beneficiis aggreditur expugnare;" Kažimir Lučin, ed. and tr., *Život sv. Ivana Trogirskog po izdanju Daniela Farlatija* (The life of St. John of Trogir according to the edition by Daniele Farlati) (Trogir and Split: Matica Hrvatska Trogir and Književni krug, 1998), 54, and elsewhere.

⁵⁹ His actual title as written down in the inscription on the bell tower is "Vngariae Dalmatiae Chroatiae ...rex;" and in the charters of privileges to St. Mary's and the city of Trogir it appears as "rex Ungarie, Croatie atque Dalmatie," *CD* II, 9 and 19. The titles of Croatian kings as written in charters connected with St. Mary's were "rex Chroatie et Dalmatie" (Petar Krešimir), *CD* I, 102 and 104; "rex Chroatie Dalmatieque" (Dmitar Zvonimir), Josip Stipišić, and Miljen Šamšalović, ed, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1 [further on *CD* I], 187. See also Ivo Goldstein, "O latinskim i hrvatskim naslovima hrvatskih vladara do početka 12. stoljeća" (On the Latin and Croatian titles of the Croatian rulers until the beginning of the twelfth century), *Historijski zbornik* 36/1 (1983): 141–164.

⁶⁰ Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* (Croatian Middle Ages: Space, People, Ideas) (Zagreb: Školska knjiga and Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1997), 62.

⁶¹ However, Coloman was the first to establish real political rule in Dalmatia in terms of organised administration, military power, and taxation; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 46.

⁶² Apart from for John, Coloman was negotiating with archbishop Crescentius of Split as well; Toma Arhiđakon, *Kronika* (Chronicle) (Split: Književni krug, 1977), 56.



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relationship between Petar Krešimir IV and Čika, the abbess of the convent in the second half of the eleventh century, shows close similarity to that between Coloman and Večenega, a similarity that can not be a mere coincidence. The most important source for the former relation is the charter issued by Petar Krešimir IV in 1066, the year in which the monastery was founded, giving the monastery of St. Mary royal privileges,⁶³ and addressing Čika as his sister.⁶⁴ The motives for expressing such affection can be found in the fact that the convent was founded and governed by members of the Madii, the most powerful family in Zadar in the eleventh century, being therefore the king's best possible ally.⁶⁵ In the figure of Čika's daughter Večenega, the next abbess of St. Mary's, the bond with the family of Madii was continued by Coloman as well, although having an ambivalent character. There was an imminent threat of more than a century of continuous domination by the Madii in Zadar, but at the same time they were the best allies for Coloman's strategy of peaceful takeover of power through a connection with the church organisation.⁶⁶ Coloman used the same pattern as Petar Krešimir: an extremely close relation with the figure of the abbess, in both cases a powerful and influential person.⁶⁷

⁶³ *CD I*, 102. This privilege was confirmed by Dmitar Zvonimir in 1087; *CD I*, 186–187. *CD I*, 102. Although there have been some doubts about the authenticity of the charters of Petar Krešimir and Zvonimir on the basis of Klaić's disputing the rule of Croatian kings in Dalmatia in general; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 106–107, and 122–123, the recent scholarship accepts both charters; Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 62.

⁶⁴ "...do regiam libertatem monasterio sancte Marie Iaderensis, quod soror mea Cicca fabricavit," *CD I*, 102. The genealogy of the Madii proved that this expression was used only as a metaphor which actually meant "a sister in a spiritual way," see Nikolić, *The Madii*, 15.

⁶⁵ In addition, the monastery was closely related to Bishop John of Trogir: as one of the main figures of church reform in Dalmatia, John was one of the prelates who signed Petar Krešimir's charter of privileges to St. Mary, one of the first reformed Benedictine nunneries on the eastern Adriatic coast. His name can also be found on the charter from 1095 by which the church council held in Zadar confirmed the privileges given to the monastery by the city authorities four years earlier, *CD I*, 203–204. For the charter from 1091 see *CD I*, 199.

⁶⁶ Relying on the church was a continuation of his predecessors' practice in general: the reformed papacy and its bishops in Dalmatia held the respect of Croatian kings, which culminated in Zvonimir's coronation by pope Gregory VII in 1075.

⁶⁷ It is indicative of both of these relations that historiography accepted the constructed familial relation as a historical fact: in the first case fraternal relation based on a contemporary record, and in the second case a marital one developed by later writers (in later sources Večenega is often called "the Hungarian queen").



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Moreover, Coloman continued with such a strategy of strengthening his rule, as is shown by the charter from 1109 confirming the estates given to the nunnery at Veszprémvölgy by King Stephen.⁶⁸ Moreover, the supposed founder of the monastery was Stephen's mother, Sarolta, so by relating to the monastery, Coloman relied on the tradition of the Saint King, and hence gained important political prestige.⁶⁹

In establishing the historical context of the analogies between Petar Krešimir and Coloman, the role of John, the bishop of Trogir, as the connecting figure is compelling. John's episcopate lasted for almost fifty years and therefore he was contemporary to both kings. Moreover, he often collaborated with them in activities connected to the church reform.⁷⁰ Since Coloman established the connection with the convent as early as 1102 by confirming the privileges given to the convent by the Croatian kings Petar Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir,⁷¹ John's role as the negotiator in 1105 was not an *ad hoc* solution. Moreover, it seems that John was involved in Coloman's negotiations with Trogir as well.⁷² Further research on the course of Coloman's military campaign in Dalmatia could shed light on the roles the convent of St. Mary and the bishop of Trogir played in it.

The similarities of the politics of the two kings toward the monastery show that Coloman's intentions were to acquire as much power and support as possible by imitating the successful moves of one of his most powerful predecessors on the Croatian throne.⁷³ This was a strategy to win over the most

⁶⁸ *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, vol. 1, 1000–1131, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 366–367.

⁶⁹ For Coloman's strategy of relating to both the rule and the cult of St. Stephen, see Márta Font, *Koloman the Learned, King of Hungary* (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2001), 25–35, with further literature.

⁷⁰ For the role of John in the church reform in Dalmatia, see Milan Ivanišević, "Sveti Ivan trogirski biskup" (St. John bishop of Trogir), *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 5 (1980): 41–54.

⁷¹ *CD* II, 9–10.

⁷² The *Vita* reports that John was *more solito fatigatus, ut ... sedaret tumultus*; Lučin, *Život Sv. Ivana*, 48, although the same source indicates the direction of Coloman's campaign as from Zadar to Split. The course of Coloman's campaign in Dalmatia is still an open question, though recent literature inclines to the direction from Split through Trogir towards Zadar. For the survey of the problem, see Budak, *Prva stoljeća*, 126. See also Stipe Gunjača, "Uz vojnu kralja Kolomana na Donju Dalmaciju" (On the military campaign of King Coloman in Lower Dalmatia), *Diadora* 9 (1980): 537–548.

⁷³ This *imitatio* has been noticed already ("Colomanus Privilegium, imitatione Cresimiri, Monasterio S. Mariae Iadrensis concedendo...") by Ivan Lučić, *De regno Dalmatiae et*



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important Dalmatian town not only as a territory, but also in terms of agreements with influential noble families.⁷⁴ The bond with the monastery adds to the general picture of the strategy of establishing contacts with churches in order to secure the secular rule. For the convent, royal patronage was a favorable condition while it was still gathering properties and needed confirmation for them in order to preserve its status. What the monastery could offer in return was, apart from their royal connections, the highly esteemed name of the Madii. As a nunnery, however, questions of political power were not so much of a burden for the relationship. Therefore, the mutual interests of the king and the monastery retained the tradition of the royal patronage of St. Mary.

Function, Forms, and Traditions

This discussion has mostly concentrated on the question of the function of the architectural ensemble in St. Mary's as a royal chapel, while the questions of the form and the traditions of rulership were only discussed insofar as they contribute to the further understanding of the meaning of this architectural complex in its historical context. In other words, the use of certain forms reflects function in its "quality" and "quantity": the overall spatial organisation reflects the actual way in which the space was used, while the provenance and later influence of the forms reflect the importance of the building in its context. This context also includes the tradition into which the execution of the architectural idea was consciously fitted.

Even in the direction of the spread of artistic innovations Coloman followed the tradition: he continued to use the well-established route from the Veneto (Venice, Aquileia) to Dalmatia (Zadar, Rab), which existed as early as the eleventh century.⁷⁵ This also provides an argument for Zadar's importance

Croatiae, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, Dalmaticarum, Croaticarum et Sclavonicarum veteres et genuini*, ed. Johann Georg Schwandtner, vol. 3, 181. Vienna: Kraus, 1748. This idea was developed in recent scholarship by Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovekovlje*, 61–62.

⁷⁴ Coloman probably used a similar strategy when conquering southern Croatia, as shown in the much disputed text of the privileges given to Croatian noble families in 1102, the so-called *Pacta* (or *Qualiter*), CD II, 8. For the most recent interpretation of the *Pacta* see Mladen Ančić, "Desetljeće od godine 1091. do 1102. u zrcalu vrela" (The decade between 1091 and 1102 according to the sources), *Povijesni prilozi* 17 (1998): 233–259.

⁷⁵ The spread of Early Romanesque *acanthus spinosa* capitals in Istria and Dalmatia in the eleventh century is the best proof for this. However, the continuation of the same route of this artistic innovation can be traced to Hungary as capitals such as those from Feldebrő, Mohács, and Esztergom show; see Miklós Takács, "Ornamentale



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for Coloman; it was not only a traditional political center and a port with trading potential, but also a mediator of the cultural influences spreading from Italian cities. Although Coloman gladly accepted the artistic innovations and conformed to the new style born in the Adriatic basin, he followed the traditional forms of political representation and of its architectural setting. Therefore, the architectural form of the axial bell tower typical for Hungary (for Croatia as well, but not so widespread in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries) was combined with Italian and French articulation and decoration. The actual form of the axial bell tower with the western gallery implies a chapel for private use while the architectural and decorative features, as well as the iconographic aspect of the fresco cycle, indicate the use of the space as a royal chapel.⁷⁶

However, the initial (or intentional) function should not be confused with the function the ensemble acquired afterwards. In that sense, the absence of a mention of its function as a royal chapel in the sources (always mentioned as *turris* and *capitulum*) indicates that the space did not retain its intended function. This can be explained by the fact that by 1116 Zadar had come under Venetian rule.⁷⁷

Beziehungen zwischen der Steinmetzkunst von Ungarn und Dalmatien im XI. Jahrhundert,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 165–178.

⁷⁶ However, the discussion on the liturgy that was performed in the chapel remains open, since there is not enough physical evidence to incline us towards any of the interpretations of the problem of the western gallery.

⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the memory of the fact that Coloman built a royal chapel in Zadar was maintained, though in less obvious ways. One later tradition connected to the royal chapel confirms that the connotation of the convent of St. Mary’s as a symbol of political power existed in the later Middle Ages. As Paulus de Paulo, a nobleman from Zadar, wrote in his *Memoriale* in 1396, the statutes were kept “in the vaulted room in the bell tower of St. Mary’s;” “...reposita fuerunt privilegia nostra et certa alia iura, in capsula trium clavium quae erant in volta sub campanilo monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra...,” Ferdo Šišić, “Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića, patricija zadarskog” (The annals of Pavao Pavlović the patrician of Zadar), *Vjestnik Kraljevskeg hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 6 (1904): 22. The same source provides another later tradition connected to Coloman: the oaths on the state level were made above the reliquary of the hand of St. Chrysogonus; Šišić, “Ljetopis,” 8, 15. The reliquary bore the inscription *Rex Colomane Rector Amandeviae hoc benefecisti, retribuisti tibi quod voluisti*, as noted by Lorenzo Fondra, *Istoria della Insigne Reliquia di San Simeone profeta che si venera in Zara* (Zadar: Tipi dei Fratelli Battara, 1855), 32–33. In addition, the memory of King Coloman was kept through prayers in the monastery until 1723, when the archbishop of Zadar, Vincenzo Zmajevich, reduced the number of masses, *Memorie*, f. 6v; Novak, *Zadarski kartular*, 85; Neven Budak, “Liturgical memory in Croatia and Dalmatia around the year 1000,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 6 (2000): 138.



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For building his royal chapel, Coloman employed one of the finest workshops at the time, the workshop connected with the latest rebuilding of St. Mark's in Venice, completed in 1094. Not only the high aesthetic quality of the carvings, but also the connotations of the place of their origin appear to have been the reasons, firstly, for employing this workshop in Zadar, and then for the further spread of the forms. This spread can be traced not only in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishopric of Zadar, but also (back with Coloman?) to Gora and Székesfehérvár. However, the development of the spread, and especially the provenance of the Hungarian analogies, should be subjects for further research.

The carved material shows, and the written sources confirm, that Coloman did not only build a royal chapel, but also restored several churches and gave them gifts.⁷⁸ That was part of Coloman's strategy in order to win over the Dalmatian cities in a peaceful way, by stressing a continuity of cultural tradition and attempting to integrate himself into it. In this context, the choice of Zadar for his major stronghold is not surprising: Coloman chose a city with the useful combination of a long urban, ecclesiastical, and political tradition of being the capital of Dalmatia since the second half of the ninth century. The choice of the convent of St. Mary for his main ally in Zadar was, however, worth a more thorough examination. It has shown that the key word for understanding Coloman's decisions was once more "tradition:" the tradition of a close relationship between the monastery and Croatian kings or, more precisely, with king Petar Krešimir IV. However, Coloman went a step further than previous rulers by erecting a royal chapel in the precinct of the monastery.

Thus, if one interprets the architectural complex built by Coloman in the monastery of St. Mary as a compromise featuring the combination of a lateral bell tower typical of the Italian and Dalmatian Romanesque and an axial bell tower common for contemporary Hungarian churches, it also symbolically reflects the proportion of the local elements (which in a way includes Italian ones) and the elements of Coloman's royal presence in Zadar that he brought with him from Hungary. In that sense, Coloman's royal chapel was a product of a successful conjunction of bilateral interest: Coloman gained a powerful ally in a city that was for centuries the capital of Dalmatia and an important port on the Adriatic shore, while the monastery of St. Mary took on the prestigious role of a royal foundation.

⁷⁸ Probable rebuilding of the churches of St. Mary Maior and St. Thomas in Zadar, as well as the documented crosses and reliquaries given to the churches of Zadar, Rab, and Split; the city privilege issued to Trogir, and the gifts to its church that are mentioned in *Vita S. Ioannis episcopi Traguriensis*.



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FOREIGN ITEMS AND OUTSIDE INFLUENCES IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF TENTH-CENTURY BOHEMIA

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The tenth century represents a special epoch in the history of Bohemia. It is the first period when written documents of domestic provenance shed some light on the otherwise almost unknown history of the people inhabiting this territory. The time-frame of my investigation is also the most decisive period in the formation of the Bohemian state. This process first affected the political framework, but it also exerted a strong influence on the structure of society and, in a more indirect way, on the material culture of the local population. The written information is in itself insufficient to illuminate this period fully. However, other sources, foremost among them the material evidence of archaeological finds, make it possible to gain more knowledge.¹

The analysis of objects of foreign origin provides a great deal of information—not only about trade relations, but also about social development and the influence of different cultures in a territory. Research on the development of early economies has proved beneficial and provided a new field of interest to historians. Especially in Western Europe, where more written sources are available, the confrontation of historical documents and archaeological finds has brought remarkable results.²

The aim of this article is to investigate the situation in a part of Central Europe, namely Bohemia, in a similar way. Tracking the spheres of interaction in material culture is just as attractive a challenge here as in other parts of the Continent. Besides identifying the commodities that reached this region as commercial imports (either as raw materials or finished artifacts), we may consider objects as evidence of migration—people either transferring the objects themselves or the technological knowledge necessary for their production—or of direct or indirect cultural influences. In the latter case, connections may not necessarily point to one particular territory, but to a wider cultural sphere or socio-economic system. Mapping the various directions of interactions through the material culture can help us understand more about the

¹ An interesting study on this theme has recently been published: Petr Charvát, “Bohemia, Moravia and Long Distance Trade in the 10th–11th Centuries” *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 5 (2000): 255–66. Hopefully, my article can complement it in some way.

² Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade AD 600–1000*, (London: Duckworth, 1982).



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processes behind the events of the tenth century (*Fig. 1*). However, apart from the lack of written sources, there are some other notable limitations reducing the reliability of such an attempt. In Bohemia particularly there is a problem in the unequal evidence of different regions and various kinds of sites. Some territories remain to a certain extent neglected.³

This article is based on the material evidence of archaeological excavations. The earlier development of this territory and historical events are not recapitulated with the exception of those data that are essential for the final evaluation. It seems necessary, however, to mention the fact that the international relations of tenth-century Bohemia were based on earlier traditions. Long-distance contacts were maintained from as early as the time of the Avars, a nomadic people to whose rule some Slavs were subjected in some territories from the middle of the sixth until the end of the eighth century.⁴ After the decline of Avar power at the turn of the ninth century, the Slavs became dominant and shortly after, *Magna Moravia* was founded. This state strongly influenced later Bohemia in both the political and ecclesiastical fields. Long-distance trade relations and economic activities, especially the trade in slaves were probably significant for the early feudal Moravian state.⁵

³ See e.g. Miroslav Štěpánek, *Opevněná sídliště 8.–12. století ve střední Evropě* (Fortified sites of the eight to twelfth centuries in Central Europe) (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965), 21–3; similarly Josef Bubeník, Ivana Pleinerová and Naďa Profantová, “Od počátků hradišť k počátkům Přemyslovského státu” (From the beginnings of fortified sites to the beginning of the Přemyslide state) *Památky Archeologické* 89, 1 (1998): 105. Another problem worth mentioning is the possible change in dating of certain artifacts. Some archaeologists feel the necessity to revise the earlier dating of several groups of Great Moravian finds, and some successful attempts in this direction have already been made: Michal Lutovský, “Kolínský knížecí hrob: Ad fontes” (The princely grave of Kolín: Ad fontes) *Sborník Národního muzea* 48, 3–4 (1994): 62; Luděk Galuška, “To the Possibility of Moving the Dating of the Material Culture on the Basis of the Study of the Graves from Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště – Sady” In *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau von 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, edited by Josef Zábajník and Darina Bialeková, (Bratislava: SAV, 1996), 267–79. The chronology of the Bohemian material is generally based on the Moravian one: therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded that some other datings, relevant for the appearance of imported items in Bohemia, will similarly be revised in the future.

⁴ The centre of the Avar realm was the Carpathian Basin; nevertheless, objects of Avar provenance may be found as far away as Bohemia in quite high numbers: Naďa Profantová, “Awarische Funde aus dem Gebieten nördlich der awarischen Siedlungsgrenzen” *Awarenforschungen* 2 (1992): 605–801.

⁵ For the most recent state of research see Dušan Třeštík, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871* (The emergence of Great Moravia.

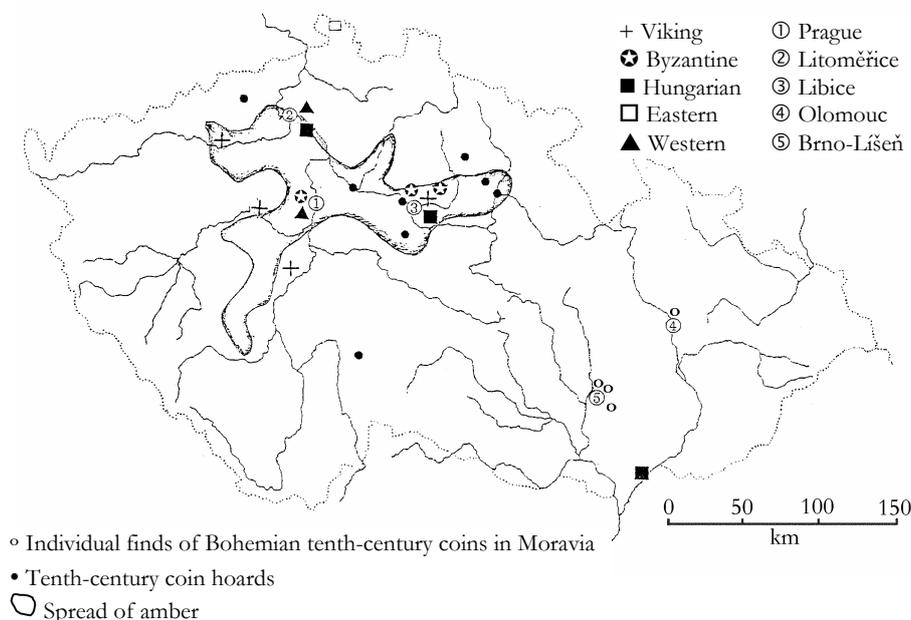


Fig. 1. Imports in tenth-century Bohemia.

At the beginning of the tenth century, when *Magna Moravia* declined, the centre of power was transferred to Bohemia. The family of the Přemyslids, ruling over a relatively small region of the Prague Basin, started the process of enlarging their domain and concentrating the entire executive power in the hands of a single person, the Bohemian prince. Finally, the Přemyslids' effort was crowned with success and in the second half of the tenth century they ruled over a large territory, reaching to Cracow in Poland and even further to the east. This expansion was probably motivated partly by the will to control long-distance trade routes towards the east.⁶

Moravians, Bohemians, and Central Europe in 791–871)(Prague: Lidové noviny, 2001). On the trade in slaves, see Oldřich Tůma, "Great Moravian Trade Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean and the Mediating Role of Venice" *Byzantinoslavica* 46 (1985): 67–77.

⁶ A general overview of the pristine Czech state can be gained from Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců* (The beginnings of the Přemyslides) (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997) or from a recent English publication: Lisa Wolverton, *Hastening Towards Prague. Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). On the eastern Přemyslid expansion see also Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034–1198)* (Bohemia in the age of princes: 1034–1198) (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997): 35–42.



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Another important change in the power structure of the region at this time was the conquest of the Carpathian Basin by the Hungarians. Their presence upset the old relations between the Bohemians and their partners to the south-east and forced new means of contact upon them. In addition to this, Hungarian incursions towards the west exerted a more direct influence on Bohemia.

Objects of Foreign Origin

Exotic Materials

Certain groups of imported objects can be distinguished on the basis of their exotic material. Some of these materials are easily distinguishable, others can only be identified through careful scientific analysis. Amber is one of the materials of obvious foreign origin. According to a recent study, it appears in Bohemia in a surprising quantities compared with neighboring regions.⁷ This material was already present in graves from the first half of the tenth century, and bear witness to trade contacts with the north (the territory of present-day Poland). It is not surprising that the density of its geographical distribution is highest in the wider region around Prague, the original territory of the Přemyslid dynasty. Amber also appears quite often in other parts of Bohemia, particularly in local centers that were probably involved in its trade.⁸

Amber usually occurs in the form of beads. Similar beads were also made of other exotic materials such as semiprecious stones, particularly jasper or amethyst. The origin of some of these stones can allegedly be traced to the east: they might have come from India, the Caucasus, or Central Asia; the Kievan Rus' may have been a mediator in this trade. In Europe, the distribution of these beads seems to be identical with that of Arab dirhams, thus it is possible that the beads as commodity commodities were traded by oriental merchants.⁹

⁷ Kateřina Tomková, "Bernstein im Frühmittelalterlichen Böhmen" *Památky Archeologické* 89, 1 (1998): 64–103.

⁸ The high density in the region of Hradec Králové (Eastern Bohemia), close to the Polish border, probably indicates the route through which amber entered the country. It is remarkable that the occurrence of amber is also rather high in an agriculturally unsuitable region south-west of Prague. There are two possible interpretations: one is that this region was situated on a trade route leading further south; the other is that the region played an important role in the state economy (possibly as an iron mining area). Therefore, the population inhabiting this area may have been able to purchase fashionable goods: Tomková, "Bernstein," 68.

⁹ Zdeňka Krumphanzlová, "Chronologie pohřebního inventáře 9.–11. století v Čechách" (The chronology of grave goods of the ninth to eleventh centuries in Bohemia), *Památky*



Foreign Items and Outside Influences in Tenth-Century Bohemia

Glass beads too are sometimes also considered to have been a trade commodity;¹⁰ however, local production cannot be excluded. Although there is no evidence for it in the Czech lands, some contemporaneous glassmakers' workshops have been excavated in Poland.¹¹

Cowrie shells, another imported material of necklaces, occur sporadically in Bohemian graves. These shells probably came from the Indian Ocean, and were traded to Russia and Scandinavia following Arab dirhams, but have also been found in quite high numbers in the Carpathian Basin. There are only few Bohemian sites where cowrie shells have been discovered and these are considered as evidence of the interaction with Pannonia rather than with the north.¹²

Recent scientific analyses have shown that some utensils found in the Czech lands were also traded over very long distances. Although the trade in non-luxury commodities was common in north-western Europe,¹³ the presence in the Czech lands of spindle whorls made of so-called ovrutchian slate is surprising. This material was mined in a region about 160 kilometers west of Kiev, where the production of these spindle whorls also took place. The bulk of the finds known from Bohemia are dated slightly later than the period covered in this analysis, but some of them may perhaps be dated to the end of the tenth century.¹⁴

Scientific analyses have also determined the origin of silk textiles from graves in Prague castle, where members of the ruling kindred and the bishops of Prague were buried. Some of these fabrics, dating from the tenth or eleventh century, were produced in Byzantium.¹⁵

Archeologické 65, 1 (1974) 34–110, here: 67. However, the issue of beads made of semi-precious stones will certainly need a more detailed investigation in the future.

¹⁰ Charvát, "Bohemia, Moravia," 264.

¹¹ Jiří Sláma, "K česko-polským vztahům 10. a 11. století" (On the Czech-Polish relations in the tenth and eleventh centuries) *Vznik a Počátky Slovanů* 4 (1963): 254.

¹² Jiří Sláma, "K vprašanju kavri polžev v slovanskih najdbach" (On the question of cowrie shells in Slavonic finds) *Arheološki Vestnik* 9–10, 1 (1959): 31. For a recent overview of the cowrie shell issue see László Kovács, "Volt-e a honfoglaló magyaroknak kauricsiga-pénzüik?" (Did conquering Hungarians have cowrie shells as money?), *Századok* 133 (1999): 63–84.

¹³ Hodges, *Dark Age Economics*, 123.

¹⁴ Jiří Sláma, "Rané středověké Čechy a Rurikovská Rus" (Early medieval Bohemia and the Kievan Rus)" *Archeologické Rozhledy* 42 (1990): 393.

¹⁵ Nina Bažantová, "Romanesque and Early Gothic Silk Textiles from Czech Sources." In *Ibrahim ibn Yacqub at-Turtushi: Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe*,

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Jewelry and Utensils

The group of jewelry items of foreign origin is not very large if we do not count the domestic pieces influenced by foreign fashions. In addition to different kinds of imported beads, a bracelet from Nový Knín (Central Bohemia) (Fig. 2)



Fig. 2. Nový Knín
(Central Bohemia). Bracelet.

that came to light as a stray find, has been identified as being of Scandinavian provenance and dated to the tenth or eleventh century. In the proximity there are two princely residences, where we may suppose the presence or influence of Viking mercenaries or merchants.¹⁶ Two silver rings from Šluknov (Northern Bohemia) were originally part of a coin hoard. Although the exact circumstances of this find are unknown, this hoard may belong to the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the rings are considered to be of eastern (Galician?) origin.¹⁷

Intensive interactions in the field of jewelry have been identified for the Carpathian basin.¹⁸ Some non-luxury jewelry found in cemeteries, in both Moravia and Bohemia, are analogous to the material culture of the Pechenegs of Southern Russia, the ancient Hungarians, and also to the so-called Bjelo Brdo culture.¹⁹ Considering the simple shape of these objects, it is possible that they

c. 800–1300 A.D.: *Proceedings of the International Colloquy, 25–29 April 1994*, edited by Petr Charvát and Jiří Prosecký, (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1996), 93–102.

¹⁶ Lubomír Košnar, “Ke vztahům mezi vikingským a západoslovanským prostředím” (On relations between the Viking and western-Slavic environments) *Praehistorica* 18 (1991): 69.

¹⁷ Rudolf Turek, “Zur Herkunft der böhmisch-mährischen Hacksilverfunde” *Vznik a počátky Slovanů* 6 (1966): 242.

¹⁸ Zdeněk Měřinský, “Morava v 10. století ve světle archeologických nálezů” (Moravia in the tenth century in the light of archaeological finds) *Památky Archeologické* 77, 1 (1986): 64–5; Nad'a Profantová and Michal Lutovský, “Staromaďarské nálezy z Čech” (Ancient Hungarian finds from Bohemia) *Sborník Společnosti Přátel Starožitností* 3 (1992): 13.

¹⁹ Jochen Giesler identified this culture, ascribed it to a mixed, Slavic-Hungarian population, and dated it from the second half of the tenth to the beginning of the twelfth centuries: Jochen Giesler, “Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bijelo-Brdo Kultur: Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken” *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 56 (1981): 3–157.



came into the Czech lands not as traded items, but as personal possessions and may, therefore, bear witness to migration.²⁰

Utensils may be traded for long distances; however, with the exception of the above mentioned spindle whorls, the possibility of recognizing them among other objects is limited. Thus, it is better to speak about cultural influences that might have been mediated in many different ways. For example, the cog-wheel decoration on pieces of pottery from Moravia has been interpreted as a fashionable element coming from the Carpathian Basin rather than pointing to imported items.²¹

One possible piece of direct evidence of trade contacts comes from the fortified site of Budeč (Central Bohemia). A lead bar found in a settlement layer has been interpreted as a commercial seal.²² Similar pieces are known from the fortified site Drogyczin on the Bug river, dating from the period of the tenth to thirteenth centuries. These seals are supposed to have been used by administrative officials in order to identify the goods for which taxes had already been paid.²³

Weapons and Warriors' Equipment

Imports connected directly or indirectly with warriors' equipment form another source of theories, since they can be related to information contained in written sources, especially on military campaigns. Until now, traces of three cultural spheres have been recognized in the Czech archaeological material.

²⁰ The most serious argument supporting such a theory is a bracelet, typical for the Bjelo Brdo culture, which was found in Úherce (Northern Bohemia). See Jiří Sláma, "K některým ekonomickým a politickým projevům ranů středověkého přemyslovského státu" (On some economic and political displays of the early Přemyslid medieval state) *Archeologické Rozhledy* 37 (1985): 334–42.

²¹ Měřinský, "Morava v 10. století," 31. The same can be said about another special kind of pottery that is considered to be typical for Poland, but which has also been found in many Bohemian and Moravian sites: Sláma, "K česko-polským vztahům," 227–8.

²² Zdeněk Váňa, *Přemyslovská Budeč: archeologický výzkum hradiště v letech 1972–1986* (Přemyslid Budeč: Excavations of a fortified site in the years 1972–1986) (Prague: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1995), 66.

²³ Tadeusz Lewicki, "Znaczenie handlowe Drohiczyzna nad Bugiem we wczesnym sredniowieczu i zagadkowe plomby ołowiane znalezione w tej miejscowosci" (Trade importance of Drohiczyn on the Bug river in the early Middle Ages and the mysterious leaden seals found in this site) *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 4, 1 (1956): 293–4.

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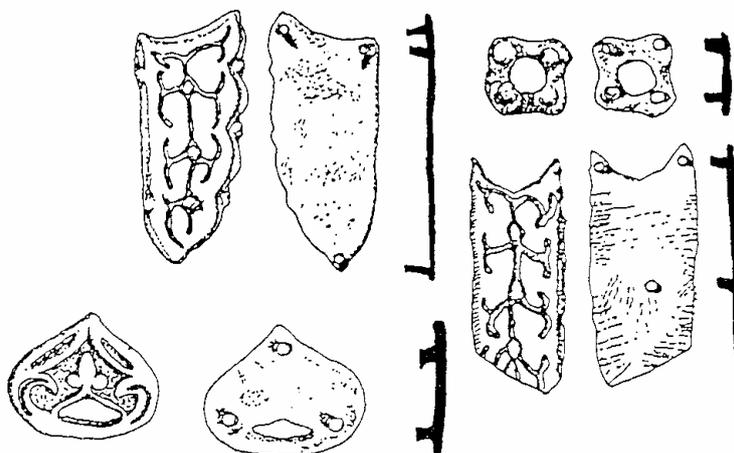


Fig. 3. Litoměřice region (Northern Bohemia). Collection of objects of Hungarian origin.

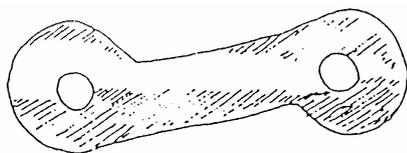


Fig. 4. Libice nad Cidlinou (Eastern Bohemia). Bone hole guard.

Some objects are of Hungarian origin. Among them, a collection of artifacts allegedly coming from the Litoměřice region (Northern Bohemia) must be mentioned, although the circumstances of this find are unknown. This rather unified set of harness fittings (Fig. 3) contains some features unique even for the Carpathian Basin and may have come either from a hoard or from a small cemetery.²⁴ Some

objects of Hungarian origin were also discovered in the Eastern Bohemian fortified site of Libice, where two bone bow plaques were found in a settlement layer, and a bone hole guard (part of a Hungarian saddle) comes from a child's grave in the same locality.²⁵ (Fig. 4)

The cross-bar of a sword of Hungarian type was found in the Southern Moravian fortified site of Mikulčice. It is considered, together with three Italian coins from the same locality, to bear witness to relations of some kind between the Hungarians and the Moravian Slavs and perhaps also of Slavic participation

²⁴ Profantová and Lutovský, "Staromaďarské nálezy," 3–7.

²⁵ The object itself has been dated to the turn of the tenth century, while the other material in the grave points to the second half of the tenth century: Profantová and Lutovský, "Staromaďarské nálezy," 13.



in Hungarian raids against Italy.²⁶ In other fortified sites other objects have been excavated; in the case of Budeč, a piece of horse's gear, and in Kouřim, a hammer ax. However, in both these cases the scholarly conclusion is that these objects are of nomadic origin in general and that their Hungarian provenance may be assumed, but not taken for granted.²⁷

The same is true for finds of iron arrowheads. The so-called deltoid arrowheads, a weapon typical of the Hungarians, are known from both Bohemia and Moravia, but scholars still hesitate to ascribe them directly to the Hungarians and rather speak in terms of a more general nomadic origin.²⁸ Arrowheads found in strongholds guarding the passes between Bohemia and Moravia can perhaps be interpreted as evidence of Hungarians on their way to Saxony where numerous Hungarian raids are recorded. A similar arrowhead from a grave in the Great Moravian fortified site of Pohansko is assumed to bear witness to a Hungarian attack, during which the buried person was killed.²⁹

Some pieces of warriors' equipment have been attributed to the Vikings: a decorated stirrup from Zbečno (Central Bohemia) (*Fig. 5*) and a belt fitting found in Libice (Eastern Bohemia) (*Fig. 6*) are both supposedly of Scandinavian origin, dating from the tenth or possibly from the beginning of the eleventh century. According to some scholars, they may perhaps have belonged to Viking mercenaries in the service of Bohemian rulers.³⁰ Recent research on a famous artifact, the so-called helmet of St. Wenceslas, has showed that the image engraved on it does not represent a crucified person, as was traditionally believed, but rather the Germanic god Odin. The helmet itself may be of Western origin, but the craftsman who gave it its final form may either have been of Scandinavian origin or used a piece of Viking art, attaching it to the helmet.³¹

²⁶ Měřínský, "Morava v 10. století," 31.

²⁷ Profantová and Lutovský, "Staromaďarské nálezy," 11, 13.

²⁸ Profantová and Lutovský, "Staromaďarské nálezy," 13; Měřínský, "Morava v 10. století," 34.

²⁹ Metchild Schulze, "Das ungarische Kriegergrab von Aspres-lés-Corps. Untersuchungen zu den Ungareneinfällen nach Mittel-, West-, und Südeuropa (899–955 N. Chr.) mit einem Exkurs zur Münzchronologie altungarischer Gräber" *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 31 (1984): 486.

³⁰ Košnar, "Ke vztahům mezi," 69–71.

³¹ Anežka Merhautová, "Vznik a význam svatováclavské přilby" (The origin and importance of St. Wenceslas's helmet) *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000. Na paměť knížete Boleslava II. (7. února 999)*, ed. Luboš Polanský, Jiří Sláma, and Dušan Třeštík. (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2000), 85–92.

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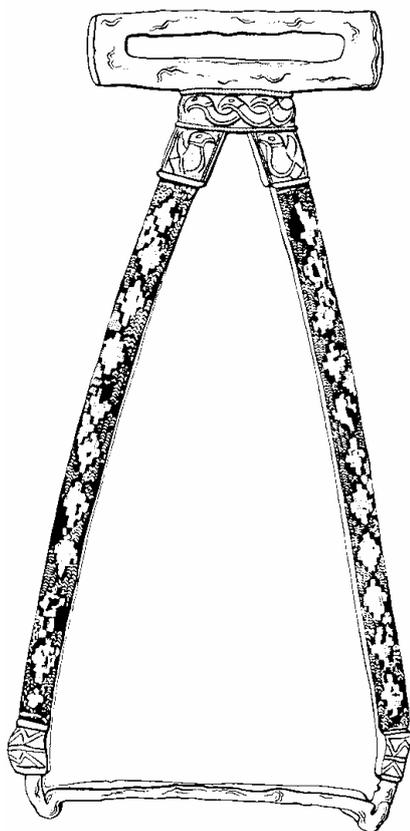


Fig. 5. *Zbečno*
(Central Bohemia). *Stirrup*.

areas were closely connected from an early stage, and therefore the production of weapons in Bohemia followed Western patterns. Swords, which have been found in many graves were not only weapons but also symbols of rank, where foreign origin could enhance the owner's prestige. The only clear example of this, however, is the sword from Litoměřice (Northern Bohemia), bearing the inscription "Ulfberht" on its blade.³³ Swords with such inscriptions were produced in the Rhineland and, as trade articles, spread throughout Europe.

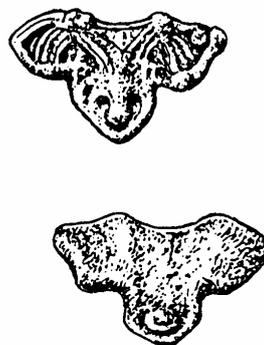


Fig. 6. *Libice nad Cidlinou*
(Eastern Bohemia). *Bronze belt fitting*.

Some other artifacts also seem to evoke Scandinavian connotations; however, their origin cannot be traced. This is the case with parts of a horse harness from the south Moravian fortified site of Pohansko, an analogy for which is known from Norway. However, this type of harness was rare even in Scandinavia, and thus no conclusion about its origin can be made.³²

The main source of weapons imported into the Czech lands was probably Western Europe; however, to identify them among the domestic material is generally not possible because these two

³² Košnar, "Ke vztahům mezi," 74.

³³ See Milan Zápotocký, "Slovanské osídlení na Litoměřicku" (Slavic settlements in the Litoměřice region) *Památky archeologické* 61, no. 2 (1965): 224–5.

Probably the most famous Central European piece is the so-called sword of St. Stephen, presently kept in Prague. Another sword, from the Roudnice region (Northern Bohemia), is considered another import from abroad, since its blade is made in the special technique known as damascening.

Christian Symbols

Another group of imports can probably be identified among objects whose function was directly related to the newly penetrating Christian faith. Christianity



Fig. 7. Prague castle. Crucifix.

played an important role in the region, and its attributes were new and foreign—until imported patterns were copied.³⁴ An amber cross from a grave in Libice seems to have some later analogies in the Baltic region, Poland, and Russia.³⁵ In Prague castle, a small bronze statue of the crucified Christ was unearthed (Fig. 7), but its dating was not clear and the archaeologist who discovered it attributed it to domestic production.³⁶ However, a recent study made on its iconography³⁷ showed that some analogies can be found in German tenth-century manuscripts and it is therefore possible that the statue was imported from there.

Many other artifacts found in the country may also be assumed to have been made abroad; however, this cannot be proven. For instance, the remains of a reliquary with some kind of inscription have been unearthed in Libice, and a similar reliquary is still kept in the treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague,

³⁴ Zdenka Krumphanzlová, “Počátky křesťanství v Čechách ve světle archeologických výzkumů” (The beginnings of Christian faith in Bohemia in the light of archaeological excavations) *Památky Archeologické* 62, no. 2 (1971): 406–56.

³⁵ Krumphanzlová, “Počátky křesťanství,” 427.

³⁶ Krumphanzlová, “Počátky křesťanství,” 428.

³⁷ Jana Kubková, “Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit” In *Život v archeologii středověku*, ed. Jana Kubková, Jan Klápště, Martin Ježek Petr Meduna et al. (Prague: Peres, 1997), 402–7.

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together with other Christian objects of the same period.³⁸ Tombstones with Latin inscriptions, an aquamanile in the form of bull's head, an iron spoon for incense, and a silver plated bronze codex repository excavated in Libice can be also included in this group, together with a golden ring with an inscription, allegedly found at the place of the assassination of Saint Wenceslas in Stará Boleslav.³⁹

Another group of such finds are the so-called *captorgas*. These small boxes, probably worn around the neck, were already known in the time of the late Roman Empire, and their relation to Christianity has still not been clarified. Nevertheless, some of the Bohemian *captorgas* have carved motifs that have certain Christian connotations. If a *captorga* was made in the form of a book, as



Fig. 8. Dobroměřice.
(Northern Bohemia). Bronze “*captorga*”.

the one from Levý Hradec, supposedly dating from the ninth century, it was evidently related to the newly penetrating culture of Christianity.⁴⁰ Archaeologists have attributed the main body of *captorgas* to domestic production, but they claim that certain pieces have a foreign origin, such as the one from Dobroměřice (Fig. 8). This piece includes elements of Viking art, but since *captorgas* were unknown in Scandinavia, this object was probably made in a Slavic environment, by a craftsman mastering Viking handicraft.⁴¹

The Byzantine influence among this type of finds is also significant, as pectoral crosses, comparable with Byzantine models, testify. However, in the case of a hoard of such crosses from Opočnice (eastern Bohemia), scholarly opinion has identified only two pieces as being of Byzantine origin, the others having supposedly been produced locally.

³⁸ Krumphanzlová, “Počátky křesťanství,” 432.

³⁹ Jarmila Princová, “Libice in the Early Middle Ages” In *25 Years of Archaeological Research in Bohemia*. Památky Archeologické, Supplementum 1, (Prague: Institute of Archaeology, 1994), 196–7; Sláma, “K česko-polským vztahům,” 251.

⁴⁰ Krumphanzlová, “Počátky křesťanství,” 431.

⁴¹ Lubomír Košnar assumes that the *captorga* might have come from the Southern Baltic region: Košnar, “Ke vztahům mezi,” 70; however, it is still possible that it was produced in Bohemia.



A recent study concerning such items from Central Europe concludes that the mentioned two finds of the Opočnice hoard could date as early as the end of the tenth century; therefore, it is possible that it belongs to the period under consideration.⁴²

Coinage and Economic Conditions

Although some Carolingian coins are known to have been present in both Bohemia and Moravia before that time, a more regular use of coins began only in the second half of the tenth century, when a domestic Bohemian coinage was initiated.⁴³ Individual finds of coins (both Western and domestic) occur predominantly in fortified sites with a central function (such as Prague, Libice or Budeč), where the highest strata of society resided and where trade transactions probably took place. Some pieces have also been found in graves, although coins as grave goods apparently became more common in the eleventh century.

⁴² Kateřina Horníčková, "Byzantine Reliquary Pectoral Crosses in Central Europe," *Byzantinoslavica* 90 (1999): 213–50.

⁴³ Although it seemed that the definitive opinion about the beginnings of Bohemian coinage was shaped in the 1960s, some recent scholarly works have substantially changed the situation. According to Wolfgang Hahn, "Die administrativen Grundlagen der Typenvariation in der älteren bayerischen Münzprägung und ihre Signifikanz für die Datierung der ersten böhmischen Herzogmünzen" *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 31–2 (1981–2): 103–15, Bohemian minting only started after 973 and that means that there are no coins that could be ascribed to Boleslav I, who was traditionally believed to be the initiator of Bohemian coinage. Some Czech numismatists consider these conclusions to be very convincing: Jan Šmerda, *Denáry české a moravské: Katalog mincí českého státu od X. do počátku XIII. století* (Bohemian and Moravian deniers: A catalogue of coins of the Bohemian state from the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries) (Brno: Datel, 1997), 13. Hahn's theory, however, has recently faced a critical response from Zdeněk Petrůň, who established a new chronology of Bohemian tenth-century coins, coming to the conclusion that they were minted as early as the early 960's: Zdeněk Petrůň, *První české mince* (The first Bohemian coins) (Prague: Setout, 1998), 55–61. Furthermore, recent development reopened the discussion about the minting of St. Wenceslas: this would mean that Bohemian coinage had its roots as early as the 930s: Zdeněk Petrůň, "Co vypovídá kazaňský nález k počátkům českého mincovnictví?" (What does the Kazan find say about the beginnings of Bohemian coinage?) *Numizmatické listy* 56.3 (2001): 65–74.



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The bulk of coins come from hoards that are usually called the broken-silver (BS) horizon.⁴⁴

It is surprising that such hoards are missing in the wider territory of Prague, which was the center of Bohemia and also a minting place, and despite intensive excavations, even individual pieces are not frequent. In contrast, hoards discovered in various other places in Bohemia, usually along the main trade routes, have produced hundreds of coins. The explanation offered by Pavel Radoměřský, that coins at that time were used mainly for international trade, their value being too high for common people, is probably partly right.⁴⁵ However, although at that time barter trade probably prevailed, the introduction of coins became an important goal for the ruler and his administration, who undoubtedly wanted to collect taxes on a regular basis and in a standardized form.

It is sure that those who buried the BS hoards were no ordinary people. The value of the hidden coins constituted a great wealth, and there were probably only two kinds of peaceful activities that could generate such an amount: trade or employment provided by the ruler in state administration. Members of princely retinues, performing military service for their masters, were paid regularly,⁴⁶ the most ambitious of them being regional tax collectors or being responsible for the taxation of merchants entering the country.

Western Coins

Among the Bohemian finds, foreign coins only appear in hoards together with domestic ones, and usually in a minority. Bavarian coins are the most numer-

⁴⁴ The hoards from this horizon are found predominantly in Northern Europe, Scandinavia, and Russia, and pieces of broken silver (jewelry) together with coins are usually present in them. This suggests that the coins were not collected because of their nominal value, but because of their silver content. In Bohemia, this horizon has been dated to the end of the tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries.

⁴⁵ Pavel Radoměřský, "Románská Praha ve světle nálezů mincí: Nálezy přemyslovských mincí v Praze" (Romanesque Prague in the light of coin finds: Finds of Přemyslide coins in Prague) *Časopis Národního Muzea* 74, 1 (1955): 33. Ibn Ya'qub, a Spanish Jew who visited Prague in the 960s, also speaks about linen kerchiefs as a smaller denomination completing the denier-based system; however, his account, also mentioning trade in agricultural products, shows that a certain number of silver coins had to flow into local economy: Dmitrij Mishin, "Ibrahim Ibn Yáqub at-Turtushi's Account of the Slavs from the Middle of the Tenth Century" *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1994–1995*, ed. Mary Beth L. Davis and Marcell Sebők, (Budapest: CEU, 1996), 186.

⁴⁶ Ibn Ya'qub recorded the situation in Poland, where Prince Mieszko gave his men monthly payment: Mishin, "Ibrahim Ibn Yáqub," 187.



ous, at least 306 pieces have been recorded from Bohemian hoards supposedly deposited during the tenth century.⁴⁷ This number, however, makes up only about 7.5% of all coins found so far, varying between single pieces and a majority of all coins in individual hoards. Allowing for the scarcity of information, it seems that the proportion of Bavarian coins fell over time, while domestic ones increased. There are only two hoards in which Bavarian coins are in a majority.

After Bavarian coins, deniers minted in other regions of Germany are the second most frequent, while other areas of Europe are represented only by individual pieces of Italian, French, and English coins. England, however, had a greater influence on tenth-century Bohemian coinage than the number of English coins would indicate (see below).

Byzantine and Arab Coins

Byzantine coins, until a few years ago almost unknown from tenth-century Bohemia and Moravia, have recently been found among other imports. First of all, an exceptional find, a gold *nomisma* of Byzantine Emperor John I Tsimiscos (969–976) was discovered by chance in Libice.⁴⁸ Two other Byzantine coins have recently been reported from Prague, and a silver denomination, a *miliarensis*, also minted under John I Tsimiscos, belongs to the Moravian eleventh-century BS-horizon hoard of Kelč.⁴⁹ Although the number of Byzantine coins is low, they indicate some kind of contact with the south-east, which is revealed also in the cultural sphere.⁵⁰ Some coins of the Bohemian prince Jaroslav (1004–1012)

⁴⁷ Eight hoards in Bohemia have been dated to the tenth century; but only six of them are known sufficiently enough for study: Petráň, *První české mince*, 74–8.

⁴⁸ The coin is partly damaged; it was reshaped in such a way as to create a sharper focus on the image of Christ's head that appears on one side. According to Jarmila Hásková, "Obchodní styky českých Slovanů s Byzancí: K nálezu byzantské mince na slavníkovské Libici" (Trade relations of the Bohemian Slavs with Byzantium: On the find of a Byzantine coin in Libice of the Slavníkovci kindred). *Numizmatické Listy* 35, 5–6 (1980): 131–2. The coin was used as an ornament, possibly part of a piece of jewelry, meaning most certainly that its high denomination and value was not adequately appreciated in Bohemia at that time.

⁴⁹ Jiří Sláma, "Nové nálezy mincí v české archeologické literatuře" (New coin finds in the Czech archaeological literature). *Numizmatické Listy* 48, 1 (1993): 1–3.

⁵⁰ Alexander Avenarius, *Byzantská kultura v slovanském prostředí v VI.–XII. století* (Byzantine culture in the Slavonic environment of the sixth–twelfth centuries) (Bratislava: Veda, 1992), 97–112.



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were inspired by the patterns of his Byzantine contemporaries,⁵¹ and it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the stream of Byzantine coins into Bohemia was greater than the archaeological evidence reveals.

The presence of Arab coins, quite common in some other regions of Central Europe, is ambiguous for the Bohemian state. “Cut silver from Kufic coins and oriental jewelry” were reported in the nineteenth century from Litoměřice, but without any additional information,⁵² making it impossible to date this find. The only hoard containing a significant number of Arab coins is the eleventh-century Moravian treasure of Kelč, where more than eight hundred broken pieces of different Arab coins were found.⁵³

Moravian coins

The coinage of Moravia is different from the Bohemian. After the disintegration of its ninth-century statehood, this territory was not definitely incorporated into Bohemia until the beginning of the eleventh century. At that time, the first Moravian mints started their production. Therefore, all finds of Bohemian tenth-century coins in Moravia have to be understood as imports, and naturally there are not too many of them. Two Bohemian deniers come from the excavations in the south Moravian fortified site of Líšen⁵⁴ and one from Olomouc, another fortified site in northern Moravia.⁵⁵ These finds probably indicate international trade routes to the East at that time. Two known Moravian hoards of the BS horizon come from the northern part of the country; however, both of them have been dated to the beginning of the eleventh century.

Concerning Western coins, three Italian deniers of Lambert (894–898) and Berengar I (888–915) were found in the Great Moravian fortified site of

⁵¹ Hásková, Jarmila, “Vyšehradská mincovna na přelomu 10. a 11. století” (The mint of Vyšehrad at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries) *Sborník Národního Muzea* 29, 3 (1975): 133.

⁵² Emanuela Nohejlová-Prátová ed. *Nálezy mincí v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* (Finds of coins in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia), vol. 2. (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1956), 14.

⁵³ Štěpková, Jarmila. “The Structure of the Finds of the Islamic Silver Coins in the Territory of Czechoslovakia” *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 3 (1964): 113–28.

⁵⁴ Nohejlová-Prátová ed., *Nálezy mincí*, 54; Měřinský, “Morava v 10. století,” 63.

⁵⁵ Josef Bláha, “Časněslovanská osada v Olomouci a počátky řemeslně-kupeckého podhradí: Příspěvek k postavení Olomouce v 10. století” (Early medieval settlement in Olomouc and the beginnings of its commercial suburb: A contribution to the position of Olomouc in the tenth century) *Archaeologia Historica* 9 (1984): 136.

Mikulčice. Their presence may suggest some Moravian contact with Italy, but they are generally connected to the Italian incursions of the Hungarians⁵⁶ since these coins are common in Hungarian graves from the Conquest period.⁵⁷

Foreign influences on Bohemian coinage

Research conducted on the symbolism of coin images has revealed many traces of cultural influence that would otherwise remain unknown. Some of the Bohemian coins had clear models abroad, which suggests either that some of the minters were foreigners or that they used foreign coins as models. The first possibility seems more plausible concerning the beginning of coinage in Bohemia. The emergence of the Prague mint was without doubt related to the Bavarian mint in Regensburg, the entire range of symbols being taken from the Bavarian type of coin with the so-called “nine-point chapel,” the first Bohemian coins differing only in their inscriptions (*Figs 9 and 10*). It is understandable that the Prague prince ordered a copy of a successful coin generally known in the market, but it is hard to imagine that he could start minting without the necessary technological knowledge, just on the basis of a borrowed pattern. Although the first Bohemian coins are not very spectacular ones, their production was certainly not possible without imported know-how. Later, however, the coins minted in Prague were designed and produced domestically.⁵⁸



Fig. 9. Denier of the Bavarian duke Henry II.

Fig. 10. The First Bohemian denier.

Although Bavarian influence on Bohemian coinage is clear, a greater mystery is connected with the most common kind of the tenth-century Bohemian coins, of the *ethelredian* type, which, according to the most recent opinions,

⁵⁶ Měřínský, “Morava v 10. století,” 29–30.

⁵⁷ László Kovács, *Münzen aus der ungarischen Landnahmezeit*. *Fontes archaeologici Hungariae* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989).

⁵⁸ Foreign influence is also evident on the type called “byzantinization,” among the other types of coins minted later in Bohemia. This particular image can be found on some Byzantine coins, but it was also common in Western coinage; therefore, it is not possible to say how this motif arrived in Bohemia: Petráň, *První české mince*, 66.

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was minted from about 983 onwards.⁵⁹ The motif on this particular coin was adopted from a rare English piece minted under King Ethelred II (979–1016) (Figs 11. and 12). These coins may have reached Bohemia via Scandinavia, where the coins of Ethelred were quite common as a consequence of the *danegeld*. There are also some Bohemian coins on which names of active English masters of mints, of English minting places (Lincoln and Derby), and, in one case, even of King Ethelred himself, are present.⁶⁰



Fig. 11. Denier
of the English King Ethelred II.



Fig. 12. Bohemian denier
of the “ethelredian” type.

Some hypotheses have also emerged assuming a direct presence of English minters in Bohemia. Pavel Radoměřský has proposed a theory based on the fact that in 929–930, the English princess Edith visited the court of the German king, Henry the Fowler, together with her younger sister (in one of the manuscripts called Aldgitha).⁶¹ The entry says that Aldgitha married a king “close to the Alps.” Since a similar name, Adiuva, also occurs on some of the Bohemian coins, Radoměřský identified the unknown king as the Bohemian prince and the name on the coins as that of his supposed English wife. Thus, a connection between Bohemia and England has been postulated, and this relationship was assumed to affect coinage, too. Recently, however, this construction has been commented on rather critically.⁶²

Spheres of Influence

When trying to assess the importance of different cultural spheres in the development of the formative Bohemian state, the most striking feature is the insufficient evidence of Western influence. Although there are several hundred Western coins, these are concentrated in a few hoards containing a majority of

⁵⁹ Petráň, *První české mince*, 91.

⁶⁰ Petráň, *První české mince*, 136.

⁶¹ Pavel Radoměřský, “Emma Regina” *Časopis Národního Muzea* 122 (1953): 157–203.

⁶² Petráň, *První české mince*, 132.



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domestic pieces. Other finds include only the sword from Litoměřice, the crucifix from Prague castle, and, supposedly, some other liturgical objects. This situation is surprising if we consider the role of the West as a model for the organization of the state, the ecclesiastical contacts, and the historically documented trade relations. A possible explanation has already been mentioned: the Bohemians interacted with the West so intensively from the very beginning that some of the originally Western artefacts became a common part of Bohemian material culture. Moreover, as noted above, our knowledge of late Carolingian and Ottonian applied art is insufficient⁶³ and this obscures any identification of Western imports.

In contrast, it seems that interactions with the North started quite early. Amber occurs in Bohemian cemeteries from as early as the beginning of the tenth century, while in Great Moravia, despite its splendid material culture, objects made of amber are rare. This stream of trade probably continued throughout the tenth century: numerous hoards from Poland and Scandinavia, containing the first Bohemian coins, provide the most explicit evidence for this.⁶⁴ Objects of Scandinavian origin found in Bohemia can be dated to the second half of the tenth or the eleventh centuries and were perhaps imported as trade articles or gradually penetrated through non-intentional exchange: the ability of archaeology to discern this is very limited. However, there is one piece of historical evidence that could support the theory that Viking merchants or mercenaries were present in the country. The legend of Saint Ludmila, supposedly written down around the year 975, named her killers as Tunna and Gomon.⁶⁵ These names, unusual in the Slavonic environment, have been assumed to belong to Viking mercenaries.⁶⁶

The role of Byzantine culture in the development of Bohemia is widely acknowledged nowadays; however, this influence was mediated by *Magna Moravia*. The oldest Bohemian hagiographic sources are known in both Latin and Old Church Slavonic versions and, moreover, some of them explicitly state that Bohemian Prince Bořivoj was baptized by the Moravian archbishop

⁶³ Košnar, "Ke vztahům mezi," 71.

⁶⁴ Tomková, Kateřina, "Bohemian Coins in Tenth to Twelfth Century Silver Hoards." In *Ibrahim ibn Yacqub at-Turtushi : Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe, c. 800–1300 A.D.: Proceedings of the International Colloquy, 25–29 April 1994*, ed. Petr Charvát and Jiří Prosecký. (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1996), 78–92.

⁶⁵ Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 150, 175.

⁶⁶ Jiří Ludvíkovský, "Tunna und Gomon-Wikinger aus der Prager Fürstengenschaft?" *Folia Diplomatica* 1 (1971): 171–88. The use of Scandinavian "assassins" within the ruling kindred is documented for another Slavic tribe, the Obodrids, who dwelt on the Elbe: Košnar, "Ke vztahům mezi," 76.



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Methodius.⁶⁷ This suggests that the early Christian church in Bohemia followed the Byzantine rite, which was only later replaced by the Latin one. This ecclesiastical development can barely be seen in the archaeological material, the only Christian objects of Byzantine origin in Bohemia being the above-mentioned pectoral crosses, and it has also been suggested that some of them could have been brought from the territory of the Bulgarian state.⁶⁸

There are some other objects of Byzantine origin that have been found in Bohemia and which bear witness to some kind of interaction. However, these might have been mediated by neighboring countries: we can only guess that the golden *nomisma* found in Libice was brought from the Carpathian Basin since similar pieces, reshaped in the same way, are also known from Hungary. One Byzantine silver coin was found in the eleventh century BS horizon hoard of Kelč (Northern Moravia) together with numerous Arab pieces, and the entire hoard is considered to have come from the North, where Arab coins were very common.

One unique piece of written evidence from the Old Rus' chronicle *Povest' vremennykh let* speaks, in the entry for the year 969, about a direct encounter of Bohemian, Hungarian, and Byzantine goods—and possibly also merchants—in Perejeslavec (in the Danube delta, present-day Romania).⁶⁹ However, this information is now considered to reflect a slightly later situation, after the year 1000.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Legenda Christiani* and *Diffundente Sole*. For English translations see Marvin Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary*. (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1990).

⁶⁸ If this was so, these crosses may perhaps bear evidence of the stream of elite emigrating from the declining Bulgarian state, which, as a result of the military activities of Byzantium, took place at the end of the tenth century. A member of the Bulgarian ruling family was buried in Michalovce (East Slovakia) and it is possible that other nobles moved to Central Europe, especially to those countries where Slavonic languages were in use: Avenarius, *Byzantská kultura*, 105, 120.

⁶⁹ *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej* (The complete collection of Russian chronicles). Vol. 2. *Ipat'jevskaja letopis* (The Hypatian chronicle), edited by Aleksandr Aleksandrovic Shakhmatov. (St. Petersburg: Tipografia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1908). Reprint, (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoj literaturi, 1962), col. 55.

⁷⁰ Petr Charvát, “Dálkové styky českých zemí a Hedvábná cesta v raném středověku: do roku 1300” (Long-distance relations of the Czech lands in the early Middle Ages up to 1300). In *Hedvábná cesta: soubor studií*, edited by Petr Charvát and Ľubica Obuchová, (Prague: Česká společnost orientalistická, 1998), 22; V.B. Perchavko, 1995. “Letopisnyj Perejeslavec na Dunaje” (Perejeslavec on the Danube of the chronicles). In *Drevnejshije*



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Research on the interactions of Bohemia with the south-east, particularly with the Carpathian Basin, has been negatively affected by the national consciousness of some scholars. Almost nothing is known about the decline of *Magna Moravia*, or about historical events in Moravia during the tenth century, and this lack of information has led to some scholarly controversies.⁷¹

Only a limited amount of archaeological evidence in Moravia and Bohemia testify the direct presence of Hungarians there; however, the situation in other regions of Europe affected by the Hungarian incursions is similar: the number of objects of Hungarian origin from Western Europe is minimal.⁷² Although some information about fights with the Bohemian Prince Vratislav is preserved in Hungarian medieval tradition, this may reflect the situation in the eleventh century, when another Bohemian prince of the same name was in power.⁷³ Still, some military confrontation between these two peoples probably took place. Not only did the shortest route from the Carpathian Basin to Saxony, which suffered heavily under Hungarian raids, lead through Bohemia, but, as we have seen, arrowheads of Hungarian type found in fortresses guarding the frontier passes between Bohemia and Moravia⁷⁴ may also be taken as evidence of such conflicts. However, it is also possible that Bohemians and Hungarians may have united against Saxony and that Hungarians were permitted to march through Bohemia.⁷⁵

Hungarian finds in the Czech lands are not restricted exclusively to warrior's equipment: some non-luxury jewelry from graves and typical for the Bjelo Brdo culture may bear witness to the arrival of migrants from the Carpathian Basin. There is almost no archaeological evidence for trade contacts between these two territories, but there is the testimony of written sources.

Ibn Ya'qub states that "Moslems, Jews, and Turks [Hungarians] come there [Prague] from the country of the Turks [Hungary] and bring goods and

gosudarstva vostochnoj Jevropy—materialy i posledovenija, 1992–1993 gody, (Moskva: Nauka, 1995), 117–25.

⁷¹ A good survey, confronting the extreme opinions on both Moravian and Hungarian sides, is provided by Dušan Třeštík, "Kdy zanikla Velká Morava?" (When did Great Moravia decline?) *Studia Medievalia Pragensia* 2 (1991): 9–27. Moravia, an exposed territory easily accessible from the Danube, played an important role in the interactions between the Hungarians and Bohemians, and it is, therefore, regrettable that the historical information is so insufficient and the scholarly conclusions are so contradictory.

⁷² Schulze, "Das ungarische Kriegergrab."

⁷³ Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 363.

⁷⁴ Profantová and Lutovský, "Staromaďarské nálezy," 13.

⁷⁵ Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 357.



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trade sacsles.”⁷⁶ The roles of Jews and Muslims seem clear, but the participation of Hungarians in the trade has been questioned in the Czech scholarly literature.⁷⁷ However, contrasting information suggests that the Hungarians maintained trade relations with Byzantium as early as the second half of the ninth century,⁷⁸ and it is almost sure that the groups who discovered the benefits of trade, continued this activity. Arab dirhams and large numbers of Byzantine coins and jewelry items in Hungarian graves suggest that trade was familiar to them.⁷⁹

The role of Jews in the trade of tenth-century Hungary is documented by an important source: in a letter of Hasday b. Shaprut, the head of a Spanish merchants' union, sent to the king of the Khazars in the middle of the tenth century explicitly states that a group of merchants promised to bring this letter to the Jewish Diaspora in Hungary.⁸⁰ These Jews were to arrange for the letter to be transported to the Khazars dwelling in the lower Volga–Don region and we know that they did so, because Hasday received an answer from them.⁸¹ Thus, this source complements the information of Ibn Ya'qub by mentioning Jews in Hungary, conducting business and maintaining long-distance contacts. These connections did not only point to the east, but to the west as well. Although the Kingdom of GBLYM mentioned in the letter, cannot be identified

⁷⁶ Mishin, “Ibrahim Ibn Yáqub,” 186.

⁷⁷ Jarmila Hásková, “K obchodním stykům Čech s Uhrami v období raného feudalismu: Nálezy uherských mincí v Čechách” (On the trade interactions between Bohemia and Hungary in the early Middle Ages: The finds of Hungarian coins in Bohemia). *Slovenská Numizmatika* 10 (1989): 214.

⁷⁸ Kovács, *Münzen* 135, footnote 172.

⁷⁹ Károly Mesterházy, “Bizánci és balkáni eredetű tárgyak a 10–11. századi magyar sírletekben II.” (Objects of Byzantine and Balkan origin in Hungarian tenth–eleventh century graves II.) *Folia Archaeologica* 42 (1991): 177. See also idem, “Der byzantinisch-balkanische Handel nach Ungarn im 10–11. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Gräberfunden” In *Byzance et ses voisins. Mélanges à la mémoire de Gyula Moravcsik* (Acta Universitatis de Attila József nominatae, Opuscula Byzantina IX) (Szeged, 1994) 117–128.

⁸⁰ P. K. Kokovcov, *Evrejsko–Hazarskaja perepiska v X. veke* (The Jewish–Khazar correspondence in the tenth century) (St. Petersburg, 1932)

⁸¹ Andreas Kaplony, “Routen, Anschlussrouten, Handelshorizonte im Brief von Hasday b. Šaprut an den hazarischen König.” In *Ibrahim ibn Yacqub at-Turtushi : Christianity, Islam and Judaism Meet in East-Central Europe, c. 800–1300 A. D.: Proceedings of the International Colloquy, 25–29 April 1994*, ed. Petr Charvát and Jiří Prosecký, (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1996), 143.



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with Bohemia with complete certainty,⁸² the presence of Jewish communities in Central Europe was certainly not restricted to Hungary at that time.

So far, archaeological excavations have not provided much support for the above picture: there are no finds from tenth-century Bohemia that can be attributed to Jews and there are only a few traces of direct trade relations with the Carpathian Basin. However, the two Bohemian coins from the Southern Moravian fortified site of Líšeň demonstrate that Bohemian influence and trade were also spreading in this direction, and there are signs that they may have penetrated Hungary.⁸³ Trade interactions between the Czech lands and Hungary became more frequent in a later period: there are numerous finds of Hungarian coins, predominantly from Moravian eleventh-century cemeteries and the trade in Hungarian salt in Bohemia is widely documented in written sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁸⁴

Similar questions can be posed about the eastward direction of Bohemian trade, leading from Prague towards Cracow. The information of Ibn Ya'qub, that "Russians and Slavs come there [Prague] from Karakwa [Cracow] with goods," is generally trusted.⁸⁵ However, the existence of a main European east-west route, on which these two places are supposed to have been situated, is still insufficiently documented in the archaeological material, but the excavations carried out in Olomouc (Northern Moravia) have brought significant results. One Bohemian denier, as well as pieces of raw amber, were recovered there in an archaeological context dated to the turn of the eleventh century.⁸⁶ For this reason, Olomouc is considered to have been an important trade station on the route, which is now assumed to split into two branches east of Prague. Few objects supposedly transported through this route have been preserved up to the present day: in addition to beads made of semi-precious stones and supposedly also from glass, there are ovrutchian spindle whorls of definitely eastern origin and probably also some jewelry from the hoards of the BS

⁸² Alexander Putík, "Notes on the Name GBLYM in Hasdai's Letter to the Khagan of Khazaria." In *Ibrahim ibn Yacqub at-Turtushi*, 175.

⁸³ Some Czech tenth-century coins are known from Hungary: Kovács, *Münzen aus der ungarischen*, 106, and the same is valid for East Austria: Sláma, "Nové nálezy."

⁸⁴ Hásková, "K obchodním stykům Čech."

⁸⁵ Mishin, "Ibrahim Ibn Yaqub," 186.

⁸⁶ Bláha, "Časňeslovanská osada," 136; Josef Bláha, "Několik poznámek ke genezi raně středověké Olomouce" (Some remarks on the development of early medieval Olomouc) *Archaeologia Historica* 10 (1985): 143–4.



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horizon. Some other jewelry of Russian provenance, dated to slightly later periods,⁸⁷ might also have reached the country through this route.⁸⁸

Bohemia, a small country enclosed by mountains and forests and distant from the main centers of European civilization, was compared by Petr Charvát to a high sandy coast lying between the seas of international trade. Only the strongest waves of the seas could reach the country and, consequently, also leave some traces.⁸⁹ This poetic picture corresponds to reality. Although in the middle of the tenth century the attractiveness of Bohemia for international trade increased, as documented in the account of Ibn Ya'qub, the information about the eastern and southeastern directions of Bohemian trade at that time is only partially complemented by archaeological evidence. In the same manner, there are only a few and not representative archaeological indications of interactions with the West, which, nevertheless, was the source of the cultural and social changes that took place in Bohemia during the tenth century.

⁸⁷ Michal Lutovský, "Raně středověké šperky ruského původu v Čechách" (Early medieval jewelry of Russian origin in Bohemia). *Časopis Národního muzea* 155, 1–2 (1986): 1–12.

⁸⁸ A unique piece of evidence has recently been reported from the fortress of Kazan (Russia) where a lead coin with the supposed inscriptions PRAGA CIVITA and VACLAV (C)NIZ has been found in a settlement layer dated from the turn of the eleventh century. In addition to being witness to interactions between Bohemians and the so-called Volga Bulgarians dwelling in this area, this find may also stimulate new discussions about the beginning of Bohemian coinage, because, until now, it was not expected that the first Bohemian coins could have been minted under St. Wenceslas: Petráň, "Co vypovídá"

⁸⁹ Charvát, "Dálkové styky českých zemí," 11–2.



THE MIRACLES OF SAINTS COSMAS AND DAMIAN: CHARACTERISTICS OF DREAM HEALING

Ildikó Csepregi 

In antiquity, dreams were regarded everywhere as a means of contact with the supernatural, and while they were made a frequent theme in philosophical and scientific speculation they remained an everyday experience. Among the Greeks, two major fields existed for the operation of dreams in the framework of religion: divination and dream healing. One common type of dream healing took a form called *incubatio* in Latin and *enkoimesis* in Greek, in which the believer went to a specific place (temple, church, tomb, or cave) to sleep there either to obtain a cure or receive oracular advice. The fact that the medium of each was the same, a dream sent by a god, enhanced the similarities between dream healing and the oracular dream. In antiquity, incubation was an important element of worship and played a major role, above all in the cult of Asclepius the healing god.¹ We have a great number of testimonies relating to the practice of incubation in his cult, both from *ex votos* placed in the temple, inscriptions compiled by priests, and from personal experience, e.g. Aelius Aristides' autobiography, in which he records his dreams received from Asclepius, who directed his life for decades.²

Due to the intertwined nature of the cult's healing practices and the oracle, dream-responses frequently involve word-games, riddles, or indirect prescriptions. The mechanism of a healing dream and an oracular dream was often the same. A famous example will help to illuminate the phenomenon. When Alexander the Great was besieging the city of Tyre, he saw a satyr, *satyros*, in his sleep and his dream-interpreters were happy to inform him that the dream meant *sa Tyros*, Tyre is yours. He then redoubled his attack and took the city: the point was that he had to chase the satyr for a long time, but finally managed

¹ An overall picture is given about ancient healing deities in the excellent monograph of W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925). On pagan and Christian incubation see L. Deubner, *De incubatione capita quattuor* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900); M. Hamilton, *Incubation. The Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and in Christian Churches* (London: W. C. Henderson, 1906).

² Emma J. and Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius. Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Hereafter all the references with "T" are taken from their collection; C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1968).



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to catch him.³ This type of wordplay functioned in a similar way in medical prescriptions: a man seeking health dreamed that Asclepius stretched out his fingers (*daktyloi*) as a sign that he should eat dates (*daktylos*).⁴ Playful prescriptions and riddles were closely connected with Asclepius' well-attested sense of humour. My favourite example is the spontaneous cure of a blind man who received a sealed letter from the god. While he struggled to decipher the text his eyesight returned. The words he read were: "two thousand gold pieces."⁵ Sometimes solving a riddle or understanding a pun brought an immediate cure; in other cases, especially in punishment miracles, when the god wished to teach a good lesson to the incredulous or the unjust, we meet with "bad jokes." The strangeness of the remedy works on the patient in another way, too: "The god tells him to do things which would make end of an ordinary man. The sick man not only survives these things, but thrives on them. The more unheard of the treatment is, the more the patient is convinced that the god is interested in his case, that his case is a special one, and that he is the most privileged being on the face of the earth."⁶

As early Christianity confronted the cults of the old gods and especially the activities of the healing deities, it had to meet the challenge and to integrate such curative practices into its own system of beliefs by modifying genuine pagan rituals. This happened also in the case of incubation, where the working of the divine healers found a new expression in the cult of the saints, since they embodied and transmitted the power of Christ, the *solus medicus*.⁷ Although Christianity in this way gave unofficial recognition to dream healing, it treated oracles and oracular dreams in a different manner. Foretelling the future or unfolding the will of God was regarded as the privilege of a restricted number of divinely-inspired men and, in general, dream divination was forbidden. The examination of these two processes—the toleration of incubation for healing purposes and its prohibition in the case of oracles—would shed light on how

³ Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 24.8.

⁴ Oberhelman, S. M. Dreams in Graeco-Roman Medicine. In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II Principat 37.1.: Ed. Wolfgang Haase. 121–156. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980); and "The Interpretation of Prescriptive Dreams in Ancient Greek Medicine." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 36 (1981): 416–424.

⁵ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* X. 38

⁶ A.-J. Festugière, *Personal Religion Among the Greeks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 86.

⁷ On the confrontation of the two healers see Rüttimann, R. J. *Asclepius and Jesus. The Form, Character and Status of the Asclepius Cult in the Second Century CE and its Influence on Early Christianity*. (PhD dissertation: Harvard University, 1986).



The Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian

the clerical attempt, in the words of Pierre-André Sigal to “control the miracle” worked in practice.⁸

Certain features of ancient incubation survived and changed in the early Christian dream healing miracles. On the basis of the Epidaurian miracle corpus, the *Iamata*⁹ and the Byzantine miracle collection of the physician saints, Cosmas and Damian,¹⁰ I analysed and compared the two miracle collections and tried to classify the miracles by establishing a typology of the miraculous. I was interested what *topoi* continued to be narrated in a Christian context and why and how others disappeared. To the Christian part I added some examples of other dream healer saints, whose recorded miracles are more or less contemporary to those of Cosmas and Damian: St Cyrus and John,¹¹ St Artemius and Febronia,¹² neglecting for a while others like St Thecla or St Therapon.

Here I will discuss *topoi* that continued to persist in the Christian context, giving some examples from the collection of Saints Cosmas and Damian, emphasizing, however, that these hints would receive meaning only in comparison with the Asclepian miracles. To facilitate evaluation of the cases, *Table 1* summarizes the miracles.

The hagiographic tradition on these saints is contradictory: three pairs of Cosmas and Damian are attested and their attributes are confused. It is likely that as their cult spread, new elements (names of historical persons and places) were amalgamated into their *vita* and a stock of miracles attributed to them was divided among the three pairs, but they nevertheless remained interchangeable.

⁸ P.-A. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI–XII siècle)* Paris: Édition du Cerf, 1985.

⁹ Its latest and most complete edition: Lynn R. LiDonnici, *Tale and Dream: The Text and Compositional History of the Corpus of Epidaurian Miracle Cures* (PhD dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 1989).

¹⁰ L. Deubner, *St. Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig: L. Deubner, 1907). In French: A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges* (Paris: Edition A. et J. Picard, 1971). I use Deubner's and Festugière's identical numbering. Quotations from the miracles are given in my translation, without quotation marks I give only the summaries of the miracles. The oldest account on their life is the so called Codex Londonicensis: Ernst Rupprecht, ed. *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vita et miracula e codice Londoniensi*. (Neue Deutsche Forschungen 20. Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1935).

¹¹ Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata, Contribucion al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1975).

¹² V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).



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Finally they formed three pairs with three *Passiones* and three dates in the Greek canon.¹³ The problem of this multiplicity is not the topic of my analysis relating to the miracle collection. Ludwig Deubner has discussed it extensively and Michael van Esbroeck¹⁴ has summarized the different versions of the *Vitae*. It is important to note that Deubner claims the three pairs to have been originally one: “*Consentaneum est a principio non nisi unum par martyrum exstitisse, quod postea in tria paria distractum est.*”¹⁵

The Arabian pair can be identified with the pair of the miracle collection¹⁶: Cosmas and Damian were trained physicians, already famous during their lives, but their great career as healers started after they suffered martyrdom in 287 or 297. They probably originated in Syria, from a town near Cyrus; in all accounts they emphasise that they are of Arabian origin. They died in Aegeae¹⁷ in Cilicia, and according to tradition their bodies were transferred by their family to Cyrus.

Being twins, in Constantinople they were associated with the Dioscuroi¹⁸ and in Rome with both Castor and Pollux and Romulus and Remus. The *Acta Prima*¹⁹ introduces them saying “*ex genere sumus praestantissimo, medici instituto,*” the *Acta Tertia* attributes their medical knowledge to the Holy Spirit (*artem medicine a spiritu sancto edocti*), while according to the *Codex Londoniensis* they had studied medicine, but refused the “human ways of healing,” surgery, cauterisation,

¹³ October 17: *Passio Arabs* November 1: *Vita Asiatica*, July 1: *Passio Romana*.

¹⁴ M. van Esbroeck, “La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien,” in *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés IV–XII. siècles*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris. (2–5 mai 1979) (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985), 61–77.

¹⁵ Deubner, *De Incubatione*, 68. This unity is confirmed by the fact that not only the mother but some of the miracles are attributed to more than one pair, for example the miracle of the Ethiopian leg, which is listed by Deubner both in relation with the Romans and the Arabs in their basilica in Rome, but he also places it among the *in vita* miracles performed by the Arabs in Nicomedia.

¹⁶ Although Festugière attributes it to the Roman pair; as the collection mentions Cyrus as the place of the saints’ relics and Mir. 48 (which also has a Roman version) takes place here in the East, I do not see any reason to refuse Deubner’s opinion, that the saints of the miracles are the *Arabes*. Also the *Acta Sanctorum* lists these miracles under the Arabian pair.

¹⁷ Asclepius had a famous incubation cultplace in Aegeae, see Mary Hamilton, *Incubation*, 120.

¹⁸ Deubner arrived to this conclusion mainly on the basis of Mir. 9, where a Greek mistook Cosmas and Damian for Castor and Pollux. In Byzantium the Dioscuroi had a famous incubation shrine. See: Deubner 77–79; Hamilton, *Incubation*, 120.

¹⁹ *Acta Sanctorum* Sept. VII. 27, p. 469.



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talismans, and magic. As for their martyrdom, their bodies remained unhurt despite the tortures and attempts to execute them. The miraculous reaction of their bodies to fire, water, and spears was strongly connected with their later healing activity, in exercising supernatural power on others' bodies and overcoming (and helping to overcome) painful physical conditions.²⁰ Lysias the prefect wanted to learn the secret of this “magic”, in the Greek text *mageuein*, in Latin *artem magicam* (*Acta Prima*) or *maleficia* (*Acta Altera*), but the saints refused to be called *malefici* or *magi*. Their church in Constantinople was a major centre of Byzantine incubation, and the majority of the miracles I will mention were performed there. The saints in many of their characteristics are related to pagan healing deities, and there are direct reminiscences of Asclepieian healing practices in both the narration and the mechanism of the cures.

The miracle collection reconstructed by Deubner from thirty-six different codices contains forty-eight miracles performed in Constantinople in the church called the *Cosmodeion*. Their date is uncertain: the earliest part of the collection is probably from the fifth century, the common opinion tends to regard them as dating to the seventh century.²¹ Deubner organised the miracles in chronological order and distinguished six series, of which the last was written in the thirteenth century.

Below I will describe miraculous incubation as practised by the saints, outlining some points of interest. First, the features necessary to describe the practice and then the characteristics of the dynamics of the miracle. Finally I will summarize briefly the basic results.

The Sick: Their Illnesses, Social Status, and Their Way to the Saints

The first two series of the miracle collection (Mir. 1–19) are not very detailed in describing the sick. They sometimes mention that the patient was old, more often that he or she was pious—with the formula “a man of great faith.” There are some cases where the illness is not indicated, the narrator only speaks about “a very painful disease.” The general impression received from the narrative is quite different from the exact data of the Asclepieian tablets, where the name, disease and provenance of the person are always given. The latter part of the collection contains more information in this respect, but it is still not ordered systematically. I have the impression that the writers rather aimed at story-

²⁰ On the bodies of saints and their thaumaturgic power in relation to martyrdom see Sofia Boesch Gajano, *La santità* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1999), 19f.

²¹ For the dating of the first two collections see: Ernst Kitzinger “The Cult of Images in the Age before the Iconoclasm” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 83–151.



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telling, often with an aspiration to higher style literature, and they considered the step by step introduction of the events more appropriate to affect the readers than listing data.

Hamilton assumed that the patients were wealthy and of high social status, while Festugière emphasised the simplicity of the clientele. I think the notion of high rank appears when it was exceptional and the higher officers of the Palace represented the prestige of the Cosmodeion, at the same time showing the impartiality of the saints, who make no distinction between the rich and the poor. This concern is demonstrated in Mir. 39, where a friend of the emperor sleeps between two poor patients and they need each other in order to be cured. The ending of this miracle stresses the saints' care for relieving the poverty of the poor, tempering the pride of the rich, and curing the illnesses of both groups. Beyond doubt, staying in the church (and in Constantinople) was not cheap. Those of the city were not necessarily rich, since they lived there and supported themselves anyway. Servants or companions of the sick are often mentioned but mostly in the cases of paralysis or other serious conditions when one needed help regardless of financial state. In Mir. 12 a well-to-do woman received and fed poor female patients at her place while she stayed in the church.

It is noted in a considerable number of the miracles that the patient followed the advice of his friends or pious family members in seeking a cure in the Cosmodeion or that the fame of the saints' healing was so widespread that the sick turned to them quickly. Another reason for choosing to visit the saints was the helplessness of physicians or the sick person's fear of undergoing surgical operations. It also happened that a physician advised the sick to practice incubation, and in one case a physician accompanied a sick man and took care of him in the church. The last and most important motive for visiting the Cosmodeion was having received an invitation from the saints in a dream, often strengthened with the promise of cure.

The Circumstances of Incubation: Place, Preparations, Offerings and Time

Those who went for a cure slept in the church; within which was a more popular place, the *catechumenion*²² (Mir. 3, 12, 21, 23) and a marginal incubation

²² The *catechumenion* could denote both the upper-gallery in the interior church and an open-air atrium on the left and right side of the portico. There were probably porticos on two levels. In Mir. 12 the patients stayed between the columns of the porch.



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place, the *narthex*.²³ In Mir. 21 the patient stayed in the *catechumenion* during the day but slept near the altar hall. Having decided to leave, since he has waited for a cure in vain, he had to sleep inside the church because it was already too late to go home, and here he had the dream he had long waited for. In Mir. 10, a pagan and a Christian went together, the former sleeping in the *narthex*, the latter in the smaller baptistry near the *diaconion*. Mir. 12 tells the story of a wealthy woman who probably stayed for a long time installing herself in the colonnade and separating her “apartment” with curtains, while in other stories the rich and the poor lie in the same place. Inside the church there was a place called *tholos*;²⁴ the same word denoted the most sacred part of the Epidaurian precinct.

In Mir. 30 the saints carried their patient to a nearby hospital in his dream, performed the operation there and brought him back to the church. In Mir. 28 a physician was ordered to perform an operation on the sick in the way indicated by the saints in his dream, but by the time he arrived at the church his patient has already been operated on. It shows that a real operation could take place inside the church. A valuable remark in Mir. 14 states that there was a curative bath near the church that was frequented by the sick and formed part of the curative process, and once (Mir. 27) was recommended by the saints.

Healing outside the church: As with some Asclepian patients, in many cases Cosmas and Damian appear in a place other than the church: in the house of the patient,²⁵ on the way to or back from the church or near a building belonging to the saints.²⁶ The special feature of the saints’ daytime appearance outside the church is that they occurred in disguise: “*omnino extra templum figuram suam mutare solent.*”²⁷

Mir. 13 shows how divine power operates at a distance, emphasising that the man of the story would have gone to the Cosmodeion if he had been in Constantinople. Precisely this faith caused the saints to appear to the man’s sick wife in Laodicea and cure the woman in the same way as in the cases of incubation. They even left proof of their presence, a piece of wax-salve under

²³ Mir. 10; 17 – the patients were both pagans and Mir. 17 mentions that the man did not dare to sleep in the appropriate place, only in the *external narthex*. Mir. 10 speaks about the fear of the dreaming man and gives its cause in the following custom: in the orient if a heathen was found in a Christian church, the believers had the right to burn him on the spot). Open-air narthex: Mir. 30.

²⁴ Mentioned in Mir. 14, see Deubner, *De incubatione*, 70.

²⁵ In Mir.13, 27, 29, 30, 36, 47.

²⁶ Mir. 1, 18, 41, 42, 43.

²⁷ Deubner, *De Incubatione*, 73.



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the pillow. The miracles of the sixth series (39–47) form a separate group: with the exception of Mir. 39, both the healing miracles (40, 41, 42, 47) and the help in shipwreck (44, 45, 46), as well as the punishment miracle (43) were performed at a distance. These are not incubation miracles, but their presence in the collection follows the same line as in the case of Asclepius: divine help has many aspects, saving in shipwreck, healing in other ways, strengthen the function of the healer and attest the extension of his power.

Preparation

Prayer was regarded as a means to induce dreams; the saints sometimes postponed a cure so that the faith of the patient could develop. Incessant supplication and tears were the starting point of many cures,²⁸ often not only from the patient, but from a pious relative,²⁹ friend³⁰ or foreigner.³¹ We know about one case when an indirect method was applied to obtain the saints' help: in Mir. 30 the sick person prayed in front of the image of the saints depicted with Mary and he asked for her intervention, which indeed took place. The delayed cures of pagans and heretics show most vividly how important faith was as the indispensable condition to obtain health.

No purification rites were performed before incubation as in the Asclepieia, only general rules had to be observed, for example, no eating of meat during Lent or refraining from blasphemy. Meanwhile, the secondary result of divine intervention was that the patients gave up their previous indecent habits such as horse-racing or keeping a concubine. Before the incubation practised at St Artemius' relics, patients had to dedicate a lamp, which was regarded both as a preparation and an offering. (See, for example, Mir. 4: "Arriving at the church of the Forerunner, he made in the name of his son a votive lamp, according to the prevailing custom with wine and oil." or in Mir. 10: "In one of the baths where they lived, she prepared a votive lamp in the name of St Artemius." In more general terms: "Sergios sent him the obligatory offering" (Mir. 17).³²

Offerings

Because of the saints' refusal of payment we only have scarce evidence for offerings: Mir. 3 mentions that there were *ex votos* placed on the walls of the

²⁸ Mir. 1, 2, 3, 4, 18.

²⁹ Mir. 4, 13, 20.

³⁰ Mir. 22.

³¹ Mir. 31.

³² Crisafulli – Nesbitt. *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 85, 97, 109.



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church, which the sick man of this miracle consulted; the same miracle states that the sheep that provided the sick with medicine was also an offering. A scene is described in Mir. 18 between the greedy tutor and the disguised saints: Cosmas and Damian—dressed as clerics—asked the man what sum he would give to them if they fulfilled his wish. The bargain started from one gold piece and ended with ten obols, but when the man was still reluctant to give them any money, the saints disappeared. Having his wish fulfilled and recognising the miracle, the man offered incense³³ of ten obols every Friday in the Cosmodeion. The painting of Mir. 30, with its unknown figure called Leontinos, was probably also an offering, as well as the painting mentioned by Festugière at the end of the story that depicted the miracle.³⁴ The rich officer of Mir. 40, for the cure of his daughter, wore until his death a peplos embroidered with gold, showing the figures of the saints, the father and the cured daughter, with a text on it to commemorate the miracle. A unique way of paying for the cure is told in Mir. 39, in which the relatively poor actor had to give his only cloak to the even poorer beggar, while the rich man had to pay a considerable sum to the actor for the slaps that cured him. What recurs instead of offerings, are the ubiquitous thanksgiving songs expressing the person's gratitude and commemorating the events that had happened to them.³⁵ In case of rich patients, St Artemius also accepted thanksgiving gifts: "So immediately he took some necessities for making a meal and an offering and disembarked in order to make the trip to the saint." (Mir. 5)³⁶ A thanksgiving meal with the invitation of all who were present in the church is mentioned in his Mir. 35.

Time

The time spent in the church varied, sometimes in order to enhance faith (Mir.1), sometimes to test the devotion of the sick; it also happened that the

³³ For the significance of incensation in the cult of the healing saints see Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata*, 38–39 and G. Vican, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), 70–71.

³⁴ Deubner had chosen the version without the painting, Festugière found the mention of the picture more interesting, see Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien...*, 172. It is not unlikely that the author who closed the miracle with inserting the picture, was rather influenced by the presence of the other painting in the story.

³⁵ To the importance of thanksgiving songs and the link formed by singing between the ancient and Christian rituals see Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata*, 37–38 and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, II. 206. n. 28.

³⁶ Trans. Crisafulli – Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 87.



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saints agreed that the person has spent enough time there already, so they appear to him (Mir. 3).

In some cases (Mir. 10, 12) we read about regular incubation: the believers went to sleep in the church every Friday, in the first case before, in the second after, obtaining the cure. The Saturday night vigil, the *pannychis*, was considered the best time to encounter the saints³⁷ and to receive the *kéroté* (holy wax) distributed by the priests. A ceremony called *pannychis* was attached to the cult of Asclepius in Athens, a night ceremony with torches; as a Christian ceremony it contained three antiphons and five prayers. The miracles of St Artemius (Mir. 33) provide a more detailed description of it: “It was already the hour for accomplishing the midnight rites and the occasion for the holy wax-salve to be dispensed upon adoration of the life-giving cross.”³⁸ That was the time to tell and retell the miraculous cures: “those who had received a cure from the Saints related how they had obtained it and there was truly just cause for delight and for building of morale in these stories, each person imagining more than hearing what someone said.”³⁹ Not only the actual cures, but probably the recorded miracles were recited at this time, both in the Cosmodeion and in the Forerunner’s church, where Artemius healed.

Kéroté was wax that had been blessed, purchased in the Cosmodeion either from the candle-wax or obtained from the lamp-oil. It was the most important type of eulogy distributed in the church (and at several other churches as well) and it served in the majority of the miracles to provide or to complete the cure. According to the illness it could be applied externally, sometimes melted and used as balm on scars, sometimes dissolved in water to be drunk. Festugière takes it as a mixture of wax and lamp-oil. Many miracles testify that it was a rather disgusting remedy.⁴⁰

After being cured many patients stayed, to recover wholly, to pray, or following the saints’ order as in Mir. 30, where the healed man had to spend six years in the church, while the cured butcher of Mir. 34 remained in the church for the rest of his life and made his living as a barber. After healing a heretic

³⁷ Mir. 10, 20, 26, 30.

³⁸ see L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), 239, who refers to IG 2. add. 453b). The quotation is in Crisafulli – Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 177 (cf. also p. 23) For the magical hour of twelve (midnight and midday) see Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata*, 40.

³⁹ Transl. by Crisafulli – Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, 25.

⁴⁰ For the types and working of eulogies see G. Vican, “Art, Medicine and Magic,” 70–73.



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(Mir. 17), the saints found him the following day still in the church and still a heretic; they told him to leave so as not to deny the place to believers.

The Appearance of the Saints

The likeness of the saints to their images is an important element in the stories. Images of the saints in the church or those which the patients possessed played a decisive role in recognising or obtaining the miracle. Three miracles refer to images as means of divine intervention: in Mir. 13 a soldier, devoted to the saints, stationed with his troop in Laodicea, married a woman who soon became ill. The desperate husband, not knowing anyone at the place, spoke to his wife about the power of the saints to whom they could turn if they were in Constantinople. Cosmas and Damian, noticing the faith of the man, appeared in a dream to his wife and assured her of their assistance. She related the dream to her husband, not knowing who had paid the night visit. When her husband took out a small image of the saints that he carried with him everywhere, the woman recognised the figures, who later cured her. In the closing lines the narrator concludes: “You have seen, my friends in Christ, how—in accordance with the faith of those who invoke them—the wise saints are found everywhere, not only through their activity, but by their mere presence.”

Ernst Kitzinger⁴¹ and Gary Vican⁴² take this image to be identical with the *kéroté*, which the saints have hidden under the pillow of the wife to ensure her further health. Although in this case the miracle speaks about two separate objects (the icon carried by the husband and the wax-salve), the image-bearing wax-seal or clay token were common eulogies, endowed with healing power.⁴³

Another account (Mir. 30) narrates the misery of a man, who had been waiting for the saints for a long time. Once he discovered a painting of Christ, Mary, St Cosmas and Damian, and a certain Leontinos. He “was praying in front of it, weeping bitterly for several hours,” and the following night the saints appeared in a dream together with Mary, who ordered the saints to heal

⁴¹ Kitzinger, “The cult of images,” 107.

⁴² Vican, “Art, Medicine and Magic,” 73.

⁴³ E. g. such type is recorded among the miracles of St. Artemius (Mir. 16): a golden coin was given to a man in dream, but when he woke up, he found that it was a wax seal bearing the image of the saint. For the clay tokens with images of St. Symeon and St. George, and Mary see: Vican, “Art, Medicine and Magic,” 72–73 and fig. 2, 3, 5, 19, 20.



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the man. Mir. 15 is an exceptional source; Henry Maguire⁴⁴ describes its importance in contrast to iconoclasm: “at the seventh ecumenical council, of 787, a passage from the sixth- or seventh-century *Miracula* of Saints Cosmas and Damian was quoted. It told of a certain woman with the colic, who was cured by the scraping plaster from the images of the saints which were on the wall of her bedroom, and drinking the resulting powder with water. As a consequence, we are told, ‘she immediately became healthy, her pains having ceased by the *intervention* of the saints.’”

Appearance in a dream

Cosmas and Damian often came in disguise, sometimes as physicians⁴⁵ or priests,⁴⁶ sometimes resembling their depicted image and often recognised only after a considerable time. Concerning their appearance, it is peculiar that when they came in disguise, in a form different from their usual appearance, it usually took place outside the church. In Mir. 29 they appeared on the same night both to the husband of the sick woman as her physicians, threatening an operation, and to the wife, probably in their usual guise, giving the prescription. The most striking thing is the effect they produced in the patients: they mostly evoked fear and uneasiness; the patient often lost courage before or after the dream. There are cases where they appeared to the sick while making their medical visits around the church, but did not pay attention or ask for certain acts to be performed or they wanted proof of obedience and faith. These medical turns are peculiar: the sick (in his/her dream) sees the saints going around the church, witnesses that they heal others, sometimes speaks to them and begs to be cured.

If only one of the saints appeared, which one is usually not specified, the narrator tells only in one case (in Mir. 22) that it was Cosmas who came to the help of the patient; otherwise they are not distinguished.⁴⁷ In Mir. 21 “someone” comes in the dream to direct the sick to the church, and in Mir. 19 a woman was cured by an unknown foreigner who has no medical skill, but following the suggestions of the saints he made an incision in their name.

⁴⁴ H. Maguire, “Magic and Christian Image,” in H. Maguire, ed. *Byzantine Magic* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 66.

⁴⁵ In Mir. 27, 29, 30 they take the form of the doctors of the patient.

⁴⁶ Mir. 18. In this case the appearance of the saints varied: first they came as priests (daytime), but when the person became ill, they are shown in their usual dream-appearance.

⁴⁷ See Mir. 21 and 23.



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Real appearance

Mir. 1 tells the story of a daytime appearance, which is not a vision but the real presence of the saints as travellers; in Mir. 14 one of the saints helped a paralytic as a bath attendant and as he disappeared, the paralytic was cured. Then he wished to give a tip to the bath attendant and it was only when he did not find the one among the personnel that he discovered the saintly intervention. In Mir. 18 they appeared as priests who accompanied a man on the street and provided him with a job (which he was looking for) but later, when he became ill, they appeared in their usual saintly form at night in a dream to cure him. In Mir. 32 they appeared to the physician of the sick and this doctor had to order his patient to go to the church of the saints.

Miracle patterns

Delay of the cure

Unlike the speedy healer Asclepius, “out of divine wisdom” the saints did not always succour immediately to the sick. A common motive for this attitude was to test or enhance the patient’s faith:

A man of old age with dropsy arrived at the honourable church and begged with tears the famous saints and the servants of Christ, Cosmas and Damian to set him free of an incurable disease, which tormented him. But after a couple of days had passed and no attention was paid to him by the saints (because the servants of Christ are endowed with divine wisdom and they measure the intention of the suppliants and examine in advance the outcome of their faith) and many and great healings of the sick incubants took place everyday in front of the eyes of the dropsical, he—losing courage or rather giving up his own life—left for his home. (Mir. 1)

Elsewhere (Mir. 3) it simply took some time before the saints agreed to heal the patient. In the case of the heretic (Mir. 17) and that of the pagan (Mir. 9), they delayed the cure while waiting for the patient’s conversion.

The patient could also delay a cure, when he (Mir. 11) or she (Mir. 16) was reluctant to apply the indicated medicine; in these cases, the saints reappeared to convince or force the sick to comply. This delay evoked two kinds of attitudes: the patients either lost courage and considered themselves unworthy of the saints’ attention and were ready to leave (Mir. 21) or burst out in anger, cursing the saints (Mir 1, 6, 16, 18, 37). Besides the general terms, the narrator occasionally quotes the reproach in direct speech, together with the answer of the saints: “It is not even a week[?]s] time that my husband has been cured and



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that I arrived at your house without any ailment, oh saints, and now I am dying and you neglect me.” “Why are you raging and why cry against us heedlessly?” (Mir. 16) or: “You are impostors...” (Mir. 18); in Mir. 12 the basis of reproach is said to be the patient’s familiarity with the saints. In Mir. 5 the delay gives way to the physicians’ interference, who—of course—only worsen the patient’s condition and are helped by the saints to complete the cure.

Repetition of dreams

The repetition of dreams is a characteristic phenomenon of Cosmas and Damian’s healing process. The frequency of these attracts the reader’s attention, whether it served as a narrative device to make the stories longer and more spectacular, to create tensions and raise expectations, or whether it was an inseparable part of the curing process. At first sight the idea of repetitive appearance instead of a sudden cure diminishes the efficacy of the saintly power—but not in the case of Cosmas and Damian. Here two aspects of saintly providence are expressed: the saints take notice of the sick before the patient turns to them and often appear first to exhort the sick to go to their church for a promised cure. This is mirrored in cases of *invitation dreams*, when the saints appeared either to the patient (Mir. 13) or to his physician (in Mir. 20, 32) and calmed them by securing their aid or, for the physicians, forbidding any other treatment. Repetitions of saintly appearances were essential in the case of *partial cures*. In Mir. 20 and Mir. 27, the aim of a partial cure is to impress physicians who have already started to treat the sick and to give them time to reconsider the saints’ power and to look forward to their reappearance. In Mir. 12 a partial cure is justified by a parallel cure of the soul: the patient has to get rid of the attacks of a demon first, who prevents complete healing.

Orders as conditions or means of a cure: the theological grotesque

This emphasis on the saints’ healing not only the body but the soul, shows another aspect of their “gradual” healing: it was generally expressed by giving orders and setting conditions for the cure. In most of the cases the orders were repeated, and their nature explains why. Cosmas’ and Damian’s requests or conditions in exchange for health were often embarrassing or contrary to the patient’s will. One phenomenon that most resembles the style of the classical oracles is the prescription given in the form of a riddle. In Mir. 3 a patient was given the following prescription by St Cosmas and Damian in a dream: in order to be healed, he is to cut some pubic hair of Cosmas, burn it, throw it into water, and drink the liquid. The patient was puzzled by such a blasphemous act and helpless about what to do. In vain he consulted the votive tablets placed in the church. He was aided when “the help of God came through the prayers of



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Saints Cosmas and Damian, so that their visit would not be regarded as pure imagination, and he revealed the solution to the sick [man].” A lamb, probably a votive gift, approached the man in the church, looked at his face and started to bleat until the church attendants noticed it and called the sheep by the name “Cosmas”. The riddle being solved, they quickly called for a barber and the patient was cured. Within framework of the narration the lamb is placed in the context of the symbolism of the Lamb; Christ and his followers are depicted as a flock.

Another dream-riddle also points towards theological symbolism: in Mir. 10 the pagan “patient” who seeks not a bodily cure but an improvement of his faith sees in his dream three children eating bread and feels a passionate desire to get a share. The saints appear and explain that he has witnessed the “secret mysteries” of the Eucharist. This brings him to conversion. Similarly, in Mir. 38 the sufferer received three beans (in a story concerning another healing saint, St Artemius, three jujube berries⁴⁸) and he was advised to take them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

One of the best-known miracles of the collection (Mir. 24) illustrates how a rather questionable order proves the patient’s faith, while the story-teller is fully aware of the joke. A paralytic man who sought the assistance of Saints Cosmas and Damian in their church saw the saints in a dream; they told him to lie with a mute woman sleeping near him, also in attendance for a cure. He hesitated for a long time but the saints reappeared and repeated the order. He collected all his courage and strength and approached the woman. Having noticed his intentions, the mute woman cried out and the scared paralytic ran away. The popularity of this miracle in antiquity is attested by its being associated with Saint Cyrus, Saint John, and Saint Menas. Hippolyte Delehaye⁴⁹ calls it scandalous and (although otherwise denying the survival of ancient incubation) considers it a pagan motif and relates it to an Asclepician miracle from Epidaurus, where a paralytic man was spontaneously cured when chasing a boy who had stolen his crutch. I see this rather as a manifestation of theological grotesque, typical of many other miracle stories in the collection.

As the latter example shows, divine orders can be sinful (of course, they are usually not carried out, as only obedience matters); they can also ridicule the patient, as in Mir. 26, where a man has to pester a reputable lady in the church to believe in the saintly operation and find the remedy, a holy object hidden in

⁴⁸ Mir. 45. in Crisafulli – Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*.

⁴⁹ H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1973), 147: “La donné de ce prétendu miracle n’est certainement pas chrétienne, abstraction faite de la bouffonnerie de la mise en scène.”



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the lady's bed; and they often produce reluctance or disgust. The more absurd the order, the more the saints' power is manifested, as when a poison becomes medicine (Mir. 11) or a slap in the face makes one healthy (Mir. 39). Such cases reveal the morbid humour of the saints, but this is justified by the fact that in the course of the healing no harm is done to the patient(s) and fulfilling the order leads to a cure.

The *role of jokes* and the often incomprehensible or morally dubious orders of the saints are closely connected to the mechanism of the miracle. Although in the miracle collection we often meet treatments that are in accordance with the medical practice of the times (surgery, irrigation, application of bandages), the circumstances of the healing itself are still wondrous. The fulfilment of unlikely or scandalous orders serves both as an ordeal to prove the faith of the sick and to show the power of the saints. Mir. 39 presents the following cure:

A friend of the emperor went to the saints for a cure and he slept between a beggar and an actor (also poor). On the first night the saints healed the beggar, and, appearing to the actor, threatened him that he would not be cured unless he gave his shabby tunic to the beggar. This order had to be repeated twice, but finally the beggar left happily, in health, with the tunic. Soon, the actor regretted having given away his only coat, but for a while he forgot his illness and reproached the saints because of the unbearable cold. He was quite a spectacle in the church, but he kept grumbling that he did not care whether they mocked him or not, since he had become a puppet of the saints. In the meantime, the rich man received a dream in which the saints declared that he could be cured by no other means than by asking the mime for ten slaps. The dream was repeated twice more, the actor strongly advising the rich man not to believe in it, telling how he had been fooled and ridiculed by the saints. The order was given for the fourth time, this time to both of them, indicating that the actor should receive a hundred gold pieces and two tunics for the slaps. He agreed, performed his curative function, and both of them were cured "of illness, poverty, pride."

The use of *tricks* stands close to the use of riddles and puns, but it is extended over the narrative. It has a special role in story-telling: on one hand the tricks mostly cause difficulties or danger to be overcome by the patient; on the other, they show the saints as demanding active participation and courage from the sufferer. In Mir. 11, for example, a young man, passionate for horse-racing but reluctant to drink the prescribed poison, was taken to prison despite the help of the saints and was to be executed for secret crimes committed at the hippodrome. His only chance to survive was to tell how the saints ordered him to drink cedar-oil and later to hide in the hippodrome at night. To prove the



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truth he has to drink the poison, which had an emetic effect: the man is freed both of his illness and his passion for horseracing.

In Mir. 24, 25, 26, 34, and 39, the use of a trick leads to a *double or triple cure*; it is important in other cases (Mir. 3, 11) that a certain “audience” is present during the miracle so that more people can witness the cure and even be a part of it. I have described already the case of the dumb woman and the paralytic man; a more elaborate story of the same type is Mir. 34, the cure of Victor the lawyer, suffering from cancer, and Hesperos the paralytic butcher.

The lawyer received the following prescription in a dream: “If you want to be cured, go up to that paralytic and ask him to shave you, and Christ will heal you.” The butcher tried to excuse himself, saying that not only has he never shaved anyone, but he cannot make the slightest movement with his hand. The dream was repeated two more times, and the paralytic finally started to look for the scissors he once used to patch his clothes, finding under the mat the utensils of a barber. “Without any experience, but not without great anxiety and suffering,” he shaved the lawyer, and both were cured. But the story does not end here. The saints appeared again to the lawyer and citing both a biblical and a secular example, they ordered him to give fifty pieces of gold to the butcher, who was a beggar by that time. Having received the money, the butcher also received a dream: the saints ordered him to give up his former profession and take up a job as a church barber. “He remained there all in his life, loyal to his barber’s job, having said farewell to the meat markets; all the people in the city who mattered and were of importance wanted to come and be shaved by his hands.” The final words of the story bring forth the unquestionable proof of the miracle: “And in order to prove the truth of my story, there are some who practice even today the art of barbering at that holy place; they are the disciples of our man or the disciples of his disciples.”⁵⁰

The involvement of a third person or a circle of relatives, friends, and fellow-incubants provides witnesses to the miracle, but on the other hand often brings these people into confrontation, especially in cases of pagans, Jews, or heretics. Where Christian faith is not to be assumed on the part of the sick, we often meet an interesting type of miraculous cure: the condition set for the cure is the remedy itself. Both the coincidence of treatment and cure, and the above-mentioned confrontation are expressed in Mir. 2, which has its classical parallel:

⁵⁰ Festugière wanders how there could have been a barbershop in the church, and suggests that it was probably in the bath-building mentioned in Mir. 14. He refers to Deubner’s observation that in Rome Cosmas and Damian are the patron saints of barbers even today. (*Sainte Thècle, Saint Côme et Damien*, 185) cf. Deubner *De Incubatione*, Introd. 74.



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the saints order a Jewish woman to eat pork, and this both symbolises her break with the ancestral law and is intended as a miraculous cure. The woman went to the saints' church and prayed for relief; the saints, wishing to cure also the "ulcers of her soul, not only of her body," prescribed pork,⁵¹ but three admonitions were needed before she was willing to fulfil the order. The cure, however, was spontaneous, for the woman had to hide the meat from her husband, and when she went to eat it, she found herself cured and hurried to be baptised. We have a testimony of a similar situation in the Asclepician records: two of his suppliants receive the same prescription—i.e. eating pork. Domninus the Syrian, although his ancestral laws forbade it, was cured by eating the meat; Plutarchus the Athenian asked Asclepius "My lord, what would you have prescribed to a Jew suffering from the same illness, for certainly you would not bid him to take his fill of pork? Thus he spoke, and straightaway Asclepius spoke from the statue in a very harmonious voice, prescribing another remedy for the illness."⁵²

An other aim of inflicting "bad jokes" on the patient was to punish him for his incredulity or blasphemy. In Mir. 1, Cosmas and Damian appear to operate on an irascible old man with a huge sword instead of a scalpel, threatening him as they go, saying one to the other: "Give him a nice incision! Why is he so insolent, being as old as he is?" Saint Artemius also appeared to a sufferer dressed as a butcher instead of in his medical costume (Mir. 25), but the most spectacular punishment cure comes from the miracles of Saints Cyrus and John (Mir. 30): Gesius, the sophist-physician who never missed the occasion to ridicule the divine healers, fell ill: his back, shoulders and neck became paralysed. He received the following advice from the saints: "By declaring that you are wise you have been proven rather a fool; fetch the pack-saddle of an ass and wear it over your pain-ridden shoulders ... and at midday walk around the church shouting aloud: 'I am a stupid fool,' and when you have done this, as we said, your body will be immediately restored to health."⁵³ As he hesitated, the prescription became more and more severe, and Gesius ended up wearing not

⁵¹ Among the miracles of Cyrus and John (55) we read about a man, bewitched by a Jew, who is ordered to eat pork's lung grilled and served with wine; Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata*, 370; Deubner mentions another prescription of Cyrus and John (54), when they advised pig fat, see Deubner, *De Incubatione*, 72.

⁵² T 427 from Suidas s.v. Domninos.

⁵³ Trans. H.J. Magoulias. "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964): 130.



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only the pack-saddle but a large bell around his neck and a horse-bit in his mouth, being pulled around the church by his servant, shouting: "I am a fool!"

The Witnesses and Mediators of the Miracle

The active presence of others is emphasised by the cases when a third party was given a decisive role as a mediator, either in receiving a dream or performing a cure. In Mir. 6, the saints appeared to a fellow-incubant to communicate their order to the blaspheming patient and, surprisingly, their indirect attention calmed the man down. In the case of the licentious man of Mir. 32, the saints presented themselves to a priest of their church to tell the condition set for the cure (to break off his relationship with a woman); here the narrator inserts his comment: the saints did not go directly to the man because of his sins. When a heretic ("who might remain incredulous forever, because that is the characteristic of heretics," Mir. 26) went to the church to celebrate the Saturday night vigil, the saints took the occasion to manifest themselves to him and make a mediator of him in the cure of a woman, both healing the faithful and convincing the sceptic. Personal care or affection for the sick is another reason for receiving the "invisible visit" of the saints: they might come to a family member (Mir. 29, 36) or they might use a friend to appear in dream and promise cure (35) or to come and help the sick in need (22). Other persons can serve to direct the sick to the church (10), and soften the saints by their piety (4, 31). The classical type of the *incubatio vicaria*, when a patient is unable to visit the saints (usually because he or she is too ill) appears only in the case of the four-year-old boy whose mother receives an invitation dream.

In the miracles where the saints appear to doctors (20, 28, 32), the rivalry with and victory over them is expressed explicitly. The more sceptical the physician is, the more likely that he has to witness or carry out the saints' treatment, reaffirming his own limited capacity (Mir. 28, 32). This leads to the question of the relationship between miraculous and secular medicine.

Religious and Medical Healing; the Physicians in the Miracles

In almost all cases of temple cures, the inefficacy of human doctors are mentioned. The generally beneficent attitude of Asclepius is unique because of the family connections between the god and his sons, the Asclepiades, who formed the guild of the most highly trained physicians. The methods of scientific medicine had a great impact on temple curing; there was mutual influence from



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the very beginning. On the Epidaurian stelai (EMC 48) only one occasion is noted when Asclepius appeared in a dream to a patient who was to be cauterised and the god invited him to turn to divine healing instead.

Among Christian healers there were degrees of hostility towards scientific medicine, although it must be stressed that these attitudes reflected the practice of the individual healers not the official opinion of the church, which has never been hostile to medicine.⁵⁴ For extreme outbursts it is enough to recall the story of Gesios, from the miracles of Saints Cyrus and John, who asked the philosopher-physician on their last visit prescribing the punishment cure: “Tell us, where did Hippocrates set down the medications for your infirmity? Where does Democritus prescribe anything?”⁵⁵ The narrator of the miracles of Saint Artemius is not friendly to physicians, either: “So, where are the fine-sounding Hippocrates and Galen and the countless other quacks?”⁵⁶ he asks, but there is a supposed reason behind his hostility, probably being a physician himself and as such know too well his lay colleges and viewing them as rivals. In contrast, KDM 47 speaks about a sick monk, to whom the physicians applied all the treatments of Hippocrates and Galen that were believed to be useful.

In the miracle collection, the examination the miracles where physicians are involved shows the relationship between secular and divine healing. In Mir. 5, the patient went first to the Cosmodeion to practice incubation, but having waited for the cure in vain, he turned to his usual physician, who performed an operation in the church. However, the patient only got worse, as his healthy organs also became infected. The intervention of the saints averted the danger of death and the doctors were put to shame.

In Mir. 16, a rich palace officer consulted his physicians first, who were helpless. “The doctors who were treating him were overcome by his illness, and he reached the house of the saints.” The invisible way of the saints’ healing activity is contrasted to the nature of the wound, incurable by human means, and the medicine of the saints, the *kéroté* is described as “admirable,” “striking,” and “holy.”

In Mir. 20, the formulaic expression returns: “the physicians were overcome by the illness and they despaired about the sick.” Elsewhere the father of

⁵⁴ See D. W. Amundsen, *Medicine, society and faith in the ancient and medieval worlds*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) ch. 1. “Body, Soul, and Physician”, 7.

⁵⁵ Transl. by Magoulias, “The lives of the saints...,” 131. Another outburst against physicians from the patient at Cyrus and John: “Hippocrates and Galen and Democritus, the bastard brothers of nature, and together with them, all those who boast in their words...” Mir. 13, Magoulias, 129.

⁵⁶ Mir. 24 transl. Crisafulli – Nesbitt, 143.



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the sick person (again a wealthy man) entrusted his son to the care of the saints but asked one doctor to stay with his son in the church. Tortured by pains, the young man asked the physician for medicine and the doctor was troubled about what to do. He was discouraged, but helped by the saints, who forbade him to give anything to the man and promised a cure on their part. After the doctor told his dream to the young man, the pains were relieved and the saints soon fulfilled their promise by restoring the man's health entirely.

In Mir. 21, we also read about a well-to-do man who had been treated by physicians for many years. On the verge of death he turned to the saints and was healed, but after being cured—maybe due to his sufferings since his childhood—he wanted special guarantees that he would not fall ill again. The saints taught him a prayer against all kinds of illnesses! When the state of the (probably also rich) deacon of Mir. 23 worsened, he called for the most famous and skilled doctor, the “prince of physicians.” This miracle is an important source for learning about the organisation of health care in Constantinople. It shows that the physicians formed a guild whose leader was called *archiatros*, or the “prince of physicians.” The reputation and superior knowledge of this doctor are contrasted with the incurable disease. (“He showed himself as inferior to the illness as he believed himself superior to the other physicians.”) Despite his reputation, the doctor had to give up his patient, who—greatly discouraged—sought the help of the saints.

The other cleric of Mir. 27 called his doctors and we read that he calls “specialists,” but since he is pious and admires Cosmas and Damian, he asked the doctors to mix *kéroté* into the medicine they apply. The saints appeared to him because in this request they recognise his faith and came to him in a dream as his physicians, performed a partial cure, and unfolded the bandages in an experienced and correct way. The next day the doctors declared that none of them would have had the courage to do this if not in the presence of all the physicians. They were frightened and dared not touch the sick man any more.

The two women in Mir. 28 and 29 (both with pains in the breast) showed themselves to doctors first, but when they were to be operated on, both preferred to turn to Cosmas and Damian. The saints appeared in a dream as physicians in Mir. 29, and to the physician in Mir. 28 to indicate the treatment.

The story of the man in Mir. 30 is the most amusing: his doctors withdrew, declaring that “no human hand can heal him” and so he went to the Cosmodeion, relying on the advice of many of his friends and encouraged by the saints in an invitation dream. Seeing the saints in a second dream and believing that they were his familiar physicians, he refused to be operated on, but Cosmas and Damian completed the treatment against his will. In the end, the patient, unsatisfied with the whole business, gave instructions to the saints



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on what to apply to the wound, saying that “my illness has lasted for a long time, and with continuous operations I have learned this.”

The Modes of Cures in the Miracles

People in antiquity and late antiquity had a different relationship and understanding of medicine; self-cure or cure by non-professionals was common, but the treatments of the professional medical practice were unknown to ordinary people. The treatment or advice received in dream is an imprint of the already existing medical knowledge of the patient. The therapeutic content of the dream was also shaped by the information about previous healings, the stories told in the church, the *ex-votos*, the specialisation of healers, and the cures witnessed by the patient.

Four main groups can be distinguished in the miracle collection. First, the cure is obtained immediately through the direct intervention of the saints using *medical or miraculous surgery*; second, when the cure is the result of *prescriptions* (either medical or in the form of orders, often endowed with moral character); third, the cure is *spontaneous* (which can also be the result of orders, but not involve the intervention of the saints); fourth, the cure is effected by performing *sacred acts*, either by the saints or the patients or both of them.

Surgery

Byzantine physicians were famous for their practice of delicate surgery. The patient in many miracles turned to the help of the saints when the much-feared operation was threatened by secular doctors; it is no wonder that Cosmas and Damian applied similar treatments. Two types of surgery were applied: “medical” and “miraculous” or a peculiar mixture of the two. In Mir. 1, they opened the belly of the patient with a sword and evacuated the pus; in Mir. 20 a foreigner, who would never have dared to perform an operation, made an incision on the belly with a razor “in the name of the saints.” Elsewhere (in Mir. 28), the saints appeared to a physician in a dream and showed him where and how he should make an incision on the breast of a woman, but when the doctor arrived at the church where the patient was lying he found her operated on precisely at the point indicated in the dream. Cosmas and Damian had some peculiar methods of miraculous surgery: with one finger removing something from the mouth or head of the patient, occasionally through the nostrils (12, 13, 16, 20, 34); and from time to time they did not hesitate to apply violence (1,



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30, 37). In this latter case, the resistance of the sick person was caused by the saints appearing as physicians, whom the patients usually wanted to escape by turning to the saints, and they even mention that they want to be cured by the saints not by a medical operation.⁵⁷ In Mir. 27 the saints appeared to the sick woman's husband as physicians and asked: "Do you know that your wife will be operated on today?" The man protested, explaining that "exactly to avoid this I have sent her to the saints, you know it yourselves, because no scalpel can touch her, for she could not bear it." The same night the saints appeared to the wife and prescribed her millet instead of the operation.

It is worth noting how accurately the tools of surgery are described: the tools (scalpel,⁵⁸ needles,⁵⁹ tampons,⁶⁰ lancet,⁶¹ an operating room with pharmacy,⁶² and the methods applied: fastening bandages,⁶³ massage,⁶⁴ irrigation,⁶⁵ and removal of accumulated blood or pus.⁶⁶ Much attention was paid to the treatment of scars; the saints often suggested (or gave) a separate medicine for follow-up care.

Prescriptions

Dream prescriptions present a more colourful image of divine healing; although the number of cases when the treatment suggested had real medical value is not insignificant (curative bath, balm on scars, herbs of medical value), the secondary importance of the medicine is always underlined, and in most cases they were completed by the additional application of the sacred wax or other thaumaturgic objects such as three muscat seeds (21) or three beans (38) received

⁵⁷ KDM 30: "...they [the saints] prepared themselves to operate him. But he, in the belief that they were his usual physicians who wanted to perform again an operation, tried to prevent them, swearing that he would not let them do, because he sought the help of the saints and he does not need any operation.[...]St. Cosmas said: 'Stop! I will make him silent.'" and he inserted the man's kicking legs into some rail and "then he took the scalpel and operated him in spite of his howling."

⁵⁸ KDM 19, 30, 42.

⁵⁹ KDM 11.

⁶⁰ KDM 23.

⁶¹ KDM 47.

⁶² KDM 30.

⁶³ KDM 17, 23, 27, 30.

⁶⁴ KDM 22.

⁶⁵ KDM 23.

⁶⁶ KDM 1, 13, 20.



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from the saint;⁶⁷ in the last case the patient is told to take the beans in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. A jealous husband is “cured” in Mir. 25 by having heard that the saints prescribed milk prepared by a faithful woman to a blind man. Moral and medical counsels were given together to the indecent man (Mir. 6): he should refrain from cursing the saints, eating meat during Lent, and taking food beginning with the letter A. The medical and the miraculous are entwined also in Mir. 22 when the saints teach massage to the patient and apply the blessed wax.

Spontaneous cures also figure in the saints’ healing activity. As was also dominant in the cases of Asclepician healing, such immediate cures usually occurred in a waking state. Interestingly, they overlap with the performance of sacred acts or carrying out the saints’ orders.

A *sacred act* can be performed by the patients, such as eating pork as a sign of accepting Christianity (2), singing the Trishagion (7), drinking the wall-painting of the saints (15). This category underlines the importance of prayers as a means for both promoting the cure and giving thanks for it. The saints also performed sacred acts; touching the patient, especially the diseased part of the body, was present among the *lamata* cures, here they were slightly transformed to a Christianised form, the laying-on of hands (4, 9, 42) and making the sign of the cross (27). However, these sacred acts can be performed by both of the parties, sometimes in a symbolic form; in Mir. 10 the patient took part in the Eucharist, the saints revealed its mystery and offered bread to the pagan, or in the concrete sense: in Mir. 21 the laying-on of hands and making the sign of the cross were carried out by the patient, holding the hand of the saint. A magic-like method is presented in Mir. 23, when the saints, having cured their patient, were requested to guarantee his future health. They taught the man a prayer that could be recited against every kind of illness. In the case of the Laodicean woman (Mir. 13), healed at distance, the saints “put” a little piece of wax-salve under the pillow of the sick, to be applied every night in order to ensure health, but they also intended to reward the faith of the husband and give proof of their operation.

The Proofs of the Miracles

Lest the cure itself should not be enough, the saints often left behind visible signs of their interference, which also played a role in the miracle as a tangible object to marvel at. As healers, they naturally produced proofs of a medical

⁶⁷ In Mir. 45 of St. Artemius, a woman similarly receives for the pains of her son three jujube berries.



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character, originating from the nature of the illness or the operation: scars, bandages, evacuated liquid. Moreover, what a secular healer would not have done, the saints make real: the bandage disappears when touched or the miraculous medicine is found in the patient's bed or the wick is missing from the lamp that the saints used in the dream.

Conclusion

The topoi of the incubation miracle. The development of the motifs of miraculous healing

In the fifth-century narratives of the martyrdom of Saint Artemius, one finds an interesting discrepancy between the two preserved versions. In the earlier of the two, the Emperor Julian demands of Artemius that he perform a sacrifice to Apollo, but in the later version Asclepius and Zeus take Apollo's place.⁶⁸ Clearly, this alteration is closely bound up with the saint's powers as a healer, for which he had become famous by the time the *Passio* was written. The Christian author of the *Passio* hence used the Greek god whom the martyr denied, who by virtue of his function stood closest to the figure of Saint Artemius, also an incubation-healer, as a foil for Artemius, a negative type of healer.

The intention of the hagiographer clearly demonstrates that at this date they were still aware of the effectiveness of Asclepician healing, and of the fourth-century popularity of the cult. Therefore they and felt the necessity of establishing similar Christian counter-examples, that worked with the same powers and in the same ways. Edelstein is convinced that the hagiographers who composed the stories of Christian incubation miracles knew the Asclepician inscriptions, and "some of the reports obviously were written in competition with the miracles of Asclepius,"⁶⁹ which I am convinced is not subject to proof nor even of primary importance. It is probable that the fame of the Pergamon and Epidaurus sanctuaries long survived their destruction and that the sick pilgrims who came to the churches of the healing saints behaved in similar ways to the patients of the old pagan sanctuaries, especially since the practice of incubation itself remained essentially unchanged.

Through a reading of the Epidaurus texts and the miracle stories connected with St Cosmas and Damian, I have tried to demonstrate that there are certain recurring motives in the unfolding of the miracle itself, in the modes of

⁶⁸ For the account on the *Passiones*, see Crisafulli – Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, "Introduction", 1–7.

⁶⁹ Edelstein, *Asclepius* II, 169.



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healing, and on the level of the narrative as well. Through a comparison of the sources, it has proved possible to establish certain groups of motifs that occur only in the ancient epigraphic tradition and some that appear only in connection with Christian healing miracles, and, finally, a number of themes that are common to both.

The primary aim of both the Classical and Christian miracle texts is the demonstration of the supernatural power of the healer. Their tone—despite the different religious backgrounds—is fundamentally similar, and this is, for the most part, a consequence of the basic motives common to all incubation miracles.

The elements that occur only in the pagan inscriptions belong naturally in a context of religious thought, a world-view germane to the Greek paganism of the fourth century BC, in which Asclepius functioned as an autonomous healer, a god in his own right with a range of responsibilities and forms that belonged only to him. The incubation narratives attached to his cult are marked by a universal tendency: *the miraculous cure is at once the epiphany of the god*. Hence, the attributes that played a part in his cult (cult statue, snake, dog) also appeared as part of his dream epiphany, and occasionally could stand by themselves for the power of the god. Another important aspect of Asclepieian dream healing is the way in which, by virtue of the practice of incubation, it stands in close relation to another religious use of dreams, *divination*. As a chthonic god, Asclepius was both healer and diviner; his sphere of influence intersected with that of Apollo, the prophetic god par excellence. I am not thinking primarily of their mythic relationship as father and son, but of cases like the one in Epidaurian miracle corpus, when the opinion of Delphi was asked as part of the process of giving a home to the miraculous healing snake of Asclepius. This points us to the next important aspect: the tendency in Greek religion *for the gods' worship and their functions, to intersect*.

The ancient and Christian topoi of dream-healing

There is a group of recurrent motives common to both sources. The double human-divine nature of the healers is expressed in both antique and Christian healing miracles in similar ways. The *punishment miracle*, incurred for offending the healer, for incredulity, or for failure to perform a promised service, is common to both. This rough pedagogy stood closely connected to the curative function, either through the fact that the sceptical patient falls so that he may be cured again, or that a patient already cured but having behaved wrongly is smitten with his original illness, and after having made amends, is healed. In the case of Asclepius, there is only one case where only punishment took place; in the practice of Cosmas and Damian it was quite common for some unpleasant



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or painful event to speed the healing. Edelstein stresses that Asclepius, in contrast with the healing saints, did not expect his patients to believe in him, and took care even of those who did not pay him proper respect. One should not forget, however, that in the case of Asclepius, it seems rather that the demonstration and recognition of his power was not a condition of the cure, but that, regardless of the propitious or unpropitious conclusion of the story, his power was inevitably confirmed. The inclusion of the punishment miracles in the Epidaurian corpus was motivated precisely by the intention to demonstrate that, beyond a certain point, one cannot make light of the god. The punishment miracle, as a motif, here intersects with the theme of *incredulity*, but the latter does not always attract retribution, since it can also occur in a context of confirmed faith, when the sufferer recognises, through his cure, the power of the god. At other times, others than the patient can question the powers of the healer: friends, lay doctors, or family members. In the Cosmas–Damian collection, there are a number of cases in which the unbeliever became the tool of divine healing; either because the saints appeared to him in a dream and made a prescription for another patient, or the unbeliever took an active part in the healing of another person.

The involvement of a third person in dream-healing can occur independently of this; the role of mediator made it possible, for example, for someone to practice incubation instead of a family member; in many cases, however, sanctuary personnel or even strangers became the unwitting instruments of the dream or the cure.

A different kind of proof of divine involvement is provided by those cases where other supernatural elements are bound up with the cure, such as healing from a distance, simultaneous appearances in different places, events outside the sanctuary, spontaneous or daytime healing. In these situations Asclepius and the physician-saints behaved in remarkably similar ways, and the narratives emphasise the same circumstances.

The same thing can be said about the *question of proof*, since in both ancient and Christian narratives, alongside the fact of the cure itself, the presence or absence of certain material objects is emphasised as a powerful tie binding the dream-vision to the real-world changes that took place in the body of the patient. These proofs, in the majority of cases, were the objects from the patient's body that caused the illness or the means used by the healers (from medicines to a barber's razor), and, most frequently of all, the wounds, bandages, or blood from the surgical intervention itself.

On the healing practices themselves, it can be said that they were connected more or less to the normal *medical practice of the time*, despite the colourful wondrous additions. The fourth century BC and the seventh century AD were



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periods of great interest in techniques of surgery, and this defined the character of patients' dreams and the methods chosen by the healers. Healing founded on a dream-reality analogy is present in both cases to differing degrees; sometimes in the form of a miraculous metaphor, sometimes as a dream-vision based on methods of scientific medicine.

The *experience of the sacred*, and the use of certain sacred practices was present in Asclepieian cult, but took on real importance only in the cult of the Christian healers. Asclepius could also cure by the laying on of hands or a kiss, but the use of certain sacred objects is entirely missing. However, the use of sacred space was similarly present, its division by its thaumaturgic value and taboo character.

In our discussion of shared motifs we must finally emphasise the *response of the patient to the miracle*: in both cases we find that thanksgiving and a form of remuneration are expected in exchange for healing. These votive dedications, in the case of Asclepius, at the same time preserve a memorial to the miracle; they alternate between expensive dedications of cult objects, large sums of money, and simple or symbolic gifts. The most impressive punishment miracles always avenged failure to deliver a promised dedication. The physician-saints were greatly limited by the fact that they were *anargyroi*, healers who do not accept payment; the giving of thanks to God and Christ is, for them, the necessary end and closure of the cure.

Christian incubation-topoi

The survival and textual formation of the miracles of the healing saints was heavily influenced by the contradictory attitude of the Church towards the cult of the saints, the *question of relics*, and the thaumaturgic experiences connected with both. Cosmas and Damian's cult was not attached to relics (only later, after their earthly remains had been transferred westwards, did relics become an important element of their cult, e.g. in Rome or Tours); this is, however, quite exceptional among places of Christian incubation pilgrimage (Artemius, Febronia, Thecla, Cyrus, and John, etc.). The miracle writer had, therefore, to emphasise that the healing power was not to be sought in the saints themselves, the icons, or the lamp-oil, but alone in Christ, "the one true Medicus."

Still, among the methods of healing these *sacred objects and activities* made up the majority: the *kéroté*, that universal tonic; the Saturday vigil, held to be especially auspicious for incubation; the laying on of hands; the sketching of the Cross on the sick part of the patient's body; the experience of the Eucharist or even an extreme case in which the flakes of wall-plaster scraped off a fresco of the saints brings on the miraculous cure. Icons as mediators are present in three miracles, and one of these, the miracle of the fresco, was read as an argument in



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favour of icons at the Council of Nicea in 789, naturally emphasising that the image itself was not the healer, but rather mediated the cure.

The intermediary, *mediating function of the saints*, is, for the most part, strongly stressed (e.g. “it is not we who have healed you, it is Christ; give thanks to God, not to us”). At times, however, this motif is strangely repressed, when the writer compares the saints to the Apostles or to Jesus. The use of biblical metaphors brings to light the never-ending contradictions that divided the early Church over the cult of saints: they are at once like Christ and different from him. The same can be said of the way in which, going beyond their strictly defined medical prerogatives, the saints involved themselves in preserving *the health of the soul*: the meaning of *salus*, at once salvation and health, helps to explain the unique, and at times absurd, aspects of the activities of the physician-saints. As a condition or result of healing, the patient attained faith, and frequently underwent a radical re-evaluation of his earlier values and habits, which then did not suit the character of a recipient of divine grace.

Similar to these problems resulting from the intermediary status of the saints are those issues of a *theological or ecclesiastical nature* in which the recorder of the miracle narrative was compelled to take sides in order to clearly demonstrate that the practices going on in the Cosmodeion were compatible with the most stringent demands of orthodoxy. He included for this reason the stories in which the saints encountered heretics, Jews, or pagans. The treatment meted out differed from case to case: either conversion was the condition of healing, or else the patient converted as a result of the cure; in a single case the heretic, having regained his health, remained a heretic, and with this incurred the anger of the saints, who expelled him quickly from the church.

All of these, together, explain why the healing miracle did not any longer stand on its own as a sign of divine activity or the power of the saints, but was built into the liturgy of a given sanctuary. It is clear from the Cosmas-Damian collection who heard of the miracles and how: it is likely that they were read to the congregation at the Saturday *vigilia*, but freshly-healed patients also told those awaiting their turn what had happened to them. The author of the fourth part of the collection is a former patient, who, during the time he spent at the church wrote down the stories of the miraculous cures that had befallen his companions, and of which he heard through the oral tradition of the place. The inclusion of more general theological remarks as part of the interpretation of the miracle as the corpus widened is proof that the miracle was on the way to becoming an exemplar, or parable, to strengthen the faith of believers.

The further study of early medieval collections of the miracles of healing saints would contribute to understanding the development of the incubation practice over its entire course and would shed light on the changing concept of

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the wondrous in Christianity, which is different from, although not totally incompatible with ancient views.

Table 1. The miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian

Patient	Specification	Illness	Characteristic of the miracle	Type of contact	Type of cure
1. man	very old, irascible, probably rich	dropsy	blasphemy, punishment cure	daytime appearance + dream	surgery in dream
2. woman	Jew	cancer	conversion as condition	dream (implied)	prescription, spontaneous
3. man	palace officer	retention of urine	word game	dream	prescription miraculous
4. man	young son of a palace officer	paralysis (by a demon)	parallel to John 5:8	not specified, prob. dream	laying-on of hands
5. man		abscess in the stomach	operated on first by doctors	not specified	surgical intervention
6. man	old, irascible	vomiting blood	blasphemy, order as condition	dream to another person	prescription miraculous - moral
7. woman	great faith	deaf and dumb	no incubation	sacred act	spontaneous
8. woman		pain in the womb	—	vision	medical prescription
9. man	pagan lawyer or scholar	not specified	took the saints Castor & Pollux conversion	dream	laying-on of hands
10. man	pagan merchant	seeking faith	conversion, regular incubation	dream	witnessing the Eucharist
11. man	passion for horse-racing	abscess in the breast	punishment cure	repeated dreams	prescription miraculous



The Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian

12. woman, Martha	wife of a clergyman, ex-prosti- tute rich, beautiful	pain in the skull (by a demon)	order, partial cure	repeated dreams	surgical intervention
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Ildikó Csepregi

Patient	Speci- fication	Illness	Characteristic of the miracle	Type of contact	Type of cure
13. woman from Laodicea	wife of Constantin the soldier	abscess in the jaw	mediation of image of the saints	repeated dreams (not sought)	surgical intervention + prescription
14. man	very old priest	paralysis	saint as bath boy	daytime appearance	spontaneous
15. woman	of great faith	colic	mediation of image of the saints	drinking plasters of the image	spontaneous
16. a man, his wife and sister-in- law	faithful man, (palace officer) incredu- lous wife	rectal wound; pain in the throat (2)	orders, bad joke, punishment cure	repeated dreams	prescription; medical intervention by force
17. man	heretic (Arian)	paralysis	no conversion angry saints	repeated dreams	surgical intervention
18. man	old tutor	poverty; illness unspecified	pray also to Mary	daytime appearance + dream	not specified
19. woman	—	dropsy	a stranger heals in the name of the saints	daytime appearance	surgical intervention
20. man	young, son of man of great faith	vomiting blood	mediation of the father	dream to another person	surgical intervention
21. man	illustrious palace officer (?)	pain in the stomach and heart	order to stay longer	repeated dreams	prescription + laying-on of hands
22. man	rich, high church officer	chime and sarcosis on the testicles + bad eyesight	mediation of a friend	dream	prescription + surgical intervention
23. man of Constantin- ople	deacon	colic + inflamma- tion on the pubis	rivalry with physicians	repeated dreams	surgical inter- ventions



The Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian

Patient	Speci- fication	Illness	Characteristic of the miracle	Type of contact	Type of cure
24. man + woman	noble lady	paralysis; dumbness	blasphemious order, double cure	repeated dreams	spontaneous
25. couple + man	husband jealous, wife faithful	not spec; blindness	double cure	dream	prescription miraculous
26. man + woman	heretic priest of high rank, noble lady	incredulity; pain in the breast	double cure	dream to another person	prescription miraculous
27. man	of great faith priest or church servant	broken leg (caused by the devil)	partial cure	repeated dreams	surgical + sacred acts
28. woman	—	tumour in the breast (demon)	—	dream to another person	miraculous surgery
29. woman	after the first childbirth	milk clotted	mediation of the husband	dream + dream to another person	prescription
30. man	“of great qualities”, ill for 15 years	fistula at the hip	Mary’s intervention, mediation of an image	repeated dreams	surgery + prescription
31. man	beggar	paralysis	mediation of a stranger	prayer of another	not specified, partial cure
32. man	lawyer with a concubine	abscess in the jaw	moral order as condition	dreams to other persons	prescription
34. men Victor; Hersperos	lawyer; butcher	cancer; paralysis	joke; double cure	repeated dreams	spontaneous
35. man	mercenary soldier	tube in the breast (?)	sick refers to Luc. 7:38	repeated dreams	miraculous surgery

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Patient	Speci- fication	Illness	Characteristic of the miracle	Type of contact	Type of cure
36. child	four-year- old	blindness (by the devil)	mediation of the mother	dream to another person (not sought)	prescription
37. man	lieutenant	intestinal disease	punishment cure	dream	miraculous surgery
38. man	priest	dropsy		dream	prescription miraculous
39. three men	friend of the emperor; actor; beggar	not specified	orders&jokes triple cure	repeated dreams	prescription miraculous,
40. a young girl, Theodora	daughter of admin- istrator of public funds	“all kinds of illnesses”		not specified	not specified
41. man, Gregorios	choir master	wound on the head	performed at the yearly feast of the saints	not sought dream	surgery
42. man, Blemmides	surveyor	anthrax on the hand	near the monastery of the saints	not sought dream	surgery
43. man	herd of the cattle	no illness	near the monastery of the saints	real appearance	punishment miracle: inflicting blindness
44. boy	deck boy	no illness	shipwreck	invocation of the saints	
45. men on the ship	—	no illness	shipwreck	daytime vision	
46. a log	—	no illness	shipwreck	—	
47. man, Makarios	monk from the Pelo- ponnesus	diarrhoea	in the monastery of the saints	daytime appearance	medical prescription



The Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian



**VIDERE SINE SPECULO:
THE IMMEDIATE VISION OF GOD
IN THE WORKS OF RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR**

Csaba Németh 

This paper investigates the usage of the terms *videre facie ad faciem* and *per speculum et aenigmate* in the works of the Augustinian canon Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173).¹ The term *facie ad faciem videre* meant for the majority of twelfth-century theologians the immediate and full vision of God after this life, and, as such, it was opposed to the *per speculum* vision of God, which meant the reduced cognition of God in the earthly life, using the soul as a mirror and investigating the divine image in it by the working of reason.

However, the Augustinian canon Richard of St. Victor, a leading spiritual author and theologian of that age, stated in several passages of his works that the contemplative men living an earthly life can see God *facie ad faciem*; in several other places that they can see God *quasi facie ad faciem*. The first statement is outrageous in terms of theology (even of that of the twelfth century); the second one is acceptable.

The scholarly discussion about this question has two approaches to these passages, based usually on a verbatim reading of a few passages of his *Benjamin major* and *Adnotationes in Psalmos*. Certain authors think Richard admitted the possibility of the “face to face” vision in contemplation, while others deny it.²

¹ The majority of Richard’s works are published in PL 196 (ed. Migne, Paris, 1855, reprinted in 1880). The most reliable overview of Richard’s life and works is Jean Châtillon’s “Richard de Saint-Victor,” *DS* 13: 593–654. Recently Pierluigi Cacciapuoti summarised the results of the research, and gave an estimated chronology of Richard’s works, in his “*Deus existentia amoris.*” *Teologia della carità e teologia della Trinità negli scritti di Riccardo di San Vittore (+1173)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

² Johannes Beumer noted the problem already in his “Richard von Sankt Viktor, Theologe und Mystiker.” *Scholastik* 31 (1956): 213–238, esp. 230–31. For the second opinion, see the following: Joseph Ebner, *Die Erkenntnislehre Richards von Sankt Viktor*, 72 (BGPTM 19/4; Münster: Aschendorff, 1917); Eugène Kulesza, *La doctrine mystique de Richard de Saint-Victor*, 27 (Saint-Maximin: Ed. de la Vie Spirituelle, [1924]); Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique des disputes scholastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII*, 98–99 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1995). For the first, see the following: Robert Javelet,



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Both groups of authors use authentic works of Richard in their arguments, often even the same passages.³

The thesis has tried to interpret Richard's works in a broader context, that of his other works and the works of Hugh of St. Victor. In the literature, Hugh and Richard, as two significant figures in their own right, are usually discussed separately. In the question of Richard and the *facie ad faciem* vision—and, moreover, in the case of Hugh—all the literature follows the developments of the dogma that finished in the mid-thirteenth century. This development was a logical consequence of certain Augustinian teachings.

Videre facie ad faciem/per speculum

The Scriptural verse 1Cor 13:12 uses two terms in order to describe the difference between the cognition of God in the present state and the future state, after the earthly life: *nunc videmus per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem*. In the interpretation of the later Augustine, this sentence marks the radical difference between the earthly cognition of God and the heavenly one.⁴ The mirror in Augustine means the soul or reason itself, which is the image and likeness of God. This mirror—all our cognition—became obscure through original sin: this obscurity will be removed only in the final state of the soul, where—only after death—the mind will be able to see God immediately, having been restored to its original form, and it will properly mirror the Trinity. During this life, we cannot see God directly, but only discover His residual likeness in the soul: this is an indirect and mirrored vision. The full cognition of God is the promise of the eternal life, while all earthly cognition must be necessarily imperfect, restricted and mediated: this is, in the wording of István Perczel, Augustine's anthropological pessimism and epistemological optimism.⁵

“L’extase au XIIe siècle,” DS 4/2: 2113–2120, esp. 2118–2119; Léonce Reypers, “Connaissance mystique de Dieu, jalons jusqu’au douzième siècle,” DS 5: 888–892.

³ These passages are *Benjamin major* III. 8–10, IV. 7, IV. 11, V. 14; sometimes *Adnotatio in Ps 2* and *in Ps 113*.

⁴ See esp. *De Trinitate* XV, 8, 14 and 9, 15–16.

⁵ Perczel uses this term in his *Isten felfoghatatlansága és leereszkedése. Szent Ágoston és Aranyásájú Szent János metafizikája és misztikája*. [Incomprehensibility and descending of God: the metaphysics and mysticism of St. Augustine and St. John Chrysostom] (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1999).



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Thinking in terms of the dichotomy between *per speculum* and *facie ad faciem*, the *tunc* and *nunc* should cover all the possible times and all the ways of cognition of God. For the Latin theology using this dichotomy, there were two especially problematic cases. The first case was the knowledge of the prelapsarian Adam, who being earthly man, knew God without the influence of any sin. The second case was St. Paul, who, bearing the consequences of original sin after Adam's fall, was caught up into the third heaven (2Cor 12:2). Both figures—problematic for other theologians—became key figures for the Victorines: Hugh dealt with Adam, concerning epistemology and anthropology, Richard with Paul, writing on contemplation.

The dichotomy of *per speculum* and *facie ad faciem*, with their attributed meanings, is not very appropriate to describe Adam's and Paul's cognition, but the later Latin theology used this dichotomy. The question of what kind of knowledge they could have had was decided in the mid-thirteenth century.

According to the (later no longer questioned) consensus of the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, and moreover the Franciscan *Summa Halensis* and Bonaventure, Adam had seen God *per speculum*, through the clear mirror of his soul, which became obscured later by original sin.⁶ In the judgement of St. Paul's *raptus*, after a short period of *visio mediastina*, an Augustinian idea triumphed again: St. Paul saw God *facie ad faciem*.⁷

The concept of the *facie ad faciem* vision came, as a result of the condemnations of 1241, which denied the incomprehensibility of God, to be equated with a *per essentiam* vision, with the declaration of God's entirely understandable nature. Later, this concept of a *facie ad faciem* vision served as a framework for the interpretation of Hugh and Richard of St. Victor: both thirteenth-century theologians and twentieth-century scholars used these concepts for understanding them.

⁶ This teaching is a reaction against a Hugonian thesis transmitted by the Lombard's *Sent II d. 23*, see Albertus Magnus, *Comm in II Sent d 23 F a 2 co* (*Opera omnia*, vol. 27, 393–394. Paris: Vives, 1896); Aquinas, *In II Sent 23 q 2 a 1* (*Opera omnia* ed. frommann-holzboog, vol. 1); *Summa Halensis* (published under the title *Summa theologica*) I–II tract. 3 q 4 membrum 2 cap. 1 a 1 co and a 2 ad 2 (ed. Quaracchi, vol. 2, 765 and 769); Bonaventure, *In Sent II d 23 a 2 q 3 co* (*Opera omnia*, ed. Quaracchi, vol. 2, 544–45).

⁷ See Nikolaus Wicki, *Die Lehre von der himmlischen Seligkeit in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik von Petrus Lombardus bis Thomas Aquin*, 162–174 (Fribourg, Switzerland: Universitäts-Verlag, 1954).



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Methodological questions

In order to answer the question whether Richard admitted the *facie ad faciem* vision of God or not, we must investigate several circumstances. First of all, we should address the legitimacy of the question. Until now, the traditional approaches have been based on the results of the thirteenth-century development of the dogma, looking for the *per essentiam* vision in the Ricardian and Hugonian teachings. In spite of the continuity of the Christian theology, to impose a later, and basically Aristotelian⁸ approach on these authors, who thought in another, non-Aristotelian anthropological framework, is already in itself a kind of anachronism. An even worse anachronism is to interpret their teachings without the study of their anthropology. Another usual presumption is to suppose that the words *facie ad faciem* meant the same eschatological vision for Richard as they did for his contemporaries, as in the case of the *Glossa ordinaria*, Peter Lombard's *Collectanea*, or such a spiritual author as Bernard of Clairvaux.⁹

This thesis applies the following working hypotheses: (1) Richard's teaching on the epistemology and anthropology was based on the theories of Hugh; Richard was much more of a synthesist and refiner of them than an inventor of utterly different theories; (2) the basis for Richard's teachings about contemplation (in which context the terms *facie ad faciem videre* and *quasi facie ad faciem videre* occur) are essentially based on Hugh's (anthropological and epistemological) teachings about Adam; (3) Hugh's teaching on Adam radically differed from the teachings of the thirteenth-century theologians on Adam's cognition; (4) this difference was so great that his teachings were tacitly rejected.

Therefore, any approach using the thirteenth-century categories is necessarily fruitless and contradictory, as is shown in Richard's reception. In order to avoid these mistakes, the research has to be started at the beginning, at Adam and Hugh.

⁸ The necessary elements of this approach are the vision of God conceived as *per essentiam* vision, the *lumen gloriae* as *medium disponens*, and the intellect which, being connected to the body, can grasp only corporeal things.

⁹ See *Glossa ordinaria* and the Lombard's *Collectanea* on 1Cor 13:12 (PL 114, col. 543C and PL 192, coll. 1662D–1663A): both based on *De Trinitate* XV. 9,15–16 (PL 42, coll. 1068–1069). Bernard (*De diligendo Deo* 27–30, 39, *De libero arbitrio et gratia* 12, 15, *Sermo* 31 in *Cantica*) does not mark anywhere contemplation as face to face vision.



Hugh on Adam: Augustinian and Victorine

In his *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* Book I, Hugh of St. Victor presented two epistemological doctrines of the cognition of God: a traditional but somewhat modified Augustinian one, and another, typically Victorine one. The Augustinian teaching is about the soul as the mirror and image of God, in which mirror we can discover, using our reason, the image of the Trinity (*vestigia Trinitatis*). This Trinitarian image is nothing other than the relationship between the three realities of the soul: mind, wisdom and love.¹⁰ This doctrine—which is otherwise a part of the generally accepted Augustinian commonplaces in the twelfth century—has three points which should be emphasised. First, the self-cognition has a pre-eminent role, man being the image of God. Secondly, during this life, all our cognition of God can be gained by the mirror of the soul. Third, this mirror is obscured by original sin: the cognition gained cannot be as full as in the vision of the blessed soul, when the obscure image of God in us becomes a clear image once again. For the theologians following the accepted Augustinian teachings, these three points mean, logically, the investigation of the soul—an image deformed by original sin—and this deformity means for them a strong restriction of the possible knowledge of God.

One of the essential differences between Hugh and other theologians of his age was that Hugh did not accept the entire Augustinian teaching about the soul. He accepted that the soul is the image of God, and that it is a mirror through or by means of which to see God, and consequently accepted the importance of self-knowledge and the psychological trinitology of the late Augustine. What he omitted from *De sacramentis* Book 1 part 3 is the entire “anthropological pessimism and epistemological optimism” of Augustine.

That is to say, Hugh developed his own, “Victorine” doctrine of cognition of God concerning the epistemology of the prelapsarian Adam. This is already an essential difference between Hugh and his contemporaries. The doctrine has two wordings or models: one is the allegory of the three eyes, the other his own teaching of the divine likeness and image in man.

In Hugh’s epistemology Adam is a paragon of (almost) perfect knowledge, having three cognitive faculties. These faculties are, marked by allegorical names, the eye of the body, the eye of reason and the eye of contemplation. The eye of the body was given for perceiving the corporeal things; the eye of reason sees the human soul and its situation in the creation. The eye of

¹⁰ The doctrine can be found in *De sacr* I part 5, 6.



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contemplation, by the illumination of divine grace, contemplates God in the soul—and this cognition of God is an immediate knowledge about Him.¹¹

In Hugh's other model, the divine image and likeness in man could be described as two orientations towards God: one has a cognitive character (*ratio* and *cognitio veritatis*), another an affective one (*dilectio* and *amor virtutis*). This concept of man influences his conception of *restauratio*. Richard was strongly influenced by both epistemological frameworks. An innate orientation of the soul towards God, which orientation is redeemable even in the fallen state, and an innate cognitive faculty which can see God immediately if it is helped by the illuminating grace—this is Hugh's most important legacy for Richard's epistemology and anthropology.¹²

The Victorine model of Adam, having an immediate cognition and knowledge of God, cannot be interpreted in the duality of the visions *facie ad faciem* and *per speculum*. Hugh never used these terms describing Adam's knowledge; moreover, he admitted that this knowledge was between our cognition from faith (as used *per speculum* in other contexts) and that of the cognition of the blessed souls (*facie ad faciem*, in other contexts). The thirteenth-century Franciscan theologians—who otherwise rejected his teaching, preferring the duality of the two visions—described Hugh's conception as *semiplene et immediate* cognition of God.¹³

Original sin changed the epistemological conditions: in the allegorical concept of the eye, it is described as the “going blind” of the eye of contemplation and the “becoming rheumy” of the eye of reason; in the concept of image-likeness it is ignorance and concupiscence. The fact that, for Hugh, Adam was the paragon of knowledge had crucial consequences:

- 1) The epistemological consequence of sin is termed ignorance, loss of knowledge. It means the loss of the knowledge of God (the eye of contemplation, from this aspect identical with the divine image), and it means the loss of moral knowledge (for in this respect, the eye of reason too is identical with the divine likeness).

¹¹ *De sacr* I part 6, esp. chap. 5–6 and 12–15; part 10 chap. 2 (PL 176 coll. 266–68, 270–272; 329C) and *In Hier. cael.* III (PL 175 coll. 975D–976B).

¹² See *De sacr* I part 6 chap. 2 (PL 176 col. 264CD); Richard, *Adn. in Ps 121* and *Benjamin minor* chap. 1 and 4 (PL 196 col. 363BD; col. 1 and 4); *Liber exceptionum* I. 1. 1 (ed. Châtillon, 105. Paris: Vrin, 1958).

¹³ Bonaventure, *In II Sent* d 23 a 2 q 3 co (ed. Quaracchi, vol. 2, 545) and *Summa Halensis* I–II tract. 3 q 4 m 2 cap. 1 a 2 co (ed. Quaracchi, vol. 2, 768).



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- 2) The divine image is reparable *in this life*. The Victorine “project” of *restauratio* means the reconstruction of the damaged orientations towards God, by means of double education: *cognitio veritatis* and *amor virtutis*. This means an inseparable process of learning and moral education. In Hugh’s conception this is the God-given purpose of the Scripture.¹⁴
- 3) The divine image is not the image which the fallen Adam had. The term *restauratio* itself is telling: the aim is to bridge the gap caused by original sin, helped by grace, and attain the blessing which Adam had before he sinned. This blessing is the immediate vision of God in contemplation, as a co-operation of the illuminating grace and the natural working of the cognitive faculties. This conception of Adam radically influences Hugh’s epistemology: it takes it away from its eschatological context as given by Augustine, and puts it into the context of the efficacious grace. This does not mean the full and general abolition of the consequences of sin for humanity; but it gives a definite, important role to grace, by which we can—and we must—approximate towards a more perfect status.
- 4) All of Adam’s knowledge, except sensual perception, was the result of the co-operation of his cognitive faculties *and* divine grace.¹⁵ This illuminating grace is not the working of the Holy Spirit: in the Victorine School, following the Areopagitic theology of the *Hierarchia coelestis*, God the Father is conceived as *dator luminum*, and Christ, who is the Wisdom of the Father, is the *lumen illuminans*, the light which illuminates. The Victorine theology is the theology of Wisdom and wisdom: the soul is created wisdom and *lumen lucens ex lumine*, and divine grace is always *illuminatio*. The *lumen illuminans* is Christ: He is the simple ray of light in the *Hierarchia coelestis*¹⁶ and He is the ray of light which later the contemplative can see in Richard’s spiritual works.
- 5) The three cognitive faculties which Adam had are epistemological and anthropological constants for Hugh—conceived both in the framework of the eye-allegories and “orientations.” Although after sin they are dam-

¹⁴ See e.g. Hugh, *Didascalicon* VI, 14 (PL 176 col. 809CD, ed. Buttimer, 130) and Richard, *Liber exceptionum* I. 1. 1–5 (ed. Châtillon, 104–106).

¹⁵ See *De sacr* I. 6. 5–6, 12–15 as above.

¹⁶ Hugh, *In Hier. cael* II (PL 175 coll. 943–944) and *De sapientia animae Christi* (PL 176 coll. 846–856).



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aged—the eye of contemplation even blinded—they are *not* removed, and illumination can (re-)activate them.¹⁷ And grace does not cease to work.

Faith as mirror

The juxtaposition of the accepted but limited Augustinian idea of the mirror of the soul (presented in *De sacramentis* I. 3) and the two original Victorine (or Hugonian) concepts (the three eyes, and the divine image and likeness as orientation or attraction towards God) results in a gap between the theories. Hugh used the Augustinian idea of the mirror by which we can investigate the traces or signs of God. Having lost Adam's indirect contemplation of God, which was a sure knowledge of God, faith is a substitute for this lost faculty. Hugh defines faith as certainty, above opinion but below knowledge. The *per speculum in aenigmate* vision for Hugh means the mediate vision of faith: the heart is a mirror, the image in it is faith, but the enigma is the Scripture—the purpose of which is, dealing with the works of restoration (*opera restorationis*), which will restore the original status of man, teaching the *cognitio veritatis* by its historical and allegorical sense, and the *amor virtutis* by its tropological sense. The other Victorine idea is the eye of contemplation, which was able to see God immediately: this idea recurs in the form of the eye of the mind, which, illuminated by divine grace, can see God immediately.

Ricardian synthesis

Richard of St. Victor bridged the gap of the two Hugonian teachings in his epistemology. He created this continuity by the concept of *intelligentia*. *Intelligentia* is a cognitive faculty of the soul which takes cognisance of invisible realities: its proper domain is the cognition of the soul, the spirits and God, but its range is over the reason. This means the remapping of the cognitive faculties. Richard contracted the cognitive functions of the Hugonian eyes of reason and contemplation, incorporating self-knowledge into the working of the *intelligentia* as the fourth contemplation of the six.¹⁸ Self-cognition is the beginning of the proper

¹⁷ See *In Hier. cael* III, where Hugo speaks about the eye of mind (PL 175 coll. 975–976).

¹⁸ Richard elaborates his theory on contemplation in a systematic manner (see *Benjamin major* I). He speaks about six contemplations, based on the triad of faculties of the soul



working of the *intelligentia*, and this is the transformed Augustinian teaching: gazing at the mirror of the soul, looking for the divine image, means for Richard investigating the soul in a five-level cognition scheme of the fourth contemplation, of which the highest grade is the investigation of the blessings of grace. Richard incorporated the model of illumination as well: the divine illumination is continuous from the beginning of self-cognition through the cognition of God. This continuously working illumination bridges the gap between the inherited Augustinian and the invented Victorine conceptions of cognition. Richard incorporated into his concept the consequence of original sin as well. Hugh used the allegories of the blinded eye and the seeing eye illuminated by grace. Richard's impediment is the allegorical veil of the Tabernacle which conceals the Ark: this veil can be removed in contemplation—which is a more organic metaphor than the blind eye.¹⁹

What Richard carries out is nothing other than the remapping but preserving of the cognitive faculties of the prelapsarian Adam—and presenting it as a possible anthropology for man here on earth. There is one important difference: the veil, or, in Hugh, the blindness. Neither Hugh nor Richard denied the consequences of original sin. But they allowed that divine grace can remove this impediment temporarily, when the *intelligentia* can glimpse God. This is not a continuous state, just an assurance or token, *pigrum, arrba*: the inchoation of the heavenly contemplation.²⁰ From an epistemological aspect, in these moments the human soul reaches its highest possible state: the *intelligentia* conforms to the divine clarity (cf. the Transfiguration in *Benjamin minor*), it turns into wisdom—and this wisdom is the Wisdom. The highest part of the soul conforms to the Light, the Wisdom, the Glory of God—and this is Christ.

This teaching matches neither the Augustinian scheme nor its “anthropological pessimism.” Whatever “epistemological optimism” it has, it is rather eschatological. The Victorine teaching is a radical “anthropological optimism” together with “epistemological optimism” without eschatological restrictions.

(imagination, reason and *intelligentia*), on the triad of activities of the soul (thinking, meditation, and contemplation), and the triad of objects of cognition (*sensibilia, intelligibilia, intellectibilia*). Contemplations 3 and 4 deal with souls and spirits (*intelligibilia*), 5 and 6 with God and divine secrets (*intellectibilia*).

¹⁹ And at the same time, it is an elegant etymological hint of *revelatio*. See *Benjamin major* III, 9 (PL 196 col. 119A).

²⁰ Its temporary aspect is marked by the jumping animals of *Benjamin major* V, 14 and *Adn. in Ps 113*: gambolling sheep, fish jumping out of the water.



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The immediate vision of God is possible on earth, because this Victorine anthropology assumes the active illumination of grace (Wisdom) and constitutes *intelligentia*, a cognitive faculty for receiving grace. The sentence *Nos autem omnes revelata facie, gloriam Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem, tanquam a Domini Spiritu* [2Cor 3:18] means for Richard not the Augustinian eschatological vision of *De Trinitate* XV, 8, 14 but the highest grade of contemplation, when the *intelligentia* conforms to Wisdom.

Earthly immediate vision of God

The conclusion of our research is that Richard of St. Victor taught the possibility of the immediate vision of God in the earthly life, at the highest level of contemplation. This immediate vision means the glimpse of the divine Wisdom—who is Christ—and the conforming of the *intelligentia*, the highest cognitive faculty, to the glory of God. Richard might have taught this doctrine, because he used the anthropology of his predecessor, Hugh of St. Victor. Hugh attributed to the first man such cognitive faculty by which, co-operating with the efficacious illumination of grace, Adam was enabled to experience the immediate vision of God—and this faculty is undetachable from the divine image and likeness. Original sin can only hamper its working, while the illumination can restore its original function. According to Richard, the immediate vision of God by illumination is possible in this life; we can to a certain extent prepare ourselves for it—this is the aim of the Victorine education: *amor virtutis et cognitio veritatis*—but whatever happens, it happens by the sovereign grace of God.

What Richard taught is nothing else than (using the Franciscan terms) a *sempiene et immediate* vision of God: the reformulating of Adam's knowledge, applied to the postlapsarian condition. This *immediate et semiplene* vision matches neither the *facie ad faciem* vision of the theologians (whether in the twelfth century or earlier), since the *immediate et semiplene* vision is not the full eschatological vision, nor the *per speculum* vision, since, unlike the latter, the *immediate et semiplene* vision is an immediate vision of God. Richard himself, naturally, distinguishes between the contemplative vision of the earth and the heaven. The heavenly contemplation is a fuller form of the earthly one, and the earthly is the beginning of the heavenly one—but there are no epistemological differences: both happen from the co-operation of the illuminated *intelligentia* and the illuminating grace.



Videre (quasi) facie ad faciem

These results concerning the anthropological background make partly understandable the question of why Richard uses the words *facie ad faciem* in the context of contemplation. These words were for his contemporaries, like Bernard of Clairvaux or William of St. Thierry, *termini technici* meaning the eschatological vision of God, following an Augustinian interpretation. Concerning contemplation, Richard writes both about *quasi facie ad faciem* and *facie ad faciem* vision. For the earlier research, the places mentioning *quasi facie ad faciem* served as arguments to prove that Richard did not teach the *facie ad faciem* vision; for other scholars the other type of places served the opposite goal. As a result of my research, I think the two expressions were basically synonymous for Richard. Neither of them had the value of a term, because he used his own terms describing the immediate vision.

According to my research, the cause of his neglect of the traditional term *facie ad faciem* vision was his theory of *speculatio*. This concept, opposed to the concept of contemplation, is present, and recurs, in a series of his works written certainly before *Benjamin major*,²¹ in the *Benjamin major*, although he mentions once the difference between contemplation and *speculatio*, he uses the latter as a quasi-synonym for contemplation; in the *Nonnullae allegoriae*, a work following *Benjamin major*, the two words are already synonymous.

The origin of the concept is Hugh of St. Victor's interpretation of the terms *symbolum* and *anagoge* of the Areopagite.²² Hugh interpreted *symbolum* as a juxtaposition of visible forms in order to demonstrate invisible things, *anagoge* as the elevation of mind to contemplate the highest things. Hugh speaks about *anagogica demonstratio* and *symbolica demonstratio* as well. *Anagogica demonstratio* occurs when the truth can be seen without any concealment, *nude, pure et sine integumento*, and *symbolica demonstratio* when the truth is hidden by visible forms. For Hugh, interpreting the Areopagite, these terms meant *two ways* by which the Scriptures express the truth. In his commentary on the Apocalypse, Richard takes these ideas out of their original Scriptural context, and identifies them with *two kinds of spiritual vision*—with the same content.²³ He calls it contemplation when the “truth can be seen in its simplicity:” this is his basic term for the immediate vision of God. This formula has variants as well: *Videre in*

²¹ See *Benjamin minor, De exterminatione, Adn in Ps 113*.

²² *In Hier. cael II* (PL 175 col. 941CD).

²³ *In Apoc I. 1* (PL 196 coll. 686–688).



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*pura et simplici veritate, videre in simplici veritate, videre veritatem in sua simplicitate (sine involucro), videre (summae) sapientiae lumen in simplici veritate (sine aliquo involucro), videre veritatem (absque involucro).*²⁴ By these relatively invariable formulae the forms *videre facie ad faciem* and *quasi facie ad faciem* can appear, designating the same contemplation.

Speculatio* and *similitudo

To understand how the two expressions can be synonymous, it was necessary to investigate the teaching of *speculatio*. The *speculatio* means the cognition of invisible things using *similitudines*. The *similitudo* is Richard's own term for Hugh's *symbolum*—it means visible forms or qualities applied to facilitate the taking cognisance of invisible things. In Richard's Victorine reading of the Areopagitic term the *similitudo* means everything that gives a mediated vision of God. In Hugh's commentary on *Hierarchia coelestis* we can find that both the world and the Scripture are the works of Wisdom, and that the soul is a *similitudo* of God. Richard synthesises these elements. The *per speculum* vision for him means nothing other than cognition through *similitudines*, and the *similitudo* means not only the Scriptures but also the vision, in which Jacob has seen God in corporeal form; the human soul, by the co-operation of the *intelligentia* and imagination, can understand the *similitudines*. The cognition through *similitudines* is called generally *speculatio*, but in the *Benjamin major* it is transformed into *sublevatio mentis*; in *Benjamin minor* 14–24 it is *imaginatio rationalis intelligentia permista*.

In my interpretation, the ever-recurrent form of *videre lumen in puritate* and so on is the pure analogical description of the immediate vision of God: the expression *facie ad faciem videre* itself is nothing more than a *similitudo*: corporeal images used to demonstrate invisible things. For this reason, the forms *quasi facie ad faciem* and *facie ad faciem* are interchangeable, but the form *videre veritatem* is never omitted.

The radical distinction between the *similitudines* and the *res* means the radical reinterpretation of the traditional Augustinian imagery of the mirror. They accept that the *animus rationalis* is a mirror of God—but being an image and likeness (*imago et similitudo*) of God, it is only a *similitudo*, and the *similitudines* (like the *symbola* in the Areopagite) can both reveal and hide the truth. The core of the Victorine theology is to leave the *similitudines* and, helped by the illumination of God, to strive towards the Truth. The created world is a *similitudo*—in

²⁴ See e.g. PL 196 col. 187B, 147B, 337CD, 1055A etc.



Hugh's wording in *De tribus diebus, simulacrum*; the faith is a sacrament for Hugh—that is, another *similitudo*;²⁵ the highest *similitudo* is the soul itself: an image of the divine light.²⁶ We can see in the mirror of the reasonable soul only things subjected to reason—but God is not subjected to it. For this reason the Victorines strive towards the immediate vision, which is possible in this life; the vision in which the created light conforms to the uncreated light and become one *in spiritu*.²⁷ Until then we can see only (*velut*) *per speculum in aenigmate*, then (*quasi*) *facie ad faciem*.

Results and conclusions

Although my study concentrating on contemplation and “face to face” vision, has covered just a fragment of Richard's spiritual *oeuvre*, it has still presented several new findings. Previous scholarship recognised that Richard used Hugh, and mostly knows where he quotes him verbatim, but the two authors have not been investigated in their relationship. The thesis has shown that Richard is a most faithful follower of Hugh in these spiritual writings. What we read in the language of *anagogica demonstratio* in Hugh's theological writings, we find in Richard's *symbolica demonstratio*, veiled by *similitudines*. The proper way to understand Richard is to read him with Hugh: this comparative reading is lacking in the literature.

Another result is the study of *speculatio*. This is quite a well-defined doctrine in Richard's works before *Benjamin major*. At this stage of research I cannot say why Richard abandoned and transformed this teaching, but the change is obvious. In the *Benjamin major* he begins to use contemplation and *speculatio* as synonyms, whereas earlier the two words were antonyms. At the same time, he ceases to use *facie ad faciem* in the context of the contemplation: there remains the *videre veritatem*. These writings were written most probably between 1159 and 1162, and among the works examined the *Benjamin major* and *Nonnullae allegoriae* mark the dilution of the terminology. An investigation of the theological environment could shed some light on the reasons for this change. Similarly, an investigation among other works of Richard could give some clues.

²⁵ *De sacr* I. 10. 9 (PL 176 col. 343A, cf. 342BC).

²⁶ Richard: “Praecipuum et principale speculum ad videndum Deum animus rationalis,” *Benjamin minor*, 72 (PL 196 col. 51C); Hugh, *In Hier. cael* II (PL 175 col. 955 and 939), *De sapientia animae Christi* (PL 176 col. 849AB).

²⁷ See PL 196 col. 1113CD, 15CD, 338D, 1221C, 1222D.



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Another conclusion of the study is that Richard's anthropology is very strongly based on Hugh's anthropology of Adam. To the best of my knowledge, this is not an investigated issue. The Hugonian doctrine about Adam's immediate contemplation was rejected first, it seems to me, in the 1240s by the *Summa Halensis* and Bonaventure (who simply copied his passage from the *Summa*). There was a century after Hugh's death (1141) during which this teaching was a valid theory: the Lombard and the *Summa sententiarum* borrowed from him the idea of Adam's immediate, *sine medio* vision of God. From this point of view, it is necessary to scrutinise other Victorine authors and authors outside St. Victor as well, like Thomas Gallus, Isaac de Stella; authors, like Hugo de Balma and Bonaventure, who criticised, overwrote or refused the Victorine concept of cognition of God, deserve special attention.

In this thesis I pointed out a radical quasi-ontological interpretation of *symbolum* or *similitudo*. No contemporary author seems to have faced the question in such a way as Richard, following Hugh. The idea that even the reasonable soul is a *similitudo*, of which investigation can bring only restricted results, seems not to have struck contemporary authors. The immediate vision of the Victorines, as I would like to suggest, is a radical novelty: to see God *not* in the mirror (of the soul) but in Himself (naturally, this happens in the soul).

This teaching gives other perspectives for the doctrines of grace: an "anthropological optimism." Grace naturally works together with us, even in the immediate vision of God. This vision of grace which can elevate us from the postlapsarian state to the immediate vision differs radically from the austere late Augustinianism, which—although ever emphasising the role of grace against Pelagius—elevates unbreachable walls between the postlapsarian life and the immediate vision of God. Aquinas and Bonaventure, in spite of any other influence, follow the merciless Augustinianism with their *medium disponens*. A comparative study on the history of the concept of grace would be helpful.

Concluding, I point out some strictly Ricardian issues for further research. His unwritten angelology emerges continuously in the *Benjamin major*: in the previous spiritual works—except for the *Adnotatio in Ps 113* with the explicit mention of the Areopagite—it does not have too much of a role, and nor does it in Hugh's *De sacramentis*. This mention points out the—hitherto unexamined—possible Areopagitic influences in Richard. It seems that in St. Victor only the *Hierarchia coelestis* exerted influence: this question should be investigated, together with the possibility of an Eriugenian influence. Other research could investigate the genesis of his *Benjamin major*. This *magnum opus* is usually interpreted in isolation. The connection presented in my study between



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Adnotatio in Ps 113 and *Benjamin major* V. 14 was just an example: *Benjamin major* seems to be a turning point. The extension of the concept of *contemplatio*, the equal use of *speculatio* and *contemplatio*, the redefinition of the earlier *speculatio* as *contemplatio in ratione secundum imaginationem* and *sublevatio mentis*—all are clues for further research. We do not know Richard's sources in these writings, but the *Liber exceptionum* shows how widely-read an author he was.



TEXT AND COMMENTARY: THE ROLE OF TRANSLATIONS IN THE LATIN TRADITION OF ARISTOTLE'S *DE ANIMA* (1120–1270)

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Introduction

Few things more beautiful and more pathetic are recorded in history than this Arab physician's dedication to the thoughts of a man separated from him by fourteen centuries; to the intrinsic difficulties we should add that Averroes, ignorant of Syriac and of Greek, was working with the translation of a translation. The night before, two doubtful words had halted him at the beginning of the Poetics. These words were tragedy and comedy. He had encountered them years before in the third book of the Rhetoric; no one in the whole world of Islam could conjecture what they meant. [...] Something had revealed to him the meaning of the two obscure words. With firm and careful calligraphy he added these lines to the manuscript: «Aristu (Aristotle) gives the name of tragedy to panegyrics and that of comedy to satires and anathemas. Admirable tragedies and comedies abound in the pages of the Koran and in the mohalacas of the sanctuary».

(Jorge Louis Borges: Averroes' Search)

In this paper we will try to detect the interaction between text and commentary in the Latin tradition of Aristotle's *De anima*. Far from being a mechanical transposition, the work of the medieval translators was an interpretation which was shaped by the Ancient commentaries and which, in turn, influenced the commentaries of the medieval thinkers. Therefore our investigation is concerned with two major questions: how did the medieval translators make use of Ancient commentaries on Aristotle, and how did the translation influence the medieval commentaries?



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For the *verbum e verbo* technique¹ of the medieval translators, the basic semantic unit of a text is the single, unbound lexeme, that is, the word. Therefore the main issue medieval translators were concerned with was terminology—the specific words—used to explicate certain themes. The lexical tools with which medieval and modern European philosophers operated for centuries were improved in this way by the translators, who struggled to hand over to Western Europe the cultural inheritance of the Ancient and Classical Greeks. Our analysis will therefore focus on this lexical level of certain philosophical texts.

The study of philosophical translations, situated on the borderline between philosophy and philology, implies an interdisciplinary approach. My article, as a methodological experiment, is built on a comparative textual analysis of the different versions of the same text and the related commentaries. The core of the examination consists of comparison in two main, and entirely opposite directions: detecting the influence of the Ancient commentaries on Moerbeke's translation of *De anima*, and detecting the influence of Moerbeke's translation on medieval commentaries. This comparison involves several strata of texts: one needs first to compare the Greek original with the Latin translation, the Moerbeke translations with other Latin or vernacular, Ancient, medieval or

¹ The origins of the word for word method can be traced back at least to the first biblical translations: this was the text the authority of which allowed not even a change in the word order. In the case of the Aristotle translations of the Middle Ages, there was a double authority which tied the hands of the translators: the respect for the one who was called the Philosopher, and the prestige of the Greek language. However, there was much more in the promotion of this technique than respect for authorities. Such a technique was supported by a philosophy of language that stated that "language is there only to give external expression through a system of conventional signs to the thoughts or concepts which the mind conceives within itself, and which refer to external realities." See James McEvoy, "Language, Tongue and Thought in the Writings of Robert Grosseteste," in *Robert Grosseteste, exegete and philosopher* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994). According to this theory, there was no possibility of any given language misinterpreting thoughts expressed in another language: both are just vestments, which will lead us to the reality expressed by them. As Charles Burnett expressed it, this was "the faith that the medievals had in the ability of a literal translation to preserve not only the sense of the original, but—in an almost mystical way—the very words of the original author." See C. Burnett, "Translating from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: Theory, Practice and Criticism," in S. G. Lofts and P. W. Roseman, ed., *Éditer, traduire, interpréter: essais de méthodologie philosophique*, *Philosophes médiévaux* 36 (Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1997), 72.



modern translations, in order to grasp his way of working and the importance of these translations as exactly as possible.²

Medieval Philosophical Translations: the context of the *Aristoteles Latinus*

It is a sharp and simplified, but for our purposes a useful, distinction that while the philosophy of the Renaissance was marked by Platonism, the thinking of the medieval philosophers, especially thirteenth-century scholasticism, was highly influenced by Aristotle. While from Plato there are only a few fragments translated, the Aristotelian corpus was entirely transposed into Latin and continuously retranslated over the centuries.

Because the medieval educational system was still based on the same disciplines as in Ancient Greece and Rome, the same texts had to be used, but first translated. The enormous material in the domain of philosophy required a great effort on the part of the few translators of philosophical texts. After Boethius was executed in the sixth century, the flow of Greek philosophical texts translated into Latin diminished. In contrast to this, a burst of translating activity started in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with scholars such as James of Venice, Henricus Aristippus, Burgundio of Pisa, Robert Grosseteste and William of Moerbeke. There are two major figures who rendered texts from Arabic: Gerardus of Cremona and Michael Scotus.

The list of major achievements in this field begins with Boethius and his translations of the so-called *Logica vetus*, which included Aristotle's *De interpretatione* and *Categoriae*, and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and later, after a rediscovery of his other translations in the twelfth century, the *Prior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistici elenchi*. At the beginning of the twelfth century, thanks to the activity of

² In the evaluation of medieval translators' methods, it is necessary to keep in mind Guy Guldenstop's warning: "It is necessary to formulate some appropriate criteria by means of which to evaluate Moerbeke's translation. The criteria to be applied must be searched in the expectations of Moerbeke's contemporaneous reading public. It would indeed be inequitable to condemn his work for failing to measure up to our modern humanistic or philological norms. It is evident that this translation was not based on a linguistic and historical study of a critical text edition. It is also clear that Moerbeke did not aim at emulating the rhetorical style of the author he translated." See Guy Guldenstop, "Some Critical Observations on Moerbeke's Translation of Themistius' Paraphrase of *De anima*," in Rita Beyers and Jozef Brams, eds., *Tradition et traduction: les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au Moyen Âge Latin* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 241.



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James of Venice,³ there became available in Latin the *Physics*, the *Metaphysics*, the *De anima* and parts of the *Parva Naturalia*. The thirteenth century marks a new stage in the history of the *Aristoteles Latinus*: the *Nichomachean Ethics* and several related commentaries were translated by Robert Grosseteste.⁴

The last⁵ and the most famous figure of the medieval philosophical translations was William of Moerbeke, the major character of the present study. He not only revised the existing translations, but also rendered anew several works of Aristotle, such as the *Politics* and the *Poetics*, as well as some important ancient commentaries, such as those of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Philoponus, Ammonius and Simplicius. Almost all the Aristotelian texts having already been translated, he revised and continued the translation of the Aristotelian corpus (approximately between 1260 and 1280), these translations quickly becoming the most popular versions. With him the medieval Latin Aristotelian corpus became fixed, the next attempts to retranslate belonging already to the new expectations and new ideals of the Humanist period.

The medieval Latin versions of Aristotle are documents of medieval thinking as important as the original works of medieval thinkers. As soon as this was realised by modern scholars, the edition of these texts started. This project was initiated in 1930 by the Union Académique Internationale and it contains two parts. The first is the publication of a catalogue of the translations by G. Lacombe and Lorenzo Minio-Paluello,⁶ and the second the series of *Aristoteles Latinus*, which contains critical editions of these texts, as well as the *Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum*, which contains the translations of ancient Greek commentaries on Aristotle. All these are ongoing projects, which still are far from completion.

³ We know little about his life: he was a Venetian Greek cleric and philosopher from the twelfth century. The most comprehensive article on him is that of L. Minio-Paluello, "Iacobus Veneticus Grecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle," *Traditio* 8: 265–304.

⁴ James McEvoy, "Language, Tongue and Thought."

⁵ There could be several reasons for the fact that we have the last great translating enterprise in the second part of the thirteenth century, and that the next project of retranslation belongs already to the Renaissance. It is not the task of the present study to discuss this issue, yet we can observe that the outburst of translation activities is a concomitant phenomenon of periods of cultural prosperity.

⁶ G. Lacombe, ed., *Aristoteles Latinus. Codices: pars prior* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1939); G. Lacombe, ed., *Aristoteles Latinus. Codices: pars posterior* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955); L. Minio-Paluello, ed., *Aristoteles Latinus. Codices: Supplementa altera* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1961).

Description of sources

Apparently the most widespread book of the Philosopher in the Middle Ages was the *De anima*. If we examine the number of surviving manuscripts we can observe that it had even more exemplars in use than the *Metaphysics*.

The basic source material for our study⁷ is a fragment from the third book of Aristotle's *De anima*, namely the chapters about the cognitive faculties of humans: *DA* Book III, chapters 4–8. These four short chapters were widely influential in the Middle Ages: they provided the terminology with the help of which medieval philosophers were discussing the problem of intellection. For the debate in Paris about the unity of the intellect, a dispute between Thomas Aquinas and Siger of Brabant, this was the text on which they based on their arguments.

The main part of this article will consist of an analysis of Moerbeke's *De anima* translation and its interaction with the related commentaries. Although we will try to focus on Moerbeke's activity, we will use abundant comparative material from different periods. To determine the characteristic features of a medieval translation technique, we will compare Moerbeke's attempt with the *Vetus translatio* of James of Venice, one similar work from the Humanist period, namely the translation of Johannes Argyropulos of the *De anima*, as well as with modern English translations such as those of J. A. Smith, D. Ross and D. W. Hamlyn.

The first group of source material consists of the versions of the *De anima*. The main difficulty in our analysis is caused by the fact that the Latin *De anima* is not Moerbeke's own translation, but a revision of a former translation made by James of Venice in the twelfth century. The version of James has not yet been critically edited. The translation we have used is reconstructed by Clemens Stroick in his edition of Albert the Great's commentary on the *De anima*.⁸ The exact date when this translation was achieved is unknown, but the activity of

⁷ List of abbreviations concerning the source materials: *A* – Johannes Argyropulos' translation of Aristotle's *De anima* as it appears in the Bekker edition of Aristotle; *DA* – Aristotle's *De anima*; *N* – The *Nova translatio* of William of Moerbeke as it appears in the commentary of Thomas Aquinas; *P* – William of Moerbeke's translation of Philoponus' commentary on the *De anima*; *T* – William of Moerbeke's translation of Themistius' paraphrases to the *De anima*; *V* – The *Vetus translatio* of James of Venice as it appears in the commentary of Albert the Great.

⁸ Albertus Magnus, *De anima*, ed. Clemens Stroick (Aschendorf: Monasterium Westfalorum, 1968, hereafter cited as Stroick).



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James of Venice is usually fixed between 1125 and 1150. The approximate date of Albert's commentary is 1259–1260.⁹

There are some difficulties in the dating of the Moerbekian versions of the *De anima*. As has been demonstrated through a detailed analysis by Robert Wielockx,¹⁰ Moerbeke revised his version of the text. At the first stage he revised the already existing translation of James of Venice around 1260, and at a later stage he revised his own between 1266 and 1269. This revision is the so-called revision of Ravenna, which was treated by R. A. Gauthier as belonging to the first revision. But according to Wielockx, the differences are significant, and the methods and style used are characteristic of Moerbeke's later translations. There is one more partial revision of the text, as appears in the lemmas of Philoponus's commentary. As was pointed out by Minio-Paluello, this is a rather independent version, based on a different Greek manuscript edition.¹¹ The first version was reconstructed and edited by R. A. Gauthier in Aquinas' commentary on the *De anima*.¹² The version we find in John Philoponus' commentary, in form of lemmas, was edited by Gerard Verbeke.¹³ For the purposes of our study, the differences between the first revision and the Philoponus lemmas are relevant, therefore these will be the two variants we will reflect on.

The commentary of John Philoponus is fragmentarily translated, Moerbeke concentrating on the *De anima* 3.4–3.8, affirms that *reliqua huius operis non iudicavi oportere transferri*.¹⁴ In this case we know the exact date and place of the translation as given by Moerbeke: Viterbo, 17 December, 1268. This fragment, entitled *De intellectu*, was edited twice: by Marcel de Corte in 1934¹⁵ and by Gerard Verbeke in 1966. We have used here the later edition, and in

⁹ See Stroick, 1.

¹⁰ Robert Wielockx, "Guillaume de Moerbeke, réviseur de sa révision du *De anima*," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987): 113–185.

¹¹ Minio-Paluello, "Le texte du *De anima* d'Aristote: la tradition Latine avant 1500," in *Opuscula* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), 263. According to him, the Greek manuscripts which Moerbeke was using were most probably from the group SUX (U-Vaticanus Grecus 260, S-Laurentianus 81.1, X-Ambrosianus H. 50, all from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), seemingly in the first version mainly in accordance with X, while in the Philoponus version mainly U. These manuscripts are used also by D. Ross in the establishing of the Greek critical edition of the *De anima*.

¹² *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia Iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita*, vol. 45, 1: *Sententia Libri De anima*, ed. R. A. Gauthier (Paris: J. Vrin, 1984, hereafter cited as Gauthier).

¹³ Verbeke 1966.

¹⁴ Verbeke 1966, 119.

¹⁵ Marcel de Corte, *Le commentaire de Jean Philopon sur le troisième livre du Traite de l'âme d'Aristote*, (Liège: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 1934).



analysing this text we took in consideration Fernand Bossier's emendations to this edition, as they appear in the English translation of William Charlton.¹⁶ The other problem with the text of Philoponus is that we no longer have the original of this chapter, only that for the first two books. In the edition of the Greek text¹⁷ there is another variant of the third book, which is not identical with the one used by Moerbeke. It seems that it was a later replacement.

The paraphrase of Themistius is translated in its entirety, and we also possess the Greek original.¹⁸ Again, the exact date and time are known: Viterbo, 22 November, 1267. This translation was edited by Verbeke in 1973.¹⁹ In the manuscript of this translation we can also find a fragment of Philoponus' commentary (a few pages from the beginning), which was probably the first attempt of Moerbeke to render this writing as well.

The next version from the tradition of the Latin *De anima* is the translation of Johannes Argyropoulos from the fifteenth century. He was a Byzantine scholar in Florence at the court of the Medici, and he "translated more works of Aristotle than any other fifteenth-century scholar and, in terms of output, compares favourably with William of Moerbeke."²⁰ Although he already belongs to a period with a new and radically different type of ideal of translation, his work is important in our investigation as a revision of the same Latin version. He returned to this text twice: firstly around 1460 and secondly around 1485. We do not have a critical edition of his work; therefore, the text we have used is his second version, published in the Bekker edition of Aristotle.²¹ From the point of view of our investigation, it is interesting to see how he reshapes the medieval translations, and under what kind of influence.

While Albert the Great still used the *Translatio Vetus* for his commentary, supplemented by the Arabico-Latin version, Thomas Aquinas was the first who had at his disposal the new version made by William of Moerbeke in the *Sententia libri de De Anima* (1267–1268) and the *De unitate intellectus* (1270). We

¹⁶ John Philoponus, *On Aristotle on the Intellect (de Anima 3.4–8)*.

¹⁷ M. Hayduck, ed., *Commentarium in "de Anima."*

¹⁸ R. Heinze, ed., *Librorum "De anima" paraphrasis*.

¹⁹ Verbeke, 1973, There is a recent article of Guldentops, "Some Critical Observations," 239–263, which contains important emendations to the text edited by Gerard Verbeke.

²⁰ Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

²¹ *De anima*. tr. Johannes Argyropoulos, in *Aristotelis Opera*, ed. I. Bekker, vol. 3 (Berlin: Georgius Reimerus, 1831, hereafter cited as Bekker).



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shall see whether the use of different versions leads to different understandings of the text in Albert's and Aquinas' commentaries.

Another important reference material is the Arabico-Latin translation made by Michael Scotus around 1220–1235.²² It was translated as part of the commentary of Averroes. Although we are mainly concerned with the Graeco-Latin tradition, this translation is important for our study as a complementary text, one which was used by the medieval commentators. We cannot judge its value as a translation, but we are interested in its influence on the reading of medieval philosophers.

Since we possess several versions of the same text from different periods, and several treatises from the same field, by comparing them we have the opportunity to observe a medieval translator at work. We can detect his methods, his translating strategy, the development of his terminology.

Modern English translations could be useful in terms of comparison as well, especially if they are accompanied by textual commentaries. In this way, we can see whether the problematic terms and passages were the same for all of them, and if not, see which parts are accentuated differently, and how they relate to Aristotle's original work.

The first translation to examine is the one made by J. A. Smith in 1931.²³ The most important text to be considered is the commented translation of David Ross, which accompanied his critical edition of the Greek text, published in 1961.²⁴ The other commented translation is that of D. W. Hamlyn, published in 1968,²⁵ the most recent one known to me. This translation is concerned only with Books II and III, and several fragments of the first book.

γνω=σιφ and φρο/νησιφ: DA 429a 10

William of Moerbeke, translating the third chapter of the *De anima* of Aristotle, translates the passage
περι< δε< του= μορι/ου του= τη=φ ψυξη=φ %ϛ γνω/σκει τε η<
ψυξη< και< φρονει= (429a 10) as follows: *de parte autem animae qua cognoscit anima*

²² Averroes, *Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*. There is a French translation accompanied by a study on Averroes by Alain de Libera: Averroes, *L'Intelligence et la Pensée*, (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1998).

²³ In Aristotle, *The Complete Works. The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1984, hereafter cited as Smith).

²⁴ D. Ross, ed., *Aristotle: De anima* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, hereafter cited as Ross).

²⁵ D. W. Hamlyn, tr. *Aristotle: De anima Books II, III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968, hereafter cited as Hamlyn).

et sapit. But translating the commentary of Philoponus on this passage, he changes the *sapit* to *prudential*: *de parte autem animae qua cognoscit anima et prudential*. The question arises as to what led the translator to change the words. What was the nuance he neglected the first time around? In order to ascertain his understanding of the word, we will analyse a few selected passages from his translation and compare it with Humanist and modern English translations.

The restricted family derived from the root φρον- contains three words: the verb φρονεω, the noun φρονησιφ, and the adjective φρονημοφ.²⁶ Next to these, many other related terms exist as well: φρονημα, φροντι/ζειν, σωφρων, and ευφροων.

According to the dictionary, the verb φρονεω means in the first place *to have understanding, to be wise, to be prudent, to think rightly, to comprehend, to be minded to do*. The noun φρονησιφ means *purpose, intention, thought, judgement, pride, practical wisdom, prudence*, and the adjective φρονημοφ *wise, sensible, and prudent*.

In the dictionary of Peters only the noun-form is given. According to the author, at the origin of this term is the belief that there is always “some sort of intellectual control in virtue.”²⁷ In Plato, this term does not have any ethical and practical nuance; rather, it designates the contemplation of the Ideas, as a supreme type of knowledge. In Aristotle there are many senses of the word: in a first phase we can observe a Platonic type of usage, and starting with the *Nicomachean Ethics* this notion regains its moral dimension, theoretical knowledge being designated with the term σοφια. Plotinus retains the moral sense of the word as well, considering it a virtue.

Pierre Aubenque wrote a theoretical analysis of this problem, in his book *La prudence chez Aristote*.²⁸ The starting point for him is a genetic distinction between the two usages of Aristotle. He detected passages from the works of the initial period where Aristotle makes use of the so-called Platonic sense of this word, in contrast with opinion and sense perception. In these fragments φρονησιφ is usually accompanied by επιστημη or γνωσιφ, in order to designate the highest form of science, which is in fact identical to σοφια.²⁹ But starting

²⁶ These are the only terms which occur in the *De anima*.

²⁷ Francis E. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms* (New York: New York University Press, 1967) 224.

²⁸ Aubenque, *La prudence chez Aristote* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963).

²⁹ επιστημη τινοφ και φρονησιφ (*Metaf. M, 1078b 15*);

γνωσιφ η φρονησιφ (*De coelo, III, 1, 298b 23*);

διανοια επιστασθαι και φρονειν (*Physics, VII, 3, 247b, 11*);

φρονημον και επιστημον (*Physics, VII, 3, 247b, 18*);

προφ τε γνωσιν και την κατα φιλοσοφιαν φρονειν (*Topic. VIII, 14, 163b, 9*).



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with the *Nicomachean Ethics* it is no longer a science, but a dianoetic virtue.³⁰ It is “degraded” and turns, from being a supreme science, into a virtue of the opinative part of the soul, which operates in the contingent world. According to Aubenque, this latter sense of the term occurs only in the moral treatises.³¹ The author concludes that the usage of the term in Aristotle has two origins: a Platonic one and one taken from the archaic Greek tradition. In the following we are going to use the terms *Platonic meaning* and *traditional meaning* to distinguish between the two senses. The Platonic meaning refers to the highest science of the Supreme Being, with the same reference as ἐπιστη/μη or γνω=σιφ or νοσ=φ. The traditional sense is a moral one. Trying to define it, Aristotle said that it is neither science nor art, so it has to be a practical disposition. It is at the same time a virtue, one which determines the rules of choice, choice belonging to the field of moral virtue. What distinguishes it from science and wisdom is that while wisdom is concerned with absolute Good and Evil, the domain of φρο/νησιφ is good and evil for humans, being a type of knowledge of a limited area.

After this short historical presentation of the term, we will now analyse the role of this word in the *De anima*, its commentaries and the Latin translations of these made by William of Moerbeke. The sources we are going to analyse are the following: fragments from the Latin *De anima* made by Moerbeke (the so-called *translatio Nova*) contrasted to the *translatio Vetus* of James of Venice, and the commentaries of Themistius and Philoponus, comparing these with the Humanist translation of Johannes Argyropulos and modern English translations. The way Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas commented on these passages will also be examined.

According to a statistical analysis,³² the terms φρο/νεω, φρο/νησιφ and φρο/νιμοφ appear in the *De anima* thirteen times, prevalently in the verbal form.³³ The commentary of Philoponus is translated only from the fourth chapter of the third book, and so we have only one reference to this term (429a 11). As far as Themistius’ commentary is concerned, we have more data, the translation being complete.

³⁰ The term “dianoetic” (as opposed to “noetic”) denotes discursive reasoning: *E. N.*, I, 13, 1103a, 6; VI, 2, 1139a 1; VI, 5, 1140b 1.

³¹ Aubenque, *La prudence*, 23.

³² Gerald Purnelle, *Aristote: De anima: index verborum* (Liège: C.I.P.L., 1988).

³³ The complete list of appearances: 404b 5 (φρο/νεσιφ), 417b 8 (φρο/νη), 417b 8, 417 b 11 (φρονου=ν), 421a 22 (φρονισμω/τατον) 427a 18, 427a 19, 427a 22, 427a 24, 427a 28, 427b 7 (φρονει=ν), 427b 10, 427b 25 (φρο/νεσιφ), 429a 11 (φρονει=).

On first examination we can already observe several synonyms in the translation variants.

404b 5:

ου) φαι/νεται δ' οἷ γε κατα< φρο/νησιν λεγο/μενοφ νου=φ πα=σιν ο(μοι/ωφ υ(π α/ρξιν τοι=φ ζ%/οιφ, α)λλα ου)δε< τοι=φ α)νθρω/ποιφ πα=σιν.

T: *non qui secundum sapientiam intellectus dicitur, non omnibus similiter inest animalibus.*³⁴

421a 22: διο/ φρονιμ/ωτατο/ν ε)στι τω=ν ζ%/ων

T: *propter quod et prudentissimus animalium est homo.*³⁵

417b 8–11:

διο/ ου) καλω=φ ε©ξει λε/γειν το< φρονου=ν, οἷταν φρονω=, α)λλοιου=σθαι, ωἷσπερ ου)δε< το< ο)ικοδο/μον οἷταν ο)ικοδομω=.

T: *propter hoc non bene habet dicere habentem prudentiam quando prudenter agit alterari; neque enim aedificatorem quando aedificat,*³⁶

427a 18–23:

Ε)πει< δε< δυ/ο διαφοραι=φ ο(ρι/ζονται μα/λιστα τη/ν ψυη/ν, κινη/σει τε τω κατα< το/πον και< τ%= νοει=ν και< φρονει=ν και< αι)σθα/νεσθαι, δοκει= δ ε< και

το/ νοει=ν και< το/ φρονει=ν ωἷσπερ αι)σθα/νεσθαι τι ει)πναι (ε)ν α)μφοτε/ροι φ γα<ρ του/τοιφ κρι/νει τι η(ψυξη< και< γνωρι/ζει τω=ν ο©ντων), και< οιἷ γε α)ρξαι=οι το/ φρονει=ν και< το< αι)σθα/νεσθαι ταυτο<ν ει)πναι/ φασιν [..] οἷτι με ου)πν ου)

ταυ)το/ν ε)στι το/ αι)σθα/νεσθαι και< το< φρονει=ν, φανερο/ν.

T: *Quoniam autem dicimus non solum sensu coenoscere et iudicare, sed et ratione et mente, quid utique differant indicatoria haec ab invicem, considerandum deinceps. Quod autem non inutilis inquisitio sit, palam ex antiquioribus physicis; fere enim isti faciunt sensum idem rationi.*³⁷

From these passages it is already obvious that the translation into Latin can be difficult, because the actualisation of the Platonic and the traditional meaning at the same time is impossible. Transposing this notion to a different linguistic surrounding had as a result the loss of some nuances. From the passages analysed it becomes clear that the translator was conscious of these

³⁴ Verbeke 1973, 25.

³⁵ Verbeke 1973, 156.

³⁶ Verbeke 1973, 129.

³⁷ Verbeke 1973, 201.



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two meanings. The proof that he felt something from the polyphony of the word is that we can find many variants in the texts, which try to catch the manifold meaning of the Greek term.

The main passage where we have more variants is 429a10:

περι< δε< του= μορι/ου του= τη=φ ψυξη=φ %Π γινω/σκει τε η(ψυξη< και< φρονει=

We can find the following versions:

V: *De parte animae autem, qua cognoscit anima, et sapit.*³⁸

N: *De parte autem animae qua cognoscit et sapit.*³⁹

P: *De parte autem animae qua cognoscit anima et prudentiat.*⁴⁰

T: *De parte autem animae qua utimur ad theoriam et actionem.*⁴¹

We have here three varying translations of the same word. But before judging which one is more appropriate, we should define to which category of usage this verb belongs in this context. The translator tries to keep the semantic resonance of ethics and practical knowledge. But the way this term appears here reminds us of the Platonic usage. It appears in the same sentence, in syntactic and semantic parallelism (indeed, almost a formal redundancy based on synonymy) with γινω/σκει, just as it does in the passages quoted by Aubenque as examples of Platonic meaning. To the same argument we can add that while in the *Nicomachean Ethics* the prevalent form is that of the noun, in the cases with Platonic usage we find more verbs, as in the present case. The same synonymy appears in the passage below: νοει=v και< φρονει=v (427a 18). According to these arguments, and similarly in concordance with the relevant fragments from the *De anima* (417b 8–11, 427 a 18–b 25), we can conclude that the meaning as detected in the *Nicomachean Ethics* is irrelevant in the case of the *De anima*, where νο/ησιφ and φρο/νησιφ are at the same level and in the same category of intellectual cognition, as opposed to perceptive cognition.

However, the commentators, who knew very well the moral writings of Aristotle, perhaps even knowing the sense of the word from current usage, tried to reflect on this dimension of the word. For example, Philoponus, commenting on the passage 429a 10, says the following:

Cum dixisset de vegetativa anima et sensitiva et phantastica, ut simpliciter autem dicatur de irrationali, transit ad doctrinam de rationali anima. Prius autem de existimatione facit sermonem, dico autem de opinativo et meditativo. Quod enim

³⁸ Stroick, 177.

³⁹ Gauthier, 202.

⁴⁰ Verbeke 1966, 1.

⁴¹ Verbeke 1973, 213.



non sit nunc sermo de speculativo intellectu et de vocato secundum habitum insinuat per hoc quod dicit qua cognoscit anima et prudentiat. Prudentiare enim circa agibilia fit, circa haec enim prudentia; speculativus autem intellectus non negotiatur circa agibilia.

*Per cognoscit cognitivas animae potentias significat, per prudentiat autem activas; in duo enim haec potentiae animae dividuntur, scilicet in speculativum et activum. Prudentia autem circa practica vel agibilia: hoc enim consuevimus prudentiam vocare, circa contingentia aliter se habere bene gerere.*⁴²

This passage could have influenced Moerbeke to change the term he had once chosen, and to stick with *prudentia*. R. A. Gauthier, arguing that the moral of Aristotle is an intellectualist one, does not agree with the translation by *prudence* in modern languages, which for him neglects the theoretical nuance of this term, considering that *wisdom* would be more appropriate. Moerbeke tried this with the term *sapit*, which seemed to provide a good balance between (or combination of) theory and practice, but the problem is that the noun which was derived from this verb, *sapientia*, became identical with *scientia*, both meaning in fact σοφία, the supreme science. This was in fact the association made by Albert the Great, who commented on a version of the *Vetus* as follows:

*De parte autem animae rationalis, qua ipsa anima cognoscit distinguendo et formando agibilia et factibilia, quae pars intellectus activus arte et prudentia perfectus vocatur, et de parte animae, qua anima sapit prima et vera et ea quae per prima et vera accipiunt fidem – quae pars sapientia et intellectu principiorum perficitur et scientia et vocatur intellectus contemplativus – quaerere intendimus...*⁴³

Albert arrived at an original differentiation, which contradicts the distinction made by the Ancient commentators and which was followed by Moerbeke in his translation of the lemmas in Philoponus' commentary. For Albert, as for all Ancient and medieval commentators, these terms signified two different types of cognition. Albert inverts the two concepts in his interpretation. For him, the concept related to *prudentia* is *cognoscit*, and *sapit* is the one which implies theoretical, contemplative knowledge, clearly related here to *sapientia*.

Thomas Aquinas also, in his commentary, considered it necessary to distinguish between the two terms, in spite of the fact that he used the version with *sapit*.

⁴² Verbeke 1966, 1–2.

⁴³ Stroick, 177.



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*Supra autem dictum est quod differt inter sapere et intelligere: nam sapere pertinet ad iudicium intellectus, intelligere autem ad eius apprehensionem.*⁴⁴

The variant from Themistius is in fact a periphrasis: *utimur ad actionem*, which reflects the opposition between theory and practice, φρο/νησιφ meaning not only a faculty but the exercise, the operation, of such human faculties. It might be that at this stage Moerbeke had still not come to coin the verb derived from this *prudentia*, a verb which did not exist in Classical Latin. This presupposition seems to be confirmed by the other analytic form, the one of *prudenter agit*, which again tries to keep the active and practical character of this type of knowledge. The verb *ago* (here “to act”) is not the only form from his family of words: the objects of that mode of cognition which is φρο/νησιφ are τὰ πρᾶκτα, which is translated into Latin by *agibilia*,⁴⁵ that is to say, objects of action, operation, in contrast with *factibilia*, objects of production. Another term used by Moerbeke, which appears in the translation of Themistius’ work, is *ratio*. The choice of this term could have been motivated by the fact that in the context quoted above our term is opposed to the senses. If this is the sense of the passage, then this option for *ratio* is justified in this given context.

We can see that it would be hard to choose one ideal option. This is first of all because φρο/νησιφ has a lot of meanings, from which the two used by Aristotle appear to preclude each other: the Platonic meaning of the theoretical science, and the traditional sense of the practical science, which implies activity and a moral nuance, may be mutually incompatible. The Latin version always tries to take into consideration both senses of the word, but Aristotle never used the term with both meanings intended or implied at the same time. The sense in question is usually activated by the context: in the *Nicomachean Ethics* it is almost always the practical meaning. The frequency of the noun form shows to us that we have a well-defined concept, the basis of part of a system of morality for Aristotle. In this case *prudentia* is an appropriate solution, even taking in consideration Gauthier’s criticism: the Latin word has a much more intellectual character than the French or English “prudence.” But in the case of the *De anima* there is no need to accentuate the traditional meaning. The semantic parallelism confirms it, as does the occurrence of verbal forms, which are characteristic of these kind of structures. Of course with the appearance of several terms like *ratio*, *sapio*, *iudicare*, and so on, together with the fact that we use different terms for the nuances of the same term, we lose any other

⁴⁴ Gauthier, 202. As Gerard Verbeke pointed out, this is a different distinction. The Ancient commentators distinguished between theoretical and practical knowledge, Thomas is referring to the difference between understanding and judgement.

⁴⁵ *Prudentiare enim circa agibilia fit* (Verbeke 1966, 1).

different possibilities of interpretation, such as any connection with notions like σοφροσύνη.

Modern English translations, like that of David Ross, are not concerned with this term. Ross translated the problematic passage as follows: “with regard to the part by which the soul knows and thinks.”⁴⁶ He obviously understood this pair of terms as synonyms. Moreover, there are no comments on this fragment in the textual commentary which follows the translation, while we can see that both Philoponus and Themistius felt it important to reflect on this part of the text.

Basing our analysis on Argyropulos’ translation, we should now compare the Humanist technique with the medieval one.⁴⁷ The main passage we are concerned with is the same: *De animae autem ea parte qua cognoscit atque sapit*. This is similar to Moerbeke’s first version, the one used by Thomas Aquinas. The first thing to be observed is that in the Greek and medieval Latin we had the word *anima* twice, while here it occurs only once. We also have a demonstrative pronoun related to *parte*, which I suspect serves to replace the Greek article. Concerning the important terms from this passage, *sapit* needs to be examined. Why did he prefer this form?

Fortunately, the whole translation of Argyropulos has survived, and therefore we have the opportunity to check the other twelve occurrences of the term.⁴⁸ As we can see from the examples from the passages 404b 5, 421a 22,

⁴⁶ Ross, 289.

⁴⁷ We are aware of the fact that it is dangerous to make general statements on the basis of one example. Johannes Argyropulos was a Greek scholar: his attitude towards the Latin language and culture has to be examined from this point of view as well. Thus, since he represents a different type of intellectual, occupying a neutral position in the clash between the university masters and Humanists, one can argue to what extent his work is representative for the Humanist ideal of translation. See the remark of F. E. Cranz on Greek translators: “it is worth noting that the fifteenth-century translations of Aristotle were largely the work of Byzantine rather than of Latin scholars, with the notable exception of Leonardo Bruni. The explanation may lie in the fact that the Byzantine tradition of learning included philosophy in a way that Latin humanism did not.” See F. E. Cranz, “The Renaissance Reading of the *De anima*,” in *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1976), 360.

⁴⁸ “at ea mens tamen, et intellectus cui prudentia tribuitur, non modo universis similiter animalibus, sed ne hominibus quidem omnibus esse videtur” (404b 5); “quocirca non recte se habet dicere ipsum sciens, cum scit, alterari, sicut nec aedificatorem cum aedificat” (417b 8–11); “quapropter et prudentissimum est animalium” (421a 22); “videtur namque tam intelligere quam etiam sapere veluti quoddam sentire... veteres idem esse sapere sentireque censent... sentire simili similo arbitrantur et sapere... id est



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427b 10 and 427b 25, Argyropulos knew about the term *prudentia* and he even made use of it in a consistent way. But he used only the noun form. Whenever the verb form occurred in Greek, he rendered it by *sapere*. We can observe here an application of one of the ideas of Humanist translation theory. The term *prudentialiare* is a neologism invented by Moerbeke in order to face the challenges of the Greek text, while the noun is a Classical Latin word already used by Cicero. Wherever Argyropulos needed the noun form, he replaced the Greek with *prudentia*. But when a verbal form occurred, he used the classical term *sapere*. It is an example of the attempt of the Humanists to return to Classical Latin, which, according to them, was seriously damaged by the horrifying practice of Latin in the Middle Ages.⁴⁹

Conclusion

We started this article with an optimistic conjecture about the importance of the translations in the Latin tradition of the *De anima*. As a demonstration of this fact, we aimed to show that there existed a close relationship between the text and its commentaries, and that they influenced each other in a very complex way. Thus, Moerbeke's translation was influenced by the Ancient commentators he read; Albert's reading was influenced by the *Vetus* and by the *translatio Arabica*; Thomas' new interpretations were based on the *Nova*; the Humanist translator preferred the terminology of the Arab version. Certainly we could illustrate the point that the interaction between text and commentary was during this (rather long) period a complex relation of influences, many reciprocal, which developed on different levels. Nevertheless, there is place in this concluding chapter for some critical remarks as well.

From the point of view of this study one of the most interesting features of Moerbeke's methods of translation is the use of Ancient commentaries. Comparing his first revision with the lemmas of Philoponus' commentary, we

prudentia et scientia atque opinio vera... scientia et opinio et prudentia, et ea quae sunt his contraria" (427a 18 – 427b 25).

⁴⁹ Still, our conclusion seems to contradict the common belief about Renaissance translations. The version of Argyropulos, as we will try to show with further examples, is not so different from the medieval one: there are no different stylistic features, the same methods of structuring can be found in both of them, and one can note the same care concerning the consistency of the terms. As a first supposition we can suggest major discrepancies, or at least differences, between Humanist theory and practice, and posit continuity with the medieval traditional methods, especially in the case of Aristotle.

notice that wherever he modified his previous version, it was done as a reaction to what the commentators affirmed about the subject matter. We may arrive at this conclusion simply by analysing a couple of terms and some passages which appeared as obscure and problematic in the *Vetus*.

Concerning the terminology, we may conclude that there is an attempt at uniformity in Moerbeke's word choice: after several versions using *sapere*, *iudicare*, *agere*, *prudentiare* for the verb $\phi\rho\nu\epsilon/\omega$, and *ratio*, *sapientia*, *prudencia* for the noun $\phi\rho\sigma/\nu\eta\sigma\iota\phi$, in his last translation he opted for the *prudentiare*, *prudencia* forms, and henceforth used them consistently everywhere. We can detect here a conscious attempt to create a philosophical terminology, while at the same time he paid less attention to the context, since the translation did not always need this level of precision. Nothing in the Greek text justifies such distinctions, which means that Moerbeke knew about the meanings of the words from elsewhere. He probably modified his terms because of the interpretation of the commentaries which reflect upon these terms.⁵⁰ It seems that although he rarely changes the terms which are fixed in the *Vetus*, whenever he does so, it is in accordance with the Ancient commentators whom he consulted. In this respect the works of Themistius and Philoponus were his tools of translation.

In the case of this sample analysis, we have observed that medieval commentators also distinguished between the terms involved in the discussion. Although both the *Vetus* and the *Nova* gave *sapit* for $\phi\rho\nu\epsilon/\omega$, Albert gives an interpretation which conflates the two terms, based on a connection between *sapit* and *sapientia*.

As a concluding remark about the ideal of the regular lexical correspondence of the medieval translators, we cannot but agree with Alain de Libera's affirmation: "Les textes latins d'Aristote sont donc plus systématiques que l'original—plus exactement, ils en durcissent ou en atténuent alternativement les oppositions."

Furthermore, the relative prestige of the texts and the commentaries has to be taken into account. In the case of the *Nova*, it is necessary to reflect on the

⁵⁰ It could be also possible that he revised Grosseteste's version of the *Nicomachean Ethics* between the first and the second revision of the *De anima*. We cannot prove this presupposition, but it might help as an auxiliary argument for an already established chronology. There have been a few attempts to find out the chronological order of the translations, such as those of L. Minio-Paluello, P. Thillet, G. Verbeke, Jozef Brams, F. Bossier, and R. Wielockx. According to the latest results, there were two revisions of the *De anima*: in 1260 Moerbeke revised the version of James of Venice, and in 1266–1269 his own version. Another phase of development is represented by the *De anima* lemmas from the Philoponus commentary. The revision of the *Nicomachean Ethics* took place presumably before 1270.



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fact that the interval which we are trying to cover is the initial period of the dissemination of the new translation. At this stage it had not yet entirely replaced the old version: we can observe, with Thomas Aquinas, an alternative use of the two versions. The authority of the old version was even more intensified by the fact that it was considered the work of Boethius. For a more “global” picture of the use of the *Nova*, one should analyse other commentaries from the end of the thirteenth and from the fourteenth century. Moreover, it would be interesting to study the competitive-alternative use of the *Nova* and the new Humanist versions in the Renaissance.

Nevertheless, we have to be aware of the limits of our methodology. The texts used in the academic milieu of the Middle Ages were often transformed either simply by accident by scribes who copied erroneously, or even quite consciously, by the masters of the university, where they considered such changes to be necessary. We cannot arrive at any “original” translation of James of Venice or William of Moerbeke: even as their versions were spreading, they were continuously being transformed.⁵¹

However, the same problems can open up new fields for further study. The differences between the various versions of the *Vetus* and the *Nova* as they appear in commentaries, and the parallel usage of different translations, deserve detailed research. The comparative study of the Graeco-Latin and Arabico-Latin versions was only touched upon in this paper, but it appears from this that the Arab interpretations of Aristotle were influential not only on the level of commentaries, but also as a means of understanding the Aristotelian text itself.

Applying this approach to other translations and commentaries may lead us to interesting findings concerning the (in)dependence of the translation: to what extent the text precedes the interpretations, to what extent the commentaries influence the translations, and which elements are that influence this interaction, are just a few fascinating questions which are still to be answered.

⁵¹ Gauthier, 129*.



“A LADY WANDERING IN A FARAWAY LAND” THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN QUEEN/PRINCESS MOTIF IN ITALIAN HERETICAL CULTS¹

Dávid Falvy 

*“Il fut un temps une damoiselle, fille de roy, de grant
cœur et de noblesse et aussi de noble courage, et demouroit
en a strange país”*

(Marguerite Porete)

Introduction

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a new religious model formed in Western Europe. People started to require an active, personal participation in religious life. The popularity of different heresies, the flourishing of popular movements on the borderline between heresy and acceptance, and finally, the foundation and development of the new mendicant orders, first of all the Dominicans and Franciscans, are all manifestations of this new model of religious life.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the foundation of the mendicant orders, a new form and ideal of sainthood was created for both men and women.² By the time this model was formed we can record the double character of this ideal: together with Saint Francis, who was the most influential model, Saint Claire became the archetype for women who decided to follow a life dedicated to Christ. For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries another characteristic woman figure appeared, Saint Catherine, who inspired the formation of the female model. In Central Europe a slightly different model was formed for women. The prototype of that female sainthood was Saint Elisabeth of Hungary. The main difference was that in the West the saints were

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² André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, tr. Jean Birrel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michael Goodich, *Vita perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monografien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 25 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982); Sofia Boesch-Gajano, *La santità* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1999).



mostly members of middle-class families, but in Central Europe there were a whole series of aristocratic, or rather dynastic, women saints.³

The principal aim of the present paper is to investigate what happened when these categories of female religiosity interacted. How did the Central European model undergo a transformation in a Western context? How could the memory of a heretical woman be protected by using the name and the attributes of a saintly woman? And finally, how could all these elements meet: what kind of interactions and modifications occurred when Western European memory of heretical women was contaminated with the cults and attributes of Central European dynastic female saints cults and attributes?

I shall deal with this issue mainly on the basis of two case studies. In both cases the veneration and memory of a Western heretical woman was mixed with the name and main attributes of a Central European saintly queen or princess. The first case study is that of Guglielma of Milan and Saint Guglielma, an English princess who became queen of Hungary; the second case is Marguerite Porete and Margaret of Hungary. Three, out of these four figures, were contemporaries; they all lived at the end of the thirteenth century—except Saint Guglielma, who was not an historical person—although the contamination of the cults happened in the fourteenth-fifteenth century in Italian ambience.

Guglielma of Milan — Saint Guglielma

Guglielma of Milan lived in Milan in the second half of the thirteenth century although. She was venerated as a saint, but after her death her followers were condemned as heretics. In the case of Guglielma we can speak of a double connection between Western and Central Europe and between heresy and sainthood. On the one hand she was believed to be a Bohemian princess, on the other hand a late hagiographic tradition combined her name with a legend that spoke of a certain Saint Guglielma, princess of England, Queen of

³ See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); idem, “A női szentség mintái Közép-Európában és Itáliában” (The models of female sainthood in Central Europe and in Italy), in Tibor Klaniczay and Gábor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* (The Legends and the stigmata of Saint Margaret) (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994); idem, “I modelli di santità femminile tra is secoli XIII e XIV in Europa Centrale e in Italia,” in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 75–109.



Hungary.⁴ In this part of my paper I will summarize the source material concerning this tradition and reconstruct its literary and spiritual context.

Let us see what little information we have about Guglielma of Milan's 'real' life. Around 1260 a woman appeared in Milan with her son; she lived in the Cistercian abbey of Chiaravalle. In a few years, she became popular among the inhabitants of Milan and a circle of mostly middle-class persons formed around her. They started to venerate her and call her a saint. On the basis of the inquisitorial trial made by the Dominicans in 1300 we have the names of her followers who were interrogated, and we know about the character of the group (called 'the Guglielmites'). The most important ones were Andrea Saramita and Maifreda of Pirovano, who were condemned and executed as a result of the trial.

Her followers venerated Guglielma of Milan not only because of her saintly life, but also because they thought she was a Central European princess. We can perceive from the testimony of her followers that some of them strongly believed that she was actually the daughter of the Bohemian king.⁵ One of them, Andrea Saramita, during the trial confessed to having gone, after the death of Guglielma, directly to Bohemia to see the king (her supposed father). The historiography of Guglielma has dealt with, for a long time, the truth or falsity of this Bohemian origin.⁶

⁴ To make my argumentation clearer, I introduce a merely 'artificial' distinction in the terminology: I shall use the name 'Guglielma of Milan' for the first tradition, and 'Saint Guglielma' for the second one, even if Guglielma of Milan was called 'Saint' by contemporaries and by modern scholars, and I also deal with her veneration *in vita* and *post mortem*, using the expression 'Saint': see for example: Marina Benedetti, "Il culto di Santa Guglielma e gli inquisitori," in *Vite di eretici e storie di frati*, ed. Marina Benedetti, Grado Giovanni Merlo and Andrea Piazza (Milan: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 1998), 221–242; Dávid Falvai, "Santa Guglielma, regina d'Ungheria: Culto di una pseudo-santa d'Ungheria in Italia" *Nuova Corvina. Rivista di Italianistica* 9. (2001).

⁵ For this reason she is also called 'Guglielma the Bohemian.' Following the terminology of the most recent monograph I will use the form proposed by Marina Benedetti: 'Guglielma of Milan.' Marina Benedetti, *Io non son Dio: Guglielma di Milano e i Figli dello Spirito santo* (Milan: Ed. Biblioteca Francescana, 1998).

⁶ For the best summary of this discussion and the whole historiography of Guglielma see Benedetti, *Io non sono Dio*, 109–158. Among recent scholars who take the Bohemian origin as granted, we can mention Luisa Muraro, *Guglielma e Maifreda: Storia di un'eresia femminista* (Milan: La Tartaruga, 1985); Patrizia M. Costa, *Guglielma la Boema: L' "eretica" di Chiaravalle: Uno scorcio di vita religiosa Milanese nel secolo XIII* (Milan: NED, 1985); Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) and Bea Lundt, "Eine



Even if it is not the main purpose of the present paper to formulate an opinion on this issue, we have to underline that Marina Benedetti's argumentation seems plausible. She argues that all the information stating that Guglielma was a Bohemian princess was given by her followers during the inquisitorial trial, often with the addition of rather careful formulae such as *ut dicebatur* or *dicitur*. One of the most concrete testimonies concerning Bohemia during the inquisitorial process is Mirano of Garbagnate's *iuramentum*, when it is said that he, together with Andrea Saramita, went "*usque ad regem Bohemie*."⁷ According to Benedetti's argumentation, the Bohemian origin seems to be rather a hagiographic element, and—since there is no any other data proving this supposed statement—the only fact we know is that she lived in Milan.⁸

In the case of Guglielma, however, there is one aspect that made her canonization or even her acceptance by the Church impossible. Her followers did not simply venerate her as a saint, but they rather spoke about her as God, or as the female incarnation of the Holy Spirit. As far as we know, Guglielma always refused such ideas, answering: "*Ite, ego non sum Deus*," which may have saved her from the inquisition during her lifetime. She died in 1282, and was buried in the abbey where she had lived, but her popular cult continued after her death. As Marina Benedetti formulated, "In 1300 Guglielma, who died as a 'saint', was reborn as a 'heretic'."⁹

I do not intend to investigate in detail the heresiologic part of this story, I will just point to a few aspects of it. Scholars dealing with this case usually stress the fact that she was thought to be the female incarnation of the Holy Spirit. This is the 'specialty' of Guglielma or rather of the Guglielmite movement.¹⁰ There are different approaches with which to investigate this phenomenon. In recent decades attention towards female religiosity has grown, and there is an enormous number of studies concentrating on female spirituality,

Vergessene Přemyslidenprinzessin: Neue Fragen und Forschungsergebnisse" *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Böhmisches Länder* 31 (1990): 260–269.

⁷ Marina Benedetti ed., *Milano 1300: I processi inquisitoriali contro le devote e i devoti di santa Guglielma* (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1999) (henceforth: *Milano 1300*). This is the new critical edition and Italian translation of the document, 70.

⁸ "Un dato certo della sua esistenza é la permanenza a Milano. L'origine boema sembrerebbe affermarsi come dato agiografico. La sua vita si svolge a Milano per cui optiamo per la forma *Guglielma di Milano*." Benedetti, *Io non sono Dio*, 28.

⁹ "Nel 1300 Guglielma, morta *santa*, rinasce *eretica*" Benedetti, *Io non sono Dio*, 10.

¹⁰ Stephen Wessley, "The Thirteenth Century Guglielmites: Salvation through Women," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Barkley, 1978), 289–303; Giovanni Grado Merlo, "Guglielma la Boema: Tra santità ed eresia al femminile." In *Eresie ed eretici medievali* (Bologna: Mulino, 1995), 113–118.



female sainthood, and female heresy.¹¹ Guglielma of Milan and the Guglielmites have been interpreted in this kind of approach as a specifically female heresy, and the ‘female incarnation of God’ motif as an attempt to create a female divinity and church against male religion and hierarchy.¹²

Before dealing with the Central European motif, I will mention a strange ‘negative’ *vita* in which the motifs of heresy and sainthood are mixed. In this legend—which can be found in several variants—the facts of Guglielma’s real life are mixed with the well-known motif of orgy-accusation: *In fine aiebant adunamini: adunamini: et lumen sub sextario ponite: et que ordinavit facite: et tali modo diebus ordinariis oculute stuprum commitebant.*¹³

It is no surprise that we find this motif in the case of a condemned cult. It was one of the favorite accusations used by the inquisition against almost any kind of heresy.¹⁴ Here we can speak of an attempt of *damnatio memoriae*, when, after having destroyed the material holders of the memory (the images and relics), the living holder of the memory (the followers) is destroyed. This is an

¹¹ See for example Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 12; idem, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Barbara Newman, “Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth century,” in *From Virile Woman* 19–45; Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, ed., *Medieval Women’s Visionary Literature* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Giovanni Pozzi and Claudio Leonardi, ed., *Scrittrici mistiche italiane* (Genova: Marietti, 1988); Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); *Mistiche e devote nell’Italia tardomedievale*, ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Naples: Liguori, 1992); Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press); Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri, “Introduzione,” in *Donne e fede: Santità e vita religiosa in Italia* (Rome–Bari: Laterza, 1994).

¹² The feminist approach can be seen for example in the works of Luisa Muraro, “Margarita Porete y Gullierma de Bohemia (la diferencia femenina, casi una herejia),” *Duoda. Revista d’Estudios Feministes* 9 (1995): 81–97. Idem, *Guglielma e Maifreda*; Newman, “Woman Spirit, Woman Pope,” in *From Virile Woman*, 182–223.

¹³ Donato Bossi “Chronica (Milano 1492)” in Costa, *Guglielma la Boema*, 117–118. Another version of the same story is described and analyzed by Muraro, *Guglielma e Maifreda*, 103–108.

¹⁴ Normann Cohn, “The demonization of medieval heretics,” in *Europe’s Inner Demons: An Inquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 16–59. See for example the case of the Templars in Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).



attempt to destroy the memory by diffusing false and compromising variants that contain some elements of reality.¹⁵

Here we have, in brief, the life of Guglielma of Milan, the fate of her followers after her death, and the most important sources for this entire event. Most of the secondary literature concentrates on this part of the phenomenon, on Guglielma of Milan, but there is another significant religious tradition concerning the name Guglielma, that of Saint Guglielma.

A few Italian hagiographic sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries write about a certain *Santa Guglielma, figlia del re d'Inghilterra e regina d'Ungheria*. Are all these sources speaking about Guglielma of Milan? One thing seems clear; no canonized saint bears the name Guglielma. Because of this, we might assume that these sources are also speaking about Guglielma of Milan, but if we analyze this tradition there is little congruence between the life and original cult of Guglielma of Milan (as far as we can know it) and the personality and legend of this new 'Saint' Guglielma.

The story, of which there are a number of variants, describes the life of an English princess called Guglielma, who is living a saintly life. The Hungarian king asks her to be his wife because he has heard about her saintly life. The new queen maintains her virginity during the marriage. When her husband is away, his brother feels a desire for her. His seduction fails; therefore, when the king returns, the brother accuses Guglielma. The king believes him and condemns Guglielma to death, but the girl escapes. After her evasion, she meets the King of France, who asks her to be the tutor of his little son. In France almost the same happens as in Hungary, in this case one of the officers attempts to seduce her, and after his failure kills the little prince. Guglielma seems to be responsible, so again they condemn her, and she has to escape. She boards a ship, and in an unknown country she finds a monastery where she becomes a nun. She continues her saintly life and her fame spreads around the whole world. The Hungarian and the French kings also hear about the fame of this woman and both of them make a pilgrimage to venerate her. After a closing scene everything is revealed, Guglielma forgives everyone, returns to Hungary, and becomes a famous saint also there.

Before investigating the content and the wider literary context of Saint Guglielma's *vitae*, let us make a comparative, formal analysis of the corpus of

¹⁵ Cf. "Guglielma al negativo" in Benedetti, *Io non sono Dio*, 75–88, Luisa Muraro analyzes this element with sexual-psychological reasons by the accusers: "Quando delle donne si mettono insieme di propria iniziativa, non costrette da altri o dalle circostanze, si cerca subito di nominare i loro possibili moventi sessuali..." Muraro, *Guglielma e Matilde*, 107.



writings. This is probably not the entire corpus of the legend of Saint Guglielma, nevertheless, it is useful to summarize it because such a general overview has not been made so far. There seem to be only three sources from this corpus that have been previously used in the secondary literature. No references have been noted concerning two other *vitae* and a *Guglielmina* poem; therefore I will first describe the three less well known sources in more detail, mentioning the three better known ones afterwards.

First, let us deal briefly with the two *vitae* of Saint Guglielma. The first is the text of Bologna written by Antonio Bonfadini in Italian and edited by G. Ferraro.¹⁶ From the introduction by Ferraro we can learn some information about the author. Bonfadini (d. 1428) was a Franciscan monk from Ferrara (close to Bologna) who wrote sermons and this work. We know that Ferraro found the manuscript in the “*civica biblioteca*” of Bologna (which probably means the present *Biblioteca dell’Archiginnasio* of Bologna) without any date or further indication.¹⁷

The second manuscript is unpublished; it can be found in the *Biblioteca Universitaria* of Padua.¹⁸ No date or author is indicated on it. It is a small paper codex from the fifteenth century. The small size of the book, the absence of any decorative elements, the rapidity of the script, and the usage of the vernacular instead of Latin seem to show that it was made for everyday use and for a relatively wide and illiterate public. The narrative itself is similar to the Bonfadini text, with the same story and the same characteristics. Nevertheless, it seems clear that it is not a simple copy, since there are evident linguistic and textual differences between the two variants. The very beginning of the story provides an example:

Bonfadini

Nel tempo che novamente seran convertiti gli Ongari alla fede cristiana, per maggior confermatione di quella fu fatto consiglio allo Re de quel Reame, che era in quel tempo senza donna, de darli compagnia.

MS of Padua

Lo tempo che nuova mente erono chonvertiti gli ungari alla fede cristiana per maggiore confermatione del quale, fu fatto consiglio allo re di questo reame ch’era in quel tempo senza donna che lui si dovesse accompagnare.

¹⁶ Frater Antonio Bonfadini, “Vite di S. Guglielma Regina d’Ungheria e di S. Eufrosia vergine romana,” ed. G.(sic) Ferraro, in *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare*, vol.159, 47–49, (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1878).

¹⁷ See Bonfadini’s introduction to his edition. Bonfadini, *Vite*, V–VIII.

¹⁸ *Vita di S. Guglielma* (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova MS 2011). I would like to thank Marina Benedetti who informed me about the existence of this text.



A plausible hypothesis is that the two manuscripts were translated independently from a common—probably Latin—text, since the meaning of the texts is almost identical, but there are structural differences in the sentences that cannot be explained otherwise.

Guglielmina: Regina d'Ungheria is a printed religious poem by an unknown author called Bernardo¹⁹ that seems to have the same contents as the two *vitae*. It tells the story of Guglielma the Hungarian princess who was unjustly accused and afterwards declared innocent in a marvelous way. According to Cioni's indication it can be found in the National Library of Naples. It is notable that another example of the same poem can be found under the name of Santa Guglielma *imperatrice romana*.²⁰ This printed poem is being kept in the *Biblioteca Casatanense* of Rome. Cioni also published a reproduction of its cover page, an image representing Guglielma praying to the Virgin Mary and a ship with the figures of three men. It is important to emphasize that in this poem Guglielma's name and legend is connected to the title 'empress.' We will discuss the literary context for this connotation below.

Along with the two *vitae* and the poem, there are three other sources containing the story of Saint Guglielma that have been used in previous scholarship. The *Breve Relazione* is a third variant of the legend. Michele Caffi in the nineteenth century quoted it, described it in detail, and connected it to a living religious tradition in Brunate (province of Como). The stamp made of it dates to 1642; the manuscript can be dated to the fifteenth century.²¹ Furthermore, there is an Italian religious drama—a *sacra rappresentazione*—dealing with the personality of Saint Guglielma, a short play by the Italian dramatist Antonia Pulci (1452–1501).²² This play tells a story similar to the *vitae*. The third source, which has been widely investigated by previous scholarship, is the *Annales Colmarienses*, which will be analyzed below.

¹⁹ *Guglielmina: Regina d'Ungheria* (Venice: Giovanni e Gregorio de Gregori, c. 1485); see the detailed description of the poem in Alberto Cioni, *La poesia religiosa: I cantari agiografici e le rime di argomento sacro* (Florence: Sansoni, 1963), 261–263.

²⁰ *Sancta Ghuglielma imperatrice di Roma* (Roma: Eucharius Silber, ca. 1500).

²¹ Andrea Ferrari, *Breve relazione della vita d S. Guglielma, figlia del re d'Inghilterra e regina d'Ungheria* (Como: n.p., 1642). For a detailed description of it see Michele Caffi, *Dell'Abbazia di Chiaravalle in Lombardia. Iscrizioni e Monumenti. Aggiuntavi la storia dell'eretica Gulielmina Boema* (Milan: Giacomo Gnocchi, 1843): 110–111. Cf. Benedetti, *Io non sono Dio*, 25, n 34; Costa, *Guglielma la Boema*, 147–149.

²² Antonia Pulci, "Rappresentazione della vita, Santa Guglielma," in *Sacre rappresentazioni fiorentine del Quattrocento*, ed. Giovanni Ponte, 69–98, (Milan: Marzorati, 1974); cf. *Florentine Drama for Convent and Festival: Antonia Pulci*, ed. and tr. James Wyatt Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).



In my view three essential questions must be examined: Is the story of Saint Guglielma a real *vita* in the hagiographic sense of the word? What can we know concretely about this Guglielma? What could the connection be between this Saint Guglielma and Guglielma of Milan?

Although this text contains some elements of a *vita*, it seems to be closer to the genre of a vernacular, hagiographic romance.²³ This genre was popular in Western Europe during the High and Late Middle Ages. These works were mostly diffused orally to an audience of illiterate people.²⁴ The usage of Italian as a vernacular language, instead of Latin, is also characteristic for this genre.

What concrete information can we learn from this story about Guglielma's personality and about the historical context? The first interesting aspect is that only one personal name—Guglielma—is mentioned in most variants of the story. There is just one sentence that indicates the time in which this story takes place, the first sentence of the legend: "At the time when the Hungarians/the Hungarian king were/was newly converted to the Christian faith," and just three geographical names in the text: England, Hungary and France. It is strange that the convent where Guglielma lived is absolutely unknown in these two *vitae*. The name of the country is omitted and even the city is always indicated simply as "*quella cittade, la cittade*." Nevertheless, we can find an indirect indication: Guglielma, as well as both the Hungarian and the French kings, arrived there by ship.

Only the *Breve Relazione* gives us additional concrete pieces of information. It mentions the name of the Hungarian king: a certain Teodo; a year, 795; and an additional geographical indication: the monastery in which Guglielma lived in the last part of the story is in Italy.²⁵ The first two data strengthen the impression that in this tradition the Hungarian origin is simply a hagiographic *topos* and does not indicate—at least not directly—historical persons, since there was no Hungarian king with a similar name and the Hungarians became Christians two centuries later. The third element, the indication of Italy as a point of arrival, seems important since this is another connection between the two Guglielma traditions.

Therefore, we can say that the *vita* of Saint Guglielma seems to be almost completely depersonalized and contains hagiographic *topoi* that can be analyzed in a comparative way. We can assume that one reason for this is that this

²³ For the description of the genre see Brigitte Cazelles, ed., *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 3–88.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 15.

²⁵ Caffi, *Dell'Abbazia*, 110–111.



redaction was a relatively late variant. Usually these legends, when written just after the life of the saint, contain a huge amount of concrete information—names, places, testimonies. There is one argument that could explain the loss of almost every real piece of information about the original Guglielma: the cult of Guglielma of Milan. We have to bear in mind that she was condemned, and therefore for some time only memory and oral tradition could transmit her figure, since any kind of official cult and written work were probably prohibited.

In the legends of Guglielma there are motifs that can be interpreted as reminiscences of the real life (or at least the original cult) of Guglielma of Milan. In these legends Saint Guglielma is a queen and princess coming from a distant Central European country (as Guglielma of Milan was venerated as Bohemian princess) and we will see below that an eastern royal origin was a significant element in some western cults. Neither manuscript specifies the city of the convent where Saint Guglielma lived, we only know that one can travel there by ship. This can be interpreted as an allusion to Italy—as was also stated in the *Breve Relazione*—and the omission of the name of the country and the city as an attempt to avoid suspicious information.

We have seen, therefore, the tradition of this second Saint Guglielma. We have encountered a ‘regular’ saint from mostly typical hagiographic sources of a different genre. Nevertheless, our original question has not been answered yet. What is the connection between the two traditions? Can we reconstruct the relationship between Guglielma of Milan, the heretic, and Saint Guglielma?

One source (although not a hagiographic work) has a special importance in this regard. It was written at almost the same time as the events concerning Guglielma of Milan and we can find some information about her, already modified. Under the year 1301, the annals of the French town Colmar speak of a woman who had arrived the previous year from England. She was said to be the Holy Spirit and after her death was transported to Milan:

*In precedenti Anno venit de Anglia virgo decora valde pariterque facunda, dicens se Spiritum sanctum incarnatum in redemptionem mulierum. Et baptizavit mulieres in nomine Patris, et Filii ac sui. Que mortua ducta fuit in Mediolanum, ibi et cremata; cuius cineres Frater Johannes de Wissenburc se vidisse pluribus referebat.*²⁶

As we can see, this is different information than we have from our other documents, but it seems apparent that this part is speaking of Guglielma of Milan, even if her name is not mentioned. The elements, such as ‘the year

²⁶ “Annales Colmarienses maiores,” *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, XVII, ed. Georgius Henricus, (Hannover, 1861. Reprint Stuttgart and New York: Anton Hiersemann-Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963), 226.



1300', 'the city of Milan', or the expression 'after her death', or 'the incarnation of the Holy Spirit' are all well-known topics connected with Guglielma of Milan. We also have to bear in mind that this is a contemporary source, based on the testimony of a monk who visited Italy during this period.

On the other hand, we find here elements that are definitely absent from the cult of Guglielma of Milan, but they can be easily connected to Saint Guglielma. First, the English origin is one of the main attributes of Saint Guglielma. Second, virginity also plays a central role in Saint Guglielma's *vita*, but it has nothing to do with Guglielma of Milan (since she arrived in Milan with her son).

Here we can see a connection between some elements of Guglielma of Milan and some aspects of Saint Guglielma. As a point of departure, we can state that the English origin is such an element, which was attached to the personality of Guglielma of Milan very soon, twenty years after her death (in the year of the legal proceedings against her followers). It is clearly a false connotation, used instead of the Bohemian origin, and we can only guess the motivation of this falsification. Luisa Muraro assumes that it cannot be the simple mistake of the chronicler of Colmar, since in a French town Bohemia and England could not be easily confused. She also hypothesizes that the Dominicans of Milan, to avoid a dangerous attribute (since a royal origin related to a case of heresy would have been problematic), attached this false English origin to the personality of the popular, but condemned, Guglielma of Milan.²⁷

Even if we can explain this addition to the cult of Guglielma of Milan, we have to answer how the whole story of 'Saint Guglielma, English princess and Hungarian queen' grew from this simple changing of countries. In my view, the testimony of the *Annales Colmarienses* proves that at least a few basic elements of the future Saint Guglielma tradition were already attached to the memory of Guglielma of Milan at the time of the inquisitorial trial. In the following part of this paper I will try to investigate the literary context for this Saint Guglielma story.

We can assume as a hypothesis, therefore, that the memory of Guglielma of Milan was first altered in the Annals of Colmar by changing the Bohemian origin into an English one.²⁸ However, in the case of the Guglielma story we

²⁷ "Più probabilmente la Boemia è diventata l'Inghilterra nel racconto stesso che gli fu fatto dai domenicani milanesi ... Tanto valeva non nominar nemmeno il paese dell'eretica straniera a dargliene uno di fantasia." Muraro, *Guglielma e Maifreda*, 109; cf., Benedetti, *Io non sono Dio*, 20–21

²⁸ For the usage of the same name in different cults see for example the case of Saint Guinefort in Jean Claude Schmitt, *Le saint levrier: Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XII. siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979).



can get a more concrete idea, since the narrative in the *vitae* of Guglielma is one of the best-known legends of the medieval West.

The legend of the persecuted, innocent woman probably originated from an eastern (Arabic-Persian) tradition and arrived in the West around 1150.²⁹ The story diffused quickly in the West; there are 260 variants of it that can be grouped in different ways. Lajos Karl divides the text variants according to the name of the protagonists and the main motifs. It is significant that in all four western variants the protagonist is often a Hungarian princess.

Another feature that figures in many versions of the legend is that the woman is a Roman empress. Karl does not give an explanation of this motif, but here we can emphasize that it has different possible parallels in the hagiographic literature. Among these possible parallels one is especially interesting for our investigation. In the well-known case of Saint Cunegond³⁰ one can find a number of elements (the royal marriage, the virginity, the accusation, the last period of her life in a monastery, etc.) that are also present in the legend of the persecuted, innocent woman. This motif is connected even more concretely to our topic, since, as we noted above, there is a variant of the Guglielmina-poem entitled “*Santa Ghuglielma, imperatrice di Roma.*”³¹

It is important to emphasize that the Guglielma story is not the only version that can be found in the Italian language, but the name Guglielma appears exclusively in Italian. Karl does not give an explanation as to why this name emerges in these Italian writings, since his main purpose is to point out how the Hungarian royal origin and the motif that the husband left to participate in a crusade were inserted in the original story, and to argue how this variation could be explained by the influence of the cult of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary.³² Furthermore, he does not mention the name of Guglielma of Milan at all in his argument.

Therefore, the original question of how these two different cults—both related to the name Guglielma—could be connected is complex and complicated. The following four elements lead us closer to the clarification of this issue:

- 1) The memory of Guglielma of Milan was strong enough to survive even the inquisitorial process, condemnation, and attempted *dammatio memoriae*.

²⁹ Lajos Karl, “Erzsébet és az üldözött ártatlan nő mondája” (Elizabeth and the story of the persecuted, innocent woman), *Ethnographia* (1908) [off-print], 3–4.

³⁰ “Vita s. Cunegundis” in *Acta Sanctorum Martii* 1; *Biblioteca Hagiographica Latina* 2001–2009; Claudio Leonardi, Andrea Riccardi and Gabriella Zarri ed., *Il grande libro dei Santi: Dizionario Enciclopedico* (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo, 1998), 502–504.

³¹ See note 20 above.

³² Karl, “Erzsébet,” 24–30.



- 2) A Central European royal origin (the daughter of the Bohemian king) was a significant aspect in the original cult of Guglielma of Milan.
- 3) In the *Annales Colmarienses* the Bohemian origin was changed into an English one as early as the time of the inquisitorial trial.
- 4) The story of the persecuted innocent woman, which is narrated in the *vitae* of Saint Guglielma, is a widely diffused story in the medieval West.

Marguerite Porete — Margaret of Hungary

Our second case study is the contamination of Marguerite Porete's memory with Margaret of Hungary's Italian cult. Margaret of Hungary is one of the best known Hungarian saints. Even if she was not canonized during the Middle Ages,³³ she had a widespread cult in Hungary immediately after her death and her fame spread quickly even abroad. Her Italian cult is the richest and perhaps the most interesting one among her Western European cults. The majority of her legends have some connection with Italy and there were a number of images representing her in Italy.

One of the most particular aspects of her Italian cult are the elements that were not part of her original cult: we cannot find them in her first legend, or in her canonization trial. The story of her stigmatization has been analyzed in the studies of Tibor and Gábor Klaniczay and Florio Banfi, consequently the main point of our investigation will be another apocryphal element of her Italian cult.

In three Italian manuscripts of a famous and important mystical text we can find Margaret of Hungary's name as author. This booklet is the *Miroir des Simples Ames* (Mirror of Simple Souls) by Marguerite Porete,³⁴ a French beguine who was executed in 1310 because of this book. Here I shall investigate in detail how and why this book was attributed to Margaret of Hungary and try to place this story in a wider context.

Since 1946, when Romana Guarnieri identified an executed beguine, Marguerite Porete, as the author of this book, it has become a popular topic of religious studies and from the 1970s even for gender studies. Conferences and monographs, hundreds of articles and studies have dealt with the person of

³³ Because of this reason in the sources and secondary literature before 1943 she was called Blessed Margaret. I will use the form 'Margaret of Hungary'.

³⁴ I have chosen the French form, 'Marguerite Porete', even if other forms (Margaret, Margarita, Margherita) have been also used by the secondary literature.



Porete, and with her work, which has been also translated into the major modern European languages.³⁵

We have little information about the life of Marguerite Porete. She lived in the second half of the thirteenth century; she was probably born in Valenciennes around 1250/1260. She wrote *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (her only known work) around 1290 in the Picard language; this original manuscript has not survived. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, during an inquisitorial trial she was condemned, and in 1310 in Paris she was burned together with her book.³⁶

The *Miroir* itself is now considered one of the most important late medieval mystical works. Almost every scholar agrees she and Master Eckhart were influenced by each other in one way or another. It is possible that they could have met in Paris and some scholars argue that Porete even influenced Eckhart directly.³⁷

Although the original version of the *Miroir* has been lost, there were Latin, English, French, and Italian versions made of it during the late Middle Ages.³⁸

³⁵ A detailed bibliography can be found in Margherita Porete, *Lo Specchio delle anime semplici*, ed. Giovanna Fozzer, Romana Guarnieri and Marco Vannini, (Milano: Ed. San Paolo, 1994), 110–115, (henceforth: *Specchio 1994*). We will quote only those works, which are relevant from our viewpoint. The modern translations: Clare Kirchberger, ed., *The Mirror of Simple Souls by an Unknown French Mystic of the Thirteenth Century: Translated into English by M.N.* (London–New York: The Orchard Books, 1927). This edition is a modern English transcription-translation of the middle English text; Marguerite Porete, *Le Miroir des ames simples et anéanties et qui seulement demeurent en voluoir et désir d'amour*, ed. and tr. Max Huot de Longchamp (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984) is the modern translation of the French manuscript (MS Chantilly); Margareta Porete, *Der Spiegel der einfachen Seelen: Aus dem Altfranzösischen übertragen und mit einem Nachwort und Anmerkungen*, ed. and tr. Louise Cnadinger, (Zürich und München: Artemis Verlag 1987) is the German translation of the MS Chantilly; *Specchio 1994*. This edition contains the MS Chantilly, its modern Italian translation, and the MS Riccardiano in appendix, see footnote 38. below.

³⁶ *Specchio 1994*, 105–106.

³⁷ Marco Vannini, *Mistica e Filosofia* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1996), 21–32.

³⁸ The four Latin manuscripts can be found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Vaticano latino 4355, sec XIV; Rossiano 4, sec. XIV; Chigiano B IV 41, a. 1398 ca; Chigiano C IV 85, a. 1521; The edition of the French manuscript by Romana Guarnieri, and the critical edition of the four Latin ones by Paul Verdeyen: Marguerite Porete, *Le Mirour des Simples Ames*. Édité par Romana Guarnieri/Margaretæ Porete. *Speculum animarum simplicium*, Cura et studio Paul Verdeyen, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medioevalis, LXIX (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986). The two English versions and their critical edition: London, British Museum Add. 37790; Cambridge, St John's Coll. 71 e;



The two Italian versions of the *Miroir* were written between the fourteenth and fifteenth century, probably on the basis of the Latin text. The first version is preserved in only one manuscript. According to Guarnieri's opinion this version "seems to be slightly earlier."³⁹

The most important version for this study is the second Italian one, which survives in three manuscripts. It is a particularity of the historiography of the *Miroir* that until the 1950s Hungarian and Italian scholars dealt with it almost exclusively, since the first known manuscripts were the three Italian ones containing the attribution to Margaret of Hungary.

As noted above, from the viewpoint of the connection between Marguerite Porete and Margaret of Hungary, the most important version of the *Miroir* is the second Italian one, surviving in three examples. The special nature of this text variant is that it not only contains the Italian text of the *Miroir*, but also a Prologue and an Appendix. The Prologue is where the name of Margaret of Hungary appears as author, and the Appendix (which is missing from the manuscript in Budapest) contains the apocryphal history of Margaret of Hungary's stigmatization.

We have few, but interesting data on the provenance of two out of the three manuscripts. The manuscript of Naples was in the possession of John of Capistran's convent (at least for a while in the fifteenth century), because John was the official inquisitor of the *Miroir*. The manuscript of Budapest was in the possession of Gusztáv Emich, a private collector, who in 1905 sold it to the National Library, together with two books containing works by John of Capistran.⁴⁰

The main body of this version, the Italian translation of the *Miroir* by Porete, has not been edited. Romana Guarnieri in her preface to her edition of the other version, points out that she had intended to make a critical edition of

and Oxford, Bodleian Library 205. The critical edition is: Marilyn Dorion ed., "Margaret Porete. "The Mirror of Simple Souls" *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 5 (1968): 241–355.

³⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze Riccardiano 1468. This manuscript has been edited by Romana Guarnieri. In *Specchio* 1994, 503–624.

⁴⁰ The description of the seven manuscripts: *Magyar Könyvszemle* XIII (1905): 376–377; About Emich see Sándor Mágocsy-Deitz, *Emich Gusztáv, 1843–1911: Élet és jellemrajz* (Gusztáv Emich 1843–1911: Biography and character) (Budapest: Atheneum, 1912). The author's description of his Italian journey: Gusztáv Emich, *Notizien über Bibliotheken und Miniaturen in Ober Italien*, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (Budapest, Library of the Academy of Sciences), MS 702/2, 1879.



both the Italian versions, but because of her age she was forced to renounce this project.⁴¹

The Prologue and the Appendix of this version (where the attribution to Margaret of Hungary can be found) are partially edited. The Appendix, with the story of Margaret of Hungary's stigmatization, was published first by Florio Banfi, and re-edited by Tibor Klaniczay.⁴² The Prologue of the Naples manuscript was published by Romana Guarnieri; I transcribed that of the Budapest manuscript, and the prologue of the Vienna manuscript is discussed in the study of Koltay-Kastner.⁴³

Although, the identification of the author with the *Miroir* has been widely known and investigated, the Hungarian connotation of it has been a less popular research topic. To my knowledge, only two scholars have dealt with the issue of the Hungarian connection of the three Italian manuscripts of the *Miroir*: the works of Romana Guarnieri and Tibor Klaniczay. Guarnieri investigated the question from the point of view of the Italian diffusion of the *Miroir*, while Tibor Klaniczay analyzed it from the viewpoint of Margaret of Hungary's Italian cult.

Romana Guarnieri in her 1965 study formulated a hypothesis concerning the identity of the Italian translator. She found documents dealing with the Italian *Gesuati* order, among whom the *Miroir* was well-known and popular. Her main point was to find out who knew and diffused the *Miroir*, supposing that they would have made the vernacular translation of the treatise. She also published several letters between one of the leaders of this order, John Tavelli of Tossignano (1368–1446), and John of Capistran, who was the official

⁴¹ "Non sono piú in età di da poter sperare di veder realizzato un giorno o un'altro quel mio sogno ambizioso" *Specchio* 1994, 505.

⁴² Florio Banfi, "Specchio delle anime semplici dalla Beata Margarita d'Ungheria scripto" *Memorie Dominicane* 57 (1940), 304–306, and Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák történetének revíziója" (The revision of the history of the legends of Margaret)," in Klaniczay, *Szent Margit*, 70–72.

⁴³ Romana Guarnieri, "Il movimento del Libero Spirito: I) Dalle origini al secolo XVI. II) Il 'Miroir des simples ames' di M. Porete III) Appendici," *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 4 (1965), 640–642; Dávid Falvay, "Il libro della beata Margherita: Un documento inedito del culto italiano di Margherita d'Ungheria in Italia nei secoli XIV–XV" *Nuova Corvina. Rivista di Italianistica* 5 (1999), 35–46; Jenő Kastner, *Együgyű lelkek tükköre* (Mirror of Simple Souls), (Budapest: Minerva, 1929). 245–253.



inquisitor of the *Miroir* in Italy.⁴⁴ On the basis of this information, she inferred that the author of this version was John Tavelli of Tossignano⁴⁵

Tibor Klaniczay concentrated mainly on the Italian cult of Margaret, consequently his hypothesis was also based on this main aim of his research. Two manuscripts out of the three we are dealing with contain the Appendix with the story of Margaret of Hungary's stigmatization. Tibor Klaniczay demonstrated that the diffusion of the story of Margaret's stigmatization in the fifteenth century was made by the Italian Dominicans for the campaign to canonize Catherine of Siena. According to his argument, if the Dominicans used the stigmata story it is probable that they also made the translation of the *Miroir*.⁴⁶

How and why was the name of Margaret of Hungary attached to this heretical treatise? One reason is obvious: it was a popular work that had been condemned and prohibited by the Church; it was persecuted intensively in the period when this version was made. We have seen above that Margaret of Hungary's name was popular and well-known in fourteenth and fifteenth century Italy. We can glean these pieces of information from charters and other documents, but we can also infer them from the character of the work and the manuscripts containing them. First, concerning the popularity, the simple fact that it was translated into vernacular languages indicates a wide and in part illiterate audience. In the Prologue we read the formula "*chi lege o ode legere*."

Furthermore, the character of two out of the three manuscripts leads us to a similar conclusion. The codex of Budapest and that of Vienna are both manuscripts of small size, without any decorative elements, written quickly and not very carefully. In both manuscripts we find errors, corrections, and inconsistencies in the use of abbreviations and in the vernacular translation of the Latin text. In the manuscript of Vienna the places for the initials are left empty, there are words and sometimes entire sentences missing from the text. This peculiarity of the two manuscripts shows that they were made for everyday use, rather than for representative reasons, and they had a function close to what we call today a 'manual'. We know that in this period a new type of book had already formed—mainly in urban and university environments, but also among

⁴⁴ Guarnieri, "Il movimento," 645–660.

⁴⁵ "Non è impossibile che l'autore della nostra versione ...sia il famoso Giovanni Tavelli da Tossignano, ottimo volgarizzatore di testi devoti" *Specchio* 1994, 507.

⁴⁶ "Így talán nem kizárt, hogy magának a műnek a fordítója is domonkos lehetett" Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák," 90–91.



religious circles—which was copied in large numbers and was made for everyday reading.⁴⁷

The third manuscript, the codex of Naples, is slightly different from the other two. It is nicely written, with careful calligraphy. Even if it does not contain decorations, the use of two colors, and the medium size of the codex indicates that it would be in between a ‘classical’ representative medieval codex, and a late medieval manual for a wide audience and everyday use.⁴⁸

If we assume on the basis of the three Italian manuscripts the popularity and even the audience of the *Miroir*, we can also learn pieces of information about the mechanism of its persecution. The simple fact that a new authorship was created for the work shows that the audience of the book wanted to protect it from the inquisitors. False attribution was a widely used tool for this phenomenon in the Middle Ages. This is also one of the reasons why the Prologue and the Appendix were written. In the Appendix the stigmatization story of Margaret of Hungary served to make the attribution even more convincing.

The Prologue is a theologically ‘neutral’ introduction to the *Miroir*, its author tries to prepare the reader for the embarrassing content of the book, which can be entirely understood only by a reader who participates in the same spiritual status, as the author; otherwise the book would be dangerous for an unprepared audience. The Prologue had the same function as the appendix: to emphasize the authorship of an indisputable person (Blessed Margaret of Hungary), and to function as a cover. Both the Prologue and the Appendix had a more technical protective function: since they form those first and the last parts of a book, which would be probably checked by an inquisitor, consequently they could simply ‘hide’ the main body, the *Miroir* by Marguerite Porete.

The Budapest manuscript has a peculiarity in this respect. It does not include the Appendix, with the stigmata, and there are also differences in the text of the Prologue. The Prologue of the other two manuscripts starts with a sentence containing the title of the book; on the contrary, the manuscript of

⁴⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *Az értelmiség a középkorban* (The intellectuals in the Middle Ages), tr. Gábor Klaniczay, (Budapest: Magvető, 1979), 121–122.

⁴⁸ For the manuscript of Vienna see Jenő Kastner, *Együgyű*, 4–5, for the manuscript of Budapest, Falvay, “Il libro,” 41–42, for the one of Naples see István Miskolczy, “A nápolyi Biblioteca Nazionale magyar vonatkozású kéziratái” (The manuscripts with Hungarian connection of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1927: 146–148.



Budapest modifies the title of the book in its first phrase and even slightly the relationship between the supposed author and the text:

Ms of Naples

“Incomincia il prologo di questo seguente libro chia(ma)to specchio delle anime **semplici scripto** dalla Beata Margherita”

Ms of Budapest

“Incomincia el prologo del seguente libro chiamato Specchio delle anime **pure overo humile, composto** dalla beata Margarita”
(emphasis mine)

At the beginning of the Budapest text, the title of Porete’s book became the ‘Mirror of the Pure or Humble Souls’, and it has a separate and unique title on the cover-page of the codex: ‘*Libro della Beata Margherita.*’ Even if this new title were added later, the modification of the first title sentence was probably used to hide and better protect the content of the book, since the original title, *Specchio delle anime semplici*, would have been known by the inquisitors.

The author or transcriber of the Budapest text is also more careful with the attribution. Margaret of Hungary in this version becomes the compiler instead of the author of the text. We can only guess at the reasons for this modification: one explanation might be that in the time when it was transcribed some suspicions had been raised concerning the person of Margaret of Hungary. Chronologically it fits well in the time when Tommaso Caffarini—the promoter of the canonization of Saint Catherine—asked the opinion of the Hungarian Dominicans about the stigmata of Margaret of Hungary. A Hungarian Dominican friar, namely Gregory, answered him in 1409, stating that the stigmata had been given not to Margaret, but to her *magistra* Helen; and, as an attachment to his letter, he sent the oldest legend and the first part of the canonization trial of Margaret. We know that Caffarini after receiving this information emphasized that it had been a mistake stating that Margaret was stigmatized.⁴⁹ This context could explain why the stigmatization part is missing from the Budapest manuscript, and why the writer of the Prologue is more careful in speaking about Margaret of Hungary’s authorship.

It was necessary to protect the *Miroir* from the inquisition, but there was also another reason. To prove that this embarrassing book was written by an indisputably orthodox person was important also for the audience of the *Miroir*. We can form a more or less clear idea about the mentality of its audience. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *Miroir* was read, or listened to, by a large and varied public. Scholars have shown that from southern Italy to

⁴⁹ Tibor Klaniczay, “A Margit-legendák”; Klaniczay, “*I Modelli.*”



northern Germany various religious communities used the book: beguines, mendicants, *Gesuati*, *humiliati*, and, of course, the members of the Free Spirit movement.⁵⁰ There are two main characteristics of these persons, first, they were in the majority women; second, they mostly considered themselves good, Catholic Christians, and rarely wanted to oppose the orders of the Church.⁵¹ We can therefore infer that not only was the book so popular that it had to be protected from the inquisition, but also it was so popular because it was protected in such a way that the audience thought there was nothing wrong in it. The devout ‘simple souls’ who formed the audience of this embarrassing and strange book—so strange that only the “taste that could tell, whether it was catholic,” since it was written in such a “wonderful style, which has not been yet used in any kind of writing”—could read it more calmly if they knew that it was written by “Blessed Margaret, daughter of the Hungarian king.”⁵²

Why exactly was Margaret of Hungary attached as an author? She was a popular saintly figure in Italy in this period and she had the authority to be able to protect a heretical work and to assure its audience that it was a Catholic and pious book. It seems obvious that the identity of the names Marguerite-Margaret spontaneously gave the identification, or mixing up, of the two persons. However, in my opinion there is also another reason, which to my knowledge has not been mentioned. At the beginning of the *Miroir* (in the main text, which is present in every known version of the book, so for sure was part of the original text written by Porete) there is a story, an *exemplum* about a princess who was wandering in a foreign country:

*Il fut un temps une damoyselle, fille de roy, de grant cuer et de noblesse et aussi de noble courage, et demouroit en a strange pais.*⁵³

We have to remember that a foreign and royal origin was almost the only concrete information about Margaret of Hungary in Italy: we can say that this motif was her best known attribute. It was a piece of information that would

⁵⁰ Guarnieri, “Il movimento,” 355–509; Ulrich Heid, “Studi su Margherita Porete e il suo *Miroir des simples ames*,” in *Movimento religioso e mistica femminile*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter R. Bauer, (Bologna: Edizioni Paoline, 1993), 220–224.

⁵¹ As far as we know Porete herself was a contra-example, since she was opposing the Church openly and directly. Even the Free Spirit movement was not a real heretical movement, we have examples exactly from this period, that beguine communities integrate easily in the mendicant orders.

⁵² “Solo lo gusto consente queste uerita essere catholiche... Mirabile stile et quasi fore de omne uso di scriptura...dalla beata Margarita figliuola del re d’Ungaria scripto.” Guarnieri, “Il Movimento,” 640–642.

⁵³ *Specchio* 1994, 130.



have been known by anyone who had heard about her. Margaret, because of her name, her fame, her royal and foreign origin, was a perfect cover for Marguerite Porete and her *Miroir*.

For this investigation it is essential to emphasize that by the end of the thirteenth century, when Marguerite Porete was writing the first variant of her book, she inserted an *exemplum* in which she wrote about a foreign princess. Even if in this form it did not contain the attribute of a Central European princess, the presence of this motif probably influenced the more secure attribution of the whole treatise to a specific foreign princess, namely Margaret of Hungary. It also shows that by the end of the thirteenth century, the motif of the foreigner princess was present in Western European religious writing.

Consequently, we can speak about a double presence of the foreign-princess motif in the case of the *Miroir des Simples Ames* by Marguerite Porete. First, in the original treatise she used it merely as a literary instrument, to start her *itinerarium* with a nice secular *exemplum*. Second, between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century in Italy in three examples of her book, an actual foreign—by this time already Central European—princess, namely Margaret of Hungary, was indicated as the author or compiler. This second level of admixture served, as we have seen, to protect the persecuted work, and to make it more plausible and less embarrassing for its devout audience. The fact that Margaret of Hungary was the most useful name for this modification can be explained by the peculiarities of Margaret of Hungary's diffused cult in Italy, and obviously by the identity of their first names.

Conclusion

I have tried to demonstrate here, on the basis of two case studies, a special connection between Western and Central Europe, between heresy and sainthood. Both cases were studied by previous scholarship, but I hope I have raised some new aspects, and clarified the religious context of these cults. In both cases the religious tradition originated in the late thirteenth century, but their mixture with the Central European motif likely happened in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth century in Western Europe the model for female sainthood changed: a new, mystical, visionary female religiosity developed, with the growing cult of Catherine of Siena and many other female mystics. In Italy a whole group of modern mystical saintly women was



formed.⁵⁴ In this religious context the original characteristic of Central European female saints was not interesting enough anymore, but still their memory, cult, images and names were preserved.⁵⁵

The cults of the Central European saintly royal women had to be ‘colored’ somehow, since their original character was not ‘exciting’ enough for the Italian audience. There are several examples of this transformation of the original cults, such as the ‘new miracles’ of Elizabeth of Hungary (the archetype of the Central European saintly woman), which were added to her original cult in this period in the Italian context. The most famous case is Elizabeth’s rose miracle, which does not appear in her first *vitae*, but became one of her main attributes in Western Europe in this period. Another case of the transformation of her cult is a mystical work attributed to her. This treatise was entitled *Revelationes beate Marie virginis facte beate Elisabeth filie regis Ungarie*. This booklet contains a dialogue between Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary. Around 1320 in Tuscany and Umbria it was diffused in one volume with Bonaventure’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*. It has ten Latin manuscripts, and furthermore Italian, Spanish, Catalan, French, and English translations. Gábor Klaniczay suggests that it was written in Italy and the well-known name of Saint Elizabeth was attached to it.⁵⁶

This modified religious atmosphere was also the context for the transformation of the cults we have dealt with here. The Saint Guglielma English princess, Hungarian queen legend was formed in this period and context. According to Lajos Karl’s hypothesis, the persecuted-woman-story—which was connected in Italy to the name of Saint Guglielma—was diffused in this period. The stigmatization story of Margaret of Hungary was also created in this context, and furthermore it was directly connected to the fifteenth century canonization campaign for Catherine of Siena. In addition, the false attribution of the authorship of the *Miroir* probably happened in the same period and—as I argue—under similar circumstances and spiritual background.

In Guglielma’s case I have tried to analyze this second tradition, and investigate the literary relationship between the “two Guglielmas.” I have also made an effort to define the literary context for the legend narrated in these sources, pointing to the persecuted-woman legend, with some Hungarian connotations.

⁵⁴ Daniel Bornstein, “Donne e religione nell’Italia tardomedievale,” in *Mistiche e devote*, 241–247; Leonardi-Pozzi, *Scrittrici*; Klaniczay, “Modelli di Santità.”

⁵⁵ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 367–94, and idem “A női szentség,” 239–244.

⁵⁶ Livarius Oligier, “Revelationes B. Elisabeth. Disquisitio critica una cum textibus latino et catalannensi” *Antonianum* 1 (1926): 14–83; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 372–75.



In the second case study, the connection between Marguerite Porete and Margaret of Hungary, I have provided a wider context, demonstrated some new aspects that have not yet been analyzed in detail, and analyzed the peculiarity of the manuscript of Budapest in the title and relationship between the author and the treatise. In addition, I have emphasized the ‘double’ presence of the foreign princess motif in this tradition, which has not been stressed before.

In both cases the motif of a ‘Foreigner or Central European Princess’ motif was present in the original cult (Guglielma of Milan, Marguerite Porete). Guglielma of Milan during her lifetime was believed to be a princess of Bohemia, and Marguerite Porete began her book with an *exemplum* about a foreigner princess.

We have seen that in the fourteenth and fifteenth century in these newly formed cult elements—the *Vitae* of Saint Guglielma and the Italian manuscripts of the *Miroir*—the protagonist lost almost every personal characteristic (life story, attributes, personality). Only the name was maintained and one motif remained from the original life or attributes: a princess/queen coming from Central Europe.



“RECONSTRUCTING” THE BIBLE: STRATEGIES OF INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE *CENA CYPRIANI*

Lucie Doležalová 

*Quidam rex nomine Iobel nuptias faciebat in regione orientis, in Cana Galilee. His nuptiis invitati sunt plures.*¹ This is the beginning of a very peculiar story. As announced, it describes a great wedding feast organized by King Joel. The guests present are indeed numerous—there are 121 characters coming from different parts of the Bible in the 289 lines of text. The feast is an unusual one: after the guests come and are seated, the king gives each of them a special robe, and then they have to cook for themselves. Afterwards they eat, drink, are entertained and finally go home in a festive procession. The next day they return with presents for the king. But as something was stolen the day before, they are investigated, found guilty, and tortured. In the end, the king, seeing that he cannot punish everyone, chooses Achan as a scapegoat, and the others kill and bury him before they return to their homes.

The text does not read as well as it might seem from the summary of the plot. It is actually a series of catalogues of individual activities, which list names of the guests and their attributes. The beginning of the catalogue of the tortures will serve as a good example of the style of the text:

234. *Quo facto primum innocens decollatur Iohannes,*
235. *Occiditur Abel, foras proicitur Adam,*
236. *Timens obmutescit Zaccharias, fugit Iacob,*
237. *Queritur Enoch, turbatur Abimelech,*
238. *Immutatur Nabuchodonosor, deprecatur Abraham,*
239. *Transfertur Helias, supprimitur Dina,*
240. *Includitur Noe, impingitur Eglon, etc.*²

¹ A certain king, Joel by name, organized a wedding in the eastern region, in Cana of Galilee. To this wedding, many were invited.

² My translation reads:

234. Because of this, as the first one, John the Baptist was beheaded,
235. Abel was killed, Adam expelled,
236. Zacharias became mute from fear, Jacob ran away,
237. Enoch was examined, Abimelech confused,
238. Nebuchadnezzar was changed, Abraham prayed,
239. Elijah was taken up, Dinah was embarrassed,
240. Noah was enclosed, Eglon stabbed, etc.

Note the passive voice throughout.



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Altogether there are 472 such attributions. They are all closely dependent on the Bible, but they are not related to one another, and thus the whole seems rather disjointed. The catalogues do not develop the plot, they simply illustrate the activity introduced at their beginning. The reader has to decipher numerous allusions before the story goes on, and this complicates his or her following the plot.

This obscure, challenging and surprising text is called *Cena Cypriani*.³ Although it was believed throughout the Middle Ages that it was a work by Saint Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage and a martyr, now it seems very probable that it is not. Nevertheless, the real author has not been identified. All we know is that the text was very popular—54 manuscripts of it have survived from the ninth to fifteenth centuries. Based on stylistic criteria it has been suggested that the text comes from the second half of the fourth century. But this problem, together with other problems such as the place of its origin remains and will have to remain unresolved until new data are discovered.⁴

Although the text seems to fit well into the context of Late Ancient literature with its language experiments, relativization and intertextuality, no closer parallels and possible models for the *CC* were found except for Zeno of Verona's *Tractatus II. 38*.⁵ The tract includes a list of Biblical characters and their attributes similar to the *CC*, but it might have been written only after the *CC*.

The *CC* was re-written four times during the Middle Ages—in the ninth century by Hrabanus Maurus (*Cena Hrabani Mauri*, surviving in 18 manuscripts), and by John the Deacon (*Cena Iohanni Diaconi*, surviving in 12 manuscripts). A certain Azelinus, a monk from Reims, re-wrote it in the eleventh century (*Cena Azelini*, of which only two fragmentary manuscripts survived) and an unknown monk at Arras probably in the twelfth century (*The Arras Cena*, preserved in

³ The first edition is Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia latina* 4, 1001–1014, followed by Karl Strecker, “Iohannis Diaconi versiculi de Cena Cypriani.” *MGH Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, IV, 2* (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1896). The most recent and carefully researched edition is Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992).

⁴ However, there are many theories suggesting the exact time and place of origin of the *CC*, as for example: Hermann Brewer, “Über den Heptateuchdichter Cyprian und die Cena Cypriani,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 28 (1904), 92–115; Adolph Harnack, “Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die Acta Pauli,” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883), 1–34; Karl Strecker, “Die Cena Cypriani und ihr Bibeltext,” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 54 (1912), 61–78. They are all rather out of date. Contemporary scholars leave out these questions as unanswerable at the moment.

⁵ Most recently edited by B. Löfstedt, *CCSL* 22, 1971: 71–72.



only one fragment).⁶ The re-writings differ from the original primarily in that they stress the allegorical interpretation and suppress (with more or less success) all the other elements. Furthermore, there is a commentary on the *CC* from the eleventh century written by a French monk, Hervaeus Burgodiensis, which also approaches the *CC* as a mere allegory. Because they put so much emphasis on a single aspect, none of these texts can be used to explain the peculiarities of the *CC*.

As the *CC* does not easily fit any specific genre, there have been debates about where to place it. Nineteenth-century scholars considered the text a youthful lapse of Saint Cyprian, or a failed allegory.⁷ Later the interpretation as a parody spread.⁸ And finally in the 1990's, it is understood as allegory and parody at the same time.⁹ Bakhtin sees it as a carnivalesque blasphemy inciting laughter freeing people from the oppression of the church;¹⁰ Modesto calls it *cento*;¹¹ Stehlíková comedy;¹² Glej argues that it is an *exercitium ingenii*,¹³ I have suggested it is a recording of a game.¹⁴

The fact that scholars can find support for such theories in the text of the *CC* shows that the influences of *symposion* literature, mnemotechnics, *iocus*, the

⁶ They are all edited in Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992). The re-writings form another possible context for the *CC*, which, however, cannot be dealt with within the scope of this article.

⁷ E.g. Harnack, Adolph. “Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die Acta Pauli.” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883), 16.

⁸ Paul Lehman, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), 268–269, or Francesco Novati, “La Parodia” *Studi critici e letterari*, ed. Francesco Novati (Turin: Loescher, 1889), 86–88.

⁹ Martha Bayless, *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1996), 45–54.

¹⁰ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). But he is most probably mistaken: to be able to sustain his view, he needs to assume that the *CC* was written later (in the eighth or ninth century), which is very unlikely.

¹¹ Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani*, 35–42.

¹² Eva Stehlíková, *A co když je to divadlo? (And What if it is Drama?)* (Praque: Divadelní ústav, 1998), 47–49.

¹³ Reinhold F. Glej, ‘Ridebat de facto Sarra. Bemerkungen zur Cena Cypriani,’ *Literaturparodie in Antike und Mittelalter* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993), 168.

¹⁴ Lucie Doležalová, “The *Cena Cypriani*: A Game of Endless Possibilities” *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter. Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. Wilhelm Geerlings and Christian Schulze (Leiden: Brill, 2002), (in print). This is not a real theory but rather an attempt to show how little we know about the text.



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grotesque, the epic, the ancient novel, or the rhetoric are all relevant. I re-evaluated in detail the importance of the individual genres for the *CC* without trying to force the text into one specific category but rather to specify the components of the outcoming mixture. I concluded that the author of the *CC* consciously uses various other genres and manipulates them for his own purposes. Thus, a very significant feature of the text is its 'inter-generic' character.

In a similar way, I would like to discuss here the intertextuality of the *CC*, i.e. the relations to other texts, not to other genres. This will enable me to study more precise relationships. Intertextuality can be approached through the source texts. In the case of the *CC* it is primarily the Bible, and also some apocrypha.¹⁵ The *CC* also clearly includes specific allusions to novels,¹⁶ epic poems or comedy. However, I will deal here only with the types of intertextuality concerning the Bible, as I would like to concentrate on the strategies rather than source choice. Still, the fact that the *CC* combines different types of texts is its basic feature, overlooked in the Middle Ages as well as earlier by scholars. This conscious mixture shows the author as a careful designer.

The strategies of intertextuality can be divided into allusions within the overall form of the text, its plot, and individual attributions. As far as the form of the text is concerned, the long catalogues of names which do not forward the plot but explain or illustrate the introduced activities may be perceived as allusions to the catalogues in the epic tradition or to genealogical catalogues in the Bible. However, the method of catalogization is drawn *ad absurdum* in the *CC* – 249 out of 289 lines are placed in catalogues.

The plot is a multiple allusion in itself. Already the name of the king, Joel, means "Jahweh is God" and the fact that it is the king who initiates all the activities and thus moves the plot forward links him with God and God's role in the Bible.¹⁷ In this way, the feast might be the heavenly feast where all the

¹⁵ However, I do not stress the difference, because I am convinced that the author of the *CC* not only approached the Bible in the very same way as the apocrypha, but also considered them to be the same kind of text.

¹⁶ The validity of the term 'novel' for texts like Petronius' *Satiricon*, Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, Achilles Tatios' *Leukippe and Clitophon*, Heliodoros' *Aithiopiaka*, Chariton's *Chaireas and Callirhoe* or Longos' *Daphnis and Chloe* has been questioned and discussed for a long time. Whether the term is relevant or not, it places together texts that share some basic characteristics.

¹⁷ However, Joel can also be paralleled to the author of the *CC*, who is really pulling the strings, even though only from behind.



Biblical characters invited by him gather. The bathing of the guests in the Jordan river before coming to the feast might then be understood as baptism.¹⁸

The place where the feast takes place is Cana Galilee, and so the whole could be, at the same time, understood as an allusion to the wedding at Cana, where Jesus performed his first miracle.¹⁹ This can find support in the catalogue of drinking wine, as well as some individual attributions (e.g. when Mary desires wine, or when servants bring water²⁰) and other recurring allusions to water and wine. At the same time, however, Cana Galilee might be chosen only as a well-known place of a Biblical wedding feast, or a hint that strange and unexpected things are to happen.

The closest allusion is to the crucifixion. Although all are found guilty, only one of them (Achan in the *CC*, Jesus in the Bible) is punished and has to die.²¹ The burial consists of eight descriptive allusions, four of which actually refer to the death of Jesus.²² A short catalogue of four reactions to the events follows. All the allusions originally refer to the reactions of parents when it is announced to them that they will have a child. All the births that are alluded to—John the Baptist’s, Jesus’ and Isaac’s, are miraculous in some way, and so it could be argued that the short passage actually refers to the resurrection. And the feast described previously could be understood as the Last Supper: wine is drunk, and Jesus divides bread.²³ It is not necessarily the case that the author wanted to make an allusion only to one of the suggested Biblical feasts. It is quite probable that he meant to link all three.

The parallel with crucifixion is not smooth: Jesus himself appears in the *CC*, and is crucified in the catalogue of torture²⁴ but he re-appears and takes part in killing Achan—he flagellates him.²⁵ Thus, he is in a way doubly presented in the *CC*. In addition, although Achan is killed, stoned to death, is in

¹⁸ This could then be one of the rare links with the proposed author, St. Cyprian: most of Cyprian’s letters as well as some tracts are concerned with a problem of re-baptizing the fallen Christians.

¹⁹ It is described in John 2.

²⁰ *Vinum petebat Maria*, line 166b, refers to John 2.3, and *aquam attulerunt ministri*, line 77a, refers to John 2.7.

²¹ Actually, although the King Joel stresses that only one person should die, some of the guests, e.g. Abel or Jesus, seem to die during the tortures.

²² They are lines: 283a, 284a, 285a, and 285b.

²³ Line 92b.

²⁴ Line 241a.

²⁵ Line 279a. It is an allusion to John 2.15, where Jesus expels everybody from the temple by flagellating them.



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order to purify the community in the Bible,²⁶ he does not simply stand for Jesus, because he really *is* guilty in the Bible, and he is guilty in the *CC* as well. The notion of an ideal sacrifice is spoiled: the passage can be interpreted as a just, however cruel punishment of a thief. While such punishment can still support the parallel between King Joel and God, the injustice of the decision in the case of the *CC* cannot. Drawing a parallel between Achan and Jesus might then stress more the cruelty of Achan's end in the Bible rather than the ideal sacrifice of Jesus.

The techniques used in creating the allusions within the plot of the *CC* are complex and often, as I hope I have shown, ambiguous as well. The ambiguity was very likely intended by the author. It is the result of his play with both the Bible and the reader. The Biblical allusions are there but not entirely and not clearly there and thus the reader is left to hesitate and wonder. The tension resulting from the reader's uncertainty keeps his or her attention despite the repetitive (and thus rather boring) form of the catalogues.

A similar tension arises through the individual allusions within the catalogues of the *CC*. It is on this most specific level where we encounter the greatest variety of writing strategies. The individual allusions can be approached as a result of two processes: placing the chosen passages outside the original text of the Bible (the technique of decontextualization) and placing them within the plot of the *CC* (adding a new context). In the author's mind the two are probably closely related: he is likely to have taken a Biblical passage with the intention of putting it into a specific place in his own text. In the reader's mind the two become even closer: when we read the text of the *CC*, we perceive the results of both of these processes at once—we recognize the original context and follow the new plot at the same time. It is exactly the two together—the fact that the author places the familiar Biblical events outside their original context of Biblical allegory, into the context of an earthly feast described in everyday language (and thus close to everyday reality)—which is the main source of humor of the *CC*. And it is this basic strategy that was interpreted as blasphemous in the nineteenth century.

The placement of the attributions in the new context is not problematic, as soon as readers give up their initial idea that the text should contain a clear story and they stop looking for it. There is no communication or cooperation among the guests and there are too many of them for the reader to follow their individual stories. There is no character description. The text does not offer a unified plot. While there seems to be little to study about the process of adding new context to the allusions, the relationship to the old context, the Bible, offers many possibilities. The attributions are immediately divided in the reader's head into the clear

²⁶ Joshua 7.



and the unclear ones, allusions that the reader understands and is able to link to a specific Biblical passage, and allusions he or she is stupefied by.

Such distinctions may not seem to belong to the chapter of creating attributions. The clarity of the allusions may be understood as largely depending on the temporal context (thus disqualifying us from drawing conclusions about the past) on the one hand, and as a purely personal category (depending on the individual reader’s familiarity with the Bible and ability to decipher the allusions) on the other. But it is not entirely so. Although it is obvious that it cannot be decided with absolute certainty which of the attributions were clear and which unclear for the fourth century reader, it is possible that the author of the *CC* included some allusions that were difficult or impossible to decipher and, as I claim, that he included them on purpose.

Each reader’s perception is individual, but there are patterns of reading. The unclear allusions are not always the result of a particular reader’s inaccurate knowledge of the Bible: there are attributions that remain totally obscure for all contemporary scholars who have dealt with the text.²⁷ We can also judge from the changes and mistakes made in the medieval re-writings of the *CC* that many of the attributions were already unclear by the ninth century. Still, they were further copied and the re-writers included them in their adaptations of the *CC*.

In my opinion, the author consciously plays with the closeness and distance of the attributions, as well as with familiarity and surprise. The *CC* is neither too easy to understand nor too difficult so that it would become boring. The author catches the reader’s attention with a clear allusion and then surprises with an unexpected obscurity. The indiscernible allusions might be included to remind the readers that they will never understand everything about the Bible. All in all, the *CC* is well balanced in this respect.

The proof that the author aimed to amuse with a close attribution, and then baffle with a distant one may be looked for in the text of the *CC* itself. Lines 286–288 describe the final reactions of four guests to the events. Thus they might be understood as anticipating the readers’ reactions to the text:

- 286 *Quo facto gaudens clamabat Zaccharias*
287 *Confundebatur Helisabeth, stupebat Maria*
288 *Ridebat de facto Sara.*²⁸

²⁷ Christine Modesto quotes six completely obscure allusions, and there are at least twenty more, which have not been explained satisfactorily.

²⁸ After this Zacharias cried with joy, Elisabeth was embarrassed, Mary was stupefied, Sarah laughed at it. The allusions refer to Luke 1.14, Luke 1.24, Luke 1.29, and Genesis 21.6 respectively.



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And, indeed, there is something to it: when the readers decipher an allusion, they, together with Zacharias, cry with joy. When they fail to understand a line, they, together with Elisabeth, feel embarrassed. Together with Mary, they are stupefied by the totally obscure allusions, which were, perhaps, designed for this particular purpose. And the readers laugh and enjoy the whole with Sara.

The notion of clarity of the allusions is a complex one. Primarily, it depends on the Biblical passage alluded to: if the reader does not know the passage, he or she obviously cannot understand the allusion. The author of the *CC* seems to concentrate on Biblical stories rather than on particular books of the Bible or on specific characters. Most frequently he chooses stories dealing with violence, food, and drink. The stories are usually dense with action and include specific objects. In spite of the temporal gap dividing us from the fourth century audience, we can state that there were certainly parts of the Bible that were generally better known than others (as there are now) and that the audience was not likely to be familiar with all 121 Biblical characters appearing in the *CC*. The author consciously combines the familiar with the unfamiliar, important with less important, major with minor.

However, the *Cena Cypriani* is not a *cento*:²⁹ the author does not simply place passages from different parts of the Bible into a new context. He has another technique, which lies between decontextualization and adding the new context: the creation of the attributions carried out with the use of various methods. Thus, reading the *Cena Cypriani*, the reader faces the challenge of not simply relating the allusion to the relevant Biblical passage, but also of deciphering and specifying the exact relationship between the original event and the allusion.

The author does not seem to follow a specific strategy in applying the methods as far as the new context of the attributions is concerned, and the ways in which the attributions are created do not influence the reader's perception of the whole *CC*. More significant is the relationship between the Bible and the methods used in creating the attributions.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to analyze how exactly the author dealt with the Bible due to the lack of the original source.³⁰ What is clear now is that some allusions are lexically close, others lexically far from the original text of

²⁹ Even Christine Modesto who claims it *is* a *cento* has to devote a whole chapter to this problem dealing with the differences. Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani*, 35–51.

³⁰ The author used *Vetus Latina*, and there are several suggestions of the exact texts. However, none of the texts suggested are preserved completely, and thus none of the theories can be fully credited.



the Bible. But the problem of the lexical distance of the *CC* from its source cannot be solved unless more information is discovered, so that it will not be considered further in this discussion. Nevertheless, discussing the methods, even if only as possibilities of creating the allusions enables me to deal with more specific categories and terms on which the final clear/unclear distinction is based, and get closer to the text itself despite the constant danger of over-interpretation.³¹

The main, the most obvious and most frequent technique of the author throughout the *CC* is that of *association*: a character is assigned an object or an activity, which is associated with him or her. Association might be based not only on the text of the Bible but also on its common perception. Thus, Eve is associated with an apple, Noah with an ark etc. There is certainly a wide range of associations. As it is difficult to judge from the contemporary perspective, which associations had been more common and which less at the time when the *CC* was written, I find it more useful to divide associations between close and distant, depending on how often an object or an activity is associated with a character in the Bible, what its importance for the character’s life (story) is and to what degree it makes him or her different from the others. These criteria—frequency, importance and identification—are still subjective to some degree and so not entirely satisfactory.

All the allusions in the *CC* are based in some way on association, which, however, is further adjusted in many ways. A list of suggested methods combined with association in the *CC* follows. This should provide examples of the possibilities of manipulating the Bible.

Implication can be perceived as a subtype of association, but it is not derived from the text of the Bible itself, the object or activity does not have to be linked to the particular character in the Bible, the connection is implied. Thus, for example, Zacharias is described as wearing a white robe in the *CC*,³² and although there is no mention of his dress anywhere in the Bible, the allusion is clear, because Zacharias was a priest and priests wore white robes. The connection is implied through deduction: priest → white robe, and Zacharias → priest, which implies Zacharias → white robe. Implication can also be divided into close and distant. We can also distinguish between implications based on a particular knowledge (the example of Zacharias’ white robe) and implications based on logic or common sense, which are no less frequent in the *CC*. For example, Jephthah is described in the Bible as

³¹ This decision was influenced by Umberto Eco, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³² Line 51.



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sacrificing his daughter by burning,³³ and in the *CC* it is said that he gathered the wood—*lignum collegit*,³⁴ which he certainly must have done.

Specification and *abstraction* are techniques that add to the humor of the *CC*. Abstraction is used less frequently in the *CC*. On the other hand, the author of the *CC* does not hesitate to specify the objects in straightforward, down-to-earth terms in places where the text of the Bible tends to be rather vague, stressing its allegorical meaning. Thus, for example, while in the Bible Habakkuk brings to Daniel simply food,³⁵ the *CC* reads: *intulit intritam Abacuc*.³⁶ (*Intrita* is soup in which bread is mixed with water, honey, wine or milk.)

It is possible, although it obviously cannot be proven that some of the specifications are based on pictorial representations of the relevant Biblical passages—a picture cannot avoid to ‘describe’ which can easily be evaded in a piece of writing. This suggestion would explain the allusions in the catalogue of dressing, where most of the characters wear robes in specific colors, which, however, cannot be easily connected to or justified by their story or characteristics in the Bible.³⁷

While the words are specified or abstracted, the stylistic level is often changed as well. The author of the *CC* mixes together the high and low style using various genres such as epics, comedy, or farce. The stylistic variety of the text is one of the basic means of familiarizing of the Bible in the *CC* and it forms a significant component of its overall variety.

The *CC* abounds in word plays and puns, but they are mostly catalogue-bound: they occur primarily in the catalogues of eating fish and drinking wine. These two catalogues include the most specific attributions—the guests drink specific kinds of wine and eat specific kinds of fish. This is only possible through word plays—there are not so many types of wine and fish in the Bible. Many of these allusions work well on both the levels: they can be related to the Bible and they are meaningful within the context of the *CC* as well. For example Jesus drinks *passum*³⁸—which means “raisin wine” and alludes to Jesus suffering (*passio*) at the same time. Or he eats *assellum*—which means a “cod”, but also an “ass” reminiscent of Jesus’ arrival in Jerusalem.³⁹

³³ Judges 11.30–31.

³⁴ Line 74a.

³⁵ Daniel 14.33–34.

³⁶ Line 94b.

³⁷ The notion of colors in the *CC* is a very complex issue worth of further study.

³⁸ Line 150a. It refers to e.g. Matthew 17.12.

³⁹ Line 126. It refers to John 12.14–15.



Some of the attributions in these two catalogues are not very successfully placed in the new context. For example, David receives *cantaridem*,⁴⁰ which is not a fish but a word play on *cantare*—David’s singing; Judas gets *argentillum*,⁴¹ which is also not type of fish, but a clear allusion to the silver (*argentum*) Judas accepted for his betrayal. This shows well that the author concentrated more on the playful manipulation of the Bible than on creating a new meaningful text.

There are word plays outside these two catalogues as well. For example, the three allusions to Melchizedek⁴² connecting him with salt are, in my opinion, based on a word play rather than on the suggested distant association. The relevant Biblical line⁴³ reads: “*at vero Melchisedech rex Salem proferens panem et vinum...*” The word *salem* is to be associated with *rex*, meaning “Melchizedek, the king of Salem, bringing bread and wine...” But, it can easily be connected to *proferens* and mean: “The king Melchizedek bringing salt...” which, as I suggest, is the case here. On more occasions, explanation through a word play is much more elegant than distant associations.

A specific technique is a play with the meaning of names. There are three occasions in the *CC* when a character is assigned or connected to the meaning of his or her own name. They are:

87b *Phalech partes fecit* – Phalech divided (Phalech = division⁴⁴)

142 *Helionem Samson* – Samson got a sun fish (Samson = child of the sun⁴⁵)

202a *Isaac in risiculo* – Isaac laughing (Isaac = the laughing one⁴⁶)

Thus, the characters are, in a way, doubly presented in a single allusion.

The use of *metaphor* is not a method characteristic of the author of the *CC*, but it occurs several times, for example Herod receives *sepia* (*sepiam*),⁴⁷ which is reminiscent in its shape of the plate on which he was brought the head of John the Baptist. Eva receives *murena* (*murenam*)⁴⁸ which looks like a serpent and

⁴⁰ Line 133a. It refers to 1 Samuel 16.23.

⁴¹ Line 136a. It refers e.g. to Matthew 26.15.

⁴² He is called Molessadon in the *CC*.

⁴³ Genesis 14.18.

⁴⁴ Genesis 10.25.

⁴⁵ Judges 13.24. The line, however, could also be a pun on *leonem*—the lion Samson killed.

⁴⁶ Genesis 17.17 and 21.6—both Abraham and Sara laugh when it is announced to them that they will have a child: Isaac.

⁴⁷ Line 136b. It refers to Matthew 14.8.

⁴⁸ Line 128b. It refers to Genesis 3.1.



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thus recalls the fall.⁴⁹ Line 144: *Cain prior intinxit*—Cain was the first one to dip, can be interpreted metaphorically as well, because *intinxit* can be used for “thrusting sword into a body,” which alludes to Cain’s fratricide,⁵⁰ recurring in the *CC*.

All the activities performed in the *CC* are, of course, performed outside of their original context. Thus, there is always some kind of a *context shift*, which is a natural result of the author’s method. Yet, in the new context, the familiar events frequently seem surprising.

There are many other types of shifts, such as a cause shift. For example, while in the Bible Adam sleeps because God makes him sleep so that he could create Eve,⁵¹ in the *CC* he is described as sleeping because of having drunk too much wine—*saturacione vini sopitus iacebat Adam*.⁵² Or Zacharias, becoming mute in the Bible because he was so daring as to disbelieve when it was announced to him that he would have a son,⁵³ is portrayed as becoming mute from fear when the guests are tortured in the *CC*—*Zaccharias timens obmutescit*.⁵⁴

An example of a *purpose shift* is the occasion when the servants bring water in the Bible, at the wedding at Cana Galilee, so that it would be changed into wine.⁵⁵ Servants bring water in the *CC* as well—*ministri aquam attulerunt*,⁵⁶ but simply to be drunk. There is no miracle—the water remains water.

In *object shift*, the activity remains the same as in the Bible but the object of the activity is different. Thus, for example, while Shem and Japheth cover their drunk father in the Bible,⁵⁷ they cover the reclining guests in the *CC*—*Sem et Iaphet cooperuerunt recumbentes*.⁵⁸ Thus, the great Biblical sin and reason for condemnation becomes a friendly service and reason for thanks in the *CC*.

Among *result shifts*, the fulfilled plan occurs most often: activities only intended in the Bible really take place in the *CC*. For example, in the Bible the

⁴⁹ Hervaeus Burgodiensis, an eleventh century commentator on the *CC*, explains this allusion through a myth according to which Eve had sexual intercourse with the snake in Eden, conceived and gave birth to corrupt humanity. He bases this interpretation on the doubtful premise that murenas frequently have sexual intercourse with snakes.

⁵⁰ Genesis 4.8.

⁵¹ Genesis 2.21.

⁵² Line 157.

⁵³ Luke 1.22.

⁵⁴ Line 236a.

⁵⁵ John 2.7.

⁵⁶ Line 77a.

⁵⁷ Genesis 9.23.

⁵⁸ Line 32b.



three Marys go to Jesus’ grave in order to anoint his body,⁵⁹ but they never do it, because the grave is empty. In the *CC* one of the Marys (it is not specified which one) does not bring the ointment in vain—*aromata imposuit Maria*.⁶⁰ As she anoints the dead body of Achan, there is an object shift as well.

There is a special kind of shift that the author of the *CC* applies: he lets the characters actively perform the same activity, which they were patiently bearing or suffering from in the Bible (*patiens-agens* shift) or vice versa (*agens-patiens* shift). There are only a few examples of the latter, the *agens-patiens* shift:

263b *Iohannes arguebatur* – John was accused
In the Bible John the Baptist accuses Herod⁶¹ but he himself is never accused.

160b *Iesus suscitabatur* – Jesus was woken up
In the Bible Jesus wakes up his disciples on the mount of Olives.⁶²

In contrast, there are many cases of the *patiens-agens* shift. This strategy might seem to make the passive characters from the Bible actively participate in the *CC*. It can be argued that the change of the voice is forced by the new context of the *CC*, or that the quoted attributions are not special, but simply based on association. In my opinion, it is a distinctive method, even if only secondary, adding to the *CC* the important aspect of reversing the content of the original source.

Some of the activities have an original *agens*, they represent the *patiens-agens* shift proper.

15b *Isaac (sedit) super aram* – Isaac sat on the altar
Isaac was placed on the altar by Abraham in the Bible,⁶³ here he sits there himself, as if he was willing to be sacrificed. Thus, the link that is usually made between him and Jesus becomes stronger.

80b *Iesus resticulam porrexit* – Jesus stretched out the string
Jesus was bound with rope in the Bible before being brought in front of Pilate.⁶⁴

92a *Tunc intulit Saul panes* – then Saul brought bread
Bread and other food was actually brought to Saul by Isai.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Mark 16.1.

⁶⁰ Line 284a.

⁶¹ Matthew 14.3–4 or Mark 6.18.

⁶² But, it is also possible that the allusion is to Jesus being woken by his disciples on the boat (Matthew 8.24–25) and then there is no such shift.

⁶³ Genesis 22.9.

⁶⁴ Matthew 27.2 or Mark 15.1.



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112 *Iobannes primus sustulit caput* – John was the first to take the head
The head of John the Baptist was taken to Herod and given to
Salome.⁶⁶

284b *Noe clusit* – Noah closed
Noah was enclosed in the ark by God.⁶⁷

Others are events rather than activities that simply happen to the characters in the Bible, and they are actively performing them in the *CC*:

83b *Absalon suspendit* – Absolon hanged (the calf)
Absolon got stuck, hanged among the boughs.⁶⁸

84b *Hermocrates ventrem aperuit* – Hermocrates opened the belly
(of the calf)
Hermocrates' belly was open due to his illness.⁶⁹

279b *Iudas medium aperuit* – Judas opened (Achan's) stomach
The belly of Judas opened when he killed himself.⁷⁰

A shift of order to action can be perceived as a part of the *patiens-agens* shift. A character that ordered or indirectly caused something in the Bible is performing the activity by himself in the *CC*. Through this strategy the author seems to assign more responsibility and more guilt to the characters in the *CC*.

85b *sanguinem effudit Herodes* – Herod drew blood (from the calf)
Herod orders John the Baptist and the innocents to be killed.⁷¹

277b *ad terram elisit Danibel* – Daniel knocked (Achan) down
Daniel draws the king's attention to the priests of Baal, and consequently they are harshly punished.⁷²

285a *Pilatus superscripsit* – Pilate wrote the inscription
Pilate orders the inscription to be put on Jesus' cross.⁷³

⁶⁵ 1 Samuel 16.20.

⁶⁶ Matthew 14.(8–)11.

⁶⁷ Genesis 7.16.

⁶⁸ 2 Samuel 18.9.

⁶⁹ *Acta Pauli*.

⁷⁰ Acts of the Apostles 1.18. The fact that the latter two attributions are very similar could be interpreted as drawing a parallel between common killing of the calf at the beginning of the Cyprian's feast, and the common killing of Achan in the end.

⁷¹ Matthew 14.9–10 or Matthew 2.16.

⁷² Daniel 14.14–22.

⁷³ Matthew 27.37.



Another specific tendency of the author of the *CC* is to describe the characters performing the exact opposite of what they do in the Bible:

- 30a *Esau murmurabat* – Esau murmured
Esau complains *aloud*.⁷⁴
- 31b *Judith (porrexit) coopertotirum* – Judith presented (offered) the blanket
Judith steals, *hides* the blanket.⁷⁵
- 32a *Achar (porrexit) stragulum* – Achan presented the cloak
Achan steals, *hides* the cloak.⁷⁶
- 111 *Noe distribuit omnibus* – Noah gave to all
Noah *took from* all the animals one pair.⁷⁷
- 220a *ligulam Achar (obtulit regi)* – Achan brought the king a spoon
Achan *stole* the spoon.⁷⁸

The characters might be described in an opposite position than in the original, but this is often simply an association in a new context forced by the plot, as, for example, in the catalogue of seating:

- 18b *Tobias super lectum* – Tobias (sat) on the bed
Tobias prays *beside* the bed.⁷⁹
- 21b *Lazarus super tabulam* – Lazarus on the table
Lazarus remains hidden *under* the table.⁸⁰
- 28b *Heli super sellam* – Eli on the chair
Eli falls *down from* the chair.⁸¹

In three cases it seems that the attributions of two characters placed one after the other could be exchanged. It does not occur frequently enough to be called a technique, but, at the same time, it might not be only chance. A good example is: *Jacob super petram, Moyses super lapidem* (Jacob (sat) on the rock, Moses on the stone)⁸² because if the attributes were assigned the other way round,

⁷⁴ Genesis 27.34.

⁷⁵ Judith 12.15.

⁷⁶ Joshua 7.21.

⁷⁷ Genesis 6.19–21.

⁷⁸ Joshua 7.24.

⁷⁹ Tobit 8.4.

⁸⁰ Luke 16.20–21.

⁸¹ 1 Samuel 4.18.

⁸² Lines 16a and 17a.



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they would be clearer: Moses draws water from the rock,⁸³ while Jacob sleeps on the stone.⁸⁴

Apart from the Latin attributions based on Greek texts,⁸⁵ there are also Greek attributions. Most of them occur in the catalogue of dressing, for example:

- 55a *Iobannes trichiniam* – John (received) a robe from camel hair
- 60b *Iob biplagiam* – Job (received) a twice destroyed robe
- 61a *Isaias mesotropam* – Isaiah (received) a robe folded in the middle
- 69a *Iacob pseudoaletinam* – Jacob (received) a false robe

These allusions are difficult to link with a specific place in the Bible and it is not easy to judge why the author of the *CC* included them in his text. Perhaps he simply wanted to show off. In Late Ancient literature, Greek words are often used in Latin texts to make the text more learned, educated authors include a Greek word where Latin lacks a suitable term. Or, the author of the *CC* could have simply adopted the technique in order to mock it. In any case, the Greek allusions add to the diversity of attributions in the *CC*.

It is never the case that the author would create attributions of one character using a single technique, but it happens that a character is assigned the same or very similar attribute through more allusions. Thus, for example, Zacheus is repeatedly connected to a tree, Jonah to vinegar,⁸⁶ Esau to a stag,⁸⁷ Judith to a blanket,⁸⁸ or Melchizedek to salt,⁸⁹ but never in the exact same way.

⁸³ Exodus 17.12.

⁸⁴ Genesis 28.11.

⁸⁵ There are some 16 allusions to the *Acta Pauli*. This apocrypha might have been translated into Latin, but such a translation does not survive.

⁸⁶ *Acetum* in lines 42a and 143a. Perhaps this refers to Jonah's stay in the whale's acidic stomach (Jonah 2.1). Or, it could be a far allusion to the fact that vinegar is needed for a fish sauce. Strecker suggests a simple pun based on an older version—Jonah is devoured *a ceto*.

⁸⁷ *Cervum* in line 217a, and *cervinam* in line 104b. Genesis 27.3. Isaac told Esau to make a meal for him from the hunted deer, *venatu aliquid*, but Jacob and Rebecca deceived him. Isaac might not have meant a stag. A stag could be understood as being generally associated with Esau, and this line as another reference to Esau's occupation.

⁸⁸ *Coopertorium* in line 31b and *coopertorium subsericum* in line 229. Judith 12.15. Judith's maidservant comes and lays down fur blankets. Thus, there is an *agens* shift. The scene of laying the blankets is not a very important one in itself, but it forms a part of the picture of Judith's seduction of Holofernes. More probably, the *coopertorium* should be connected to the curtain that Judith steals from Holofernes' bed in order to prove to her people that she was there.

⁸⁹ *Salem* in lines 88b and 143b, *salpam* in line 138b. Allusion formed from Genesis 14.18.



Thus Zacheus sits on the tree (*super arborem*),⁹⁰ which is an abstraction, as the tree to which he climbs is specified as sycamore in the Bible, then he eats sycamore (*sicomorum*),⁹¹ which is a shift in meaning from the tree to its fruit. And finally he drinks Arbustan wine (*arbustinum*)⁹² which is an easy pun on the already mentioned tree (*arbor*). If we assume that the *CC* had an educational function, it can be easily explained as ‘revision of the previous lesson,’ which the author of the *CC*, as a good teacher, includes among the ‘new lesson material’. More often, however, more events from the ‘life’ of a Biblical character or more roles of the character are alluded to through more different methods.

In addition, there are two occasions in the *CC* in which one character is described both as *agens* and *patiens* of the same action. These are: Noah closed and was closed *clusit*⁹³ and *includitur*⁹⁴ and Absolon hanged and was hanged *suspendit*⁹⁵ and *suspenditur*.⁹⁶ In both occasions, the same event is alluded to—Noah was enclosed in the ark by God, and Absolon stuck among the boughs of a tree. For Noah the event means life, for Absolon death. These lines provide a good example of another way the author of the *CC* played with the voice of the verb.

There are instances where a play with the voice includes different characters, one character is described as an *agens* of an action, and another one as *patiens* of the very same action. The characters are thus linked to each other.⁹⁷

80a	Rahab	<i>alligavit</i>	bound ⁹⁸
242b	Joseph	<i>alligatur</i>	was bound ⁹⁹
279a	Jesus	<i>flagello (percussit)</i>	flagellated ¹⁰⁰
246a	Paul	<i>flagellatur</i>	was flagellated ¹⁰¹

⁹⁰ Line 22b. The Biblical lines referred to are Luke 19.2–4.

⁹¹ Line 35b.

⁹² Line 153b.

⁹³ Line 284b.

⁹⁴ Line 240a. They both refer to Genesis 7.16.

⁹⁵ Line 83b.

⁹⁶ Line 249b. They both refer to the story with the tree in 2 Samuel 18.9.

⁹⁷ I suggest the following links between two characters primarily as remarkable occasions without trying to show that they were intended by the author.

⁹⁸ Joshua 2.18. An allusion to the saffron-colored rope that Rahab was advised to let down from the window in order to save her family.

⁹⁹ Genesis 36.20. It perhaps alludes to Joseph’s imprisonment by Potiphar.

¹⁰⁰ John 2.15. Jesus expels everybody from the temple.



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278a	David	<i>lapide percussit</i>	stoned ¹⁰²
247b	Jeremiah	<i>lapidatur</i>	was stoned ¹⁰³
82b	Cain	<i>occidit</i>	killed
235a	Abel	<i>occiditur</i>	was killed ¹⁰⁴
243a	Mary (Magdalene?)	<i>occiditur</i>	was killed ¹⁰⁵
267b	Pharaoh	<i>non credebat</i>	did not trust ¹⁰⁶
248b	Moses	<i>non creditur (Moysi)</i>	was not trusted ¹⁰⁷

Put one beside another like this, the lines create an image of Rahab binding Joseph, Jesus flagellating Paul, David stoning Jeremiah, and Cain, besides killing Abel, killing Mary Magdalene as well. Such entertaining effect is fully in accordance with other strategies applied in the *CC*. Only the last occasion presents a real relationship—although the line with Moses alludes probably to the fact that Moses feared that the people would not believe him, it can be associated with Pharaoh as well, because he truly did not believe that Moses was serious about leaving Egypt.

Similar to this technique is the tendency of the author of the *CC* to ascribe the same or similar attributes to different characters. Thus, a link is created between the two characters, sometimes based on similarity, other times on contrast. In four cases, the attributes are exactly the same. For example:

90b	Eve	<i>prior gustavit</i>	tasted as the first
96	Misahel	<i>prior gustavit</i>	
30a	Esau	<i>murmurabat</i>	grumbled, murmured
165b	Hermippus	<i>murmurabat</i>	

The first example is based on a contrast: while Eve's tasting is not considered very fortunate,¹⁰⁸ the fact that Misahel and others ate vegetables in prison saved their lives.¹⁰⁹ The second is based on similarity: both Esau and

¹⁰¹ *Acta Pauli et Teclae* 21. Paul is scourged for deluding young virgins.

¹⁰² 1 Samuel 17.48–49. David kills Goliath with a stone.

¹⁰³ Hebrews 11.37. About the prophets, it is said in general also *lapidati sunt*.

¹⁰⁴ Together with the previous line refer to Cain's murder of Abel, Genesis 4.8.

¹⁰⁵ John 8.4–5. It might allude to the stoning of Mary Magdalene, who however did not die of it.

¹⁰⁶ Exodus 7.13.

¹⁰⁷ Exodus 4.1. Moses fears that he will be disbelieved due to his unskillful speech. The possibility of the Bible becomes true in the *CC*.

¹⁰⁸ The well known event in Genesis 3.6.

¹⁰⁹ Daniel 1.16.



Hermippus are deprived of what belongs to them and what they were looking forward to get—Esau loses primogeniture¹¹⁰ and Hermippus inheritance.¹¹¹ In addition, they are both perceived as rather negative figures in the Bible and the *Acta Pauli*, due to their way of life and greediness. The parallel is, however, artificial, because as opposed to grumbling Hermippus, Esau actually complains loudly in the Bible.

In five other cases, two characters are linked by having assigned the same attribute, but in one case the attribute stands alone, in the other, another word is added to it. For example:

84b	Hermocrates	<i>ventrem aperuit</i>	opened the belly ¹¹²
121a	Sara	<i>ventrem</i>	belly ¹¹³
93a	Peter	<i>tradidit omnibus</i>	gave to all
171a	Judas	<i>tradidit</i>	gave

The second example is exceptional, because the method applied to it is not the one of linking two characters, but a witty word play. Although the allusions look very similar, and have very similar meaning in the context of the *CC*, their meaning derived from the Bible is absolutely different: Judas *tradidit*—betrayed,¹¹⁴ but Peter *tradidit omnibus*—spread to all people the Jesus’ teaching.¹¹⁵ Both the activities concern Jesus, one negatively, the other positively.

Many more similar attributions of different characters can be found in the text,¹¹⁶ but as the lexical link becomes vaguer, it becomes less clear that such link or parallel was intended by the author or that it could be noticed by the reader without a deeper analysis. Nevertheless, I hope I have successfully shown that there really is a variety of methods applied in the text, that the *CC* is not simply intertextual, but intertextual in many different respects.

¹¹⁰ Genesis 27.30–41.

¹¹¹ *Acta Pauli*.

¹¹² *Acta Pauli*.

¹¹³ Genesis 18.11–15. An allusion to Sarah’s late, almost miraculous conception.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Matthew 26.14–16.

¹¹⁵ This is not explicitly described in the Bible. Modesto suggests that the allusion is based on apocryphal *Acta Petri*, but it is quite likely that it stems simply from the tradition.

¹¹⁶ For example, on three occasions, there is the same verb used in connection with two characters, but once it is used in present tense, once in imperfect. But this strategy is not clear to me.



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The use of the methods is by no means character bound. The allusions of one character, even if they refer only to one event (which is rarely the case) are created in a number of ways. For example Thecla, a character from *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (*APT*),¹¹⁷ is alluded to nine times in the *CC*. Three of the allusions refer to her being given to the beasts, when she is falsely accused of being enchanted by Paul. One of the allusions is straightforward: *bestiis datur* (was given to the beasts).¹¹⁸ But there is a context shift: while in the *APT* Thecla is innocent, in the *CC* she is tortured in this way because she, together with others, is guilty of theft. The second allusion includes reversal—Thecla walks in the procession *in bestiario*—as a beast tamer.¹¹⁹ Finally, Thecla brings the king *taurum*—a bull, one of the animals that were supposed to kill her. It is a specification, but it can also be seen as confirmation of Thecla's taming abilities—she tamed the bull and now she is giving it to the king.

There are two allusions to another punishment Thecla survived—she was to be burnt. In the *CC*, she gets *flammeam*—flame-like robe,¹²⁰ which is a nice metaphor creating a vivid image of how she looked surrounded by the flames on the stake. Further, she drinks wine *arsinum*,¹²¹ which is not a type of wine but a word play on past participle from *ardere*, to burn or to be in flames.

There is a simple allusion to the occasion when Thecla ripped off Alexander's clothes in order to humiliate him—*vestem detraxit*.¹²² But in the *CC*, this allusion is a part of the catalogue of killing Achan. It could also be understood as *patiens-agens* shift, because Thecla's clothes are torn off her when she is taken to be tortured in the *APT*.

The last three allusions to Thecla do not refer to cruel events but rather stress Thecla's devotion to Paul. At the beginning of the *APT*, there is a charming situation, when Thecla listens to Paul so attentively that she does not move from the window for several days and her mother compares her to a spider.

¹¹⁷ The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* where Thecla appears is the only apocryphal text about which we can state with certainty that it was used by the author of the *CC*. This is usually basis for claiming that the *CC* is blasphemous. Nevertheless, the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* was very popular throughout Late Antiquity and not perceived as being completely out of the canon. In addition, it is a charming and violent story full of specific objects, and thus it is perfect for the purposes of the author of the *CC*.

¹¹⁸ Line 244a.

¹¹⁹ Line 196b.

¹²⁰ Line 54a.

¹²¹ Line 154a.

¹²² Line 277a.



“Reconstructing” the Bible

And in the *CC*, she sits *super fenestram* (on the window).¹²³ There is a shift in position, as it is indeed quite different to sit at the window than on it. It is not a common association, but it is easily recognizable, because the image is vivid. Further, Thecla receives *araneum*, a spider fish,¹²⁴ which is an obvious play with words.

The remaining allusion—*speculum argenteum*, a silver mirror,¹²⁵ is connected to the way Thecla sneaks into the prison to see Paul: in order to get there, Thecla gave the guards her bracelets and her silver mirror. But, in the context of the *CC*, Thecla stole the mirror from the king.

If we list the allusions as they appear in the *CC*, it becomes obvious, that Thecla’s story cannot be followed by the reader. The result is rather a set of vivid images, sometimes loosely connected to one another, but not creating characteristics or a unified image of the character.

What is created well, is a great range of possibilities—Thecla and other characters are present at the feast through a number of allusions that are related to a choice of their roles and activities. In addition, these allusions are created by a number of different methods.

This developed system of allusions does not follow any set rules. The strategies of rhetoric, which perhaps comes first to one’s mind concentrate on developing thoughts and arguments, and they are concerned primarily with the overall structure and syntax, only rarely do they deal with smaller units, but even then only as parts of the bigger units. Ricklin tries to draw parallels between the *CC* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, but he is forced to speak only very generally, and he never discusses the influence of rhetoric on the level of individual attributions.¹²⁶ It would be easier to interpret the *CC* as mocking the rhetoric by ignoring its basic rules of clarity, thought development and structuring. Nevertheless, Ricklin is right when he points out the mnemotechnic aspect of the *CC*. After deciphering the allusions, the images from the *CC* are likely to stick in the reader’s mind. But, they are not designed only as vivid images as Ricklin claims, but as challenging riddles at the same time.

The type of mnemotechnics present in the *CC*—enhancing memory by vivid image, entertainment and relief after solving a complex problem at the

¹²³ Line 25a.

¹²⁴ Line 139b.

¹²⁵ Line 227b.

¹²⁶ Thomas Ricklin, “Imaginibus vero quasi litteris rerum recordatio continetur: Versuch einer Situierung der Cena Cypriani,” *Peregrina Curiositas. Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus*, ed. A. Kessler, Th. Ricklin, G. Wurst, (Fribourg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Universitäts-Verlag et al., 1994), 215–238.



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same time is a new strategy. It began to develop in the Late Antiquity, especially in the ancient novel, which also uses other genres and texts in a number of ways. But then, although the *CC* kept being re-written, this complex strategy was forgotten—all the re-writings of the *CC* substantially simplify the original, and whenever the authors introduce their own allusions, these are simple and *cento*-like.

It seems that until the late Middle Ages allegory was seen only as a result of divine inspiration. The notion that "... a poet could, in the practice of his own craft and without supernatural direction, not merely write an obscure or difficult poem but carefully conceal a whole complex of meanings in a way that invites a search for is not fully present until Dante's *Divine comedy*."¹²⁷ Thus, when the medieval writers kept the complexity of the *CC* it was probably out of respect for the divine, and when they simplified it was in order to facilitate the reader's perception. They could not see the strategies behind and understand their importance. But to prove this will require more research.

¹²⁷ Cf. Philip Damon, "Allegory and Invention: Levels of Meaning in Ancient and Medieval Rhetoric," *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, Bernardo, Aldo S. and Saul Levin, eds. (Binghamton NJ: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 117–118.



FOREWORD



If interdisciplinarity involves the idea of approaching the same subject from different possible and relevant points of view, then the Bible in the Middle Ages is a subject absolutely suitable for interdisciplinary studies. Owing to the centrality of the Bible in medieval culture, every discipline in medieval studies, and almost every traditional and recent approach within these disciplines, can find questions and problems that are meaningful for them. This methodological exemplarity of medieval biblical studies was illustrated by the public lecture series “Reading the Scripture, Medieval Interpretations of the Bible” organized by the Department of Medieval Studies in 2000/2001.¹ The lectures given by renowned scholars from East and West covered a wide range of disciplines from religious history to drama studies, from art history to theology, from linguistic studies to cultural history. They revealed hitherto unknown interconnections between the different aspects of the subject, and, as a consequence, made the understanding of each aspect deeper and firmer.

Apart from the primarily methodological concerns—the problem of cooperation among disciplines studying the same subject—the lecture series also revealed the astounding variety and, at the same time, unity of the cultural forms crystallized around the omnipresent Scripture in medieval society. In this respect, the most significant contribution of the series was perhaps the emphasis laid on religious diversity. The term “religious diversity” involves a number of historical and sociological dichotomies that are part and parcel of medieval biblical studies: Pagan–Christian, Jewish–Christian, Arab–Christian, Eastern Christian–Western Christian, religion of the literate–religion of the illiterate, Scripture in Latin–Scripture in the vernaculars, and so forth. These are both the lines of tension along which a great deal of change in attitudes and perspectives can be followed, and the lines of comparison along which the difference can be recognized and analyzed. The advantageous position of the Central European University between two of the most important points of reference—East and West—gives it a unique access to the intellectual means of such comparisons, not only between Eastern and Western Europe, but between *Oriens* and *Occidens* in their broad classical sense as well.

¹ See the list of lectures in the series on pp. 291–292.



Foreword

The three papers from the lecture series published below exemplify these concerns. In them, we see the Bible in different geographic areas: Spain, Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Byzantium; in different religious contexts: Western Christianity, Medieval Jewry, and Eastern Christianity; and in different media: rituals, books, and images. The studies examine the intricate ways in which the Scripture fulfills its manifold roles and functions in these areas, contexts, and media.

Ottó Sándor Gecser



A BIBLE FOR THE MASSES IN THE MIDDLE AGES: TRANSLATING THE BIBLE IN MEDIEVAL MUSLIM SPAIN¹

Hanna E. Kassir 

Less than a century after founding the earliest Muslim state in Medina in A.D. 622, Islam established its first foothold on European soil. In A.D. 711, the Muslims (Arabs, Syrians, Berbers and others) landed on the coast of the Iberian Peninsula, bringing about the collapse of the Kingdom of the Visigoths, the only viable political entity in Latin Europe at the time, and ushering in a new era in European history. Henceforth, Europe had to contend with the presence on its soil of a civilization and a religion unlike its own. As a result of the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, dubbed “al-Andalus” by the Arabs, a significant number of Christians came to live under Muslim rule. These new Christian subjects, like their confreres in Muslim North Africa, were distinct from their co-religionists in the East in that they had turned their spiritual allegiance to Rome (Latin and Catholic). They stood apart from their Eastern counterparts, who had been absorbed in the realm of Islam a century earlier and were largely Antiochian, Alexandrian, Constantinopolitan, or Edessan, as well as Jacobite or Nestorian in spiritual allegiance. For the new Christian subjects the Biblical text was Jerome’s Vulgate, not the Greek or Syriac texts utilized in the East. In this presentation I wish to focus on the circumstance in which an Arabic Bible was deemed necessary, as Latin gave way to Arabic, to satisfy the spiritual (and liturgical?) needs of the Arabic-speaking Christian community of al-Andalus. And as this is only a segment of the history of the encounter between Islam and its Christian subjects, I would like to begin with a brief introductory comment on the nature of this encounter.

¹ The text of this lecture is largely drawn from the following papers by the author: “Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (Fifth-Eleventh century until A.H. 478/A.D. 1085),” *Al-Qantara*, vol. XV, Fasc. 2 (1994): 401–422; “The Arabicization and Islamization of the Christians of al-Andalus: Evidence of their Scriptures,” *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1997): 136–155; “Literature of the Mozarabs,” *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 420–434.



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We should emphasize here that the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was not Islam's first meeting with Christianity and the Christians. Depending on the circumstances of their initial encounter with Islam and the Muslims, various Christian groups came to be identified differently. From the onset of Islamic history, two Christian communities played a significant role in the development of Arab Islamic society. The first of these communities were the *nasārā*, the Christians mentioned in the Qur'ān and with whom Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, was acquainted. Subsequently, the term referred as well to the indigenous Christian population living under Muslim rule and protection. The Muslims were enjoined by the dictates of the Qur'ān to protect those Christians, as well as the Jews, as they were *ahl al-kitāb*, "People of the Book," the earlier recipients of Divine revelation.

The second group of Christians identified by Arabic writers were the *rūm*, who in comparison with the *nasārā*, attract more attention in the written sources. Initially mentioned in the Qur'an, the term primarily refers to the Byzantines who were at once an enemy of Islam and a source of supply of some of the craftsmen and artisans of its building programme. The defeat of a contingent of the *rūm* (Byzantines) during the prophetic age merited the Qur'anic reference, "The *rūm* are vanquished" (Qur'an 30:1), and was seen as a sign of the divine vindication of Islam and its perpetual triumph over the disbelief (*kufūr*) of Christendom represented by the Byzantines. Thus the Caliph in Damascus would have felt justified when he brazenly demanded of the Byzantine Emperor that he dispatch skilled craftsmen for the construction of the Mosque in Damascus in 706, threatening the destruction of the churches at Edessa, Jerusalem and Lydda if the Emperor failed to comply. But although the *rūm* were the enemy, they merited the respect of Muslims in general. Subsequently, the term came to refer as well to any Christian body politic presided over by an alien (Christian) ruler. The body politic could be the Greeks, the Romans, or even the people of the Holy Roman Empire. Whoever they may have been, they were a potential enemy and did not merit the protection reserved for the *nasārā*.

Another group of Christians in the experience of Islam were the *ifranj* ("Franks"), whose overall portrayal in Arabic sources was that of a people not dissimilar from other remote barbarians, lacking in sophistication as well as in the creativity of either the Byzantines or the indigenous Christians (the *nasārā*). Their image was not enhanced as they came to be associated with missionary and crusading activities against Islam.



Depending on the prevailing circumstances, one or another of these labels came to be applied, in Arabic writings, to the Christians of al-Andalus. Curiously enough, a different name was applied to them at a later date by their co-religionists living outside the realm of Islam. Although derived from an Arabic original, the Castilian *mozarabe* (“Mozarab,” meaning “arabicized”) which came into use as early as the eleventh century as a pejorative term, refers solely though imprecisely to the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula who came in contact with Islam in one manner or another.

The rights of all Christians who lived under Muslim rule and who chose to maintain their faith were protected, at least in principle, by the dictates of the Qur’ān, as these were rendered by competent interpreters of the Muslim sacred text, as well as by the assembled records of the sayings and practices of the Prophet (the *Hadīth*). In addition, their juridical rights were governed by the terms of the treaty by which they, or their ancestors, effected their surrender to the rule of Islam. The text of one such treaty, governing the Mozarabs and preserved by later Muslim historians, is purported to be that concluded in A.D. 713 between Theodmir, the defeated Vizigothic governor of the region of Murcia, and the victorious Muslim commander, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Mūsā ibn Nusayr. According to the extant text, “they [the Christians] shall not be taken into captivity nor would they be separated from their women or children. They shall not be killed; their churches shall not be burnt nor shall their cult objects be desecrated; they shall not be forcibly converted out of their religion.”² These guarantees were given in return for loyalty to the new masters and the payment of the *jizyah*, the tribute exacted from non-Muslim subjects, in lieu of the religious tax demanded of Muslims.

There is little doubt that this and similar treaties—be they authentic or fabricated—reflect the broad lines that governed the relationship of the Muslim rulers and their Christian subjects (the *nasarā*) and echo the tenor of the legal position of these Christians under Muslim rule in al-Andalus and elsewhere. Even if the authenticity of such a treaty or the accuracy of its text were to be called into question, the self-imposed perception in Muslim writings that a pact such as this existed and obligated the Muslims to abide by its terms, is significant. But, aside from leaving the Christians to manage their own internal affairs and to maintain their existing religious rites and edifices, the treaty is silent regarding the preservation of the identity of the Christians. If such identity were to be sustained, the responsibility of cultural self-preservation and nurture was

² Kassis, “Arabic-speaking Christians,” *Al-Qantara*, vol. 15:2 (1994), 404, n.6.



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left up to the Christians themselves to undertake. That responsibility must by necessity address matters of religion and language, the two elements that more than any other give a minority a foundation upon which to establish its exclusiveness. Such interplay of the search for identity, on the one hand, and an emphasis on the preservation of religion and language, on the other, is very much in evidence in al-Andalus.

While the text of the treaties themselves was written in Arabic, at least as far as the later preserved texts are concerned, the Muslims recognized the linguistic barrier that separated them from their vanquished subjects in al-Andalus. Evidence for this must be derived from numismatics. During the first decade of their dominion in the Peninsula, the Muslim rulers accommodated their subjects by utilizing Latin on their coins. Thus, following the numismatic tradition that was started after the fall of Carthage in North Africa, and in spite of the fact that the reform of the minting policy had already taken place two decades earlier in the Near East, the earliest coins issued in the Peninsula by the Muslims, beginning with A.H. 94/A.D. 712, bear legends containing the fundamental statement of faith of Islam in Latin rather than Arabic. The legend on one of the earliest of these coins reads, *INNNDINN D SNSDSSLNDSA*, a condensed and abbreviated form of *IN Nomine Domini NoN Deus NiSi DeuS SoLus Non DeuS Alius*, “In the Name of God; there is no deity other than God, alone, without compeer.” However, less than a decade later, Arabic was to replace Latin and the new legends included the Arabic original of which the Latin text cited above was a translation. To this was added the Arabic text of the shortest chapter in the Qur’an, that reads, in translation, “He is God, Unique; God is the Eternal One; He did not beget, nor was He begotten; He has no compeer” (*Qur’an* 112). There is no doubt in my mind that the primary intention of the legends on these coins—whether written in Latin or subsequently in Arabic—was to inform the subjugated Christians of the central content of the faith of the victors, rather than to engage in polemics.

Generally speaking, Christians in al-Andalus as elsewhere were left to manage their own affairs with little or no interference by the Muslims. We cannot gauge the attitude of the ordinary Muslims, living in the city or in the countryside, toward their Mozarabic neighbours, with whom they undoubtedly had contacts. However, we know something of the official attitude of the *fuqabā’* (“jurisconsults”) towards them. According to these jurisconsults, the Christians—by virtue of the fact of not being Muslim—held a separate, secondary status (I judiciously avoid the term “inferior”). The separation of the Muslims from Christians and Jews was clearly counselled by the jurists. In



response to a judicial query, a leading tenth-century jurist (al-Qābisi) issued a *fatwá* (“legal opinion”) in which he counselled Muslims “not to associate with someone whose religion is different from yours; that is the safer for you. There is no harm in doing your neighbour a favour if he asks you and if what he asks for is not sinful. There is no harm either if you were to respond to him with kind words providing that this does not unduly magnify him or place him in a rank of honour higher than his own, nor should it make him pleased with his religion. If he greets you [with the greeting ‘Peace be upon you’], your response should be ‘And upon you’. You should add nothing else. There is no benefit in your inquiring about his well-being or that of those who belong to him [his family]. Do not exceed or go too far; however, fulfil what is due to neighbourliness.”³

This distancing was practised by the Christians as well. In the middle of the ninth century, Eulogius, who was to become one of the “Martyrs of Córdoba,” abhorred the close association between Christians and Muslims. He lamented that “[the Cordoban Christians] consider it a delight to be subject to these people [the Muslims], and do not resist being led by the yoke of the infidels. They even make use of many of their sacrileges on a day to day basis and seek their company rather than trying to save themselves, like the Patriarch Lot, who departed Sodom for the mountains.”⁴

But in spite of the relative autonomy of the Christians of al-Andalus, Latin was declining as the dominant language of both the laity and the Church, and the Christians were increasingly lured to adopt Arabic, at least as their literary language. It is of little relevance for our immediate purposes whether the process of arabicization was voluntary (auto-arabicization) or forced.⁵ As the conquest became an irreversible reality, and in spite of the religious-legal definition and protection of their status, the Christians who came under Muslim rule had limited options for the preservation of their identity. Needless to say, a serious situation engulfed those who chose to retain their Christian religious identity within the Muslim polity. Of those, some continued to identify with their increasingly weakened Latin heritage. Others maintained their Christian identity

³ al-Wansharīsi, *Mi'yār*, (Rabat, 1981), vol. 11: 300–301.

⁴ Translation by Kenneth Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge, 1988), 68.

⁵ It is difficult to determine whether the Castilian *mozárabe* was derived from the passive participle of the Arabic verb *ista'raba*, thus meaning “one who is involuntarily arabicized,” or from the active participle of the same verb, meaning “one who seeks to be arabicized,” hence “auto-arabicized.”



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within an Arabic framework, acquiring a mastery of the language while retaining their religious orthodoxy. Not unexpectedly, without the presence of an intellectually and administratively gifted clergy, the community would be weakened.⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that the preponderance of literature created by the Christians of al-Andalus was religious in nature. But at the same time, we must remember that while the Mozarabs continued to manifest an intellectual vitality in spite of their domination by a religion other than their own, they did not achieve the intellectual or literary stature of Andalusian Jews. Nor did their intellectual output compare at any time with that of their Christian co-religionists in the Near East. As far as we know, nothing was produced by the Mozarabs to compare to the writings of Theodore Ibn Qurrah or Yahyá ibn ‘Adí. Nor do we find a Christian, even writing in Latin, of the calibre of John of Damascus, writing in Greek. Moreover, the literary output among Christians of the Near East included secular literature (*adab*), a genre that according to the evidence so far before us was almost completely lacking among the Mozarabs.

It is safe to assume that by the middle of the ninth century many Christians of al-Andalus had acquired the language, customs and other social practices of the Muslims. The extent of the impact of Islam on the Christians alarmed some of the leading members of the Christian community. Notable among these was Paulus Alvarus of Córdoba, the defender of the cause of the “Martyrs of Córdoba.” He was concerned about the demise of Latin among his coreligionists who, according to him, favoured the use of Arabic instead of Latin as their literary medium “The Christians forgot their language,” he bemoaned, “to the point that you would not find among a thousand of them one person who could write a letter to a friend in Latin which is free from error. As for writing Arabic, you will certainly find a large number who master that language, possessing an elegant style, writing poetry that at times surpasses in quality that which is composed by the Arabs themselves.” But Alvarus’ remarks against his coreligionists for forsaking Latin in favour of Arabic must not be seen as resulting only from the fear of arabicization. It is very likely that he himself, an urban Cordoban, had a command of Arabic. Similarly, Isaac, the

⁶ This is well demonstrated by Mikel de Epalza, who examines its import in al-Andalus, in his essay, “Falta de obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos del Al-Andalus,” in *Al-Qantara*, vol XV (1994): 385–400; see also his essay (translated into English) “Mozarabs: An emblematic Christian minority in Islamic al-Andalus” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Brill, 1992): 149–170.



Monk of Tábanos and the first of the so-called martyrs, was described as “a youthful monk, well-versed in Arabic learning.”⁷ It was, perhaps, the weakening of Latin as the sacral language of the Church under Muslim rule that alarmed Alvarus and his friends. Undoubtedly he and his friends were well acquainted with the sacral nature of liturgical and Biblical Latin in Western Christianity, and St. Isidore of Seville’s (d. 636) praise of the Vulgate (of Jerome), declaring it to be “justly preferred to all others,” and commending it for use in the liturgy. Moreover, Alvarus’ apprehension may have been the product of fear that the Christian faith itself was weakening among his co-religionists as a result of the growing appeal of the Arabic language and Islam. Arabicization could only hasten the impending danger, while linguistic isolation could be the sole remaining line of defence. The battle for the preservation of Latin was rapidly becoming a lost cause. As the Christians of al-Andalus became increasingly arabicized, the need for the translation of their sacred scriptures into Arabic ensued. It is worthwhile repeating the fact that the first authenticated piece of Islamic writing to be introduced in the conquered territory was in Latin and contained a chapter of the Muslim Scriptures, albeit on a coin. I am inclined to believe that this had a significant bearing on the eventual desire on the part of the Christians to reciprocate by presenting their own Scriptures in the language of the conqueror.

The need for an Arabic Bible was not unique to al-Andalus, nor were translations of the text lacking in the East. Even before the spread of Islam, the Arabs must have been acquainted with at least some of the contents of the Bible. We must assume that Arab Jews had access to an Arabic text of the Hebrew Bible, for purposes of “study,” in addition to the requisite liturgical Hebrew text. For the nascent Muslim community, it is true that while the Qur’an refers to Biblical personages or episodes, it does not include direct Biblical texts. Nonetheless, it recognizes the existence of Jewish and Christian scriptures, giving them their Arabic names. It refers to the *tawrāt* (“Torah”) of Moses, the *zabūr* (“Psalms”) of David, and the *injīl* (Ευαγγελιον, “Gospel”, through the Ethiopian *wangel*) of Jesus. Throughout, it demonstrates acquaintance with the Christian Biblical narrative and teachings without citing a specific text. Arabic sources report that Waraqa ibn Nawfal, the cousin of the Prophet’s

⁷ Euologius, mentioned earlier, in his *Materiale Sanctorum*, translation by Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, vol. 1 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1988), 45.



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wife Khadija, was a Christian who was well-versed in the study of the Bible,⁸ and wrote translations or copies of the Gospels.⁹ There is evidence for the existence of Arabic translations of the Bible following the rise and spread of Islam. Perhaps the earliest translation is that of a fragment of the Book of Psalms (Psalm 77:20–31 and 51–61), found in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in 1901.¹⁰ A more complete Arabic translation is dated to the eighth or to the ninth century.¹¹ Recently, a considerable part of the text of the New Testament was published, comprising the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, as well as the Book of Acts. The text is a translation from the Syriac by Bishr ibn al-Sirrī, a Nestorian Christian, and was done in Damascus in A.D. 867.¹² In the colophon of one of the manuscripts used in the preparation of the London Polyglot (1652), reference is made to Fathyūn ibn Ayyūb, a Syrian Christian scholar who lived in Baghdad in the middle of the ninth century, as a translator of the Bible from Syriac (Peshitta) into Arabic.¹³ These translations predate the Arabic translation of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) by Saadia ha-Gaon (d. A.D. 942), deemed to be the earliest extant Biblical text in Arabic and employed, for the books of the Old Testament, in the Paris Polyglot (dating from the reign of Louis XIV).

It is not easy to determine the circumstances of the initial translation of the Bible into Arabic in al-Andalus. Rodrigo Ximenes (d. 1237), bishop of Toledo during the reign of Alfonso VIII and the primary instigator of the crusade that led to the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in A.D. 1212, speaks of Juan, the “glorious and saintly” Bishop of Seville “whom the Arabs call *Sa‘ūd al-matrān*” (“Sa‘ūd the Bishop”), as someone who translated the Bible into Arabic:

Et in isto medio fuit apud Hispalim gloriosus et sanctissimus Ioannes Episcopus, qui ab Arabibus Caeit (Zaeit) almatran vocabatur, et magna scientia in lingua Arabica claruit, multis miraculorum operationibus gloriosus effulsit, qui etiam

⁸ According to Tabari (839–923), *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. VI, *Muhammad at Mecca*, translated and annotated by W. Montgomery Watt and M.V. McDonald (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 72.

⁹ Abū al-Faraj al-Isbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* iii, 14.

¹⁰ B. Violet, *Ein Zweisprachiges Psalmfragment aus Damaskus* (Berlin, 1902).

¹¹ Vatican ms. 13 (Arabic). For the debate on the date see I. Guidi, *Tradizioni degli evangelii in arabo e in etiopico* (Rome, 1902) and G. Graf, *Geschichte de christlichen arabischen Literatur*, respectively.

¹² Harvey Staal, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151* (Louvain, Institute for Middle Eastern New Testament Studies, 1985).

¹³ See the brief study by J.A. Thompson, *The Major Arabic Bibles* (New York, 1956), 15.



*sacras Scripturas catholicis expositionibus declaravit, quas in formationem posterorum Arabice conscriptas reliquit.*¹⁴

In the context of the discussion of the first five years of the reign of Don Pelayo, king of the Asturias (A.D. 718–737), the *Primera Crónica General* (which dates from the reign of Alfonso X, the Wise) refers to a translation of the Christian Bible into Arabic by Juan of Seville, identified once more as *Saʿid al-matrān* (“Saʿid the Bishop”),

“At this time, there was in Sevilla the saintly Bishop Juan, a man of great sanctity and a good and holy life, whom the Arabs called in Arabic *Çaeyt almatran* (“Saʿid the Bishop”). He was very knowledgeable in the Arabic language and through him God performed many miracles. He translated the Holy Scriptures into Arabic and interpreted them in accordance with the Holy Scriptures ...”¹⁵

While confirming Juan of Seville as the translator, this reference arguably places the date of the translation within a very short period after the conquest.¹⁶

The tradition of ascribing the earliest Arabic translation to Bishop Juan of Seville is maintained, as late as the seventeenth century, by Juan de Mariana.¹⁷ There is even mention of the existence in the library of El Escorial of a copy of the translation,¹⁸ but this manuscript is now regrettably lost and there is no mention of it in Casiri’s otherwise complete catalogue of the manuscripts in El

¹⁴ Rodericus Ximinius de Rada, *De Rebus Hispaniae* published in his *Opera* (Valencia: *Textos Medievales*, 22, 1968; reprint of 1793 edition), Book IV, Chapter 3, 77.

¹⁵ *Primera Crónica General: Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906), vol. I, see entry *El Rey Don Pelayo*, 326.

¹⁶ The debate is best summarized by Eugène Cardinal Tisserant, “Une feuille Arabo-Latine de l’Épître aux Galates,” *Revue Biblique*, vol. 7, sér. 2 (1910): 321–343, esp. 325–327. To this should be added P. Sj. van Koningsveld’s discussion in his *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library* (Leiden, 1977): 51–52. Van Koningsveld reads *Sayyid*, apparently following Guidi.

¹⁷ Mariana, Juan de (1536–1624), *Historia General de España*, VII. English translation: *General History of Spain, from the first peopling of it by Tubal, till the death of King Ferdinand* (London: R. Sare, 1669), VII, 3.

¹⁸ Francisco Javier Simonet, “Estudios históricos y filológicos sobre la literatura arábigo-mozárabe,” *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid*, segunda época, vol. II, 55.



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Escorial compiled after the fire of 1671 which consumed a large portion of the Arabic collection of that library.¹⁹

While the possibility of the existence of a translation of the Bible into Arabic by Bishop Juan of Seville is not contested, the dates of the translator are not certain. Simonet, followed by Tisserant, dates Bishop Juan to the ninth century and places him in the company of those prelates who attended the Council of Córdoba in A.D. 839.²⁰

The earliest extant translations of the Scriptures in al-Andalus date from the tenth century. These comprise the complete text of the Four Gospels (two strands of translation) and the Book of Psalms (two renderings in prose, and another in verse). In addition, we have fragments (dated 15 March 1115) of Paul's Epistles to the Laodiceans,²¹ and to the Galatians.²² There is evidence for the existence of other translations in circulation. For example, the *Hispana Systematica Arabica*, the compendium of canon law, most of which was completed in A.D. 1049,²³ cites Biblical passages from a translation that differs from either of the two preceding strands. The infrequent references (there are altogether only 48 quotations by my reckoning) are derived mainly from *al-tawrāt* ("Torah") without specific reference, or from the books of the Prophets, with a general reference such as "as the Prophet said," without naming the prophet being quoted. Occasionally, however, the sources are mentioned by name and are limited to Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, as well as a single reference to each of Zechariah and Daniel. One reference is made to Job and several to the "prophet of the Psalms" (David). These citations point to the presence of an Arabic translation of some, if not all, of the books of the Old Testament. This conclusion is further augmented by a statement made by the compiler of

¹⁹ Michel Casiri, *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana escurialensis recensio et explantio Michaelis Casiri* (Madrid, 1760–1770; reproduced in Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969).

²⁰ Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1897–1903, re-issued by Ediciones Turner, Madrid, 1984), 320; Eugène Tisserant, "Une feuille arabo-latine de l'Épître aux Galates," *Revue Biblique* (1910): 327–328.

²¹ Eugène Tisserant, "La version mozarabe de l'épître aux Laodicéens," *Revue Biblique* 19 (1910): 249–253.

²² Eugène Tisserant, "Une feuille arabo-latine de l'Épître aux Galates," *Revue Biblique* (1910): 321–344.

²³ El Escorial, ms. 1623, which I am currently editing; I discuss this document in my paper, "Arabic-speaking Christians."



the compendium; in a colophon to Book VIII of the collection, he informs his patron bishop that he was going to send him the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel which, we could assume, he was in the process of translating.

Evidence for the existence of yet other translations of the Bible may be found in Muslim sources. For example, in his polemical writings against Judaism and Christianity, the distinguished eleventh-century Andalusian writer Ibn Hazm employed yet one or more translations that are different from those so far mentioned. It is evident that he perused a complete text of the New Testament, which included (in the order presented by Ibn Hazm) the four Gospels, the Book of Acts, Revelation, 7 Catholic Epistles and 15 (*si*) Epistles of Paul.²⁴ We do not know which Arabic translation he used for the remaining books: the Christian Old Testament or a translation of the Jewish Bible. The variety of the extant texts demonstrates that while a desire for an Arabic rendering of the Scriptures undoubtedly existed, it failed to produce wording that was universally accepted by the community.

We may safely assume that the contents of the Christian Bible in al-Andalus were in accordance with the established canons of the Western Christian church. This is confirmed in the definition of Scriptures in the *Hispana Sytematica Arabica*. Accordingly, these include all the books of the Old Testament as defined by the Septuagint and translated by Jerome, as well as the accepted Books of the New Testament. In addition, the liturgical requirements of the church accentuated the need for those parts of the Scriptures that were employed in the ordinary of the mass. Citing the Council of Laodecia (A.D. 365?), the *Hispana Sytematica Arabica* lists these in the order in which they are to be read in church: the Prophets and Epistles, to be read by the *lectores*, the Psalms were to be sung by the “psalmodists,” and the Gospel was to be read by a deacon.

The pressing issue to be resolved by the church in al-Andalus was neither the content of the Scriptures nor the use to which they were to be put, but rather the language in which they were to be read or chanted in the liturgical offices. Doubtless, for Alvarus and his circle the language of the Scriptures and the liturgy was Latin, the *lingua sacra* of the Western Church, praised by St. Gregory I and St. Isidore of Seville. For others, however, the Scriptures had to be in the prevailing vernacular, Arabic, notwithstanding it being the language of a non-Christian religion.

²⁴ Ibn Hazm, *al-fisal fil-milal wal-ahwā' wal-nihal* (Cairo, 1964), II, 20.



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The argument in favour of an Arabic translation of the Bible was justified by reference to the Scriptures themselves. In his introduction to the prose version of the Book of Psalms (Vatican ms.), the unnamed translator advocates the necessity of using the vernacular (Arabic in this case) as the language of prayers, lectionaries and exegesis. He cites Scripture (Paul's I Corinthians 14) in a manner that lends support to his reasoning:

The Apostle [Paul] said, "If a believer utters his prayers in his own tongue, he benefits himself with the spiritual gifts. Whosoever instructs the community and proclaims and interprets to them in his own tongue, realizes the spiritual benefits both for himself and the community." The Apostle further said, "I wish you all to speak in your own tongue. But more than that I want you to understand the interpretation of the prophecies."

...

The Apostle informs us that the first to believe—the Greeks, the Jews, the foreigners and the Romans—declared their faith and prayed to their Lord in the language they each knew: the Greeks in Greek, the Syrians in Syriac, the foreigners (*'ajam*) in Latin, in order that each tongue may be strengthened in the faith in God. Similarly, the prayers of the Christians in the East and the West, whether they are bishops, kings, patriarchs, monks, or the masses of their laymen, be they Franks, Arabs or Syrians, those who believe in Christ, they all pray using the Psalms that are translated from Hebrew into many languages. These include Greek, Latin, Syriac, Indian (*śi*), and Arabic.

The two renderings of the Psalms in prose by unnamed translators demonstrate a degree of independence in translation. The third extant text of



the Book of Psalms was rendered in poetry, in 989, by Hafṣ ibn Albār al-Qūṭī,²⁵ a descendent of the vanquished Vizigoths as his name indicates.²⁶ A suggestion to lower his date by a century might propose that the poet, championing Arabic, may have been the son of Alvarus, the champion of Latin.²⁷ In the Middle Ages the Book of Psalms was used as an educational tool.²⁸ Consequently, one wonders if Hafṣ' poetic rendition of Arabic Psalms may have been intended for a similar purpose. The prosodic metre he chose, known as *rajaz* (short lines with spasmic syllables), lends itself to this end. Curiously, a similar metre was employed by a Muslim poet in al-Andalus in the twelfth century to instruct Muslim youth in the fundamentals of their faith.

As far as the Gospels are concerned, we appear to have two strands of translation represented respectively by manuscripts in Munich and Madrid with duplicate manuscripts in other libraries in Europe and North Africa.²⁹ A remark at the beginning of Luke's Gospel (Munich) indicates that the translation of the extant Four Gospels was carried out by a Mozarab named Ibn Bilashku (Velázquez) of Córdoba in the year 946.³⁰ Each of the Four Gospels (Munich)

²⁵ Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, *Le Psautier mozarabe* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1994).

²⁶ D.M. Dunlop, "Hafṣ b. Albar—the last of the Goths?," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1954): 147–151.

²⁷ D.M. Dunlop, "Sobre Hafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurtubī," *Al-Andalus* 20 (1955): 211–212.

²⁸ See the summary statement by Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), xiv, "The little clerk learned his letters from the Psalter and the Bible would be used in teaching him the liberal arts," citing F. Falk, *Bibelhandschriften und Bibeldrucke in Mainz von achten Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Mainz, 1901), where examples are given of the use of the Psalter in education.

²⁹ The Madrid text is not complete and is bound together with different parts of the Christian Scriptures from different periods. The writing styles are varied, as is the medium on which the text is written. The most recent portion of this collection—and the longest—is written on paper and dates from A.D. 1542. The earliest part, which includes the Gospels, is fragmentary, written on vellum, and not dated. Within this portion, there is certainly a difference in the writing style between the Gospel according to Matthew and the Gospel of John. Undoubtedly, the fragment containing the latter is the earliest and may be dated on stylistic grounds to the eleventh century.

³⁰ The text of the Gospels is currently being edited by the author; see also note 1, above.



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is preceded by an introduction drawn from the writings of Jerome;³¹ these introductory remarks are notably absent from the other (Madrid) strand of the translation. In addition, Ibn Bilshku's work (Munich) concludes with a lectionary (appointed readings from the Gospels) arranged according to the calendar of the feasts of the Church, as well as an essay on the means of determining the dates of the beginning of Lent and of Easter.

What is striking about the translation of the Scriptures is the degree of Islamic, rather than merely Arabic, influence on the language of the Christian sacred text. This, of course, appears in different ways in the diverse manuscripts. While the London manuscript of the Book of Psalms begins with the Christian invocation "*In Nomine...*," in Arabic: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God," the Introduction ends with a clearly Islamic formula, also in Arabic: "God alone is All-Knowledgeable, All Wise, unique, having no associate, Lord of the Great Throne." The expression "unique, having no associate" in Arabic is part of a phrase used widely in Islam, particularly on coinage, as we have pointed out earlier in our discussion. Similarly, "Lord of the Great Throne" is a Qur'anic expression widely used in Muslim devotions. Unlike its London counterpart, the introduction of the Vatican text of the Book of Psalms begins with the Muslim invocation of the Divine Name, "In the Name of God, the Most Merciful, Compassionate; [I seek] Your help, O Lord." Similarly, the text of the Psalms proper in both strands begins with the Muslim *basmalah* ("In the Name of God, the Most Merciful, Compassionate"), followed by the Muslim devotional expression, in Arabic: "His help I seek." The collection of the Psalms is referred to as *al-zabūr*, the Qur'anic term for the revelation to David, which, we are told in the introduction, contains 150 *sūrah*, the Arabic term for a chapter of the Qur'an.

As for the text of the Gospels, the Muslim influence is also evident. For example, the Qur'anic nomenclature is used for "John" throughout, as well as the Qur'anic term for "disciple." The Arabic Christian terms *qīsīs* ("priest") and *usquf* ("episcopus") are carelessly used for the Jewish priest and high priest, respectively. In general, however, the contrast between the two strands of translation of the Gospel is quite marked. The translation by Ibn Bilashku portrays a society very much at home in its Muslim environment, fully arabicized and not uncomfortable with being islamicized. On the other hand, the Madrid

³¹ See a translation by Franz Taeschner, "Die monarchianischen Prologe zu den vier Evangelien in der spanischen-arabischen Bibelübersetzung des Isaak Velasquez nach der münchener Handschrift cod. arab 238," *Oriens Christianus* XXXII (1935): 80–99.



manuscript portrays an Arabic-speaking Christian community that appears to have defined its arabicization to exclude or minimize its islamicization.

In their attempt to emphasize their religious identity the Christians of al-Andalus did not employ the translation of their Scriptures, particularly the introductory remarks, as a means of disparaging their Muslim overlords or their religion. The primary purpose of the translation may have been, at least in part, to provide a channel for introducing the sacred texts of their religion to the Muslims who, in principle, accepted their validity as revealed, though corrupted. But the ultimate purpose became obvious: to unlock their Scriptures and make them accessible to all who could read them in the same fashion that their Muslim neighbours had access to their own Book. In so doing, they desacralized the language of Scriptures (Latin or Arabic), anticipating Luther, Tyndale, and other reformers. But stylistically more akin to Tyndale's, the Arabic translation of the Bible "has not been in an elevated 'literary' style, but the language that people speak at slightly heightened moments."³²

³² David Daniell, *Let there be Light: William Tyndale and the Making of the English Bible* (London: The British Library, 1994), 2.



ILLUMINATING THE BYZANTINE AND SLAVONIC PSALTERS FROM THE ELEVENTH THROUGH THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Elissaveta Moussakova 

Illuminated and illustrated Psalters have always been among the most attractive objects of research for art historians. Such a long-standing interest corresponds to the disposition medieval Christians had toward the Book of Psalms, because it was the primer they started to learn from and the liturgical book they used more than any other in public services or for private prayer, reading, and contemplation. It was a book that everyone knew by heart, hence it was also the book that gave an abundance of ideas for interpretation in words or pictures.¹ This paper² will examine several Byzantine and Slavonic illuminated Psalters, selected to demonstrate a certain approach to this most venerated Christian book. I hope to show how far and by what means we are able to reconstruct some of the ways through which the medieval artists (or scribes) approached the text of the Psalter with their compendium of visual means. Since there is a huge literature dedicated to the Psalter, this presentation will unearth a limited area of problems confronting the researcher, but nonetheless it will try to discuss certain aspects of investigation aiming at one main topic. How adequately can we, modern viewers, pretending to have clues to the mentality of the medieval artist and his audience, understand why a manuscript was illuminated exactly in the way it was and what response to its looks could have been expected in its own time?

One of the “whys” that initially provoke any art historian’s courage to plunge into the deep waters of understanding the logic of a given set of images in a Psalter is “why did they have pictures at these particular Psalms?” Taking into consideration that in the so-called “marginal” or “monastic” Psalters the

¹ The long tradition of Patristic commentaries on the Psalms begins with authors like Origen or Justin the Martyr and continues with later authors like Euthymios Zigabenes, Michael Psellos and others, cf. Robert Devresse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des psaumes*, Studi e Testi 264 (Città del Vaticano, 1970); Nikolai Shivarov, “Drevni iztochni komentari na Psaltira I starobalgarskite im prevodi” (Old Eastern Psalter Commentaries and Their Old Bulgarian Translations), *Godisnik na Dubovnata akademija “Sv. Kliment Obridski” / Annuaire de l’Akademie de théologie “St. Clement d’Ochrida”* XXVIII (LIV) (1986): 7–79.

² This is a revised version of my public lecture read at the Department of Medieval Studies (CEU, Budapest) on 31 January 2001.



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miniatures are spread across almost all the pages, the answer seems natural—the painter had to follow the ancient commentators of Psalms who left no verse without interpretation. Also, the painter could draw a picture relating to a single word in order to stress its meaning or he could express in images ideas that were popular or subject to debate in his time. The same answer would be not suitable if we reformulate the question as: “Why do certain Psalms have no embellishment if many others were accompanied by images verse by verse?”

The common scholarly approach would be to analyze the set of illustrations in such a way that a significant ideological program, decoded and encoded by pictures, and pre-determined by the will and intelligence of the commissioner, would appear eventually to crown the efforts of the researcher. One cannot doubt his or her pleasure of “embroidering” the idea of revealing the supposedly hidden message in a pictorial set with a chance of finding strong evidence of its occurrence. Nor would he or she deny the temptation of applying Umberto Eco-ish style, but I propose some formalisation of the method and reasonable scepticism in our expectations. Therefore, it must be agreed at the beginning that even if the Byzantine illustrators had the liberty (or fun?) of shifting certain patterns of illustration from one more or less fixed position in the text to another, of playing with the word–text–metatext–image relation, of introducing new themes, of changing the iconographic setting and ways of expression in order to present the reader with a new intellectual riddle, they nevertheless might have been obliged to follow some system. To send a message, however complicated, requires the sender to refer to something familiar, to use a language comprehensible to the recipient. This rule has never been mastered more perfectly than by the painters of the Psalter, nor is there a better demonstration of using a general convention of producing and consuming symbols. People could not understand the meaning of the images unless they knew the essence of Biblical typology, first mastered and authorised by the Four Evangelists, then elaborated by the Fathers and from there on taught by the preachers and memorised through its everyday repetition in the liturgy, in which the Psalms has ever played a most active and important role. The liturgy was one part of the common ground on which an image producer and viewer could meet one another with no fear of misunderstanding. If liturgy and visual arts have been and are two aspects of Orthodox Christianity, tightly interconnected and reliant on each other,³ they are simultaneously one of our main

³ Johan Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, vol. I, 1–2, Byzantinische Psalterillustration (Helsingfors, 1895); Rainer Stichel, “Die geschichtliche Einordnung zweier bulgarischen Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt am Beispiel der Gestaltung von Ps. 118,” in *Parvi kongres po balgaristika, Sofija 23 maj – 3 juni 1981*. Dokladi.



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sources for the study of medieval imagery and the basics of our research methodology. It is not irrelevant to mention that in the history of the Byzantine, and even more of the Slavonic, medieval liturgy many gaps remain to be filled in. Investigating related artistic phenomena is always a helpful decision.

Therefore, one of the first impulses of the artist might have been to illustrate those Psalms which (or whose verses) were the most often sung or recited in the course of the liturgical year. They could serve as a set of *topoi*, around which to arrange one another, considering Psalms that have become the most popular biblical quotations thanks to their emotional strength, moral implication or polemical value. Thus, on the one hand, he is following (or forming) a certain scheme, a visual structure or a decorative composition.⁴ On the other

Balgarskata kultura I vzaimodejstvieto j sas svetovnata kultura. 1. Balgarskata srednevekovna kultura (First Congress of Bulgarian Studies, Sofia 23 May – 3 June 1981. Papers. Bulgarian Culture and Its Relationship to the World Culture. 1. Bulgarian Medieval Culture) (Sofia, 1983), 353–366; “Zur Herkunft des griechischen Chludov-Psalters,” in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International d’études byzantines*, Athènes, Septembre 1976, vol. 2, Art et archéologie. Communications (Athènes Imprimerie “K. Michalas,” 1981), 733–738; Anthony Cutler, “Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (=DOP) 34/35 (1980–1981): 17–30; Christopher Walter, “Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century,” *Revue des Études byzantines* (hereinafter REB) XLIV (1986): 272–277; “The Iconographical Programme of the Barberini Psalter,” in *The Barberini Psalter. Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Graecus 372. Introduction and Commentary* Jeffrey Anderson, Paul Canart, Christopher Walter (Zürich: Belser Verlag, New York: Belser Incorporated, 1989), 48–49, and others; also Suzy Dufrenne, “Deux Psautiers carolingiens à Oxford et à Troyes,” in *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968), 167, n.3, explored this interconnection mainly in the Byzantine Psalter.

⁴ Initial suggestions to such direction of investigating the Slavonic illuminated Psalter are given in Axinija Dzhurova, “Njakoi osobenosti na iljustracijite v Tomichovija Psaltir ot XIV v.” (Some Specifics of the Illustrations of the Tomich Psalter), in *Tarnovska knizhovna sbkola 1371–1971. Mezhdunaroden simposium Veliko Tarnovo 11–14 oktombri 1971* (Tarnovo Literary School 1371–1971. International Symposium Veliko Tarnovo 11–14 October 1971) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Balgarskata akademija na naukite, 1974), 405–428; *Tomich Psalter*, vol. 1, Monumenta slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia I (Sofia: Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, Kliment Ohridski University Press, 1990), 25–28; and further development in Elisaveta Musakova, “Kompozicijata na Psaltira” (The Composition of the Psalter), in *Medievistika i kulturna antropologija. Sbornik v chest na 40-godisnata tvorcheska dejnost na Prof. Donka Petkanova* (Medieval Studies and Cultural Anthropology. Festschrift in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of Creative Activity of Prof. D. Petkanova), ed. by Anisava Miltenova and Adelina Angusheva-Tihanova (Sofia: Mnemozina, 1998), 349–360; Elisaveta



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hand, if not instructed by his commissioner or the religious authorities above him, he would be free in this framework to exploit more subtle ways of making his reader penetrate biblical and patristic exegesis more deeply and even go beyond them. Thus, he would make a particular person or group of people understand the hidden things in a manner corresponding to the words of Pseudo-Dionysius: “For, if we may trust the superlative wisdom and truth of scripture, the things of God are revealed to each mind in proportion to its capacities; and the divine goodness is such that, out of concern for our salvation, it deals out the immeasurable and infinite in limited measures.”⁵

Using the liturgical destination of the Psalms as the starting point to investigate the decorative composition of any illuminated Psalter, we rather consider its function and not the implicit meaning of its textual content to explain a given artistic form. Thus, it is the rite as reflected by the illumination that we are looking at, and from here we aim at a *functional typology* similar to that already accepted on the basis of the liturgical additions to the Psalms, like *troparia*, prayers, the so-called selected Psalms on saints, and so on. However, successful or unsuccessful this might prove, it was a way to evade the criticised,⁶ but nevertheless established, typology of the illustrated copies, divided roughly in the groups of “aristocratic” and “marginal (or monastic)” Psalters. Once terms like structure, composition, and *topos* are introduced, it is reasonable to refer first to “placement” and only then to “meaning” in order to “read” a medieval text through images or other figures. This is what the present paper will discuss. As will be shown at the end, the conclusions are by no means unquestionable or positive only, but in the perspective of what may still be established about the illuminated Psalter, they are not entirely fruitless either.

A great number of bibliographical references on the illustrated Byzantine Psalters have accumulated so far, addressing nearly all possible techniques for explaining the relationship between the Psalms or Odes and images corresponding to them. The situation is different, however, in respect to other subjects incompletely or unsatisfactorily elucidated. To name one of them, the

Moussakova, “The Illumination of Bulgarian Medieval Psalters (11th–17th centuries) as a Hypertext,” in *Biblické žalmy a sakrálné texty v prekladateľských, literárnych a kultúrnych súvislostiach*, Philologica LII, Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2001), 213–232.

⁵ *The Divine Names*, 1 588A, quoted from Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*. Translation by Colm Luibheid; foreword, notes, and translation collaboration by Paul Rorem; preface by Rene Roques; introduction by Jaroslav Pelikan, Jean Leclercq, and Karlfried Froehlich (London: SPCK, 1987), 49.

⁶ Especially instructive in this respect is John Lowden, “Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters,” *The Art Bulletin* LXX, No 2 (June 1988): 242–260.



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Psalters with only ornamental decoration have received considerably less scholarly attention compared to the privileged position of those manuscripts to which hundreds of pages have been dedicated to discuss the iconographic stemma of certain miniatures in the illustrated copies.⁷ Without pretending to be the only exception, an attempt has been made to establish the concept that stood behind the ornamented *divisio Psalterii* and particular visual accents on Psalms, based on the evidence of illuminated Bulgarian medieval Psalters, among which the illustrated ones are rare exceptions.⁸

Let us conceive of the manuscripts of the Psalter, although it could be any book, as free or blank space with options open to the decorator. What does he do to inhabit this plain area with images and/or ornaments? From what we know, even from a brief look, a basic decorative structure was applied to every illuminated book produced in Byzantium, including copies of the Psalter.⁹ Scribes and/or artists most often would mark the beginning, the main chapters or parts of the content and the end of the text. What has been established for the Byzantine Psalter is that its “middle” had to be taken into consideration, although not always.¹⁰ Dividing the text of the Psalter in two parts could be done with either pictorial or ornamental means and it was precisely this composition that has made some scholars describe the Byzantine Psalter as twofold

⁷ To list only some of the important titles: Charles Diehl, “L’illustration du Psautier dans l’art byzantin. Strzygowski. Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalter der königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München, avec une introduction de V. Jagić. (*Denkschriften de l’Academie de Vienne, Phil.-hist. Klasse, t. LII, 2^e partie, 1 vol. in-4^o de LXXXVII-139 pages, avec 61 planches.*) Vienne, 1906,” *Journal des savants* (1907): 298–311; Hugo Buchthal, *The Miniatures of The Paris Psalter. A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1938); Hans Belting, “Zum Palatina-Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts,” *JÖB*, 21, Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag (1972): 17–38; Kurt Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London: Variorum reprints, 1980); Kathleen Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Jeffrey Anderson, “Further Prolegomena to a Study of the Pantocrator Psalter: An Unpublished Miniature, Some Restored Losses, and Observations on the Relationship with the Chludov Psalter and Paris Fragment,” *DOP* 52 (1998): 305–321.

⁸ Musakova, “Kompozicijata”; Moussakova, “The Illumination”.

⁹ Irmgard Hutter, “Decorative Systems in Byzantine Manuscripts, the Scribe as Artist: evidence from manuscripts in Oxford,” *Word & Image*, 12, No 1 (1996): 4–22.

¹⁰ Adolph Goldschmidt, *Der Albani Psalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirbenskulptur des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Siemens, 1895), 5–6.



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to distinguish it from the Latin three- or eight-fold one (*Fig. 1, 2*).¹¹ In various descriptions of Byzantine Psalters scholars mention the “mid-Psalms” as something taken for granted, but I have been unable since to find the direct source or reference explaining its origin.

Fig. 1, 2. Cod. Taphou 51, first half of the thirteenth century, headpieces at Ps 77 and the first Ode, fols. 170r, 347r.

When we turn to the most frequently applied decorative pattern providing illumination for the Book of Psalms, it is at Psalms 1, 50, 77, the unnumbered Ps 151 (*Psalmos idiographos*)¹² and at the beginning of the Odes where we find signs for a break in the text.¹³ It could be either a conspicuous ornament or a miniature, or a set of miniatures. A structure manifested in one of these ways or a combination of them as is usual, is ascribed preferably to what is generally known as the “aristocratic” version of the illuminated Psalter. To the numerous failures at the classification of illustrated Byzantine Psalters we may add one

¹¹ Dufrenne, “Deux Psautiers”: 165; *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht. Sources et apport carolingien* (Paris: Editions Ophrys, 1978), 27.

¹² The numbering of the Psalms is given according to the Septuagint and Greek and Slavonic tradition.

¹³ Kurt Weitzmann, “The Psalter Vatopedi 761, Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* X (1947): 21–51.



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more if regarding the model Psalter thus defined. Even the leader of the “aristocratic” group (or recension, as some scholars prefer to call it), the magnificently illustrated Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale Par. Gr. 139),¹⁴ which is actually the only example which the term completely fits, does not follow it as there is no miniature or particular sign at Psalm 77. Kurt Weitzmann showed by his method of pictorial analysis that the place of the miniature representing Moses receiving the Law was at Psalm 77 in the model Psalter, and not at the second Ode as it is in the Paris Psalter and a few others. Codicological arguments given by John Lowden make it impossible to assume any different original arrangements of the folios of this distinguished manuscript.¹⁵ Also, the illumination represents a bit more complicated decorative structure than that already described. While the full-page miniatures in excellent illusionistic style, acknowledged as an achievement of Macedonian Renaissance painting, are placed in selected parts of the book, there are headbands or “pi”-shaped headpieces at the beginning of each Psalm.¹⁶ Consequently, we are confronted with two structure levels, each having its functional purpose. Whereas by the miniatures the artist has raised attention to certain Psalms or parts of the manuscript, the headpieces, hierarchically equal in size and hence in importance, serve to delimit visually the Psalms from the commentaries, known as catenatype, densely covering the rest page surface.

What was then the motif of the painter to mark exactly Psalm 50 with the miniature of David rebuked by Nathan? Two interdependent reasons for the illustrations permanently situated at the penitential Psalm are usually given: that it is one of the most moving songs of the prophet and that this Psalm is one of the most often used in the everyday service. To decide whether there was another reason for the artist’s choice one may consider the three-fold Psalter, known as Irish¹⁷ and seemingly corresponding to an ancient Christian monastic

¹⁴ Henri Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: s.p., 1929), 4–6; Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse Bd. 243 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 8–10 (= Berlin 1935); Buchthal, *The Miniatures*; Anthony Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris: Picard, c1984), 63–71, figs. 245–258; *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843–1261*. Ed. by Hellen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997).

¹⁵ Weitzmann, “The Psalter Vatopedi”; Lowden, “Observations”, 250–255.

¹⁶ I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Irmgard Hutter for the opportunity to use the microfilm of the manuscript.

¹⁷ Dufrenne, “Deux Psautiers,” 167.



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practice of distributing the Psalms in the daily office in three parts, each comprised of fifty Psalms.¹⁸ Psalm 50 would be last of the first group to be read or sung, but Psalm 100 is not illustrated in the Paris Psalter, nor do we know of Byzantine Psalters with Psalms 1, 51 and 101 marked. We remain uncertain about the compositional logic of Par. gr. 139 unless we accept the evidence from the “aristocratic” Psalters of a uniform pictorial set illustrating the most important moments of David’s life. In the copies of the Paris Psalter, the Psalter from the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (Cod. Taphou 51 + St. Peterburg, RNB Gr. 274), the Palatina Psalter (The Vatican Library, Vat. Palat. Gr. 381A+381B), and few others, as well as in a number of “aristocratic” manuscripts, the miniatures are concentrated at the beginning of the Psalms, at Psalm 50, and 77, that is the “mid-Psalms.”

It is time now to look from a shorter distance at the two-fold composition of the Psalter. Since our subject matter is those Byzantine Psalters with a clearly distinguished Psalm 77, where, if we follow Weitzmann’s expression, the main caesura within the Psalms is,¹⁹ it is necessary to inquire whether the term was also common with the Byzantines? In his study of the miniatures of the Palatina Psalter, a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century copy (c. 1300), Hans Belting quotes a tetrastychos of Manuel Philes in connection with the miniature preceding Ps 77.²⁰ Describing the image of Moses in an illustrated Psalter he had seen, the poet says that it was intended for the Psalm “*Εἰς τὴν μέσσην τοῦ ψαλτηρίου*”.²¹ Georgi Parpulov²² confirmed the occurrence of notes naming the “middle of Psalms” in Greek copies of the Psalter. A Slavonic parallel to this expression is known also, although at this stage of research I cannot say whether the literary formula was a translation from another Greek verse or was a unique text composed by Slavonic men of letters. After Psalm 76 in the Norov Psalter, dated to the early fourteenth century (Moscow, GIM Uvar. 285)²³, the scribe wrote a magic square (or labyrinth) of letters that read:

¹⁸ Mihail Skaballanovich, *Tolkovyj Tipikon*. Ob’jasnitel’noe izlozhenie Tipikona s istoricheskim vvedeniem, vol 1 (Moscow: “Palomnik”, 1995), 328 (= Kiev: Tipografija Akzionernago obshtestva pechatnago i izdatel’skago dela, 1910)

¹⁹ Kurt Weitzmann, “The Psalter Vatopedi,” 27.

²⁰ Belting, “Zum Palatina-Psalter,” 31–32, n. 38

²¹ Belting, “Zum Palatina-Psalter,” 31–32, n. 38.

²² PhD candidate in the Art History Department of the University of Chicago, to whom I am indebted.

²³ *Norovskaja Psaltyr’. Srednebolgarskaja rukopis’ XIV veka* (The Norov Psalter. Middle Bulgarian Manuscript of the fourteenth century). Izdanie prigotovili E. Cheshko, I.



“Достигне срѣдѣ медотоунаа книга” (“Gained is the middle of this honey-flowing book”).²⁴ Why was it so important for the Byzantine scribes and their Bulgarian colleagues to put emphasis on the middle of the Psalter?²⁵

It is worth recalling at this point the four levels of understanding the Word—historical, allegorical, typological (or prefigurative), and anagogical, not to offer an analysis of the “mid-Psalms” in accordance with them, but simply to stress the complex character of medieval imagery entitled to reveal meanings of texts. What the Church Fathers implied in their commentaries on Psalm 77 was simple enough: the first verses of the Psalm sincerely point to the New Testament as the representative of the only and true Law.²⁶ Both Eusebius and Hesychios used the allusion given in Matthew 13: 34–35 “Attend my people to my Law” to interpret the Christological aspect of the introduction of this Psalm.²⁷ Hesychios, whose commentaries achieved vast popularity in Bulgaria with the Slavonic translation of the Psalter, explains Psalm 77:1–6 in the following way: if in the ancient times the prophet spoke to the Jews, today he is addressing the faithful people who were prefigured by the former ones; and if then he was speaking through the words of the Law, now he speaks through the teaching of the Gospels.²⁸ Looking to the writings of Clement of Alexandria, the master of allegorical language, one realises that he made use of the first verses of Psalm 77 to illustrate the idea that wisdom must be hidden from the unworthy the same way our scriptures speak to us by parables.²⁹ One of the Christian apologists, Justin Martyr, seems to have been an important

Bunina, V. Dybo, O. Knjazevskaja, L. Naumenko, vol. 1– 2 (Sofia: Izdatel'stvo Bolgarskoj Akademii nauk, 1989).

²⁴ Only few later versions of the sentence are known from Slavonic Psalters.

²⁵ Musakova, “Kompozicijata”.

²⁶ Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 49–51 with bibliography.

²⁷ Sirarpi Der Nersessian, “A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks,” *DOP* 19 (1965): 153–184.

²⁸ The Slavonic version of the text in *Словѣньскаа псалтырь. Psalterium Bononiense. Interpretationem veterem slavica cum aliis codicibus collatam, adnotationibus ornatam, appendicibus auctam. Aditus Academiae scientiarum vindobonensis liberalitate. Edidit V. Jagić. (Vindobonae–Berolini–Petropoli, 1907); Ivan Dujčev, *Bolonski Psaltir. Balgarski knižhoven pametnik ot XIII vek. Fototipno izdanie s uvod i belezhki* (The Bologna Psalter. Bulgarian literary monument of the thirteenth century. Facsimile edition with forward and notes) (Sofia: Izdatel'stvo na Balgarskata akademija na naukite, 1968).*

²⁹ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, Lib. V, Cap. 4, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, t. IX, Accurante J.-P. Migne (Paris: Excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne editorem, 1857), col. 43–44 B.



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contributor to the exegesis of the Psalm in question. In his “Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon,”³⁰ Justin proves the abrogation of the Old Testament Law by the New Testament, promised and given by God, with a quotation from Isaiah: “Hearken unto me, my people; and give ear unto me, O my nation: for a law shall proceed from me, and I will make my judgement to rest for a light of the people” (Isiah 51: 4). In content and meaning they are very close to the first verse of Psalm 77 “Give ear, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth.” Centuries later this exegesis justified the growing appearance from the eleventh century on of the image of Christ in the illustrations of Psalm 77. Instead of the sole figure of Moses receiving the Law from God’s Hand or Teaching the Law to the Israelites, frequently in the “aristocratic” Psalters Christ began to appear, accompanying or even replacing the former illustration, as the Psalter from Dumbarton Oaks, Cod. 3 from 1084 shows (*Fig. 3*).³¹ The process of change was attested first in the so-called “marginal” Psalters, starting with the Pantocrator Psalter from the ninth century.³²

To make the interpretation of the authorities coincide with the idea of a two-fold Book of Psalms, something else might happen as well. Cassiodorus wrote that the first seven decades of the Psalms typify the Old Testament and the remaining ten signify most fully to us the mystery of Our Lord’s Resurrection.³³ Thus his commentary not only generalised the words of his predecessors, stressing the enigma of the Scriptures, but also constituted a two-fold pattern and cleared a path to its introduction into the decoration of Psalters.

³⁰ Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo*, 11, in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, t. VI, col. 407–408 B.

³¹ Der Nersessian, “A Psalter”.

³² Der Nersessian, “A Psalter”, 173; cf. Suzy Dufrenne, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, Pantocrator 61, Paris grec 20, British Museum 40731, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques I (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966); Anderson, “Further Prolegomena”.

³³ In *Grace for Grace: The Psalter and the Holy Fathers*. Patristic Christian Commentary, Meditations, and Liturgical Extracts Relating to the Psalms and Odes. Comp. and ed. Johanna Manley, with a foreword by Archimandrite Todor Mika (Menlo Park, California: Monastery Book, 1992), X.



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*Fig. 3. Dumbarton Oaks,
Cod. 3, 1084 A.D., fol 39r.*

However, neither Psalm 71 falls exactly in the “mid-Psalms” nor did Cassiodorus belong to the tradition of Byzantine exegesis. Only if the subdivision of the Greek liturgical Psalter into twenty *kathismata* is taken into account could Psalm 77 fall in mid-Psalms. It became the opening Psalm of the eleventh *kathisma* and hence of the second half of the book. Promulgated in Constantinople by the Studite monks, the Palestinian rite and consequently Palestinian liturgical subdivision of the Psalter into twenty *kathismata* had the purpose of regulating the psalmody in the daily offices according to monastic practice. Partly a compromise with the cathedral rite of the Great Church,³⁴ the monastic rule spread all over the empire, from the capital to Mount Athos and

³⁴ Robert Taft, “Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite,” *DOP* 12 (1988): 179–194.



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South Italy. It provided a particular cursus for reciting the *kathismata* during the year in harmony with the seasons and situated them in great liturgical cycles.³⁵

How to accomplish such a task is often the subject matter of the prefaces to the Psalms. In the Psalter of Djak Radomir, for instance, a Bulgarian manuscript of the late thirteenth century kept in the Zograph monastery on Mount Athos (Zogr. I. d. 13),³⁶ there is an “Instruction to those who want to abide by the Psalter.” Among the regulations is a paragraph saying that if one has to work in the night, he must recite ten *kathismata* during the night and the remaining ten during the day, and he must keep to this rule constantly.³⁷ The same text is known as directions, translated from Greek to be included in the Kareja Typikon of Serbian Saint Sava, who followed the old Palestinian tradition for the Athonite anchorites.³⁸ That a pause could interrupt the flow of recitation to give a rest from it at a time when night was superseded by day is perhaps suggestive. We may assume an analogy between the daily services, of which vespers commemorate the Old Testament and matins the Resurrection, and exegetically justified the dividing of the Psalms. Although the chance to prove it is poor, it seems possible that the scheme for two decades of Psalms was intentionally adopted for the sake of the proportion and harmony valued by the Byzantines no less than by their ancient Greek predecessors. And at last, insofar as the Fathers referred to the traditional subdivision of the Hebrew

³⁵ Juan Mateos, “La Psalmodie variable dans l’office byzantin,” *Acta philosophica et theologica* II (1964): 327–339.

³⁶ Hristo Kodov, Bozhidar Rajkov, Stefan Kozuharov, *Opis na slavjanskite rækopisi v bibliotekata na Zografskija manastir na Sveta gora (Descriptive Catalogue of the Slavonic Manuscripts in the Library of the Zograph Monastery on Mount Athos)*, vol. 1 (Sofia: “Svjat”, 1985), 27–29.

³⁷ There is uncertainty as to whether the Radomir Psalter was intended for monastic or parish service, but the influence on its liturgical content of the Jerusalem Typikon is well attested, Elena Kotzeva, Ivona Karachorova, Asen Atanasov, “Nekotorye osobennosti slavjanskih psaltyrej na materiale XI–XIV vekov (Some Characteristics of the Slavonic Psalters on Evidence from the eleventh–fourteenth Centuries),” *Polata knigopisnaja* 14–15 (1985): 39–50.

³⁸ Archimandrit Nikolaj Duchich, “Starine Hilendarske. III. Uputak za chitan’e psaltira od Save srpskoga (Hilandar Antiquities. III. Instruction for Reading the Psalter from St. Sava the Serbian),” *Glasnik srpskog uchenog drustva* 56 (1884): 52–56 –“... аще ли работѣ кою работавъ. ноцъ поиноути хоцеши. то понѣ, Гкаѡзъмъ ноцѣю изгъли, а Г, днью”; see Emile-Antoin Tachiaos, “Le monachisme serbe de Saint Sava et la tradition hésichaste athonite,” in *Hilandarski zbornik* 1 (Belgrade, 1966), 83–90, for his criticism on traditional opinion that considers St. Sava as the promulgator of the new Athonite hesychasm.



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Psalter into five books,³⁹ submitted to their authorship, one could expect that the same subdivision should be reflected by ornamental means in the copies of the Christian book. As never happens in reality, one is tempted to infer that by dividing the Book of Psalms in two equal portions, the Byzantine Church made it decisively distinct from its Hebrew prototype.

As long as the two-fold scheme could be regarded as basic, although one is persistently aware of the variations of and deviations from it, it is demonstrative of the meaning that the *placement* of illumination had acquired in Byzantine manuscripts and what particular message was carried by at least one of its elements, the Psalm in the midst of Psalms. From this point, the next large group of illuminated Psalters could be observed as well, that is, manuscripts belonging to the so-called marginal, or monastic recension. Headed by the Chludov Psalter (Moscow, GIM Gr. 129-d) from about the middle of the ninth century, it comprises two more copies from nearly the same time and provenance, and also several later copies from the eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, most of them closely related to each other.⁴⁰ One of the latest extant members of the family is the Russian Kiev Psalter, written in Kiev in 1397 by the monk Spiridon (St. Petersburg, RNB OLDP F 6).⁴¹ What is typical about them are the numerous illustrations painted next to selected verses of the Psalms, situated in the margins of the folios and thus serving the same

³⁹ Devreesse, XVII; Kim Won Hoj, *Istoricheskiĭ razvoj na starobalgarskite pokazatelni mestoimenija* (Historical Development of the Old Bulgarian Demonstrative Pronouns) (Sofia: "Institut Lingva", 1997), 25–26.

⁴⁰ The most important studies are Nikodim Kondakov, "Miniatjury grecheskoj rukopisi psaltyri IX veka iz sobranija A. I. Hludova v Moskve (The Miniatures of a Greek Manuscript of the Psalter of the ninth Century from A. I. Chludov Collection in Moscow)," *Drevnosti. Trudy Moskovskogo arheologičeskogo obščestva* (Antiquities. Proceedings of the Moscow Archeological Society), vol. 7, vyp. 3 (1878): 162–183; Dorothy Miner, "The 'Monastic' Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 232–253; Marfa Shchepkina, *Miniatjury Hludovskoj Psaltyri*. Grecheskij illjustrrovannyj kodeks XI veka (The Miniatures of the Chludov Psalter. Greek Illustrated Codex of the eleventh Century) (Moscow: "Iskusstvo", 1977); Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration*, vol. I, 1; Dufrenne, *L'illustration*; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautires grecs du Moyen Age*, vol. 2, Londres, Add. 19.352. Préface par André Grabar (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1970); *The Barberini Psalter*; Anderson, "Further Prolegomena".

⁴¹ Georgij Vzdornov, *Kievskaja psaltyr' 1397 goda iz Gosudarstvennoj Publičnoj biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina v Leningrade [OAAPI F 6]* (The Kiev Psalter of 1397 in the State Public Library "M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin in Leningrad), vol. 1, Facsimile, vol. 2, *Issledovanie o Kievskoj psaltyri* (Study on the Kiev Psalter) (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1978).



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role as the written commentaries of the Fathers known as *catena* (“chains”, to signify the way in which these anthologies of Patristic comments were organised around the text body).

The numerous pages dedicated to the families of illuminated Byzantine Psalter still leave many questions unclear about their typology, genealogy, iconography and liturgical custom. Only one thing is for sure—the “pure” type does not exist, and the same holds true for the “mid-Psalms”. If the so-called “aristocratic” version is thought by inertia to be the right place for the aforementioned composition, there are marginal Psalters that also follow it. While the earliest extant marginal Psalters have no particularly stressed Psalm 77, the later eleventh century copies, London (or Theodore’s) Psalter, written in 1066 (British Library, Add. MS 19352) and Barberini Psalter (Vat. Barb. Gr. 372) from c. 1090,⁴² copied and painted by the same scribe and artist,⁴³ both have “mid-Psalms” marked with headpieces (Fig. 4). The Bristol Psalter (Add. MS 40 731) from c. 1000, also kept in the British Library, has a frontispiece preceding the same Psalm. They give us evidence for at least two things that might have occurred. The first one is the impact of “aristocratic” on the “monastic” Psalter, and the second—a general shift to a new design of the Book of Psalms. To be more precise, one has to bear in mind those ninth century Psalters with simple illumination, but where the “mid-Psalms” is marked nevertheless.⁴⁴ They are indicative of another influence—that of the ordinary liturgical Psalter on the other types. The latter can be ascribed, with some risk, to simplifying the classification and the whole problem, to Psalters intended as books for private reading, prayer, and contemplation, often supplied with written or pictorial commentaries. Among the many important outputs of the liturgical reform in Byzantium, once described as a gradual process of “monasticising” the ritual of the Great Church, one directly affects the structure of the Psalter. Numbering

⁴² The dating of the manuscript varies between c. 1060 and 1090.

⁴³ Irmgard Hutter, “Theodoros *βιβλιογράφος* und die Buchmalerei in Studiu,” in *’Οπώρα*. Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno. A cura di S. Lucà e L. Perria, vol. 1, Bolletino della Badia di Grottaferrata, N. S. LI (1997), 177–208 + Abb. 1–7.

⁴⁴ For example, Sin. gr. 32 of the ninth century, with headpieces at Ps 1, 77 and the First Ode, Kurt Weitzmann, George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai*. Illuminated Manuscripts at St Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai, vol. 1, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 16–17, No 2, figs. 4–6.



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of the *kathismata*, still done inconsistently by ninth century scribes,⁴⁵ was something taken for granted in eleventh century copies. Although, marking the “mid-Psalms” with words, pictures, or ornament never become an obligatory element of their decorative composition, these two elements forever entered together the pages of the Psalter.

*Fig. 4. British Library
Add. MS 19352
(Theodor's Psalter),
1066 A.D., fol 100r.*

Another question is what were the changes in the iconographic patterns applied as illustrations for the caesura between the Psalms. As even a mere report of their varieties would produce a lengthy paper, a short and by no means exhaustive summary will be given here. What happened with the pictorial interpretations of the “mid-Psalms” was, if we believe the chronology established by Weitzmann and others,⁴⁶ an initial preference for a literal interpretation of the opening verses, to which the representations of Moses giving

⁴⁵ In the Chludov Psalter the *kathismata* are marked as $\kappa\alpha\theta$ with no numbers, while their total is calculated after Psalm 150; in the Paris Psalter there are no *kathismata* marked.

⁴⁶ Weitzmann, “The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension,” in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters*, 67–84; “The Psalter Vatopedi”.



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the Law and/or Teaching it to the Israelites served as illustration. To use Robert Nelson's expression, "in medieval Byzantium the word law often inspired the scene of Moses receiving the law."⁴⁷ It must be reaffirmed that Moses scenes were particularly common in the "aristocratic" Psalters, while the Christological subjects, revealing the harmony of the Old and New Testaments, were first seen in the marginal ones. As the ideological concept had been already laid down by patristic and later interpreters, to turn to the new visual formula was natural, and some witnesses to the change have been already mentioned in this paper. However, the subject became topical in the eleventh century, at a time when, due to the spread of monastic influence upon ritual, the whole liturgical life of Byzantium was reformed and the arts were subsequently directed totally to its confirmation (and codification). The marginal miniatures at Psalm 77 in the London and Barberini Psalters, where images of Christ accompany the traditional Old Testament scene, provide evidence of this change. Their frequency in all spheres of art and the elaboration of a visual typology went hand by hand with the elaboration of dogma, which, if we believe Alexej Lidov, was urged after the Great Schism.⁴⁸ One of its most important after-effects was a stress in Byzantine art on the unique New Testament priesthood of Christ by introducing new iconographical types, among which Christ Priest and Christ Ancient of Days were the most specific. Christopher Walter, who gave a neat picture of the changes in the Psalter illustrations of the eleventh century,⁴⁹ does not particularly discuss it, but the image of Christ Ancient of Days is also symptomatic of the illumination of the marginal Psalters. On the pages comprising the beginning of Psalm 1 in both the London and Barberini Psalters, the painter represented the Ancient of Days in a mandorla flanked by cherubs and seraphs above the images of Moses and Christ, beneath which the council of ungodly men is depicted.

We may turn to the Palatina Psalter, on whose full-page miniature before Psalm 77 Moses is depicted at the moment of receiving the Law from Christ in order to transmit it to the Israelites awaiting him (*Fig. 5*). One unusual detail in the scene is Christ himself, represented as the Ancient of Days. A bit earlier, in

⁴⁷ Robert Nelson, "The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now," *Art History* XLII, No 2 (1989): 146.

⁴⁸ Alexej Lidov, "Schisma i vizantijskaja hramovaja dekoracija" (The Schism and the Byzantine Church Decoration), in *Vostochnobizantijskij hram i liturgija v iskusstve* (The East Christian Church and the Liturgy in Art) (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo "Dmitrij Bulanin", 1994): 17–35; "The Polymorphism of Christ in the 11th Century Iconography of St. Sophia in Ohrid", paper read at the International Symposium "Culture and Art of Ohrid and Christianity", Ohrid, 1–3 October, 2000.

⁴⁹ *The Barberini Psalter*, 45 ff.



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c.1274, the same pattern had been used in Cod. Sin. Gr. 61, (*Fig. 6*), a Psalter of undoubted provincial origin, kept in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, also containing the image of the nun Theotima prostrated at the feet of the Virgin.⁵⁰ As far as I know, these two are the only Byzantine examples where God's Hand blessing Moses or handing over the tablets to him, or God in the image of Christ has been replaced with the hypostasis of Ancient of Days. Once this alternative iconographic scheme had been established, it was elaborated further as later variants show: in a Bulgarian Psalter dated 1337 and written for King John Alexander (Sofia, BAN 2), the so-called Pesnivetz of Ivan Alexander, a headpiece containing a bust image of Christ Ancient of Days is placed above the beginning of Psalm 77 (*Fig. 7*).⁵¹ As its formal predecessor we must consider the headpiece in Dumbarton Oaks Cod. 3, representing Christ Pantocrator (*Fig. 3*) but inasmuch as it is the only pictorial decision of that kind known to us, the same concerns the illustration in the king's Psalter. Some thirty years later, the whole setting of the illustrated "mid-Psalms" was transformed by introducing the Visions of the Prophets in the Bulgarian Tomich Psalter of the 1360s or early 1370s (Moscow, GIM Muz. 2752), repeated with some alterations in the Serbian (München) Psalter (München, Staatsbibliothek cod. Slav. 4) of the late fourteenth century.⁵² Even if a Byzantine model unknown to us could be inferred for the frontispiece of the Bulgarian Psalter, probably written in the vicinity of the capital Tarnovo, it demonstrates a unique pattern so far (*Fig. 8*).⁵³ The verso of the same folio is occupied by a three-row representation of Moses teaching his people, while Psalm 77 itself is preceded by a luxury headpiece in the so-called Neo-Byzantine style. Incorrectly classified

⁵⁰ Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters*, 112–115, figs. 399, 411.

⁵¹ Hsrsto Kodov, *Opis na slavjanskite rakopisi v bibliotekata na Balgarskata akademija na naukite/ Catalogus manuscriptorum slavieorum quae in Bibliotheca Academiae scientiarum bulgaricae asservantur* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Balgarskata akademija na naukite, 1969), 11–16; Musakova, "Komposicijata", 355–356, 359; "The Illuminated", 216, 221, 227; "Pesnivecat na Tzar Ivan Alexandar (The Pesnivetz of King John Alexander)," *Palaeobulgaria/Starobalgaria* 2 (2002), in print.

⁵² Dzhurova, *Tomich Psalter*; Josef Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der Königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*. Nach einer Belgrader Kopie ergänzt und im Zusammenhange mit der Syrischen Bilderredaktion des Psalters untersucht. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse LII (Vienna, 1906); *Der Serbische Psalter*, Hrsg. von Hans Belting, vol. 1, Textband unter Mitarbeit von Suzy Dufrenne, Svetozar Radojčić, Rainer Stichel, Ihor Ševčenko (Munich, 1976), vol. 2, Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München (Wiesbaden, 1983).

⁵³ Detailed analysis of the miniature in Dzhurova, *Tomich Psalter*, 60–63, 102–103.



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by some scholars as marginal, the Tomich Psalter presents a wholly developed decorative composition where the beginning, the middle, and the end of the Psalms, along with the Odes and the liturgical additions, are clearly delimited with both pictorial and ornamental devices.⁵⁴ The illustrators of the manuscript carried on the principles already attested in the eleventh century Byzantine marginal Psalters. In this Psalter the pictorial principle of introductory miniatures in “aristocratic” versions was combined with the marginal principle of commenting on the text, and the special role of the “mid-Psalms” appeared in its ultimate entirety. What particular reasons stood behind the iconographic shift of the Ancient of Days from the opening to the mid-Psalms at the end of the thirteenth century, is a question to be answered elsewhere.⁵⁵

Fig. 5. Cod. Vat. Palat. Gr. 381 (Palatina Psalter), c 1300 A.D., fols. 171v-172r.

⁵⁴ Cf. n. 4.

⁵⁵ Musakova, “Pesnivetzat”. Some analogy could be seen in the mobility of the scene Moses Receiving the Law as an illustration of either Psalm 77 or the Second Ode.



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Fig. 6. Cod. Sin. Gr. 61, c 1274 A.D., fol 121v.

Fig. 7. Cod. BAN 2 (The Psalter of King John Alexander), 1337 A.D., fol 158r.



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Fig. 8. Cod. GIM Muz. 2752 (*The Tomić Psalter*), c 1360 A.D., fol 129r.

The evidence of the significance of the “mid-Psalms,” already laid out, encourages the exploration of other more or less firm points in the decorative subdivision of the text. I have already hinted at Psalms or certain verses that owed their popularity to both their exegetical value and current liturgical purpose. Some of the most important ones used in the daily offices were: the penitential Psalm; Psalm 85 or the opening Psalm for Vespers according to the rite of the Great Church; the Introductory (*pro-oimion*) Psalm 103; the Praises (*Ainoi*) or Psalms 148–150, and so on. There are also single verses participating in the so-called Select Psalms⁵⁶ on great feasts like Easter, Ascension, Annunciation, etc. The latter must be excluded immediately from the eventual sources in order to explain the accentuated Psalms on the basis of their liturgical purpose,

⁵⁶ On their tradition and content, Ivona Karachorova, “Psalmy izbrannye v slavjanskoj rukopisnoj tradicii (Selected Psalms in the Slavic Manuscript Tradition),” in *Biblické psalmy*, 187–196, with bibliography.



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because each of these is comprised of short or half-verses extracted from more than ten Psalms.

Some of the conclusions, after the comparison of Bulgarian medieval Psalters from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, can be repeated here.⁵⁷ In the first place the frequency of artistically accentuated Psalms provided as antiphons or *prokeimena* for Great feasts like Christmas, Pentecost, the Dormition, the Royal Hours of Good Friday, and a few others was confirmed. Apart from their partial correspondence to the expected functional *topoi* in the rite of the Great Church or the prevailing Studite rite, a certain compositional development is attested. The earliest Old Bulgarian Psalter, Codex Sinaiticus of the eleventh century (St. Catherine's Monastery, Cod. Sin. Slav. 38 + 2/N)⁵⁸ has no accentuated "mid-Psalms", but instead single initials at Psalms received remarkable ornaments. In later manuscripts, scribes' attention gradually turned to the initial Psalms of *kathismata*, to reach to such a differentiation that, at the end of the fourteenth century, contrasting ornamental forms were adapted as a means of separating the two groups of initials. This never prevented scribes from applying the two resulting systems spontaneously, thus submitting the ornamentation first to the regular monastic usage of *kathismata*, and second to the festal psalmody best recognised in the *asmatike akolouthia*, the main custom of the Great Church of Constantinople. Armed with this reconstructed, if not imagined, extra set of *topoi*, one feels more confident in pursuing the motivation of the medieval calligrapher to use one or another visual means at particular places in the manuscript. Unfortunately, provocative situations appear just as if to destroy the nice arrangements of facts, arguments, and hypotheses.

It is irritating that we can almost always find another, even better, functional reason urging the appearance of a miniature or embellishment of an initial letter neglected by the scribe. How to explain for instance, the presence of a Transfiguration scene next to the proper verse read or sung in the office of the day, while no illustration is provided for another verse, no less important from the same point of view? Or, what is one to think about the presence of a saint's image next to the verse appropriate to his feast, and another one that has nothing to do with the concept? A great many of the miniatures in the Tomich

⁵⁷ On this evidence is the basis of my book, *Достигне срѣдѣ медоточнаа книга. Kompozicijata na balgarskija srednovekoven Psaltir XI–XII vek* (Gained is the Middle of this Honey-flowing Book. The Composition of Bulgarian Medieval Psalters 11th–17th centuries) (Sofia: "Vulkan", 2003), in print.

⁵⁸ Ioannis Tarnanidis, *The Slavonic Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Thessaloniki: St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai and The Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies, 1988), 87–91 with earlier bibliography.



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Psalter representing Great Feasts correspond to the liturgical purpose of the Psalm or verse,⁵⁹ but for the rest such a relationship is not valid. Since the subject of the Calendar, reflected by illumination at fixed points in the Psalter, was undertaken, it is worth examining the sequence of marginal Psalters with miniatures of saints and feasts, ending with the Russian Kiev Psalter, a descendant, together with the Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery Ms 733, of the Barberini Psalter (*Fig. 9, 10*).⁶⁰ The numerous images of named saints in the Barberini Psalter were introduced, according to Christopher Walter, as an innovation in illustrated Psalters.⁶¹ This resulted from the new orientation of the Byzantine Psalter toward moral issues among which the virtuous life of monks was given priority. The same author says however: “There is consequently no reason to suppose that the presence of each saint requires a specific explanation. Their purpose is simply to exemplify the assiduity of the just man at prayer.”⁶² Conformably, only a few of these images appear next to the verse provided for this saint’s office and the situation is similar in the Kiev Psalter, but nevertheless their placement in general is a valuable source for reconstructing liturgical customs.

We may question the degree to which we are able to recognize those “colored spots” on the pages that are liturgically and not otherwise predetermined; we may also doubt whether our results match the appreciation of the medieval reader. Even when we have sound reason to trust our knowledge, still the short and to-our-minds-inconsistent selection of Psalms with liturgical importance is puzzling when we think of its merits as a common language. For the illustrated Psalters, mostly of the marginal type, we remember the various levels of intertextual links between pictures and words, among which those signaling ritual circumstances are only a small part. Perhaps considerations like limited space, the cost of the book, or the will to keep some proportion in the variety of visual means for revealing the wisdom of David’s songs are also useful, but they certainly are not sufficient to exhaust our problem, especially when it comes to ornamented manuscripts.

⁵⁹ Dzhurova, *Tomić Psalter*.

⁶⁰ Miner, “The ‘Monastic’ Psalter”; Vzdornov, *Kievskaja psaltyr’*.

⁶¹ *The Barberini Psalter*, 48; the subject is treated in Walter “Christological”; “Latter-Day” Saints and the Image of Christ in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters,” *REB XLV*(1987): 205–222; “Latter-Day” Saints in the Model for the London and Barberini Psalters,” *REB XLVI* (1988): 211–228, with additional bibliography.

⁶² *The Barberini Psalter*.



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*Fig. 9. Cod. RNB OLDP
F 6 (Kiev Psalter),
1397 A.D., fol 2r.*

*Fig. 10. Kiev Psalter,
miniature of St. John
Chrysostomus elevating the
Cross (at Ps 98,5), fol 137r.*



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Therefore, we need to undertake the analysis from another angle, trying to advance a bit further from where C. Walter decided to stop. A telling example of the confusion caused by the discouraging gap between the rigidity of the method proposed here and the protean nature of the object could be given by the Bulgarian Radomir Psalter, together with a possible solution of the case. Listed in the manuscript are the Psalms provided “for saints”—actually for holidays, arranged according to the Church calendar: St. Symeon the Stylites’ Day, the Nativity of the Virgin, the Elevation of the Cross, St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Petka, etc. For the sake of correctness I must acknowledge that this paragraph does not correspond to what are traditionally known as Select Psalms, contrasted to sets of only three Psalms that are prescribed for each commemoration day and that appear repeatedly at feasts belonging to the same rank.

Given the evidence of this liturgical apparatus, responding to a certain extent to the Jerusalem (or Neo-Sabaite) rite,⁶³ one is ready again to infer hyperlinks between textual and graphic levels of the manuscript, but to his or her perplexity no special ornamentation is to be found in the initials at the respective Psalms. Those emphasized fall on *kathismata*, so the present-day viewer is left uncertain as to whether it is a totally wrong modern conception to identify the medieval Psalter as a hypertext or whether the scribe Radomir deviated from an implicit scheme. Then the obvious reason comes to mind that, the overall rule that he obeyed in his work was that of marking the *kathismata*. Nevertheless, some more initials were made conspicuous by their size or ornament regardless of the most important ritual occasions given by the listed Psalms. Excepting the possibility that the scribe marked the text with an intention distinct from reflecting the liturgy, another explanation emerges. A lack of coincidence can be observed not only between selected Psalms given in a list and those selected by the painter, but between the addresses as testified in the Radomir Psalters and other sources. Thus, the manuscripts may have represented a diversity of liturgical paractices.

Hence, it follows that it was not improbable for a situation to occur in a manuscript where the liturgical directions that would point to psalmody conformed to current liturgical tradition, whereas the ornamental composition—

⁶³ The data are derived from Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grand Église*. Ms. Sainte-Croix No 40. X^e siècle, vol. 1, Le Cycle de douze mois, vol. 2, Le Cycle des fetes mobiles. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165, 166 (Rome: Pont. Institutum orientalium studiorum, 1962–1963); Miguel Arranz, *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine*. Codex Messinensis Gr 115 A.D. 1131, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 185 (Rome: Pont. Institutum orientalium studiorum, 1969); *Grace for Grace*.



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being a conservative form—would answer to an older one or to the tradition of its protograph. The long co-existence or mixture of ancient and revised liturgical practices is testified for Bulgarian service books of the late twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries to such an extent that they can be traced on the pages of one and the same manuscript.⁶⁴ The assumption is that some seeming irregularities could be explained as signals of a change in liturgical tradition. Of course, this may not be the complete explanation; the functional aspects of the illumination (especially of the initials) and their more abundant ornament may be due to an entirely different reason. To name the most probable one, which I have not mentioned hitherto, the forms of letters themselves gave the scribes ideas about how to adorn them. Still more, a century ago Vjacheslav Shchepkin called attention to the fact of the repeatedly illuminated letters like B, G, D, T in the Slavonic manuscripts, with which sacred words like *Bog* (God), *Gospod* (Lord), etc. began.⁶⁵ Accumulation of all accessible information that can be derived from both Byzantine⁶⁶ and Slavonic Psalters would allow grouping illustrated and ornamented copies taken together depending on the placement of their ornamental illumination. The macro- and micro-levels of the decorative composition, as already described, should be taken into account, so as not to miss all the data referring to the textual content of the manuscripts. Preliminary results show extreme variety within each group, roughly outlined, which takes us back to the initial questions that made us feel lost when deciding on ways to verify what exactly the placement of a miniature or rich ornament tells us. A present-day “reader” of medieval Psalters should not complain, however, of the inconvenience that there was not one firm principle in agreement with which the illumination was made, nor should he or she be surprised at the coexistence of contrasting approaches used by medieval scribes towards their objects. Unique artistic patterns were invented for every single manuscript, choices were made at random, or standardised schemes were utilized to make copies for a

⁶⁴ Stefan Kozhuharov, “Tarnovskata knizhovna shkola i razvitiето na himnichnata poezija v starata balgarska literatura (The Literary School of Tarnovo and Development of Hymnic Poetry in the Old Bulgarian Literature),” in *Tarnovska knizhovna shkola*, 277–309.

⁶⁵ *Bolonskaja psaltyr'*. S prilozheniem semi fototipij i vos'mi zinkografij, Issledovaniya po russkomu jazyku II, vyp. 4 (St. Petersburg: Otdelenie russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1906), 52. The model is taken from the Greek manuscripts where the usual adornment of the initial epsilon is a blessing hand, thus alluding to the verb “εὐλογέω”.

⁶⁶ G. Parpulov was kind enough to share his impression of the Byzantine Psalters that he has studied, but he cannot confirm particular differences among the initials of a given manuscript as one can detect them in Slavonic Psalters.



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particular purpose at a particular time. To work in an interdisciplinary manner and to permanently question his or her methods of investigation of numerous possibilities is one of the advantages that the illuminated Psalter offers any modern scholar.

In Byzantium, to adorn a book with miniatures was a relatively rare occasion compared with the great number of copies without illustrations. Although we know that when the commissioner ordered a rich illumination it was not always to pay humble reverence, but to show that he was well-to-do through a luxury object; the presence of illustrations or luxury ornament meant nonetheless more than mere caprice. There is no need to mention here the theories of the image that have forever constituted the icon as an inseparable part of Byzantine Christianity, therefore a brief conclusion will be given: an image was the most suitable tool to make memorable the scriptures and the truth they tell. Any combination of image and text in the liturgy was used as a mnemonic tool with the help of which not only the sacred history was fixed in people's minds, but also the general issues of faith and its righteous fulfillment. Illuminating the Psalter, the book revealing the mysteries of Christ and his coming, was to remind the viewer of everything—the prefigurative message of the Psalms, their power as prayers and their ritual importance, their elevating emotional strength and poetic beauty. How to do it with images—iconic or aniconic—was not only a question up to a commissioner to decide, nor was it simply a coincidence of various circumstances. The choice of a pattern was, among other things, a way to react to the dynamics of liturgical customs, and thus to announce their change or constitution. This is what may have caused at least some of the perpetual changes in the “white” and “colored” spots in the illuminated Psalter and we, like the ancient viewers, are invited to recognize those, readable through the ritual aspect of the book.

List of Abbreviations

- BAN Balgarska Akademija na naukite (Library of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia)
- GIM Gossudarstvennyj istoričeskij muzej (State Historical Muzeum, Moscow)
- RNB Russkaja Nazional'naja biblioteka (Russian National Library, Moscow), olim GPB Gossudarstvennaja publichnaja biblioteka (State Public Library)



“MAY THE TORAH BE OUR OCCUPATION...” TEACHING AND STUDYING IN THE MEDIEVAL JEWISH COMMUNITY

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The importance of studying the Torah

Studying the Torah and other religious texts, which literally means “teaching” (*Talmud Torah*, as the rabbis call it¹) is one of the fundamental commandments of the Jewish religion. The goal of religious education is to produce “a kingdom of priests, a holy people,” as Exodus 19:6 says. Every Jew has the duty to recognize the divine will in the laws of the Covenant and to study Israel’s history, which reflects God’s concern for His chosen people. Psalm 78:1–4 expresses the importance of studying history as the place of God’s activity: “Give ear, O my people, to my teaching [*Torah*] ... I will utter riddles concerning days of old that we have heard and known and our fathers have told us. We will not hide from their children telling to the generation to come the praises of the Lord and His strength and His wondrous works that He has done.”

Following this and Deuteronomy 6:7: “Impress them—the words of God—on your children. Talk about them when you sit at home and when you walk along the road, when you lie down and when you get up,” every father has the duty to teach his children so that God’s works and the history of Israel become a part of the people’s collective memory: “Remember the days of old, consider the years of ages past; ask your father, he will inform you, your elders, they will tell you” (Deuteronomy 32:7).²

According to Talmudic sources the basis of education is the study of the Torah, an all-embracing concept. Education is not to be treated as distinct from the inner content of life, but as one with it. Torah study is not to be limited to a certain age but to continue throughout one’s life under the guidance of a teacher—a very modern concept of lifelong learning! The commandment of

¹ See *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter 1970), Vol. 15, col. 1235ff., article Torah; Vol. 12, col. 1439ff., article Oral Law; Vol. 7, col. 1156ff., article Halakha; Vol. 15, col. 750ff., article Talmud.

² See the introduction to Moritz Güdemann, *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Unterrichts und der Erziehung bei den deutschen Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Mendelssohn*. (Berlin, 1891), reprint (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1968), 3–9.



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Mishnah, Avot 1:16: “Provide yourself a teacher” was intended for everyone, without regard to age or social standing. By studying, a man gains a good character because, according to the Talmud, Torah study by its very nature leads to the observance of the *mizvot*, the commandments (Babylonian Talmud, tract. Kiddushin 40b). The ideal man “studies Bible and Mishnah, attends upon scholars, is honest in business and speaks gently to people” (Babylonian Talmud, tract. Yoma 86a).

Business life is not separated from the holy work of study. A father is not only obliged to teach the Torah to his son, but also to teach him a trade. Both activities are regarded as “the affairs of heaven,” which means religious duties (Babylonian Talmud, tract. Shabbat 150a). From the age of thirteen onwards the father is no longer responsible for the religious education of his son. The boy is now an adult and the observation of the laws, the *mizvot*, applies to him as it does to all the other adults, for the rest of their lives.

The education of children, the ritual of the first learning

As we find in fragments of various works of medieval educational literature, ritual customs (*minbagim*) prepared the little boy who was not yet aware of it for the future study. *Sefer Hukei haTorah*, an anonymous work of 1309 from northern France, reports the following *minbag*:

Eight days after circumcision, ten men (a *minyan*, a prayer community) gathered in the home of the infant, a *humash* (Pentateuch book) was placed over the head of the infant in his cradle and the elders of the community or the head of the Yeshiva said a benediction. Then the head of the Yeshiva put his hand on the baby and on the Pentateuch and said: ‘May this boy learn what is written in this book and may he observe what is written in this book, may the Torah of the Lord be in your mouth, may this Pentateuch not move from your mouth.’ And the father gave a banquet to celebrate the covenant (*berit*) and the retiring to study (*perishut*).³

Minbagim like this survived for centuries. The convert Paul Christian Kirchner gives a similar report in his book *Jewish Ceremonial* around 1700: On the thirtieth day after circumcision, the father placed a Pentateuch and a sheet

³ *Hukei haTorah*, part B, §5, printed (in Hebrew) in: Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden*, Band 1 (Vienna, 1888), reprint (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1966), 270. He mentions another evidence of this custom in *Sefer Hassidim*, §1146.



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of a rabbinical text over the head of the baby and recited the first verse of each of the Five Books of Moses to express that his son would learn the Torah in its entirety.⁴ After that, children from the neighbourhood came, raised the cradle three times and called the baby by his secular name. This ceremony is called the *Hollekreisch* and was practised by the Jews in Germany, the Rhineland, and Alsace from the fourteenth century until World War II.⁵

During early childhood the boy was very close to his father and his religious activities: He learned to repeat many prayers and benedictions, although without understanding them, he carried his father's prayer book to the synagogue and sat on the shoulders of his father during the services.⁶ It was “a custom for the little children,” as the *Mahsor Vitry* from thirteenth century France says, “to get them used to the synagogue and the school, to give a good reward to the people who have brought the children with them, and so they themselves get a good reward.”⁷ On Friday evening the boy ran home to notify his mother of the arrival of the Shabbat and of candle-lighting time. At Purim, Pessah, Hanukah and other holidays, children, both boys and girls, had and have special tasks at home and in the synagogue: noisemaking at Purim or finding the last crumbs at Pessah, dancing around the Torah scroll at Simhat Torah, and others. Rabbi Yzhak Or Sarua of Vienna (from the middle of the thirteenth century) informs us about a custom for the special day when the beginning of the month (*rosh hodesh*, New Moon) falls on a Shabbat or another holiday: “After the *Sheli'ah Zibbur*⁸ has read, he goes and sits down on the Chair of Elijah (*kathedra*), and the small children come and kiss the Torah scroll after

⁴ Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel*. Vermehret und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Sebastian Jacob Jungendres, (Hildesheim–New York: Georg Olms, 1974), 164.

⁵ It is not clear where the term comes from: either from *Holle*, the German goddess Hulda and *kreischen*, to screech to protect the baby from Holle's bad plans or *Kreis*, circle. The popular explanation was the derivation from „raise the cradle – *haut la creche*. See Freddy Raphael, “The Hollekreisch in Alsace.” In: *Mappot. ...blessed be who comes. The Band of Jewish Tradition*, ed. Annette Weber, Evelyn Friedlander, and Fritz Armbruster. Exhibition Catalogue, (Osnabrück: Secolo, 1997), 81f.

⁶ *Sefer Hassidim*, cited in: Ephraim Kanarfogel, “Attitudes toward Childhood and Children in Medieval Jewish Society.” In: *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, ed. David R. Blumenthal, Vol. II (Brown Judaic Studies 57). (Chico/California: Scholars Press, 1984), p. 1–31, p. 8 and 26, note 48.

⁷ *Mahsor Vitry*, ed. Samuel Hurwitz. (Nuremberg: Izchak Bulka, 1923), reprint (Jerusalem: Beit Sfarim I. Bulka, 1988), Vol. II, 713.

⁸ The *Sheli'ah Zibbur* is the envoy or messenger of the community, who had special tasks in the administration of the community and also in the synagogue service. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 14, col. 1355f., article Sheli'ah Zibbur.



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the “roller” has rolled the scroll together. This is a very beautiful custom, to educate the children for the commandments and to strengthen them.”⁹

According to tradition, a boy’s education should start when he begins to speak (Babylonian Talmud, Baba Batra 21a, Babylonian Talmud, tract. Eruvin 82a). In the beginning, the father teaches him to repeat some selected “programmatically” Torah verses, such as: “Moses commanded us a law, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob” (Deuteronomy 33:4). First the children only imitate, later they will—hopefully—understand. The *Mishnah*, Avot 5:21, is more sophisticated: “Rabbi Yudah ben Tema said: ‘At five years the age for studying the Bible is reached, at ten for studying the Mishnah, at thirteen for fulfilling the Mizvot, at fifteen for studying the Talmud,’” but this curriculum was not always applied. The Talmudic scholar Rav said to the schoolteacher Samuel bar Shilat (Babylonian Talmud, tract. Ketubbot 50a): “Do not accept a pupil under the age of six; but accept one from the age of six and stuff him [with knowledge] like an ox.”

At the age of five or six, a Jewish boy living in medieval Germany or France might have begun his formal schooling by participating in a special ritual initiation ceremony, which is transmitted by three different sources: the anonymous *Sefer Assufot*, written in France around 1100, the abovementioned *Mabsor Vitry* of R. Simha of Vitry, and the *Sefer haRokeah* by R. Elazar ben Yudah of Worms around 1200.¹⁰ The fourth source is unique: the illuminations of the *Leipziger Mabsor*, a prayer book from southwest Germany (around 1320) preserved in the library of the University of Leipzig.

Early in the morning of the festival of Shavuot, the feast of the donation of the Torah on Mount Sinai and the forerunner of the Christian Pentecost, the father or a learned man wrapped the boy in a coat or a *tallith* (prayer shawl) and carried him from his house to the teacher (see *Fig. 1*). He was protected from the evil eye by the tallith and not endangered by seeing anything unclean, like a dog, a pig, or a gentile. As during other periods of transition and change—passages¹¹ like birth, the night before circumcision, wedding, illness, and death—medieval people, Jews and Christians alike, felt threatened by demons

⁹ Yizhak bar Moshe, *Or Sarua*, 2 Volumes. (Shitomir, 1862), reprint (Tel Aviv: Hekhal Hasefer, 1976), Vol. I, part 2, *Hilkhot Shabbat*, p. 21, nr. 48, 2nd half.

¹⁰ On the basis of these sources, Ivan Marcus wrote an excellent book on the “inward acculturation” of German Jews in the Middle Ages: Ivan R. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood. Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe*. (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1996).

¹¹ See Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).



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and needed supernatural protection. That was why the child was carried by an adult and hidden in a sacred garment; beside that, the tallith is a symbol of being adult and erudite.¹²

*Fig. 1. Leipzig Mahsor, ca. 1320,
University Library of Leipzig, Hebrew
Manuscript Vollers 1102/1, fol. 131r.*

At the teacher’s house, the boy was placed on the teacher’s lap and shown a tablet with the Hebrew alphabet. The teacher read the letters first forwards, then backwards, finally in symmetrically paired combinations, and the boy repeated each sequence aloud. Then the teacher smeared honey over the letters on the tablet and told the child to lick it off. A woman brought cakes on which biblical verses had been written. They were to be baked by virgins from flour,

¹² Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 70ff.



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honey, oil, and milk. Next came shelled hard-boiled eggs on which more verses have been inscribed. The teacher read the words written on the cakes and the eggs, the boy repeated them and then ate them (*Fig. 2*).

*Fig. 2. Leipzig Mahsor, ca. 1320, University Library of Leipzig,
Hebrew Manuscript Vollers 1102/1, fol. 131r.*

The teacher then asked the child to recite an incantation against Potah, the Prince of Forgetfulness, to go far away and not to block the boy's heart, which meant the mind: "Ten times he should say these three words: NGF, SGF, AGF. I adjure you, Potah, Prince of Forgetfulness, that you extract and remove from me a fool's heart, I so and so, son of so and so, and throw it on a high mountain, in the name of"—line blank, because the ritual names are omitted



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in the *Sefer Assufot* to do no harm to anyone who by chance reads the names. This combination of food magic and invocation of magical powers can be found in Babylonian Jewish sources as early as the ninth century, and the roots are probably much older.¹³ Although some rabbis were against these practices because they might lead to the sin of *avoda sara* (idolatry), magical thinking—I do not want to call it “superstition”—was a part of Jewish religion as of all the others from biblical times until now.

*Fig. 3. Leipzig Mahsor, ca. 1320, University Library of Leipzig,
Hebrew Manuscript Vollers 1102/1, fol. 131r.*

After the ceremony the child received fruits, nuts, and other delicacies to eat. At the conclusion of the rite, the teacher led the boy down to the riverbank and told him that his future study of the Torah would never end, like the water in the river (see *Fig. 3*). He recited the verse of Proverbs 5:16: “Your springs will gush forth in streams in the public squares.”¹⁴ As the *Sefer Assufot* tells us, all

¹³ Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 30, 67–69.

¹⁴ Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 30, 71.



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these acts were performed to expand the child's heart. The great Maimonides, Spanish philosopher, physician, and scholar in the twelfth century, also gave pedagogic advice to motivate the child to study by promising him a sweet reward—because the child is too young and ignorant to understand the benefit of Torah studies.¹⁵

Yet the ceremony was more complex: The boy was repeating and then symbolically eating three texts written on cakes and smeared with honey. The first verse was Deuteronomy 33:4: "When Moses charged us with the Torah as the heritage of the congregation of Jacob." In the Talmud this verse was already considered representative of the entire Torah. The second verse was the symbol of the beginning of study: Children start with the book Leviticus, not with Genesis, so its first verse is also written on the tablet. An old *midrash* (an interpretation of the Bible) gives an explanation: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'Since sacrifices [the Book of Leviticus deals with sacrifices] are pure and children are pure, let the pure begin by studying the laws of purity.'" Another reason is the mystical interpretation of the book of Genesis, the Book of Creation; only mature and learned men were allowed to study mystics because they could confuse one's mind and harm one's faith.¹⁶

The third verse on the tablet was the Talmudic phrase that I chose for the title of my paper: "May the Torah be our occupation." It is the end of a personal prayer that some Talmud scholars said in the morning: "May it be Your will, O Lord our God, that Your Torah be our occupation, so that our heart will not be grieved and our eyes will not be darkened." (Babylonian Talmud, tract. Berakhot 16b).

This ritual presents the small child as a symbol of the Jewish people as a Torah community. The child left his natural mother at home and entered the culture of a new symbolic mother—the male Torah teacher, who is portrayed as the mother of a newborn baby. The female image of the Torah teacher is based on a verse of the Torah (Numbers 11:12): "Did I conceive all this people, did I bear them that you should say to me: Carry them in your bosom as a nurse carries an infant?" Another symbol within the ritual is the meaning of the child as a pure sacrifice to the Lord. According to *Sefer Asufot* and other sources, the boy must be protected from all sources of pollution. That is why they wrapped him in a sacred garment, the *tallith*, so that a pig or dog nor a gentile could see him.¹⁷

¹⁵ Maimonides, *Perush ha-Mishnah, Introduction to Sanhedrin*, chapter 10, 2:134, cited in: Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 18f.

¹⁶ *Midrash Wayikra Rabba*, cited in: Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 38 and 39.

¹⁷ Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 80.



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Although some parts of the ceremony, like the food magic and the invocation, are much older than Christianity, one cannot overlook the Jewish polemical response to Christian customs. Eating the honey cake as a symbol of the sweet Torah is reminiscent of the Eucharist, the boy sitting on the teacher’s lap of the Madonna and child Jesus. The river symbolizes the living water in contrast to the “deathbringing” baptismal water—to make that difference clear, the child remains standing at the riverside and is not allowed to step into the river. The illuminations in the *Leipzig Mahzor* also chose Christian iconography to show a Jewish rite.¹⁸ This is not the place to present the mutual influence of images of Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages, but this inward acculturation is one of the most exciting phenomena of Jewish-Christian history.¹⁹

Why does this ceremony take place at the feast of Shavuot? The first association is obvious: At the Feast of Weeks, God assembled his people at the foot of Mount Sinai and gave the Torah to Moses. Everyone, as the book of Exodus says (19:18), men, women, and children had to hear God’s commandments. In the Talmudic sources we find no evidence for the beginning of school at Shavuot. It is remarkable that, despite the importance of religious study in rabbinic culture, nowhere in the Mishnah or in the Talmud do we find a date in the calendar year at which Jewish children should begin their studies. Each child started individually when it was mature enough. Beginning school at Shavuot seems to have appeared for the first time in the medieval European ceremony.

Nevertheless, in Pre-European Judaism, mainly in the *yeshivot* (the Talmud Academies in Babylonia), Shavuot was considered to be most appropriate time for religious study, especially the study of the vision of the prophet Ezekiel and his chariot mysticism. Ezekiel chapter 1 is read in the synagogue at Shavuot to complement the reading about the decalogue on Mount Sinai. “The Lord came down on Mount Sinai” (Exodus 19:20). To prepare for this event, it was a custom in ancient times and is still an orthodox tradition that the men wake the night before Shavuot and study Kabbalah and other mystical texts.

Thus, the medieval initiation ceremony grew from these two traditions: that a father is religiously obliged to teach his son Torah at an appropriate age,

¹⁸ See Evelyn M. Cohen, “The Teacher, the father and the Virgin Mary in the Leipzig Mahzor,” in: *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Div. D, Vol. 2. (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990), 71–76.

¹⁹ See for example: Joseph Gutmann, “Christian Influences on Jewish Customs,” in: *Spirituality and Prayer: Jewish and Christian Understandings*, eds. Leon Klenicki, Gabe Huck. (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance. Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (Scripta Judaica 3) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).



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and the ritual study of the Torah and mystics on the night before Shavuot. We do not know exactly when and by whom these two elements were combined, but by the late twelfth century the ceremony was established enough to be noted as “the custom of our ancestors.”²⁰

This school initiation of the small child disappeared in the fifteenth or sixteenth century and was replaced by the Bar Mizvah ceremony, as we know it now. As early as the late thirteenth century Ashkenazic authorities objected to the old custom that a boy could observe many adult religious rites before reaching the rabbinical age of religious majority, meaning his thirteenth birthday. From the fifteenth century onwards, the boy had to wait until this age of majority, and a new ritual was created: the first public reading of the weekly portion of the Torah and a little sermon on the text, all in front of the community, in the synagogue, the public space of Jewish life. Elements of the initiation ceremony were preserved as a simple Jewish folk custom, however, whose traces survived until the Nazis extinguished shtetl culture. Even today orthodox Jewish communities mark the first day of learning by giving the children honey and sweets. Non-jewish parents as well sweeten this day for their children; in Germany and Austria a horn filled with sweets (*Schulütte*) is very common.

The organisation of school: Curriculum and methods of instruction

Every father was obliged to teach his son Torah or, if he himself had no time or ability, to provide him a teacher. For financial reasons, several parents hired one teacher for all their children. The first regulation to send children to school, in other words compulsory education, was introduced by Simeon ben Shetah, the brother-in-law of King Alexander Yannai, as early as in the first century before the Christian era.²¹ The Babylonian Talmud Baba batra 21a reports: “First teachers were appointed in each district and the boys entered school at the age of sixteen or seventeen. But because a boy who was punished by his teacher would rebel and leave school, the children should begin their schooling at the age of six or seven.”

The earliest schools were housed in the synagogues. In the third century, this system was well developed. But not every village or little town had their own synagogue, so the regulations of R. Joshua ben Gamla in the fourth century stated that a child could be sent from one synagogue to another in the same town, but not daily from one town to another. Therefore, class often took

²⁰ Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, 46.

²¹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 14, p. 1564, article Simeon ben Shetah.



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place in the house of the teacher or another member of the community, and only the adults studied in groups or independently in the synagogue. That is why the vernacular word for the synagogue in the Middle Ages was *shul*. According to the regulations of R. Joshua ben Gamla, the number of pupils to be assigned to one teacher was 25. If there were 40, an assistant was to be appointed.²²

Over the centuries, the organized community took certain responsibilities in the educational field. From the Gaonic period (eighth century) onwards, the community administration appointed teachers and paid them. Talmud students, the so-called *baburim*, had to pay fees to the teachers, and if their parents could not afford them, the community paid them and took care of the students' accommodation. In the twelfth century, Rabbenu Jacob Tam (northern France) decreed that communities had to pay the teacher's salary, and in cases of the shortage of educational funds, money designated for welfare purposes [*zedaka*] could be diverted for educational needs. The communities along the Rhine accepted these ordinances in the year 1220.²³ The synod of Castilian Jews in 1432 even imposed taxes for educational purposes.²⁴

Despite the high esteem of learning, teachers of children (*melamdim*, *melamdei tinokot*) worked on the same low financial level as servants and scribes. When they did not earn more than two marks a week, they were exempt from taxes and were therefore not equal members of the community.²⁵ At holidays they got gifts and extra presents. In medieval Austria, a rabbi or a scholar who ran a Yeshiva was exempt from taxes even if he was wealthy, because “when he is the head of a Yeshiva we can be sure that the Torah is really his labor, and that he is not working in a secular profession,” as Rabbi Isserlein of Wiener Neustadt (mid-fifteenth century) stated in a comprehensive legal decision concerning taxes.²⁶

²² *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 6, p. 401, article Education.

²³ Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-government in the Middle Ages*. Second ed. (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1964), 230 (Hebrew), 247 (English).

²⁴ Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-government*, 350f.

²⁵ Menahem Merseburg, Din 6, printed at the end of the *Responsa of R. Jacob Weil, She'elot uTeshuvot*, ed. Sela, (Bnei Brak: Sela, 1988), 167–178. He lived in the middle of the fourteenth century in Austria and Germany. We hardly know anything about his life.

²⁶ R. Isserlein bar Petahya, *Sefer Terumat haDeshen*, part I: *She'elot uTeshuvot*, ed. Izhak Abitan, (Jerusalem: Shemuel Abitan, 1991), nr. 342.



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Curriculum

The main goal of school was to prepare the boy for participation in the synagogue service. The ability to read was the first objective. Children learned the alphabet by copying its letters on parchment or paper, wax or slate. The regulations of *Hukkei haTorah* (an anonymous work from 1309, Northern France) instructed the father to take his child to a teacher at the age of five and to tell the teacher what he expected from him: “You are to teach my son knowledge of the letters during the first month, vocalization in the second, combination into words in the third, and afterwards this ‘pure’ child will take up the ‘purities’ of the Book of Leviticus.”²⁷ At a more advanced level, scrolls or sheets with biblical texts or Torah scrolls unfit for synagogue use were used. Afterwards, prayers and sections of the rest of the Pentateuch were on the program, followed by the Prophets and Hagiographia, and then immediately by the Talmud. Following some *geonim* (heads of Babylonian academies) of the eighth and ninth century, it was allowable to teach the native language and arithmetic.

Arab Spain inherited Babylonia’s place as the diaspora’s leading Jewish center; the Spanish scholars became independent from the Babylonian authorities. Influenced by the Moslem circles of scholars, they made innovations in the learning material, expanded the curriculum, and included secular instruction. “The Discipline of Teacher and Student,” chapter 27 of the ethical work “The Hygiene of Healthy Souls and the Therapy of Ailing Souls” was written originally in Arabic by Yoseph Yudah ibn Aknin about 1180.²⁸ It gives detailed instruction about when and what a Jew has to learn to become an outstanding scholar in all of the religious and scientific subjects of his time: Children started with Hebrew and grammar, a more serious study of the Prophets and hagiography, and contemporary Hebrew poetry. From the age of fifteen until thirty, Talmud and traditional Jewish literature should be the main topics, so that the student was able to refute “the errors of the apostates and heretics” and to justify “those views of practices that the religion prescribes.” After having reached this state, philosophic studies including logic were the main parts of the curriculum, continued with arithmetic, geometry, optics—the measurement of terrestrial and celestial bodies—and astronomy. Music, mechanics, natural

²⁷ *Hukkei haTorah*, Part C, printed (in Hebrew) in: Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, Vol. 1, 272.

²⁸ Yoseph Yudah ibn Aknin (ca. 1150–1220) was born in Barcelona and moved to North Africa, probably as a reaction to the Almohad persecution. He is the author of several philosophical and medical works. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 2, col. 501ff. For his work “The Hygiene of Healthy Souls and the Therapy of Ailing Souls” see col. 502, nr. 5.



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sciences, and medicine completed the program. The peak of erudition was the profound study of metaphysics on the basis of Aristotele’s works.²⁹

In the thirteenth century, the Spanish scholar Yuda ibn Abbas offered even more detailed curriculum guidance for virtually a lifetime: At the age of three or three and a half, the child was to learn the alphabet, reading, and proper vocalisation. Then he was to be taught the weekly portions of the Torah, their correct reading and cantillations. Then he was to learn to translate them into Aramaic to prepare him for the study of the Talmud. After the translation of the Torah, he studied the Prophets and the Hagiographia, syntax and writing. By the age of thirteen, as a Bar Mizvah, a “son of the Law,” he should be through this program. Then the boy was to study grammar and language, and after that he could start with the Talmud and its commentaries. Special studies were needed for the *halakha*, the ritual laws and their culmination in the codification of Maimonides, the Mishne Torah. At the age of 18, the ideal young man studied medicine, mathematics, astronomy, logic and natural sciences. This curriculum with local derivations was also followed by the academies in Southern France and Italy.³⁰

Some rabbis, however, feared that the study of the philosophy and the natural sciences of the Greeks and the Arabs in some cases could threaten the divine authority of the Bible, especially if students were too young and not stable enough in their religion. Consequently, Rabbi Shelomo ben Aderet of Barcelona (1235–1310) pronounced a ban against those who studied philosophy and some of the natural sciences “written by the Greeks” before they reached the age of 25, which was accepted by several cities. However, it was allowed to study the original Jewish works of philosophy and science, even those of Maimonides, and medicine, “because the Torah permits the physician to heal.”³¹

The scholars of Northern France and Germany did not have problems of this kind. Their educational aims were profound knowledge of the Torah, strict observance of the commandments and complete devotion to God up to the readiness to be killed or to commit suicide before being baptised. They had absolutely no interest in philosophy as the Spanish did; for them the scholar’s task was to explicate the law where it was difficult and obscure, as Rashi of Troyes did in his famous commentary on the Bible. Hebrew and study of the

²⁹ Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World. A Source Book: 315–1791*. (New York: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938), reprint (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press 1965), 189–192, 373–377.

³⁰ *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Vol. 6, col. 381–466, article Education: col. 406.

³¹ Translated into English by J. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*, 190f.



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Bible was so widespread in eleventh century France that there was hardly a Jew there who did not know Hebrew.³² Petahya of Regensburg, a globetrotter at the end of the twelfth century, stated that in the whole of Babylonia, Asia, Media, and Persia, every Jew could at least read the 24 books of the Bible.³³

Generally, in the Middle Ages the curriculum and length of study were not fixed as they are today. The students studied at several *yeshivot* until their rabbi considered them to be capable of teaching in their own right, of applying the Halakha and of making binding legal decisions. The *semikha* certificate was the official ordination that entitled the student to practise as a rabbi.³⁴

Methods of Instruction

R. Joshua said: “He who studies the Torah and then forgets it is like a woman who bears a child and buries it.” The challenge was hard, and it still is. The Hebrew poet Hayyim Nahman Bialik, who died in 1934, compared the Talmud Torah in his poem *Ha-Matmid* (The Constant Learner) to an immense sea where the student is in danger of drowning. The Talmud has 5,800 pages of text with 2.5 million words. To master the extensive texts, Talmudic authorities recommended sheer repetition (Babylonian Talmud, tract. Hagiga 9b): “He who has repeated his chapter a hundred times is not to be compared to him who has repeated it a hundred and one times.”

Every possible mnemonic device was employed, using stylistic patterns of the composition of the text: division into three parts, thesis, antithesis, synthesis, *notarikon*, association of ideas, and so on. The problem of these methods was the difficulty of applying them to large bodies of text. No visual aids other than the words themselves were available. Before printing was invented, not even a standard page existed. Forgetting Torah was a sin, so the only possibility was continuous study.

No wonder the students could not cope with this burden and rather trusted in magical techniques. This was no question of superstition: Magical techniques like eating magical food were seen as the most effective teaching methods available, not only for children, as we have seen, but also for adults. As we learn from the Psalms and from the prophet Ezekiel (13,1–3), the Torah is sweet like milk and honey: “God said to me: ‘Mortal, feed your stomach and fill your belly with this scroll that I give you. I ate it and it tasted as sweet as honey to me.’” Another example of God’s magical food is the manna that fell

³² *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 6, col. 381–466, article Education, col. 408

³³ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 6, col. 381–466, Article Education, col. 404.

³⁴ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 14, col. 1140–1147, Article Semikha. See also Mordehai Breuer, “The ashkenasic Semikha (Hebrew),” in: *Zion* 33 (1968): 15–46.



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in the desert after the Israelites had fled from Egypt. The sages, the rabbis, considered themselves the successors of the biblical prophets, and like them, they started their career with the eating of the sweet alphabet. By eating the honey on letters or cake, the consumer literally eats God’s words in a metaphorical meaning for the “opening of his heart.” A more practical statement in the Talmud says that some food is good for the memory: “Five things restore one’s learning: Wheat bread and much more so wheat itself; a fried egg without salt, frequent consumption of olive oil, wine and spices” (Babylonian Talmud, Horayot 13b).

Fig. 4. Coburg Pentateuch, 1395, London, British Library, Add. MS 19776, fol. 72v.

Discipline played a vital role in the Talmudic school system. Corporal punishment was inflicted when deemed necessary, but the sages warned against injuring a child. The *Mahsor Vitry* gives the advice: “In teaching him, the child is at first coaxed and finally a strap is used on his back.” (*Fig. 4*). The pupil should



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be trained to move his body back and forth as he studies, so that the words can reach every part of the body as the psalm in the Shabbat prayer says: “My whole being will exclaim: ‘Who is like You, O Lord?’” The teacher should place a lazy pupil next to an attentive one and he himself should impress his pupils by speech and deed.

A teacher should teach carefully rather than fast. He should first improve the memory of the pupil by accurate transmission and frequent repetition of the material, and at a later stage, they should develop their own creative thoughts. This led to the method of *pilpul*, which means pepper. This method of studying represented the highest form of debate. Sections of the Talmud were discussed in groups of two or more, and the *baburim* were even allowed to contradict their teachers when they had better arguments.³⁵

The aforementioned *Hukei haTorah* from the early fourteenth century dealt with a community’s responsibility, school administration, and supervision. According to these regulations, teachers should not instruct more than ten children in one group.³⁶ The pupils should be trained to discuss their lessons with each other and thus sharpen their minds and increase their knowledge.³⁷ “On Fridays, teachers should review with their students what they have studied during the preceeding week, at the end of the month what they have studied during the past month, in the month of Tishri what they have studied during the summer and in the Nisan what they have studied during the winter so that they don’t forget a word and remember more.”³⁸ The community was to appoint a supervisor (*Mashgiab*) to observe the pupils’ abilities.³⁹

The *Sefer Hassidim*, a book of ethics written by Rabbi Yehudah heHassid of Regensburg around 1200, points out the educational aim: Students should study until they no longer need a teacher and “are already teaching others.” But not everyone is gifted for a long study: “If you see that the boy can study the Bible, but not the Talmud, do not pressure him to study Talmud.” *Hukei haTorah* also instructs the supervisor: “If he notes a slow-learning, dull child, he

³⁵ R. Isserlein bar Petahya, *Terumat haDeshen*, ed. Yizhak Abitan, part 2: *Pesakim uKhetavim*, (Jerusalem: Shemuel Abitan, 1990), nr. 238.

³⁶ *Hukei haTorah*, Part A, §VI, printed (in Hebrew) in: Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, Vol. 1, 268.

³⁷ *Hukei haTorah*, Part A, §IX, printed (in Hebrew) in: Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, Vol. 1, 269.

³⁸ *Hukei haTorah*, Part A, §X, printed (in Hebrew) in: Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, Vol. 1, 269.

³⁹ *Hukei haTorah*, Part A, §V, printed (in Hebrew) in: Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, Vol. 1, 268.



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should bring him to his father and say: ‘May God bring up your son to perform good deeds because it is difficult to bring him up for study, lest on account of him brighter students be retarded.’ And he should not take the father’s money because then he would seem to be a thief. And perhaps the young man will go to another teacher and be more successful with him.”⁴⁰

If the boy was bright enough, several years of Talmudic studies followed after the elementary and intermediate schooling. Talmud was the exclusive subject in the *yeshivot* and Talmudic erudition was the highest educational objective in medieval Germany. Most of the *baburim* travelled to towns that had famous *yeshivot*, comparable to the Christian travelling scholars and journeymen. Due to the demolition of many Jewish communities during the Black Death, Austria became the center of Jewish study and many students from Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia/Moravia went to Austrian *yeshivot* in Krems, Wiener Neustadt, and Vienna. The *baburim* formed a student body and served as a substitute family at the same time. Usually they studied and lived in the house of the rabbi and paid fees for learning and accomodation. It was unavoidable that there was sometimes tension between the students and their host families. Some students indulged in gambling or gave the rabbi other causes for concern. Around 1450, Rabbi Abraham Katzenellenbogen from Buda (Ofen) complained bitterly to a colleague: “A *babur* living in my home secretly drank my wine, slipped into the cellar at night and stole my meat and bread.”⁴¹

The importance of Torah reading in the synagogue— the exclusion of women

In Talmudic times, the entire educational enterprise was restricted to the male population. There are references to an organised girl’s class, to a girl who attended school with her brother, and to some female teachers, but these were exceptions. Jewish women of this period were untutored and either completely or partially illiterate.

In the Middle Ages also, only daughters or sisters of rabbis learned a little Hebrew. *Sefer Hassidim* states that girls should be taught to pray and learn the commandments concerning female religious activities. Nevertheless, their education was quite limited. Most of the women could do no more than write their names in Hebrew letters and perhaps read simple blessings. But many

⁴⁰ *Hukkei haTorah*, Part C, printed (in Hebrew) in: Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, Vol. 1, 272.

⁴¹ R. Yosef ben Moshe, *Leket Josher*, ed. Jakob Freimann, (Berlin: Zvi Hirsch Itzkowski, 1923), reprint (Jerusalem: Hanokh Wagschal, 1964), part 2, 26.



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Jewish women were experts in running a Jewish home, with all the knowledge and practical wisdom that went with it, well versed in the laws of kashrut and regulations for observing the Shabbat and able to say prayers and psalms.

We have evidence of some rabbis' daughters, sisters, and wives who had their own teachers or participated in the lessons that took place in their house. Yosef bar Moshe, the pupil and servant of Rabbi Isserlein of Wiener Neustadt, stated: "And I remember that his (Isserlein's) daughter-in-law, Redel of blessed memory, studied with an old man named Yudel Sofer in the house of the rabbi and in the room where many sons of the house [he means the *baburim*] were staying, and this old man was married."⁴² Elasar ben Yehudah of Worms (ca. 1165–1230) tells us about a pious man (*bassid*) who taught his daughters to write, read, and count, to prepare them for their future as businesswomen who would not need the help of male partners.⁴³

The ideal of a woman who nourishes her husband, who for his part neglects his family duties, and her children by working on her own has existed since Talmudic times, and it still exists today. In the Middle Ages, this type of woman also played a certain role. Thus Rabbi Elasar of Worms wrote a long poem of mourning for his wife Dulce, who was murdered in 1197 together with their two daughters. He took Proverbs 31,10 "Who can find a woman of valor" and described the qualities and activities of his beloved wife in the form of an acrostic:

"*Her husband trusts her implicitly* (Proverbs 31:11): She fed and clothed him in dignity so he could sit among the elders of the land and provide Torah study and good deeds; ... Her labor provides him with books. ... *She is like the merchant ships* (Proverbs 31:14): She feeds her husband [so he can] study Torah."⁴⁴

The problem was not only a question of education. Jewish women were not required to attend synagogue services, but it was nevertheless encouraged and considered an honour. It was commendable for a woman to hear the

⁴² *Leket Josber* II, p. 37.

⁴³ R. Elasar of Worms, *Hiduschim beOtiot Hassirut*, printed (in Hebrew) in: Gudemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, 230 note 5. His main argument was the good reputation of his daughters: It could be suspicious to be alone with a male scribe. See also Emily Taitz, "Women's Voices, Women's Prayers: Women in the European Synagogues of the Middle Ages," in: *Daughters of the King. Women and the Synagogue*. eds. Susan Grossman, Rivka Haut (Philadelphia, Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1992), 59–71, here 62.

⁴⁴ Ivan Marcus, "Mothers, Martyrs and Moneymakers: Some Jewish Women in Medieval Europe," in: *Conservative Judaism* 38 (1986): 34–45, here 41.



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Torah, but she had to be separated from the men—as today in orthodox communities. Next to the main room of the synagogue, the women had a separate room where they could see the *bima* and ark containing the Torah scrolls through the openings—the restored synagogue in Sopron (western Hungary) is an example.

The synagogue room that most Jews in the Middle Ages visited several times a day for prayer and study was the central meeting place of the community. Here, the members of the community would share their joys and sorrows, receive public recognition, honours and sympathy, congratulations on happy events, and commiseration in their grief. The medieval synagogue was also the place for public announcements, the swearing of oaths, and the execution of judgements.⁴⁵ Thus, the exclusion of women from reading the Torah on the *bima* also excluded them from most aspects of community life and honour. Women were honoured, but only in private, at home, as wives and mothers.

It is true that the Torah does not oblige women to study and read the Torah in public, but on the other hand one cannot find an explicit prohibition of doing so anywhere.⁴⁶ Of course, the scholars of Mishnah and Talmud knew the texts by heart, and they had problems with their argumentation: The basis for the restriction of the woman can only be found in the Talmud, not in the Torah, for example in Babylonian Talmud, tract. Megilla 23a: “The Rabbis taught: Everybody is authorized to the seven [persons being called up for the Torah on Shabbat], even a child and even a woman; but the Sages say: A woman is not allowed to read the Torah because of the honour of the community.” This argument was also used by Rabbi Yizhak Or Sarua of Vienna in the middle of the thirteenth century. He could not deny that women and even children were allowed to read the Torah, but “because of the honour of the community it is not the done thing.”⁴⁷ The question is: What is meant by “the honour of the community?” which of course consisted only of male members. One recurring argument is that men feel irritated by the sexual attraction of women, expressed by their voices: “The voice of a woman is indecent” (Babylonian Talmud, tract Berakhot 24a and Babylonian Talmud, tract. Sota 48a). This idea, supported by the surrounding Christian or Islamic society,

⁴⁵ See Martha Keil, “Bet haKnesset, Judenschul. Die Synagoge als Gotteshaus, Amtsraum und Brennpunkt sozialen Lebens,” in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte, Kultur und Museumswesen*. Vol. 4 (1999/2000): *Über das Mittelalter*, ed. G. Milchram im Auftrag des Jüdischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 71–90.

⁴⁶ See Irwin H. Haut, “Are Women obligated to Pray?” in: *Daughters of the King*, eds. S. Grossman, R. Haut, 89–101.

⁴⁷ Yizhak bar Moshe, Or Sarua, Vol. 1, *Hilkebot Yibbum veKidduschin*, 180, nr. 752.



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found great appreciation in the Middle Ages.⁴⁸ In Biblical times, this did not seem to be a problem; on several occasions men, women, and children were called up to hear the Torah and pray together, as at the reception of the Torah on Sinai.

Another point is the ritual impurity of a menstruating woman. In many ashkenasic communities of the Middle Ages, women were excluded—or excluded themselves—from entering a synagogue during menstruation. This separation from holy places is definitely not according to the Halakha, but it was seen as an expression of extreme piety. Paradoxically, women proved their piety by separating themselves from pious duties.⁴⁹ In spite of these widely accepted ritual customs, Or Sarua's colleagues had problems finding strong arguments for the exclusion of women. Maharil of Mainz (mid-fifteenth century) wrote in a responsum: "Our teacher Rabbi Simha [thirteenth century] said that the women read the Hallel prayer at Pessah, because they were included in the miracle [of the Exodus] as well." Consequently, Maharil's pupil Rabbi Salman of St. Goar asked his teacher: "Is it also the case with reading the *Megilla*, the Esther Scroll at Purim, because here women also were included in the miracle [of the salvation of the Persian Jews by Queen Esther]?" Maharil answered me: "Indeed, it is the same in the case of the *Megilla*. But the scroll of Esther is read in public, in the synagogue [and the Hallel at the Pessah Seder, privately at home], and the public proclaiming of the miracle is *more beautiful* among men (*yoter yafe*)."⁵⁰

Conclusion

The enormous importance of studying Torah, Talmud and other religious texts found its expression in various medieval sources. They give us insight into the comprehensive conception of Jewish learning in the Middle Ages: The first day of the child's schooling was seen as a rite of passage and therefore a ritual of initiation with several elements was created. Food magic and magical incantations played an important role, in spite of the fears of some rabbis that ceremonies like these could arouse suspicions of idolatry. As Ivan Marcus showed, these ceremonies also reflected Christian attitudes and customs and

⁴⁸ Taitz, "Women's Voices," 61.

⁴⁹ Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Purity and Piety: The Separation of Menstruants from the Sancta," in: *Daughters of the King*, eds. S. Grossman, R. Haut, 103–115, esp. 103 and 109.

⁵⁰ *The Book of Maharil. Customs by Rabbi Yaacov Mulin*. ed. Shlomoh Spitzer (Hebrew), (Jerusalem: Makhon Yerushalaim, 1989), 121, nr. 45.



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adopted them to Jewish life and thinking: an example of “inward acculturation” like many others in Jewish-Christian history.

Jewish teaching and study was a forerunner of the modern concept of “lifelong learning.” The sources inform us about the curriculum at different times and places. In medieval Ashkenaz the interpretation of and commenting on religious texts was the main objective, in Spain the ideal man not only had to have a profound religious knowledge, but also a good education in medicine, natural sciences, and philosophy. The texts about teaching and learning are full of advice on how to improve one’s memory, because forgetting was considered a sin. Studying led to the capability of reading the Torah in public at the synagogue’s service—an honour from which women were excluded and in orthodox groups still are today.

Sources on Jewish learning in the Middle Ages also teach us about the importance of the male child in the Jewish family and society, the duties of the father and the community towards him, and the relationship between adults and children. These texts, therefore also contribute rare information about childhood in the Middle Ages.



REPORT OF THE YEAR

József Laszlovszky

The Central European University is becoming increasingly global, in terms of applicants, research topics, faculty, and academic outlook. This development has different impacts on particular departments, however. Globalization cannot have the same effects on Medieval Studies, for example, as on Economics. Therefore, we asked the question: How far can we go in our field with a global perspective? Is it realistic to speak of a universal view of the Middle Ages? Or, do we have to stick to our original educational and research agenda? This was first Central European, then Latin Christian, and later came to incorporate interactions between the Latin and Byzantine-Slavic medieval worlds.

The meeting of our academic advisory board, held in mid-June, 2001, considered two main topics: the issue of globalization as a challenge for CEU, and the present and future status of the doctoral studies program in the department. The first issue had already been addressed at the end of the *Report of the Year* in 2000; during the whole year we had carried on intensive discussions of the topic, culminating in the advisory board meeting. Leading medievalists—who were present during these discussions—favored a balanced and cautious new direction for our program. Elizabeth Brown (New York), Rees Davis (Oxford), Winfried Eberhard (Leipzig), Andrei Pippidi (Bucharest), Ihor Ševčenko (Cambridge, MA), and Patrick Geary (UCLA), who were in attendance, and Jacques Le Goff (Paris), who contributed to the discussion in writing even though he could not attend in person, argued that there are dangers in a borderless extension of our program. First, the expertise of the resident faculty and recurrent visiting professors will not allow us to deal with purely Far Eastern or Pacific Rim topics, not to mention the fact that these areas are not included in the traditional discourse on the Medieval world. From the point of view of student recruitment, the same question can be raised, but here, our advisory board also acknowledged problems, particularly in the educational background of prospective applicants, and especially in the areas of source languages and basic historical knowledge. It was also noted, however, that we have already had a significant group of well-trained students from the



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Caucasus area, and we will probably have more from the former Soviet republics of Central Asia.

As a result of these discussions, the advisory board recommended an extension of our original program incorporating interactions between medieval Christian, Muslim, and Jewish cultures. Migration of peoples, ideas, and texts can be itemized as important aspects of these interactions, which can be studied in our research projects as well as in our educational programs. Particular methodological approaches that are relevant for such fields of study were also discussed, among them inter-textual analysis, the problems of ethnogenesis, material culture, translation, and comparative religion. The idea of studying the Oriental world in a spatial perspective should be taken into consideration, since we have faculty members dealing with this area, and also, our academic network is open to this approach. Moreover, Budapest, the location of CEU, has always been regarded as an important center in oriental studies with the special collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

A chronological widening of the program was also suggested, following an already-existing pattern in our curriculum. Late Antiquity should be emphasized more, helping us attract more students from classical philological studies, traditionally a strong academic field in East Central Europe. The same applies to Renaissance studies, where our resident faculty also has expertise; this extension, however, should be harmonized with the teaching and research interests of the history department at CEU, allowing us to launch more joint projects. The advisory board also concluded that we must separate the M.A. and Ph.D. programs in the context of globalization. We can accept student topics at the M.A. level that cover areas and sources outside our core area, but only where we can offer methodological supervision and the contribution of consultants from our academic network. However, this cannot apply in the same way to the Ph.D. program.

This last question led us to further discussion of our Ph.D. program. It is now more than six years since we started our doctoral education, and in the last two years a number of students have defended their dissertations. Therefore, it was relevant to take a closer look at the curriculum of the program, as well as to evaluate how effective it has been in the production of dissertations. One of the most important aspects of this question is the departmental and external supervision of Ph.D. students. In that context CEU is in a special position because we can offer admirable conditions for high-level international research during the Ph.D. years. However, it is more problematic after students have finished their formal education and are in the stage of writing their dissertations under very different conditions. We wish to reach a balance between separating students from their homes and families and keeping them active in international



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scholarly circles. We strongly oppose creating a “brain drain,” funneling talented scholars away from their home countries. Nevertheless, we have to face the fact that even if they are mainly in teaching positions or jobs of an academic character, coping with economic problems in their home countries and at the same time producing a dissertation on an international level is a great personal challenge. It has been argued that the only way to reduce this stress of the students is for the supervisors to be open and accessible until the final product is ready.

In both topics discussed at the academic advisory board meeting, we had the feeling that it is important to have the comments of such experienced and motivated scholars because our program cannot be a copy of any other medieval studies program in the world. The board meeting has also served to introduce new board members, based on the recommendation of the department. In this way, Patrick Geary, our constant quality controller, acting as chair of the M.A. thesis defenses, became a full member of the board, as did Karol Modzelewski. We were sorry to accept the resignation of Henrik Birnbaum, who felt that he would not be able to continue his active participation due to health problems. The board and the department expressed their gratitude to Henrik for his enormous help at a very early stage of the program and for his kind and collegial support of faculty members and students during the whole period that he served on the board.

The events of the academic year 2000–2001, presented here more or less in chronological order, followed the well-established patterns of the previous years. There were no major changes in our resident faculty, but we have had two temporary academic writing instructors, Judith Rasson and Jonathan Eagles. As a pure coincidence, both of them are archaeologists, but their duties at CEU have been of different characters. Judith Rasson replaced Mary Beth Davis, who has returned to the U.S. This change also resulted in a shift of topics, leaving literature and female mysticism aside, and bringing in material culture and cultural anthropology. Jonathan Eagles came as a CEP (Civic Education Project) instructor responsible for academic writing at the M.A. level, but his previous studies offered us the possibility of asking him to contribute to our experimental ethnogenesis and protonationalism course.

The new group of M.A. students was as colorful as ever, of diverse national origins and research interests. We have had mixed a representation of countries; Bulgaria, Hungary, and Russia were represented with higher numbers, but we had a balanced ratio of other countries like Croatia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Romania, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. The early September thesis-planning meetings showed a wide range of approaches and fields of medieval studies, such as codicological analysis,



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philological studies of medieval Latin texts, and research on settlement structure based on archaeological and historical evidence.

The fall field trip to south-western Hungary was centered on Pécs, where we also participated in an international conference “Hungarian Higher Education and Europe” as part of the Millennium celebrations and academic programs. On the way to Pécs, we visited three major archaeological sites where nineteenth-century or recent excavations have brought to light important medieval ecclesiastical centers. At Székesfehérvár, the program was to visit the ruins of the medieval royal basilica and an exhibition of the carved stone material from the same monument. There we were able to discuss the methodological and theoretical problems of archaeological and architectural studies of a monument of crucial importance, which functioned as the coronation and main royal burial church of Hungary, but which was almost totally destroyed during the Turkish wars. A similar fate reduced the Cistercian abbey at Bátaszék and the Benedictine abbey at Pécsvárad from splendid monastic complexes to ruins. In Pécs, our academic program had two parts: the participation in the international conference and visits to early Christian, medieval, and Ottoman Turkish monuments. Faculty members spoke about the cult of saints in a university context and, in the framework of the conference, about university *peregrinatio* from Central Europe to Western Europe. We also visited the Classical Philology Department of the local university at the invitation of Professor Karsai, who is the Head of this unit, and also responsible for teaching medieval source languages at our department. The less academic parts of the trip were devoted to a better understanding of Hungarian historical viticulture at Villánykövesd, the current export leader among Hungarian wine cellars, and swimming in a lake.

Real academic work started with the usual pre-session of intensive Latin, academic writing courses, and thesis-planning discussions. The fall semester began with a festive event in the life of the department. After heroic work by our two librarians and a group of doctoral students, we opened the new CEU-ELTE medieval library at the ELTE campus in a recently restored building. Financial support by the two universities allowed us to create much larger and better facilities for our library collection than we had before. At the end of September we started the fall semester with a full slate of courses. A number of guest professors joined us for the fall, among them Andrew Palmer, a specialist in the Syriac language and interactions with the oriental world. He was with us for the entire academic year and offered courses in the area of East-West interaction. Heidemarie Petersen (Leipzig) taught “Jewish Communities in the European Urban Context,” while Marianne Birnbaum contributed to the course on the “Culture of Humanism and Renaissance in Central Europe.” The



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Renaissance was also the focus of another course by Peter Meller (Professor Emeritus, Santa Barbara), who lectured on iconographic problems. He also played an active role in supervising Ph.D. students, and delivered the most important academic lecture during the inauguration of the recently restored royal palace in Visegrád, speaking on the highlight of this program, the reconstruction of the Renaissance Hercules Fountain. The inauguration was part of the official Millennium celebrations in Hungary, which also resulted in several noteworthy historical exhibitions. As a consequence of these, we focused our usual fall Curriculum Resource Center visit for East Central European faculty members around the topic “Exhibiting the Middle Ages—Millennial Expositions and Medieval Studies.” In the course of this program, we discussed how exhibitions can be used as resources for university courses, and we visited a number of important collections with the participants.

Last year’s public lecture series, “Reading the Scripture,” began during the fall semester and continued for the entire academic year. One of the first speakers was Professor Edward J. Yarnold (Campion Hall, Oxford), who discussed the problem of transubstantiation. This lecture was also part of another program, an international workshop on “The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy,” organized by István Perczel and György Geréby. The first part of this workshop was held at CEU, but the main program was accommodated in the more fitting place of the Benedictine abbey at Tihany. Other lectures in the public lecture series examined medieval interpretations of the Bible from different viewpoints. Speakers included Alexandra Johnston (Toronto), Michael Camille (Chicago), Pierre Boglioni (Montréal), David Evans (Bibbiena–Fresh Meadows), and Andrew Palmer. Themes included Biblical drama, the Bible of the Illiterate, miracles, exegesis, and the poetic reading of the scriptures (for the lectures, see pp. 291–92).

The fall semester saw the dissertation defense of Anu Mänd (Estonia) on “The Urban Festival in Late Medieval Livonia: Norm, Practice, and Perception.” Her work was praised for exploring new sources, and for formulating new ideas on the history of medieval popular culture (its summary on pp. 325–32).

The most entertaining Christmas party in recent memory marked the end of the fall semester. A small, dedicated group of students, led by Andrew Palmer and Orsolya Réthelyi, performed a late twentieth-century interpretation of a medieval Biblical drama. The individual styles of the actors overcame the obvious textual difficulties and delighted the audience.

In the winter semester, we had a number of recurrent visiting professors. Hanna Kassis taught “Islamic Civilization, and Interaction of Muslims, Christians, and Jews.” The oriental world was also present in the course of



Report of the Year

Klaus Belke, our current Vienna Byzantinist contact, who taught “Byzantium and the Arabs.” Elissaveta Moussakova and Boriana Velcheva jointly taught “Codex Illumination of Byzantino-Slavic Culture.” Cross-listed courses became more standard in the department with the offerings on topics such as ethnogenesis (Neven Budak and others), gender and space (Gerhard Jaritz), and cultural anthropology (Judith Rasson), which attracted a large number of students from other departments. Michael Richter offered a course on oral traditions, which was also the main theme of our standard interdisciplinary workshop at the end of February. Entitled “Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context,” the workshop was organized by Michael Richter and Gerhard Jaritz. The Rector of CEU, Yehuda Elkana, introduced the workshop program, pointing out the importance of orality in historical anthropological approaches, but also in modern scientific discourse. The main contributors of the workshop included Patrick Geary, Maria Dobozy, Martha Keil, and Anna Adamska. Departmental Ph.D. students, among others Előd Nemerkenyi, Nada Zečević, and Elena Lemeneva, also made strong contributions. The papers were edited by the organizers and published in 2001 with the same title as the workshop, as a joint publication of the department and the Krems Institute of Material Culture.

The spring field trip during the research break took our department to Croatia again this year. Many faculty members and some Ph.D. students remembered the wonderful sunny days of our previous Croatian excursion in 1997, and Dalmatia seemed as promising as Istria in this sense. We started our program with the architectural and goldsmiths’ treasures of Zagreb and with a reception and alumni meeting at Zagreb University. This, as well as the academic program of the whole trip, was organized by Neven Budak, who was also our group’s main guide to historical monuments and archaeological sites. The most important aim of the trip was to study and understand the natural and human environment of medieval Dalmatian towns. We were able to focus on the many interactions of different cultures, religions, and people in towns such as Zadar, Split, Sibenik, and Trogir. Our program also included a number of special events: visiting the very rich and impressive exhibition on the Carolingians and Croatia, and some often hidden works of Giovanni Dalmata. Sometimes the scholarly and academic programs were overshadowed by other aspects of itinerant life, some of them provided by the group itself. An ad hoc music band formed by our students showed other talents than those that we normally acknowledge in medieval studies. On our way back to Budapest, the sad ruins of the Yugoslav war showed us the terrible destruction of human lives, buildings, and cultural heritage. Still, the wonderful sunny days of Dalmatia will remain in our memories when we speak of this field trip.



Report of the Year

The spring session was dominated, as usual, by hectic days of thesis-writing for our M.A. students and by prospectus defenses and comprehensive exams for our first year Ph.D. students. Courses offered in this period covered a wide range of topics: Sylvain Piron, DeLloyd Guth, Nancy van Deusen and Ferenc Zemplényi discussed medieval Franciscans, legal systems, music, and courtly culture respectively, while the second Angkor workshop aimed to present a more global view of the world in the Middle Ages. Parallel with the first part of the Spring Session, a fairly large group of students, faculty members, and alumni had the chance to meet in Kalamazoo during the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies. One of the sessions, organized by János Bak, discussed images of rulers and their use across the centuries, generating interest in our interdisciplinary workshop in 2002. Students and faculty members of our department were also active in the work of the other big gathering of medievalists, in Leeds. It has been a very positive experience of our Leeds participants during the last few years that every time a growing number of alumni of our program come to the conference, clearly showing that they are now active members of the international scholarly community.

The last period of the academic year was perhaps the most intensive, especially for our M.A. students and for faculty members reading their texts. The previously described board meeting also took place in this period. In the middle of June, twenty-four M.A. students defended their theses and took part in the Graduation Ceremony. This event should be recorded in the report of the year not only because M.A. and Ph.D. students graduated in Medieval Studies, but also because Professor Bronislaw Geremek received the Open Society Award for his efforts as a politician to build a democratic system in Poland and Eastern and Central Europe. During his very busy program, between meetings with politicians and journalists, Geremek was still able to hold a long meeting with our faculty members and some of the students, and he also joined us for the class photograph. The Graduation Ceremony in the Medieval Studies department is also the time for student awards within the framework of the Tánása Memorial Fund. Lucie Doležalová received one of the awards for her academic achievement, while the other was given to Matthew Suff for his helping other M.A. students and for his collegial attitude. Petra Mutlová was acclaimed as the M.A. student with the best academic performance at our department.

The festive days of June were followed for most faculty members and students by a long summer holiday period. For some of us, however, even this period was spent at CEU. György Geréby and István Perczel organized a summer university course on "Religious Identity and Religious Syncretism." The program was designed to help in the process of developing new programs



Report of the Year

at CEU with the active participation of the already existing units. One such attempt is the plan to introduce comparative religion as a field of studies at CEU. The extremely wide range of participants, from Nigeria to India, and from Armenia to Yugoslavia, clearly showed the great interest in such programs and the truly global character of these questions. This report started with summarizing the emerging new aspects of globalization and challenges for our academic program, and the 2001 summer university course provided a practical example of dealing with such issues.



ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS IN 2000/2001

2000

- August 28 – September 17 Pre-session courses: General English, Latin, Greek, computing, visits to libraries and museums, planning discussions on M.A. research topics
- September 4–6 Field trip to Western Hungary (see Academic Field Trips for details)
- September 18–24 Zero week
- September 22 *Angkor Workshop* – in collaboration with The Angkor Foundation, Budapest; and photo-exhibition on *Angkor – The Lost City in the Jungle*

FALL SEMESTER

- September 25 Fall Semester starts
- October 3 Opening the new location of the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library at the new campus of ELTE
- October 13 Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Anu Mänd on *The Urban Festival in Late Medieval Livonia: Norm, Practice and Perception*
- October 16–22 Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from universities of the region attend the Workshop on *Medieval Culture Presented in Millennial Exhibitions and Their Function in University Course Development*
- October 25–29 International Workshop *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy. Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West, from the Patristic Age to the Reformation* at the Benedictine Abbey in Tihany
- November 5 *Gunpowder, Treason and Plot?* Bonfire Night with a ceremonial burning of “the guy” at CEU Dormitory
- December 13 Departmental Christmas Party
- December 15 End of Fall Semester



Activities and Events in 2000/2001

2001

WINTER SEMESTER

January 8	Winter Semester begins
February 12–19	Participation of a group of students in a conference on Art History and Architecture in Florence organized by the “Fondazione Romualdo del Bianco”
February 26 – March 2	Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from the universities of the region participate in the workshop on <i>Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context</i> (February 26-28)
March 30	Winter Semester ends
March 31 – April 22	M.A. Research Break
April 25 – May 1	Spring Field Trip to Croatia and Dalmatia (see Academic Field Trips for details)

SPRING SESSION

May 2	Spring Session begins
May 10–21	Photo exhibition on the <i>Secrets of the Angkor</i> by Normantas Paulius in collaboration with The Angkor Foundation
May 3–6	36th International Congress on Medieval Studies at the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA. One session organized by the Department
May 25	Spring Session ends
May 18–24	M.A. Thesis Writing workshops
June 1	M.A. theses submission deadline
June 18–20	M.A. theses defences
June 20	Medieval Studies graduation ceremony
July 9–12	International Medieval Congress organized by the International Medieval Institute, University of Leeds. Three sessions organized by the Department.
July 30 – August 10	Summer University Course: <i>Religious Identity and Syncretism</i>



Activities and Events in 2000/2001

ACADAMIC FIELD TRIPS

Western Hungary
September 4–6, 2002

September 4, Tuesday

Győr: sightseeing, St. Ladislaus head reliquiary
Lébény: Romanesque Church
Szombathely: Roman Monuments

September 5, Wednesday

Kőszeg: Castle and Town
Ják: Benedictine Abbey
Szentgotthárd: Cistercian Abbey
Kétvölgy

September 6, Thursday

Óriszentpéter: Medieval Parish Church
Velemér: Medieval Parish Church
Veszprém: Town Centre

Trogir, Dalmatia.



Activities and Events in 2000/2001

SPRING FIELD TRIP

Croatia – Dalmatia
April 25 – May 1, 2001

April 25, Wednesday

Zagreb: Gradec (the free royal town)
Captol
Zagreb cathedral
Visit to the Faculty of Philosophy

April 26, Thursday

Brinje: Castle and chapel
Pag: City
Salt Plant
Nin: Roman temple
Medieval churches

April 27, Friday

Zadar: Roman forum
Church of Holy Trinity (St. Donatus)
Cathedral
Nunnery of St. Mary
Archaeological Museum
Museum of Church Treasures
Church of St. Simeon
Church of St. Chrysogon

April 28, Saturday

Biograd
Sibenik: Gothic-Renaissance cathedral
Trogir: (World Cultural Heritage Site)
Cathedral
Renaissance chapel of Bishop St. John
Church of St. Mary
Loggia
Museum



Activities and Events in 2000/2001

April 29, Sunday

Salona: The arena
The *basilica urbana*
The first oratorium
Split: The palace of Diocletian
Baptistery
Cathedral

April 30, Monday

Bijaci: Church of St. Martha
Solin: Church in Rižinice, church of St. Peter and Moses
Klis: Castle

May 1, Tuesday

Knin: Venetian fortress
Biskupija: Archaeological site, Cathedral

Zadar, Dalmatia.





COURSES IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2000/2001

Fall Semester

September 25 – December 15, 2000

Advanced Academic Writing

Judith A. Rasson, Alice Choyke

Computing for Medievalists

Tamás Sajó

Eucharist Theology and Philosophy

István Perczel

Hagiography

Gábor Klaniczay

History of Daily Life

Gerhard Jaritz

Iconography in Late Gothic and Renaissance Art

Tamás Sajó

Introduction to Medieval Philosophy

György Geréby

Introduction to Medieval Studies: Research Methods and Bibliography

All Faculty

Jewish Communities and Hebrew Primary Sources

Heidemarie Petersen (Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum, Leipzig)

Neoplatonism in the Pagan and Christian Context

István Perczel

Signs and Symbols

János Bak

Syria between Byzantium and Islam

Andrew N. Palmer

Syriac for Beginners

Andrew N. Palmer

The Bible for Medievalists

Andrew N. Palmer



Courses in the Academic Year 2000/2001

The Culture of Humanism and Renaissance in Central Europe

Marcell Sebők

The Medieval Central European Economy in its Prime

Balázs Nagy

The Use of Visual Resources

Tamás Sajó

Winter Semester

January 8 – March 30 2001

Byzantium and the Arabs

Klaus Belke (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für die *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Wien)

City and Memory

Neven Budak

Codex Illumination

Béla Zsolt Szakács

Computing for Medievalists

Gerhard Jaritz

English Style and Consultation

Alice Choyke

From Ethnogenesis to Protonationalism

Neven Budak

Gender and Space

Gerhard Jaritz

Hebrew

Hanna Kassis (UBC, Vancouver)

Images and Communication

Gerhard Jaritz

Introduction to Cultural Anthropology

Judith A. Rasson

Introduction to Medieval Iconography

Tamás Sajó

Introduction to the History of Dogma

István Perczel

Islamic Civilization

Hanna Kassis (UBC, Vancouver)



Courses in the Academic Year 2000/2001

Judicial Sources – Historical Anthropology

Gábor Klaniczay

Medieval Architecture and Archaeology

József Laszlovszky

Medieval Monasteries (Community, Building, and Landscape)

József Laszlovszky

Old Church Slavonic

Boriana Velcheva (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Center, Sofia)

Oral Traditions

Gerhard Jaritz

Reading Syriac Texts

Andrew N. Palmer

Semitic Christianity: Ephraim

Andrew N. Palmer

Signs and Knowledge: Thirteenth-Fourteenth-Century Scholastic Philosophies of Semantics, Cognition and Mind

György Geréby

The Interaction of Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Middle Ages

Hanna Kassis (UBC, Vancouver)

Courses throughout the Fall and Winter semester

Academic Field Trip - Consultation and Bibliography

József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács

Academic Writing for Medievalists

Judith A. Rasson

Chronica of Gallus Anonymus (Advanced Latin)

János M. Bak

Greek: Beginners

György Karsai

Greek: Intermediate

István Bugár

Latin: Advanced

György Karsai

Latin: Intermediate

György Karsai



Courses in the Academic Year 2000/2001

Latin Paleography and Diplomatics

László Veszprémy

M.A. Thesis Seminar

All faculty

Medieval Philosophical Latin

György Geréby

Ph.D. Research Seminar

Resident Faculty

Ph.D. Seminar

Resident Faculty

Reading Byzantine Texts (Advanced Greek)

István Perczel

Research Paper

All Faculty

Reading the Scripture: Medieval Interpretations of the Bible

Invited Lecturers (see Public Lectures)

Spring Session

May 2–25, 2001

Courty Culture and Literature

Ferenc Zemplényi (ELTE, Budapest)

Franciscan Ecclesiology

Sylvain Pyron (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

Legal Systems and Sources

DeLloyd Guth (University of Manitoba, Winnipeg)

Music as a Quadrivial Art

Nancy van Deusen (The Graduate School, Claremont)

Thesis Writing Workshop

All Faculty

Defence of the Dissertation Prospectuses (Comprehensive Field Exam)

All Faculty



PUBLIC LECTURES

Reading the Scripture: Medieval Interpretations of the Bible

September 6

Alexandra Johnston, University of Toronto

"Lying bokes:" Medieval Biblical Drama in England and its European Context

October 4

Michael Camille, University of Chicago

The Bible of the Illiterate? Medieval Art and the Stupid Viewer

October 4

Pierre Boglioni, Université de Montréal

Biblical Miracles and Hagiographical Miracles: Patterns of Similarity and Dissimilarity

October 25

E.-J. Yarnold S. J., Campion Hall, Oxford

Transubstantiation at the Council of Trent and in Modern Ecumenical Dialogue

November 8

David B. Evans, Bibbiena–Fresh Meadows, USA

Patristic and Pagan Precursors of the Medieval Byzantine Exegesis of the Bible

November 22

Andrew N. Palmer, Medieval Studies Department, CEU

Making the Sun to Be the Sun: Poetic Medieval Poetry on Themes from the Scripture



Public Lectures

November 23

Heidemarie Petersen, Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig
"Daż Man nit żol in der schtot gin.": Jewish Communal Organization in Sixteenth-century Polish Towns

January 17

Martha Keil, Institut für die Geschichte der Juden in Österreich
St. Pölten
"May the Torah Be our Occupation.": Teaching and Studying in the Medieval Jewish Community

January 31

Elissaveta Moussakova, SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library,
Sofia
Illuminating the Byzantine Psalter

February 21

Elissaveta Moussakova, SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library,
Sofia
Bulgarian Illuminated Gospels and Their Byzantine Models

March 28

Hanna Kassis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
A Bible for the Masses in the Middle Ages: Translating the Bible in Medieval Muslim Spain

May 14

Garth Fowden, National Research Foundation KERA, Athens
Hellenism and the Umayyad Elite



M.A. THESIS ABSTRACTS

An Annotated Translation of the Epistles Attributed to the Archpriest Avvakum

Ekaterina Andreeva (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Elissaveta Moussakova
External Reader: Father Tibor Imrényi (Hungarian Orthodox Community, Szeged)

This thesis aims at introducing a selection of the epistles and letters attributed to Avvakum to an English-speaking audience. To achieve this goal, I had not only to translate the epistles, but also to make them “readable,” in other words to provide commentaries for them, and to present the historical context, as well as to offer my views on some of the aspects of the literary sphere of the epistles. The translation is not a translation of the documents as historical sources, with attention focused on the information ignoring the style. Rather, I have tried to translate the selected epistles as literary texts, keeping the English as close to the original as I could. Unfortunately, there were many places where the peculiarities of Old Russian text were lost, both because of differences in the structures of English and Russian and because of the impossibility of expressing tiny details of the Russian text.

The structure of the work is determined by its aim. The first part of the thesis is the introduction to this field of study, providing facts on the history of the period when Avvakum lived and created his compositions. This part also provides information about the life of Avvakum, to give readers an impression of his personality. The second part of the work contains the translated texts of the epistles ascribed to Avvakum, with my notes on them, which aim at helping the reader to follow the text. Discussion of features of the literary sphere of the epistles is not included in the commentaries, because the third part of the work is dedicated to their study. The material analysed in the third part of the work demonstrates that, while the epistles attributed to Avvakum can no longer be regarded as a literary whole belonging to the hand of one author, they are stylistically diverse and rich epistolary works. Even if they were written by different



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

Old Believer publicists, they are consistent in the usage of the imagery system, which reflects the system of views of the Old Believers on the world arrangement, their conception of sin and righteousness, and their eschatological concepts as well. Thus, these epistolary works do not lose their significance for the study of Old Russian literature and do not stop being precious sources on the life of the Old Believer community; on the contrary, in the light of recent research undertaken by Gabriele Scheidegger, the epistles attributed earlier to Avvakum could permit and facilitate a review of many historical and literary data concerning the schism of Russian Orthodox Church and Old Believer movement.

“We are such stuff as dreams are made on”: Dream Healing in the Temple of Epidaurus and in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian

Ildikó Csepregi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: György Karsai, Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Sofia Boesch-Gajano (Terza Università di Studi di Roma)

I have focused my research here on the practice of temple sleep, and more precisely on dream healing. This practice is called *incubatio* in Latin, *enkoimesis* in Greek, a practice during which the god sent dreams to those who came to be healed or to consult him about things unknown to them. When it found itself face to face with these deeply-rooted beliefs, the early Church had to take account of the challenge they posed and adapt to it, integrating genuinely pagan dream practices into its own system of beliefs.

I am interested in this confrontation of Christian and pagan traditions, and in the question of how the Church succeeded in modifying ancient dream healing and turning its cultic use to its own advantage by incorporating it into the cult of the saints.

Within the scope of my M.A. thesis I have chosen two examples for this survey: the Classical Greek collection of Asclepician miraculous cures performed at Epidaurus, preserved in the corpus of votive inscriptions at the sanctuary, and the miracle-collection of the physician saints Cosmas and Damian, whose recorded healings took place in Constantinople.

At the start, I give a short overview of the concept of the miraculous as it was understood in the changing terms of Greek religious experience, gaining, later on, absolutely different connotations with the change of the religious climate after the coming of Christianity. In the second part of the thesis, I analyse the two miracle collections, each separately, after introducing the persons of the



healers—first the god and hero Asclepius, his incubation cult, his uniqueness within Greek religion and his figure as opposed to Christ. To facilitate the examination of the miraculous cures, I establish a typology of dream-healing, noting recurrent motifs and themes specific to this record. In the third part, I focus on Christian ideas about incubation, afterwards presenting the figures of SS. Cosmas and Damian as they are reflected in the hagiographic tradition. The main body of the thesis consists of a study of their miracle-collection, followed by a comparison of the motifs and *topoi* of the incubation records, cataloguing themes present only in ancient pagan dream-healing, themes shared by both pagan and Christian temple-cures, and finally the exclusively Christian themes depicted in the miracle-collection. By way of conclusion, I try to show the similarities and differences between incubation-practices of different periods: how incubation was integrated by the church, and what the consequences of this were in the modification of the healing miracle as a narrative genre.

**Food, Fight and Familiarity with the Bible:
A Textual Analysis of the *Cena Cypriani***

Lucie Doležalová (Czech Republic)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, György Karsai, Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Reinhold Gleis (Universität Bochum)

The title is an attempt to briefly allude to the specific character of the obscure Latin text called *Cena Cypriani*. The *Cena Cypriani*, written probably in the second half of the fourth century and surviving in 54 manuscripts, cannot easily be categorised. The text not only combines elements of many different Late Antique genres and literary types, but also seems to involve contradictory elements. Being based on the Bible, it has been interpreted both as allegory and as parody, as a religious text and as a blasphemy. Containing catalogues with Biblical characters and their attributions, it has been called both a mnemotechnic help or *aide de memoire* and an *exercitium ingenii*. Being very entertaining, it has been perceived both as a youthful lapse of a Church Father and as a playful joke.

Baffled by such strong disagreement among scholars, I considered all possible contexts where the *Cena Cypriani* could be placed, I translated the text into English, and studied each of the 472 Biblical allusions again. Based on this analysis, I concentrated on the author's methods: the choice of the sources, the strategies of attributing, tendencies in cataloguing and in creating the plot. It turned out that the author chooses primarily the most exciting, popular and



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

plot-dense stories from the Bible—violent and miraculous events and tricks, as well as scenes where eating and drinking are involved.

There are various types of attributions—some are based on association, some on implication, wordplay or metaphor. Some are closely tied to the text of the Bible, others are distant from it. The attributions are distributed on many levels—some are familiar, others surprising, some are easy to recognise, others difficult or almost impossible.

The catalogues seem to be organised without a specific strategy; only a few tendencies can be detected. The plot connecting the individual catalogues is rather weak—it depends solely on the character of the king, the organiser of the feast. This can be perceived as another allusion.

After the analysis of the author's methods, I return to the problem of the literary genres and types, and re-evaluate their importance for the *Cena Cypriani*. I conclude that the author includes contradictions and ambiguities on purpose, and the result is closest to the *exertitium ingenii*.

I propose the hypothesis that the purpose of the whole is both to amuse and to educate, in the broader sense of the word—to draw the reader's or listener's attention to the Bible—and that the audience was a larger public within an elite: educated people familiar with the Bible. But this question, together with many others, remains open.

The study could be a starting point for further research on medieval re-writings of the *Cena Cypriani*. Comparing these versions with the original could provide useful conclusions about the shifts between the Late Antique and medieval idea of education through entertainment, interpretations, and transmission of the texts.

Prayer and Contemplation in the *Century* of Kallistos and Ignatios Xanthopoulos

Laura Enache (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Reader: Andrew Louth (University of Durham)

Dealing with the theological problem of the knowledge of God, this study shows the way forward to a re-evaluation of the hesychast movement from the point of view of the ascetics. It is meant to analyse, in the contemporary cultural context, the work *Method and Canon* or *Chapters on Prayer*, or *Spiritual Century* of Kallistos and Ignatios Xanthopoulos, two monks who had attained the perfection of the ascetic life and contemplation. Their work, written with highly



cultivated stylistic features, and both a good philosophical and a good theological background, is a synthesis of the hesychast Orthodox tradition going back to St. Evagrius of Pontus, Macarius the Egyptian and Isaac the Syrian. Although a compilation of texts gathered from the Patristic and ascetic writings, the work is “architected”—to use Kallistos’ own description—on the model of a monument: each part, or each component quotation from the Holy Tradition, plays the role of a brick. Once added to other bricks in an orderly manner, following at the same time the ascetic stages of contemplation, each gains a new significance, since all the bricks are meant to reconstruct the hesychast doctrine in its Orthodox fundamentals. That is why we first analysed this work as an implicit plea for the hesychast movement.

The first chapter raises problems of authenticity and authorship, drawing some conjectures with regard to the place and dating of this work, while trying to contextualise this writing within the most important historical events of the epoch—that is to say, besides the hesychast controversies, the civil wars which split Byzantine society into two hostile camps: Cantacuzeni against Palaeologi. The second chapter is a propedeutic to the problem of knowledge of God, analysing the theologico-ascetic grounds of the theme of contemplation in its ontological settings. The third chapter has in its view the practical aspect of the theme of contemplation; it deals properly with ascetics and the defining of *hesychia* in the understanding of the hesychast Fathers.

The fourth chapter analyses further the hesychast terms of contemplation and vision, focusing especially on Palamite terms which raised opposition and contestation among the philosophers who followed Barlaam’s opinions, during the conciliar debates with Akyndynos. This terminological analysis was undertaken in order to show the Palamite orientation of the Method and its closeness to the conciliar period. The comparison between St. Gregory Palamas’ *One Hundred and Fifty Chapters* to the text of the *Method and Canon* was meant to show the presence of the Palamite terminology within the traditional text of Kallistos and Ignatios Xanthopoulos. Although we tried to cover a large area of problems, we had, however, to limit our research, due to the lack of information we encountered during the research process concerning the life, the work, and even the cultural historical context of those authors, all of which we had to rebuild. Future further research based more on the study of the manuscripts could be revelatory for the acknowledgement of hesychasm itself, as could that related to the dating or the place of this writing.

Our methods combined principles of logical enquiry, while investigating, for instance, contradictory elements that we detected in the biography of the authors, and temporal and spatial inconsistencies; some historical hints have



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helped us to fix a mental framework or model of Byzantine society in this period, which makes this study an interdisciplinary approach to hesychasm.

**Byzantine Humour with Reference to Michael Psellos' *Chronography*,
Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, and Eustathios of Thessaloniki's
*The Capture of Thessaloniki***

Dragana Eremić (Yugoslavia)

Thesis Supervisors: Andrew Palmer, István Perczel
External Reader: Wolfram Hörandner (Universität Wien)

General encyclopaedias usually pay no attention to the Byzantine contribution to humour in literature. However, the work of some scholars has fortunately reminded us that by ignoring it we distort the picture of European medieval culture and historical development in general. The aim of the present thesis is to show some of the ways in which the Byzantines used humour in their works. I shall look specifically at Michael Psellos' *Chronography*, Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, and Eustathios of Thessaloniki's *The Capture of Thessaloniki*.

The reason why these three people have been selected is as follows. They shared the same educational and cultural background, and were all certainly very "urban." As well as implying "urbanity," this word should be taken in the stricter sense: all three had their mindset and mores developed by the urban environment, specifically that of Constantinople.

My aim is to define more accurately those qualities that seem to me to belong to these Byzantine writers, and to illustrate them from their writings. Moreover, I try to differentiate between their personal brands of humour. It might be argued that the very concept of Byzantine humour in at least one of these cases is a *petitio principii*: can a woman as haughty and sullen as Anne Komnene be said to have had a sense of humour—as opposed to mere sardonicism or spite—at all? I hope that I pose, and answer this question, rather than begging it. The result is a collection and analysis of a number of passages, through which I show what I mean by Byzantine humour at this time.

We can conclude that Byzantines were, at least sometimes, humorous. There is evidence in all three of the works under discussion that the Byzantines did appreciate and enjoy humour. Of course, to what extent they amuse the reader (their peers, their contemporaries, later compilers or commentators, and now the modern audience) is a moot point, depending heavily on individual taste. However, certain distinctive—and presumably effective—features may be acknowledged. From the examples taken from the three authors, we can see



that one common feature of their humour is often little more than mordant mockery, the expression of disdain for certain others, usually people from the lower classes, or foreigners (for being Constantinopolitan did not necessarily mean being cosmopolitan in *all* respects). However, while remaining contemptuous, they display a spark of ironic wit—which is to say they employ distancing techniques, which thereby make their comments less vicious. This wit is then finely tuned to create elegant phraseology.

The present study only scratches the surface of the material available, and only hints at the extensive work that needs to be done. I do not argue that the Byzantines were great comedians, or that we can claim for many Byzantine authors that they were particularly hilarious, but merely that Byzantine humour has hardly been recognised or acknowledged hitherto, and that many Byzantine writers have been treated simply as exemplars of their supposedly static and solemn, bureaucratic and theocratic culture (itself a *post hoc* construct in a post-Byzantine image repertoire of received opinion, and thus another *petitio principii*) and have thus been misread.

Ambivalent Origins of Female Sainthood and Heresy

Dávid Falvai (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Marina Benedetti (Università degli Studi di Milano)

The topic of my MA thesis is the special connection between Central European female sainthood and late medieval Western European cults of heretical women. The heretics chosen for my two case studies are Marguerite Porete and Guglielma of Milan, who were both connected in one way or another to Central European female sainthood.

In the first, introductory, chapter, I investigate general issues connected to my specific topic. After some remarks concerning the historiography, I discuss in general the problem of female sainthood and heresy.

In Porete's case, this relationship figures in three late medieval Italian manuscripts of her famous mystical treatise entitled *Miroir des Simples Ames*. In the three examples, the authorship was attributed to Margaret of Hungary, and in two manuscripts this attribution was supported by an appendix containing the apocryphal story of Margaret of Hungary's stigmatisation. In my investigation, I analyse the corpus of the manuscripts of the *Miroir*, I try to reconstruct the affiliation of the surviving manuscripts, to find the place of the three Italian ones featuring Margaret of Hungary's "authorship," and, following this, I deal



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with Margaret of Hungary's Italian cult, to investigate the context in which this "contamination" of the manuscripts took place. I summarise the case of the story of Margaret's stigmatisation, which to some extent formed the literary and spiritual context for this false attribution. As a conclusion to this part, I formulate a working hypothesis concerning the reasons why and the ways how the name of Margaret of Hungary was used to cover this heretical book written by Marguerite Porete.

In the case of Guglielma, we can speak about a double connection. On the one hand, Guglielma of Milan was believed to have been a Bohemian princess; on the other, a late hagiographic tradition contaminated her name with a legend that spoke about a certain Saint Guglielma, princess of England and queen of Hungary. In this part of my thesis, I try to summarise the source material concerning this tradition, since it has not yet been studied in detail in the scholarship, and I try to reconstruct its literary and spiritual context.

In my general chapter, dealing with the stories' (and protagonists') Central European origin as attribute, I attempt to put the whole issue into a wider context, investigating how Hungary and Central Europe existed in the religious imagination of the medieval West, how the connotation of the "Central European Princess/Queen" attribute changed between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century, and how our two main case studies may be situated in this context.

The Latin Tradition of Aristotle's *De anima* (1120–1270): The Relationship between Text and Commentary

Réka Forrai (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: György Geréby

External Reader: Jozef Brams (Hoger Instituut voor Wijsbegeerte, Leuven)

This study aims at an examination of the importance of medieval philosophical translations, based on a methodological experiment which consists of a comparative textual analysis of different Latin translations of Aristotle's *De anima* (James of Venice, William of Moerbeke and Johannes Argyropulos) and some related commentaries (Themistius, Philoponus, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas). The two constitutive elements of this comparison were important components of medieval philosophical learning. Translations into Latin were the elementary prerequisites for the dissemination of Greek philosophical works, and the commentary was the most widespread genre of philosophical



writing, providing the framework in which the interpretation of Aristotle's work developed.

The analytical part of my thesis is concerned with the interactions between these two elements. Thus, the investigation led me in two entirely opposite directions:

- a) the relationship between medieval Latin translations and ancient commentaries; the commentary as auxiliary tool for translation;
- b) the relationship between medieval Latin translations and medieval commentaries; the influence of the Latin version on the medieval interpretations.

Concerning the structure of the thesis, based on the elements which were the subject of examination, we have divided our material into lexical and grammatical analyses. In the first part we investigate the different versions of problematic philosophical terms, while in the second part the selected passages are interesting because the different interpretations of grammatical structures lead to various interpretations on the semantic level as well.

The interactions proved to be more complex than we supposed. In the case of William of Moerbeke, there are certain elements which indicate that he used the ancient commentaries to revise his previous translations. We also encountered situations where the obscure old translation confused medieval commentators, and cases where the exegesis was governed by the understanding of the translator. It turned out that in the specific case of the *De anima* the rival Arabico-Latin translations and commentaries (Averroes) were widely influential. Nevertheless, certain results of our investigation may serve as a warning about the overestimation of the translations in the context of medieval philosophical learning. Moreover, certain problems related to the transmission of these texts call our attention to the limits of our approach.

However, my partial results should certainly be checked against other translations as well: the study of the (in)dependence of the translation, and the relative prestige of text and commentary, are both promising directions for further research. The comparative analysis of medieval and Humanist translation, the detailed investigation of which was beyond the scope of the present thesis, would also open new questions and perspectives in the study of medieval philosophical translations.



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Bohemian Sheep, Hungarian Horses and Polish Wild Boars: Animals in Twelfth-Century Central European Chronicles

Krisztina Fijgedi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: János M. Bak, Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Robert Delort (Université Paris VIII)

In this study, I compared three Central European chronicles: the *Chronicon Bohemorum* of Cosmas of Prague, the *Chronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum* of the so-called Gallus Anonymous, and the part of the Hungarian *Illuminated Chronicle* probably dating from the twelfth century. Several objects or phenomena offer scope for a comparison that might give a detailed overview of the thinking and education of the authors and their use of different sources. I chose the study of animals because I think that they held a unique position in every important field of medieval society.

Altogether there are 386 animals of 64 different types in the three chronicles. Cosmas used the most animals, and also the most different ones, compared both to Gallus and to the *Illuminated Chronicle*. Cosmas did not only concentrate on mammals, birds and reptiles, as the other two did, but used amphibians and insects as well. Furthermore, he mentioned the most exotic animals, which included species that do not originate in Central Europe, and those that today are regarded as “mythological.” He may have written for more educated people, who would have had a wider overview of nature and also literature; that is why he could more easily refer to animals that were not so close to the audience. Conversely, however, if we investigate the use of domestic versus non-domestic animals, we find also that Cosmas, who was seemingly fond of unusual aspects of rarely or never seen animals, referred regularly to those which one saw every day working in the fields.

A further investigation for the use of animals in connection with hunting shows that Gallus used a remarkably high proportion of them. This is not surprising if we consider how much he was involved in the depiction of the nobility’s life, and how much he wanted to praise his king’s virtues—also by depicting him as an excellent hunter.

For Gallus and the Hungarian author, *animals without additional meaning* played the most important role. It is interesting, however, that the *Hungarian Chronicle* used more animals in the sense of value than were used in the “learned” internal comparisons that were the second most important for Gallus and of the utmost relevance for Cosmas. This shows that in the Hungarian tradition it was more deeply rooted to value an animal from different points of view than to use it in abstract comparison, and relatively, the *Hungarian Chronicle*



used the most animals for cultural comparison among the three chroniclers. This is because Hungarian society was deeply rooted in tradition, which venerated animals highly, and because of this they ascribed supernatural power to them in many cases. Furthermore, they accepted the fact that some animals could decide the social ranks of humans.

Investigating possible literary patterns, I found that all three of the chronicles used the Bible for the most part, but the chroniclers might also have read Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Ovid, and several medieval authors, such as Regino of Prüm, Thiethmar, Lampert, Einhard or Adamus. Cosmas applied the widest palette of Classical sources, while the Hungarian author leaned almost exclusively on the Bible and medieval sources.

**The Human within the Beast:
Cognitive Patterns in Brunetto Latini's Bestiary**

Cristina Ionescu (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Caroline Gallacci (Clio and Associates, Tacoma)

The present analysis is an insight into medieval cognition. Since for the medieval mind the world is an epiphany, the order of things need not be invented, but, rather, discovered, as it is immanent to reality. The encyclopaedia is the linguistic transcript of the primarily mental exercise of encompassing a comprehensive worldview, while the bestiary accommodated within it is the expression of society and the human position in God's creation.

This exercise, focused on the treatise of animal history, endeavours to reveal the basic patterns of the medieval mind, exposing them as totally devoid of any further rational determinations, in order to obtain a better understanding of the expanded result—that is, the fully developed cultural phenomenon. The choice of Brunetto Latini's bestiary, part of his encyclopaedic treatise, *Li livres dou trésor*, as the main concern here should be considered in the light of its large audience and popularity: the treatise, purposefully written in vernacular, was widely disseminated and achieved a considerable posterity.

The brief description of the context is meant to offer the picture of the cultural circumstance to which the medieval encyclopaedia and the bestiary belong. The main interest is focused on aspects concerning the tradition in which the natural history discourse is rooted, as well as on its contemporary accommodation. There follows the description of Latini's bestiary—a philological approach to the text, trying to determine the historical background of the



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sources it drew from, with a special emphasis on its peculiarity as one of the few vernacular encyclopaedias. The main body of the study envisages the analysis of the limit-transgression pattern, the basic mechanism that regulates cognition, and its elaborate medieval developments as a coherent and polarised Christian interpretation of the world. Thus, the present exercise is an attempt to shed light on the bestiary from the opposite side, and reveal the man within the beast in the medieval treatise of animal history. We relate to the source not from the traditional hermeneutic attempt, prone to regard the bestiary as an allegory of the world; taking a step backwards, and tracing the sequence of the cognitive mechanism, the medieval bestiary appears as an allegory of the medieval mind that thinks of it.

**Interactions between Muslims and Christians in Syria
under the Umayyad Caliphate, AD 661–750**

Raisa Khamitova (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Andrew Palmer

External Reader: Garth Fowden (National Research Foundation, KERA, Athens)

One of the most important aspects of early Muslim rule was, as noted by the North Mesopotamian monk John bar Penkaye in the 680s, the fact that “there was no distinction between pagan and Christian; the believer was not known from a Jew.” This initial indifference of the Muslims to divisions among the people whom they conquered, when compounded with the elimination of internal borders across a huge area extending from northwest Africa to India, meant that there was considerable human interaction across social, ethnic and religious lines. In addition, there were the widespread phenomena of conversion and apostasy, of inter-confessional marriage and festival attendance, of commercial contacts, and of public debate, all of which promoted the circulation of ideas and information. It is, therefore, particularly important to study the history of the seventh- and eighth-century Middle East as one of symbiosis and exchange between the communities, their religions and cultures.

The essential point that I make is that there was a pragmatic symbiosis in Syria in the early years of the Umayyad Caliphate. Drawing upon the established infrastructure of the Byzantine Middle East, the Muslim conquerors made use of the extant administrative system (using Greek as the language of administration). They also temporarily laid aside their scruples about the use of images, adopted a Byzantine system of coinage bearing representations of the caliphs, shared sacred spaces with Christians (as in the examples of the Dome



of the Rock in Jerusalem, the Great Mosque of Damascus and the mosque at Rusafa), and even engaged in a Middle Eastern variant of *disputatio* with Christian scholars on Trinitarian and Christological matters. This period was short-lived; the 'Abbasids were less tolerant of religious diversity, and less amenable to the survival of pre-conquest customs. It is all the more important, then, that a study be made of this period, to ascertain whether it laid any foundation which made co-existence possible in the more troubled times ahead.

The research presented here is based on the study of the following primary sources: selected cultic buildings and their inscriptions, Byzantine and Arabic coinage, and Arabic, Syriac and Greek literary disputes (in English translations). Among the themes to be examined are Muslim appreciation of Christian holiness, the nature of Muslim oppression of Christians, shared places of prayer, and the Eastern Christian contribution to the formation of the Islamic empire.

The conclusion I reach is that interaction between Muslims and Christians in Syria in this period had a double character. Muslim dependence on the Christian population was stronger, at the outset, than we might expect of powerful conquerors; but then they had moved out of their own environment and into the highly developed culture of others, who were skilled in all the political and urban arts, from administration to architecture. On the other side of the exchange, the classical Islamic system and the new status it accorded to non-Muslims brought about a considerable improvement in the formal and legal status of these communities in their respective countries.

The Administration of a Byzantine Provincial City from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century on the Example of Cherson

Nikita Khrapunov (Ukraine)

Thesis Supervisors: Andrew Palmer, István Perczel

External Reader: Werner Seibt (Universität Wien)

The purpose of the thesis is to sum up the results of previous studies and examine the development of the administration of Cherson during the Byzantine period against this background. Such a study will allow the following: answering some minor questions connected to concrete administrative positions or patterns of Cherson's administrative machinery, and the formulation of some general conclusions related to the reasons for and course of the administrative reforms in the Crimea, the continuity of the administration of Cherson, and the similarities and differences of the administration of Cherson and the principles



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of its development compared with those of other Byzantine provincial urban centres.

This thesis consists of two major parts, a descriptive and an analytical. The first part includes three chapters corresponding to the three basic administrative systems, which replaced one another in Cherson during the Byzantine period: the *doukate*, the *archontate*, and the *theme*. The second part of the study is included in the fourth chapter, where the three basic aspects of the administrative history of Cherson—the evolution, the continuity, and the general principle of development—are analysed. In the appendix there is a study on the problem of the city's change of name in the fifth and sixth centuries.

After Justinian I (527–565) had extended his possessions in the Crimea to a considerable extent, a new province was established there. The government was entrusted to a Byzantine military governor, titled the *doux* of Cherson. The weakening of Byzantium through the seventh century resulted in its territories in the Crimea being restricted to Cherson. By the eighth century, the *archontate*, the administrative unit the staff of which combined their connection with the local community and recognition by Byzantium, had been established in Cherson. During the reign of Theophilos (829–842), the Empire annexed the Klimata in southwestern Crimea, and established there a *theme* with the capital in Cherson. The supreme power in the *theme* belonged to the general, *strategos*, with a subordinate staff of officers including the officials of the municipality. In the period between the late tenth and the mid-eleventh century, the *themes* of Bosphoros and Sougdaia were separated from this unit. The three Crimean *themes* were united in the framework of a *katepanate* with the centre in Cherson. The latest information on a Byzantine official in Cherson dates from the late eleventh century.

The study of the administration of Cherson has allowed me to raise the question of the continuity of the administration of this city from its Late Classical predecessors. This continuity manifested itself in the preservation of some offices closely connected with the community of Cherson. The nature of these offices changed over the course of time, which made the succession of the administrative machinery of Cherson during the given period a gradual transition.

The administrative development of Late Classical and medieval Cherson depended on the political situation in the Crimea. A strengthening of the Byzantine power on the peninsula resulted in enlarging the territory subordinated to it. A new province was established on the newly acquired territories, with the power concentrated in hands of the military governor appointed from Constantinople. A weakening of the Empire resulted in the restriction of the Byzantine Crimea to the limits of the fortifications of Cherson, and the reinforcement of the elements of Cherson's self-government. The general



pattern of the development of the administration of the Byzantine Crimea was similar to that of the Balkans.

The Cult of St. Hyacinth and Polish Dominicans in Thirteenth-Century Cracow

Nehya Koteyko (Ukraine)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Hanna Zaremska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw)

The subject of this analysis is the life and miracles of the Polish saint Hyacinth and the development of his posthumous cult in Cracow in the thirteenth century. His activities are set against the background of the activity of the Dominican Order in the Polish province, where the saint played a key role. During his life he gained a reputation for being a missionary and preacher, but his greatest achievement is considered to be the bringing of the first Dominicans to Poland and the foundation of Dominican convents there. At the same time, he was known as a great miracle worker and after his death the fame of his miraculous power spread in Cracow and the surroundings.

This study focuses on the saint's "daily routine" with its main saintly attribute of *in vita* and *post mortem* miracle working. This aspect of the saint's activity is discussed in the context of the policy of the Dominican Order in Poland. Taking as a background his saintly activity in Cracow and its surroundings, based on his fourteenth-century biography, and other contemporary and later historical sources, we can define the circle of people interested in developing the saint's cult and in promoting his canonisation.

The overview of the activity of the first Dominicans in Poland in the first chapter is followed by the discussion of the oldest biography of the saint—*De vita et miraculis* written by the Dominican lector Stanislaw from the convent of the Holy Trinity in Cracow. The main aim in the second chapter is to discuss the historical value of the source, its composition, and authorship. The third chapter draws a historical sketch of the preparations undertaken by the Dominicans to canonise the saint, and attempts to place St. Hyacinth's canonisation in the larger context of the papal canonisation policy between the early thirteenth and the late fourteenth-century. This context is helpful for the uncovering of possible reasons for the considerable delays and chronological breaks in the course of preparations for the saint's canonisation.

A detailed study of the texts of St. Hyacinth's miracles in the last two chapters reveals traces of intentional and spontaneous promotion of his cult.



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Advice to turn to the saint for intercession came to an afflicted person both from the clerical and the lay circles of society. The traits of the intentions to promote St. Hyacinth's cult appear in public reports of a miracle received, in private story-telling about favours granted by the saint, and in visions of the saint after his death, as well as in the case of the saint's apparition to a *miraculé*, with careful instructions to visit his shrine and later inform people about the miracle.

The Pecheneg Horse Bridle

Teodora Kroumova (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Readers: Csanád Bálint (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Budapest); Miklós Takács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Budapest);

As a result of the close relationships between migratory peoples and the common production centres that they used, a common fashion developed on the south-eastern European steppe. Despite considerable homogeneity, differences existed, because of reasons involving style as a means of communicating individuality or social identity. This factor allows the researcher to identify, to some extent (and always cautiously), the provenance of certain objects with certain ethnic groups.

This work is based on 230 rein mounts from Eastern and Central Europe, which can be provisionally attributed to the Pechenegs. It is based on those similarities and differences, the repetition of combinations that allows them to be accepted as criteria for assembling, identifying, and interpreting the material assigned to the Pechenegs. These criteria form the basis of a classification system (visualised through a catalogue) to assist archaeologists in situating the archaeological material in time and space. Function, shape, and decoration were closely connected, and only considering them together can give us clues for the provisional ethnic identification of the objects in question.

The material itself and the goal of this study establish the methodology applied in the research. The basic method is the typological one and the related method of comparative analysis. They are accompanied by application of a methodological approach for creating a cataloguing system and a full visual and textual database of all the information related to the topic: general information about the culture (including burial rites); maps and pictures; information about the archaeological sites with detailed plans of the graves; and a glossary of



terms. The rich searchable database allows those who are interested to do their own research through it and ask questions that I did not address.

The investigation of the material shows that Pecheneg material culture, with reference to the bridle decoration, was original not in terms of the motifs used (as it borrowed elements from Byzantine, the steppe, and Sassanid art) but in terms of the specific combination of motifs and forms. The motifs were adopted in the course of trade contacts (the Silk Road) and contacts with the large production centres of the northern coastal region of the Black Sea, as well as through alliance relationships between Byzantium and nomadic peoples. The combination of ornaments and patterns, however, is original and specific for each of them, and the steppe workshops producing for the nomadic aristocracy had to conform to it. New data from the analysis of the material south of the Lower Danube provides us with reasons to conclude the existence of a similar production centre in the territory serving the new nomadic aristocracy that settled there. The concentration of finds there implies that a great number of nomads settled there after migrating from the steppe. The dispersal of the finds shows that another Pecheneg group continued and established itself in the Carpathian basin, without being, however, as compact and stable as those who settled around the delta of the Danube.

The material presented in this MA thesis adds some notes to the history and archaeology of the Pecheneg migration, but still leaves some questions open. To explore this field completely, one needs to supply the research with an extensive study of art and style, to follow the origin of motifs and influences back to the East and Byzantium.

With the collection of the material and its organisation in a typological system, as well as registering some of the tendencies in the Pecheneg artistic metalwork, the present study is a good starting point for a detailed stylistic research in a broader historical context.

**Immortality and Immortal Knowledge:
The Vision of the Afterlife in the Third Book of Alfred's *Soliloquies***

Jurgita Kunsmanaitė (Lithuania)

Thesis Supervisors: Andrew Palmer, György Geréby, Katalin Halácsy

External Reader: Paul Szarmach (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo)

When Alfred the Great of Wessex translated St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, one of his least-studied works (at least now, and very probably in Alfred's time), it gave the king the opportunity to show himself not only to be a competent translator



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and interpreter, and judicious compiler of ideas not present in Augustine's work but current in the milieu of ninth-century north-west Europe, but also to be a skilled writer, and even theorist, in his own right. Consequently, this thesis aims to reveal these particular features of Alfred's writing. The work is vast, and so we have chosen to address two themes, closely linked eschatologically, which Alfred certainly takes from Augustine but develops independently: the immortality of knowledge and the status of the dead in the afterlife.

The method chosen for this purpose is a close textual analysis of the work. First I present an analysis of the ideas present in Books I and II. Here we find a straightforward, although increasingly free, translation of Augustine, which in the middle of Book II becomes an independent composition, and returns to the ideas of Augustine only at the very end of this book. Then I proceed to the conclusion in Book III (Alfred's own work, or so it would appear), to show the connection of Book III with the rest of the work, and to see how Alfred changes and amplifies Augustine's thought; then, an even closer analysis of Book III, to discern the sources and influences which may have led Alfred to his individual position.

The introduction of the thesis addresses the problems of evaluating and analysing the Old English *Soliloquies*, discusses the work in the general intellectual context of ninth-century England, and shows how it compares to other works by Alfred. The first chapter briefly summarises the main argument of the Latin and the Old English *Soliloquies*, discusses the problems of the manuscript and editions, reviews sources probably used by Alfred and presents a short description of Alfred's method of "translation" or "transformation." The second chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the immortality of knowledge and the way to God as presented in Books I and II. It consists of three main parts, which discuss knowledge in this life, in a (putative) pre-existence and in the afterlife. Alfred reaches the conclusion, like Augustine before him, but for rather different reasons, that knowledge is immortal. In Books I and II Alfred does not depart substantially from Augustine's argument, but he changes it so that it leads logically to Book III. The third chapter concentrates on the picture of the afterlife as presented in Book III. Here one can see that Alfred formulates his own argument—albeit with the help of other sources—and he brings in a completely new theme, which was not discussed by Augustine at all: besides the vision of God and the immortal knowledge, he explains the different status accorded to the blessed and the damned in the afterlife, with particular reference to their respective knowledge and the *modes* of that knowledge (whether of their own fate, the fate of others, or of God).

Hopefully, this analysis of the *Soliloquies* will go some way towards confirming Alfred's reputation as a qualified interpreter and composer. Alfred man-



aged to handle a difficult philosophical work and, by turning it into a more theological one, to alter and amplify Augustine's thoughts in such a way that it allowed him to pursue the argument to answer his own concerns—and perhaps even those closer to him in time and geographical or cultural location than Augustine.

Holy Fools in the South Slavonic Medieval Tradition

Nadejda Lazarova (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, Gábor Klaniczay, Elissaveta Moussakova
External Reader: Heinz Miklas (Universität Wien)

No abstract available.

Constrvi et erigi ivssit rex Collomannvs:

The Royal Chapel of King Coloman in the Complex of St. Mary in Zadar

Ana Marinković (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Miklós Takács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Institute of Archaeology)

“Content,” that is, function and symbolic significance, was the most characteristic element of architecture for the medieval mind, so it is precisely in this content that one should look for the reason for erecting a certain building in a certain form in a certain place. This is especially visible in the example of royal foundations, because they featured the highest level of representation.

The ensemble of the bell tower and the chapter house of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, built by the Hungarian King Coloman after his conquest of Dalmatia in 1105, introduced innovative and highly elaborated features (such as cross-ribbed vaulting, heart-shaped palmette friezes, and cubic capitals), which cannot be considered results of any previous local development of Dalmatian architecture. These forms have been discussed in the scholarship to some extent, but have never been put in the context of their function. By gathering different types of sources in order to answer these questions, and, in addition, by completing the detailed description of the architectural ensemble, its carvings and the unpublished analogies, in this thesis all the available relevant data



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for the problem of Coloman's architecture in Zadar have been put together for the first time.

In the first chapter, analysis of the spatial organisation of the ensemble (the form of the axial tower with the western gallery) in the light of these sources (such as the iconography of the fresco cycle connected to royal *laudes*, and written sources on Coloman's presence in Zadar and his palace) leads to the conclusion that the ensemble was built as the royal chapel of King Coloman. In the second chapter the spreading of the form both to and from Zadar is discussed: the form was determined by its function in terms of the symbolic importance it had for its contemporaries. As the consequence of reconsidering the sources from this new aspect, in the course of the research many questions have been opened.

In this sense, the provenance of the workshop working at St. Mary's has been connected to the "Contarinian" phase of St. Mark's in Venice (1063–1094), while the further diffusion of the motifs was stimulated by the extension of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Zadar in 1154. The comprehensive list of several architectural motifs, which spread to Dalmatia from Zadar, has been provided as the basis for establishing their chronological order and causal relationships. A certain connection with the Hungarian material from Székesfehérvár has been established as a direction for further research, and a finding from a probable estate of the Árpád dynasty in continental Croatia has been offered as the mediator, given its location. As far as the spatial organisation is concerned, the question of direct provenance has remained open, although its general origins in the Byzantine and Carolingian royal chapels can be discerned in the scheme of the western gallery as the *royal space*. Further study of the analogies in Hungary as well as in Croatia and Dalmatia could offer the answer to this question.

Finally, both function and form are put in their historical context: the motives for Coloman choosing St. Mary as his seat in Dalmatia have been found in the traditional connections of the monastery with the kings of Croatia. Thus, the result of the research is not only an explanation of the appearance of a new style and the spreading of the forms, but also an attempt to analyse Coloman's rule in Zadar from the aspect of its architectural consequences.



Nicholas of Dresden's *Apologia*: Revision and Codicological Analysis

Petra Mutlová (Czech Republic)

Thesis Supervisors: Marcell Sebők, László Veszprémy

External Reader: John Klassen (Trinity Western University)

The aim of this thesis is to prepare a revision of a tract from the beginning of the fifteenth century, written by the German preacher and lawyer Nicholas of Dresden. Its title is *De conclusionibus doctorum in Constancia de materia sanguinis*, often also called the *Apologia pro communione plebis sub utraque specie*, which was composed as a response to the prohibition of the lay chalice by the Council of Constance in 1415. This tract was formerly accessible in the third volume of Hermann von der Hardt's *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium* of 1698, which was based on as yet unidentified manuscripts from Leipzig, and was widely used by scholars. Since it is fairly outdated nowadays, the goal of this study is to prepare a transcription of the second part of Nicholas' text, and identify the quotations of the authorities that appear there, which will serve as a basis for a later critical edition.

Little is known about Nicholas' personal history; therefore, the introductory part of this paper intends to place him within the context of the Hussite milieu in the early fifteenth century. It outlines Nicholas' life, based on the facts that are known about him at present. This part consists only of very basic information that could be gleaned from the accounts concerning his biography. Certain aspects of Nicholas' doctrine are illustrated as the next step. The discussions concerning the role Nicholas played in introducing Utraquist practice in Bohemia are also outlined. In addition, the opinions of scholars who were dealing with Nicholas and drew conclusions concerning Nicholas' teaching are demonstrated. This part is closed by an overview of Nicholas' Utraquistic treatises.

The second part deals with the extant manuscripts of the *Apologia*. I examined the catalogues available in the archives and libraries in the Czech Republic, and to some extent those in Austria, and located eight manuscripts of this tract. Having basically checked them, I could prepare a working collation of a chosen part of the *Apologia*, which as a result allows for the choice of manuscript *Mk 102* for the current transcription. In addition, I also present the manuscripts from the Czech Republic, describing them in more detail. In sum, this part justifies the need for a revision of the older publication by Hardt and offers reasons for carrying out the preparatory examination on one particular manuscript.



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The core part of this thesis follows, which is the transcription of the second part of the *Apologia* based on the manuscript *Mk 102*. It contains a preface presenting the rules and conventions used throughout the transcription, the transcription itself, and an index of the authorities quoted in the *Apologia*. The transcription conveys the text of the manuscript *Mk 102*, as is explained, without any attempt to emend it in terms of its sense or grammatical accuracy. In the apparatus, the authorities that appear in the text are, as far as possible, identified. It also indicates the passages similarly quoted in the other two Utraquistic treatises of Nicholas, namely *Nisi manducaveritis* and *Contra Gallum*.

The last part of this thesis summarises the contents of the *Apologia*, concentrating on the line of its argumentation. Moreover, I also comment on the authorities cited in the *Apologia*, with a focus on their usage in the two aforementioned treatises of Nicholas. Since a large analysis would be too extensive for this purpose, I demonstrate, using certain examples, what sort of comparison can be undertaken, with indication of the possible results.

In the conclusion, the outcome of this research is outlined, namely the need for a critical edition of the *Apologia* by Nicholas of Dresden. To a certain extent, the most suitable approach for the collation of the extant manuscripts of the *Apologia* is indicated. The examination of the authorities quoted here points to many considerable implications, and results that could be obtained from a deeper analysis based on further research.

Videre sine speculo.

The Immediate Vision of God in Richard of St. Victor

Csaba Németh (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: György Geréby, István Perczel

External Reader: I. Van t' Spijker (Albertus-Magnus-Institut, Köln)

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the concept of the *facie ad faciem* vision of God—the “face to face” vision—in the works of Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173). In the Augustinian theology generally accepted in the twelfth century, the *facie ad faciem* vision of God was a reward reserved exclusively for the blessed, as opposed to the *per speculum*—“in a glass” or “through a mirror”—vision of the earthly life. Richard states in certain passages that the contemplatives see God *facie ad faciem*, in other passages that they see Him *quasi facie ad faciem*. The literature, reading the same few passages of Richard verbatim, admits or denies that he taught the *facie ad faciem* vision in the contemplation. The thesis tries to answer this question, putting it into a broader context of



Richard's other spiritual works and Hugh of St. Victor's writing, and by means of comparative textual analysis.

In Chapter 1, I investigate Hugh of St. Victor's epistemology and its connecting points to Richard's theology, and find that the teaching about Adam's immediate knowledge of God and its epistemological conditions is Richard's most important inheritance from Hugh. Chapter 2 summarises the contemplative teachings of the *Benjamin major*, a work which used to serve mainly as a basis for the contradictory interpretations. Having outlined the different interpretations, I investigate the usually consulted passages, concluding that none of them states explicitly the "face to face" vision in the contemplation. I show how Richard transformed Hugh's theory on the prelapsarian Adam into an epistemological-anthropological teaching about postlapsarian men, which enables the immediate vision of God in the earthly life. Concluding, I point out the recurrent phenomenon of *Benjamin major* that in the descriptions of contemplation, a certain simple light of truth always occurs, which the contemplative sees. In Chapter 3, I extend the research to the works written before *Benjamin major*. In these works can be found descriptions of contemplation as "face to face" and "quasi-face to face" vision, but always described as a vision of light. In these works I find the well-defined teaching of *speculatio*, continuously present in works before the *Benjamin major* and reinterpreted in *Benjamin major*. Comparing the texts which describe the doctrine of *speculatio*, with Richard's commentary on Revelation, I conclude that the terms "quasi-face to face" and "face to face" are in Richard *synonyms*, being for him only *similitudines* marking contemplation as an indirect vision of the divine light, without the usual eschatological connotations of the Augustinian theology. In Chapter 4, I show that the illuminating light seen in contemplation is Christ as the illuminating Wisdom of the Father. Then I compare the Victorine teaching with certain anthropological teachings of Aquinas and Bonaventure. The thirteenth century rejected the Victorine anthropology, so it had only a traditional Augustinian "anthropological pessimism and epistemological optimism" (in the words of István Perczel), with the addition of the *lumen gloriae* and *per essentiam* vision. The rejected Victorine anthropology suggested anthropological optimism together with epistemological optimism.

The main results of my thesis are that both Richard and Hugh of St. Victor were two authors who—due to Hugh's epistemological doctrine—gave a radical and optimistic reinterpretation of Augustine. Richard was a much more faithful follower of Hugh than we had previously thought, basing his anthropology and epistemology and spiritual teachings on Hugh's theology. Following this theology and a Victorine interpretation of the Areopagite, for Richard the term *facie ad faciem* does not have the usual Augustinian



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eschatological meaning, but, rather, means the immediate vision of God. This teaching is Richard's answer and parallel to Hugh's teaching about Adam.

The Construction of Space in St. Euthymius' *Vita* of St. John of Rila

Ekaterina Pantcheva (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Reader: Predrag Matejič (Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies,
Ohio State University, Hilandar Research Library)

The thesis offered here focuses on the problem of the construction of space in a fourteenth-century *Vita* of St. John of Rila, namely the one by Euthymius the Patriarch of Turnovo. The reasons for the choice of this topic, as well as the importance of the issue itself, are explained in the introductory part. In it some conceptual problems in terms of space, and in terms of the phenomenon of hesychasm are presented, together with the methodology and the aims of the study.

The first chapter aims at presenting the cultural context of the *Vita*, namely Bulgarian cultural life in the fourteenth century, with priority given to the time of Tsar John Alexander, looked at through the prism of the previous scholarship. The main emphasis is on the interdependence of various cultural phenomena and their contemporaneous theological ones, as explicated in the monastic movement of hesychasm. The chapter ends with an overview, giving a possible explanation of the contradictions in both the object of investigation and the scholarship.

The second chapter is the central and most important part of the work. It investigates the construction of space in the text as a phenomenon resulting from patterns in artistic thought, rather than in philosophical terms. For the points most elusive for the modern reader, references to other hesychast writings provide a reasonable elucidation. This second chapter is actually a close textual exploration of the *Vita*. The comparison between it and its most probable sources has resulted in a useful graph.

In the conclusion, some possible issues for further investigation are suggested.

The Appendix comprises an amended version of the latest edition of the Zograph copy of the *Vita*, preceded by some notes on palaeography and orthography. Four images of the time, as well as a copy of the first page of the manuscript, exemplify some points in the work.



**The Originality of Romanos
and his Debt to Earlier Poets who Described the Sacrifice of Isaac**

Svetlana Salovska (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: Andrew Palmer

External Reader: David Taylor (University of Birmingham)

Romanos (“the Melodist”) is famous for his Greek *kontakia*, composed in the first half of the sixth century. The *kontakion* is a poem intended for performance in church, with a response after every stanza, which was sung by the congregation. It is often dramatic in form, with a subject taken from the Scripture. The speeches attributed to Biblical characters may have been performed by cantors who acted the part of those characters. This type of static liturgical drama may have been imitated from the Syrians. A close examination of one of the *kontakia* by Romanos, that on the Sacrifice of Isaac (the acrostic title is “A Hymn on Abraham”), leads to the following findings.

The literary form in which the poem is composed is modelled on the Syriac *madrosbo* (especially the type of *madrosbo* called *sugitho*), with additional features borrowed from the Syriac *mimro*, and further additional features which are not of Syriac origin. The *madrosbo* was perfected as a form in the fourth century by Ephrem of Nisibis, who often used it as a vehicle of dramatic dialogues; these dialogues may have been performed by two cantors, sometimes with a third cantor as the narrator.

Ephrem brought a lively imagination and a high regard for women to the exegesis of Scripture; he dramatised the conflicting feelings of the Sinful Woman who came to Jesus, in a musical dialogue between this woman and Satan, for example. The influence of Ephrem on Syriac literature was immense; many *mimre* which are not in fact by him were inspired by his genuine works and written in his favourite metre, and so have been transmitted as works of Ephrem himself.

Two such *mimre* (here called *Mimro I* and *Mimro II*) are devoted to the Sacrifice of Isaac; even though *Mimro II* depends on *Mimro I* in many respects, it prefers Ephrem’s own positive assessment of the strength of character of Sarah. Ephrem’s evaluation of Sarah as no less faithful than Abraham is found in his *Commentary on Genesis*, XX; it seems to be made in answer to another commentator, who said (as *Mimro I* does) that Sarah would have tried to stop the Sacrifice of Isaac.

Some of Ephrem’s poetry was translated into Greek; more often, Greek compositions imitated his metre and his way of writing about the characters in the Bible. One such Greek “Ephremic” poem on the Sacrifice of Isaac takes



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the same line as *Mimro* I. Romanos seems to have known this Greek poem, which perhaps was already used by Gregory of Nyssa *ca.* 383; verbal echoes of “Ephrem Graecus” can be found here and there in the “Hymn on Abraham” by Romanos.

Romanos also seems to have known the two Syriac *mimre* on the Sacrifice of Isaac; at any rate, he adopts motifs and ideas which are not attested elsewhere in the extant Christian literature, though some of them are found in Jewish haggadic exegesis. As a native of Emesa in Syria, a bilingual city where Syriac and Greek were both spoken, and as the son of Jewish parents (according to a *kontakion* composed in his honour), Romanos may well have had access to Syriac and Jewish sources.

The “Hymn on Abraham” is unique, even among the works of Romanos, in creating a doubly unreal situation (a hypothetical speech within a hypothetical speech), then merging this situation with one in which a real character answers an unreal one. This “conjuring trick” could very well have been accomplished by having one and the same cantor act the parts of the hypothetical Abraham and the real Abraham and speak to another cantor who acted the parts of both the unreal and the real Sarah. By means of this sleight of hand, Romanos is able to find a place in his *kontakion* for both Sarahs, the Sarah who would have opposed the Sacrifice of Isaac (Ephrem Graecus; *Mimro* I) and the Sarah who would have supported it (Ephrem; *Mimro* II).

The originality of Romanos is thus seen to be partly the product of his determination to be true to the traditions on which he drew; far from making his work merely derivative, this respect for tradition forced him to invent a novel dramatic device.

The thesis contains the following translations in addition to the argumentation. Appendix I: Genesis 22, in a new English translation from the Greek; Appendix II: the poem by Ephrem Graecus, in a new English translation; Appendix III: the *kontakion* of Romanos, in a new English translation.

Transformations in the Settlement Structure in the Territory Between the Danube and Tisza Rivers: Monostor—a Case Study

Edít Belényesyiné Sárosi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Reader: Beatrix Romhányi (ELTE, Dept. of Archaeology, Budapest)

This thesis aims to complete the complex medieval topography of a specially chosen micro-region, namely the *Monostor* estate, in the central part of the



Danube-Tisza Interfluvium region, in the western part of a large geographical unit, namely the Kiskunság Loess Plain. The territory appears as an administrative unit from its earliest depictions on maps, and it can be supposed that this estate can be more or less identical with the *possessio Monostor* mentioned by medieval, early modern and modern sources. Through this, a well-definable area was chosen, one which can be taken at the same time as a geographical micro-region.

This area is not a favourable topic for investigations of settlement structure of medieval Hungary. Although problems of topography have been studied in scholarship for over one hundred years, the modern, interdisciplinary topography of this territory has never been made. Regional studies have been published about this part of the country, but mainly focusing on historical questions. More archaeological research was carried out by Kálmán Szabó in the 1930s, but thereafter hardly any investigations of this kind can be mentioned, except for rescue excavations. Even the large scale archaeological-topographical project, the Archaeological Topography of Hungary (*Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja*) did not reach the region. The studied micro-region was selected upon two basic criteria. It has twofold importance concerning topography: the work aims at discussing the scholarly debate around the kindred monastery of *Pétermonostor* and *Pálmonostor*. It was a very important task for the study to solve the problem of whether there were two monasteries in close vicinity, or whether, as seemed to be more likely, that only one monastery existed there, which might have been devoted to both St. Peter and St. Paul. This area was chosen to be a sample area for a basic study, to show by what means and by what methods a topographical research can bring results. At the same time, the territory was used to exemplify how and what kind of methods work there, in what forms and to what extent they can be used. The thesis could not undertake to complete and detailed history of the whole region basing on contemporary sources, but the investigation tried to collect and apply all the available methods on the chosen micro-region to outline its historical topography. Basically three types of information were used: data from contemporary historical sources, analysis of maps, and archaeological information. For lack of written documents, special stress was put on archaeological methods, such as fieldwork and interpreting aerial photos.

The research yielded the identification of several traces of medieval settlements in the study area. Archaeological fieldwalking showed that in this part of the country, conditions of natural endowment not only influence, but determine, the place of the settlements as well as the road structure among them. The research suggests that over the centuries the places suitable for living were situated 102.5m above sea level. This elevation probably shows the level of



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temporary bodies of water; even in the Modern period farmsteads were built above this height. Archaeological material of more periods was found, namely prehistory, the Roman period (Sarmatian), the Arpadian age and the late medieval periods. Traces of settlement had three major cores in the area. Two villages were located in the area: the settlement of *Alsómonostor* probably existed up to the mid-fourteenth century, while the village of *Felsőmonostor* was probably the more important micro-centre of the territory; according to archaeological material found at the site this place was inhabited throughout the Middle Ages. Also the parish churches of both villages were identified.

Although contemporary sources mention separately the names of *Pétermonostora* and *Pálmonostora*, there is a strong debate whether two or only one monastery existed in the area. After collecting available comparative material it can only be presumed, not stated, that in the Arpadian age in *Csongrád* County there was only one monastery founded by the *Becse-Gergely* kindred, which was devoted to SS. Peter and Paul. For some unknown reason the full title of the monastery does not appear in the sources. The study showed that both church ruins depicted on historical maps were rather parish churches of villages; neither of them can be identified with the church of the monastery at this stage of research, as had been presumed in previous scholarly literature. Finally, after detailed and comparative analysis of available sources, maps and archaeological material the location of the monastery is still unknown. Nevertheless, further investigations and fieldwalk surveys may destroy or support this theory, but until the appearance and identification of ruins, the problem of location cannot be solved, and the possibility that two monasteries existed separately cannot be precluded.

In conclusion, the results of the research justified the hypothesis that through complex and detailed analysis of available sources, not only can the historical settlement structure and its transformations be outlined for a territory without written sources concerning settlements, but also other aspects, such as the medieval road structure and historical conditions of nature, can be studied. Finally, although several questions were left open in connection with the monastery, the research made clear that the applied methods can be used, and are worth using, in the chosen micro-region.



Cosmas Indicopleustes: Caught between Alexandria and Antioch

Matthew J. Suff (United Kingdom)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Reader: Theresia Hainthaller (Philosophische-Theologische Hochschule
Sankt Georgen, Frankfurt)

Almost everything concerning the life of the sixth-century sea-faring merchant turned monk and amateur theologian, Cosmas of Alexandria, erroneously surnamed “Indicopleustes” (“the Indian Navigator”), is unknown. His very name has been disputed, as has his place of origin. All that scholars have to go on are his few extant works—and apart from a few exegetical fragments, there is only his *magnum opus*, the *Topographia Christiana*, an extraordinary work which combines reports on geography (often derived from first-hand experience) with theological speculation.

The *Topographia* has often been taken as a work of (pseudo-)science, rather than theology *per se*, since it appears that its primary purpose is one of refutation: refutation of theories current in Alexandria at the time, derived from Hellenic (which is say, pagan) thought concerning the shape of the earth and its place in the universe. There is much criticism of “pretended Christians” and heretics of various persuasions, and Cosmas’ tone is often mordant, even sarcastic. However, there is an even more intriguing *apologia* to be read between the lines: that of crypto-Nestorianism in a Monophysite (or at least Neo-Chalcedonian) milieu.

The extent of Cosmas’ Dyophysitism has been much debated. Nowhere in the work, which cites much from Scripture, but also from various Church Fathers and authorities, is Theodore of Mopsuestia mentioned. However, neither is St. Cyril of Alexandria. There are fulsome thanks given to Cosmas’ teacher, a certain Mar Aba from the Nestorian School of Nisibis, and this is one hint as to Cosmas’ affiliation. Yet there are better clues to be found in the exegetical arguments within the work

Cosmas takes from Theodore the idea of “two *catastases*,” two conditions, to be understood in both a spatial sense (earth and heaven) and a temporal one (life here and now, and after death and salvation). His soteriology is rooted in an anthropocentric view of the universe and God’s Divine Economy. Earthly life is to be seen as a process of instruction, with death part of that process of perfecting mankind.

As to the nature of the Saviour, Cosmas is circumspect. Nowhere is there any mention of “Two Natures”—indeed Cosmas shies away from the word *physis* unless speaking on scientific matters, or on the nature of mankind, or—



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importantly—when quoting others (none of them Dyophysite) on Christ's nature, perhaps as an *argumentum a fortiori*. Instead, abstract nouns, humanity and Divinity, are employed. *Hypostasis*, *prosopon*, and *ousia* are all likewise used in innocuous contexts or in digressions on the Trinity, never in a Christological sense. There is, however, an emphasis on Christ's humanity, rather than His Divinity, and a marked preference for the Antiochene *synapheia* instead of *henosis* when writing of any kind of union—and when *henosis* is used, it is the *exairetos henosis* of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore's conception of "in-dwelling" is not used, but metaphors of clothing (very much in the Syriac tradition) are: the *homo assumptus* is indeed to be assumed, in these passages. And Christ is shown as fatherless according to the flesh and motherless according to the Divinity: the word *Theotokos*, entirely Chalcedonian and entirely Orthodox, is nowhere to be found. Mary is always the Virgin, nothing more.

This thesis attempts to tease out some of the stands of Dyophysitism present in Cosmas' *Topographia*, primarily concentrating on Books II, V, and X, where the bulk of his Christological and soteriological speculations are to be found in their clearest form. It draws upon the previous work on Cosmas by Wanda Wolska-Conus, and to a lesser extent certain articles by Grillmeier and Hainthaler, Gray, and Brock. The conclusion reached is tentative—Cosmas is seen as immensely cautious, even sly, in what he permits himself to say. His Christology appears to be Dyophysite, but the evidence for this, although compelling, is found only occasionally. Rather, it is an investigation into Cosmas' soteriology which shows him most clearly to be a follower of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and a Nestorian from the Greek-speaking, rather than Syriac-speaking, part of the Byzantine *oikoumene*, even after Zeno's *Henoticon* and just before Justinian's *Condemnation of the Three Chapters*.

Cosmas' work had little lasting influence in the West and was soon forgotten. In the Slavic world it retained some currency, although stripped of all Dyophysite resonance. Thus at least Orthodoxy was not much disturbed. Yet the neglect of a work of an independent mind, whose theories are individual and idiosyncratic (if not always original, except in the oddest details) is to be lamented.



**Većenega's *Book of Hours*:
Manuscript Study with a Special Stress on Decorated Initials**

Rozana Vojvoda (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács

External Reader: Tünde Wehli (Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Institute of Art History, Budapest)

This thesis deals with the eleventh-century manuscript preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as K.394. It attempts to grasp many of its aspects, and therefore an analysis of the source requires a combination of approaches. The basic categories for describing the manuscript are used as separate chapters, revealing a rather complicated story about the provenance, the possible ownership, and the usage of the manuscript. In these chapters, codicological and some extent liturgical analyses are used, as are analyses of the primary sources concerning the specific historical moment.

A codicological description aims to present the actual current state of the manuscript, while the chapters on the manuscript's provenance present arguments revealing Zadar as its place of origin, and deal also with more narrow provenance, namely the relation to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar.

One of the most interesting things when we are faced with illuminated manuscripts is the question of the ownership. There is a strong possibility that the manuscript belonged to Većenega, the abbess of the convent of St. Mary, and that she brought it with herself to the monastery. This is related to the function of the manuscript and the question of the genre, because it seems that the manuscript is an early example of a Book of Hours. Therefore, the chapter that deals with the provenance of the manuscript and the one that deals with the genre are strongly interdependent.

However, a special stress is placed on the decorated initials, and thus art-historical methods, such as description, comparison, and iconographical analyses, are used. The aim is the creation of a complete description of all the initials in the manuscript, their classification and placing into the context of the workshop. The chapter which deals with the classification of the initials according to the motifs also includes an attempt at ascertaining the text and image relationship, and it serves to answer two questions: to what extent may we call these illuminations functional, and can we connect the system of the illumination with a genre of the manuscript? It also aims to stress that the depictions of animals differ substantially from the other manuscripts of the



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same workshop, and this presents a first step in establishing Beneventan variants of form and meaning when considering the depictions of animals.

This huge issue cannot, however, be treated in the range of an MA thesis. The question of the workshop presupposes the existence of the scriptorium of St. Mary, contrary to the accepted opinion that the manuscript is the work of the scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus. Due to the importance of the question, which demands more extensive research, it is treated simply as a serious possibility that deserves further investigation.



PH.D. DEFENCE DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2000/2001

Dissertation Summary

The Urban Festival in Late Medieval Livonia: Norm, Practice, Perception

Anu Mänd (Estonia)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on October 13, 2000 consisted of Professor Béla Greskovits (CEU), chair; Professor Gerhard Jaritz (CEU), supervisor; Professor Gábor Klaniczay (CEU); Professor Thomas Pettitt (University of Southern Denmark); the external readers were Professor Leif Søndergaard (University of Southern Denmark) and Professor Jüri Kivimäe (University of Toronto).

The aim of this thesis was to study festivals celebrated in medieval Livonian towns. Livonia (German *Livland*) was a common name used for the territories that covered approximately present-day Estonia and Latvia. The birth of towns in Livonia was a result of the thirteenth-century German-Danish conquest and the German expansion eastwards. The three largest and most influential urban centres were Riga, Reval, and Dorpat. The towns in Livonia were granted German city laws, and the urban upper and middle classes consisted of German merchants and artisans. The local population, described by the common term *Undeutsch* (non-German), formed the lower strata of the towns and the peasantry. The towns in Livonia were typically “German” in terms of their government, guild organization, and lifestyle. Therefore, festivals and their customs also have much in common with those celebrated in Germany, particularly in the Hanseatic towns of northern Germany. Due to geographical position and to political and economic connections, another stream of cultural influences came to Livonia from Scandinavian countries (notably Denmark and Sweden).



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As a target group for my study, I chose the merchants' associations—the Great Guilds, the Brotherhoods of the Black Heads, and town councils—thus primarily focussing on the festival culture of the upper classes of society. This selection on the one hand was made according to the nature of the existing source material; on the other hand, merchants, being the urban elite in Livonia, strongly influenced the festivals of other social classes both by the norms they issued as well as by the patterns they provided through their festival customs. Information on the feasts celebrated by other social groups (e.g., artisans, schoolboys) was used for comparison as were documents reflecting attitudes of the Church.

The major part of this study was devoted to recurrent festivals, in particular to the four main annual festivals of the merchants' associations: Christmas, Carnival, the popinjay shoot, and the celebrations connected to the election of the May Count. Other seasonal feast day celebrations, for instance, Corpus Christi, All Souls' Day, and Martinmas, were discussed in lesser detail, because the amount of evidence for them is significantly smaller. Of the occasional public festivals, I investigated the rituals connected to the arrival of a lord, namely the festive entries of the masters of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. Due to the space limits of the thesis, I excluded any examination of other irregular festivals, such as festivities linked to the nomination or election of religious or secular authorities, celebrations caused by military events, and the life-cycle festivals (e.g., weddings, baptisms, and funerals). Each of these topics undoubtedly deserves thorough investigation in the future.

The time frame for this thesis ranges from about the mid-fourteenth to about the mid-sixteenth century. The reason my study begins with the 1350s is due to the lack of sources from the earlier periods and the fact that most of the guilds only began to emerge in the fourteenth century. Ending the study in the 1550s is to some extent artificial. However, the Reformation, which in Livonian towns took place in 1524–26, and the long period of intermittent war in the region, from 1558 to 1625, played crucial roles in changing the society and its mentality, a process, which also had a strong impact on festive culture. Some of the festivals ceased to be celebrated, others continued, but in modified form. Thus in this respect the mid-sixteenth century indeed marked a turning point and can be viewed as the end of the medieval period in the region.

What I hope to have demonstrated in my thesis is the vital necessity of using as wide a range of sources as possible when conducting research on festivals. Any piece of information, whether a written document, a work of art, or an archaeological find can reveal something about the society it originates from and must, therefore, be carefully considered. In the case of various written sources that contain information on festivals, one has to be aware of multiple



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aspects: for what purpose was a particular document or text compiled, who was the author and what was his agenda, who comprised the potential audience, and so forth. Apparently, when we are dealing with normative sources concerning festivals, we are to a large extent confronted with social ideals. Norms reflect how the celebrations were supposed to be carried out or how one was supposed to behave, and not how things worked in reality. At the same time, norms are also valuable indicators of social values of the period and, particularly, of the mentalities and ambitions of groups or persons who issued these norms. Chronicles and other narrative sources, which include references to festivals, allow an insight into what might have happened in practice. However, since such texts are above all works of literature, their value lies perhaps more in the attitudes they reflect rather than in the “accuracy” of the customs reported. The management of festivals, and particularly its financial aspects, can best be explored by examining various account books. They reveal the types of expenses (especially those for food), the quantities and prices of the items purchased as well as payments for various services. At the same time, the laconic and relatively uniform entries in the accounts rarely tell us anything of other activities during festivals besides banqueting. Therefore, only a combination of information from a variety of sources can yield more satisfactory results in the study of such complex phenomena as festivals.

It is, of course, only possible to follow the proposed methodology if different types of sources have indeed been preserved from a particular region. Concerning former Livonia, the extent and variety of written sources surviving from the late medieval and early modern period are extraordinarily rich. On the other hand, there are virtually no pictorial sources of festivities from this region. Regrettably little co-operation has been established between social historians and archaeologists from which festival studies could benefit.

Studies of festivals have often been limited to the collection and description of various customs. In my analysis, I approached the subject from several different perspectives. In order to determine the role and different degrees of importance of individual festivals, I first examined the general annual feast schedule of the merchants’ associations. The four principal festivals—Christmas, Carnival, the popinjay shoot and the May Count festivities—were differentiated from the rest of the annual feast day celebrations in a number of ways, including the terminology used to signify them, their longer duration, the richness of their customs, the amounts of money spent on them, and so forth. Of these four festivals, Christmas and Carnival were the most important, being described in the records as the “main *drunke*” or the “great *drunke*.” Both of them lasted for approximately two weeks and included various indoor and outdoor celebrations. During the course of these two festivals, the guilds and



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confraternities also settled a number of administrative matters, elected new officials, admitted new brothers, discussed and drafted new regulations, held court, and so on. These festivals also included obligations towards the Church, such as attendance at mass on one of the last days of the celebrations and commemoration of the deceased members of the guild or confraternity.

An interesting question was to discover how “secular” celebrations such as the *drunke* were placed in the calendar and related to major church feasts. It turned out that, for instance, the Christmas *drunke* of the associations began on 26 December, on St Stephen’s Day, while Christmas Day itself was most likely devoted to religious practices. The Carnival *drunke*, the most elaborate celebrations of the annual festivals, was by far not limited to the calendrical Carnival, that is, the three days preceding Ash Wednesday. Instead, the *drunke* began either on Sexagesima Sunday (as in Reval) or on the following Wednesday (as in Riga). It ended, respectively, on the first Sunday in Lent (i.e., Invocavit) or on the following Tuesday, that is, a week after Carnival Tuesday and Ash Wednesday. The combination of fast and feast during the Carnival *drunke* is also striking: although the celebrations continued for almost a week after Ash Wednesday, the latter nevertheless represented a kind of demarcation line—no meat products were served at the festival after this day.

Both the Christmas and Carnival *drunke* included days of various levels of importance. The summit days of these festivals were celebrated with banquets, dancing indoors and outdoors, parading to the Town Hall, and so on. At the same time, there were also days of lesser importance when the celebrations remained within the walls of guildhalls and the basic activity was the consumption of beer. Many customs were similar at Christmas and Carnival, but there were also activities characteristic of a particular festival only, for instance the ceremonies of “fetching in” and “taking out” the Carnival. For both Christmas and Carnival, the associations compiled detailed festival scenarios, prescribing or describing the activities to be carried out during each particular day of the *drunke*. Such comprehensive “programmes” or instructions such as those surviving for the Black Heads in Riga and Reval are, as far as I know, unique in (northern) Europe and, thus, of enormous value for research on festival culture.

The more detailed study of individual aspects of festivals helped in determining how the celebrations were organized and carried out by associations. Two stewards (different for each of the *drunke*) were appointed as the main persons in charge of general organization. There were around twenty additional duties or offices to be carried out over the course of celebrations, and usually two members were appointed to each office. These duties included lead dancing, playing the drums, inviting female guests to festivals, guarding the beer jugs, and some others tasks. It turned out that almost half of the confraternity



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members were not only celebrating but were responsible for the success of particular ceremonies or were in charge of other activities. This fact illustrates the corporate character of the *drunke*: how the festivals and their shared activities served to strengthen the feeling of unity within an association.

The examination of the account books of guilds and confraternities revealed not only the types of expenses for festivals but also how the associations balanced their books, that is, how the expenditures were recovered. Since the main emphasis at the *drunke* was on various drinking rituals, it should not be surprising that around sixty per cent of the total expenditure was spent on beer, the chief beverage at the associations' festivals. The main part of income consisted of participation fees, whereas the rest of the necessary sum was gathered from contributions from new brothers, guest fees, fines, and occasionally from selling surplus beer.

The notions of festive food for this particular social group, i.e. merchants in this particular region were established by studying the types of foodstuffs and beverages supplied for festivals. Several items purchased for the festivals were direct indicators of status and prestige, for instance, the variety and quantity of various meat products (in particular fresh meat), the consumption of white bread, the use of various exotic and expensive spices and fruits, and so forth. However, the comparison between the banquets at the annual *drunke* of the merchants' associations and those arranged for the reception of noble visitors revealed that the latter were still more lavish than the former in terms of the selection and quantities of food and drink, and contained certain foodstuffs associated primarily with the aristocracy (e.g., wild game). The analysis of feast accounts over a longer period of time pointed to a development in the notions of festive food and the trade connections.

The survey of festival ceremonies, pastimes and entertainment in Livonia indicated a relative similarity to customs elsewhere in northern Europe, particularly in northern Germany, Denmark, and the Netherlands. It was also possible to present evidence on customs that were thus far not known to have been existed in Livonia, such as sword dancing and pike dancing. Given the mobility of merchants and seafarers as well as the frequent presence of foreign merchants at the festivals of Livonian associations, the quick spread of customs and the relative uniformity of festival practices in the Hanseatic region should not cause surprise. However, the customary arrangement of jousts by Livonian merchants' associations can be considered rather exceptional in the Baltic Sea region. As has been suggested, such a strong tradition of knightly sports may have been related to the specific social and ethnic situation in Livonia, which led to the fact that the mercantile elite in towns in many ways felt equal to the aristocracy, and thus adopted elements of the noble lifestyle.



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This latter aspect raises a more general question concerning the position of the merchant class in Livonian towns and the role of festivals in maintaining and mirroring this position. As referred to above, the upper and lower classes in Livonia consisted of different nationalities, the former (including the merchant class) being almost exclusively of German origin, and the latter encompassing the local population, such as Estonians, Latvians, Livs, and others. Germans achieved their upper-class status largely as a result of their conquest of the region. Maintaining their customs, including festivals, in an alien environment played an essential role in asserting their social and cultural identity and differentiating themselves from and creating an opposition to the natives of the land. One might even suggest that for the Germans in Livonia it was much more important to emphasize their “German-ness” than for those living in the central German areas.

This specific situation should be kept in mind when considering the various roles and meanings the festivals had for the Livonian merchants’ associations. One of the primary functions of festivals was to reaffirm internal solidarity within the associations. This aim was to a large extent fulfilled through common meals and ceremonies within the guildhalls or confraternity houses. These activities were meant exclusively for the members and thus remained comparatively private occasions. However, to achieve public recognition and to enforce social cohesion within the merchant class as a whole, additional strategies proved to be necessary.

The first among such means included active communication among the three elite corporations—the town council, the Great Guild, and the Brotherhood of the Black Heads—during the course of the festivals. Certain festivities, such as the popinjay shoot or the celebrations connected to the election of a May Count, were organized in common by the merchants’ associations. During Christmas and Carnival, the Black Heads danced or paraded to the Great Guildhall and to the Town Hall, members of the Great Guild paid a visit to the Town Hall and the Black Heads’ house, and the councillors honoured the halls of the two associations with their presence on certain days and at certain ceremonies. At the same time, a clear borderline was drawn between the merchants and the remainder of the town populace. For instance, outdoor dancing did not involve visits to the guildhalls of artisans, and only representatives of certain prestigious crafts were occasionally admitted to the merchants’ festivals.

The extent of the open-air ceremonies and their degrees of pomp was another indicator of the status and power of merchants. In fact, there was hardly any festival that would not have involved outdoor ceremonies. At Christmas and Carnival, the merchants danced or paraded through the streets



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from one association to another, making merry in the marketplace. At Carnival, there was the elaborate procession of fetching the Carnival into the town and a week later, taking it out again. There were jousts arranged in the marketplace and trees burnt at the end of the festival. In spring and summertime, most of the ceremonies took place outdoors, including shooting at the popinjay, riding into the May, or marching in the Corpus Christi procession. All these rituals, besides providing fun and entertainment, were very much about status, power relations and social identities.

When the merchants rode, marched, or danced through the streets, they used a number of visual and acoustic means to attract public attention, to make visible their membership within a particular association, and to underline their leading position among the urban inhabitants. The markers of belonging included dress (occasionally common livery), carrying the confraternity banner, and holding burning torches (in particular when the processions took place in the dark, as in winter). The parades were accompanied by music, in particular by the sounds of drums and trumpets. Mounted processions, such as during the May Count celebrations, were clear demonstrations of status because of the fact that not every town-dweller had a horse in his household. Parades with weapons, such as those to and from the shooting venue or jousting track, served a similar purpose. The choice of festival venues, such as proceeding through the prestigious main streets or celebrating in the marketplace, further emphasized the high position of merchants within the urban community.

In the medieval period, when the means of mass communication were significantly fewer than in later times, such annual displays of status, wealth and power assisted in demonstrating who was the authority in the town and by doing so, to maintain and reinforce social balance and order. In addition, as implied above, these festive parades served to manifest the unity and strength of the merchants' associations. As events with strong spectacle elements, they also offered great public entertainment.

The development and change of customs, including an increase or a decline of importance of a particular festival, is a topic of utmost interest. These developments are well reflected in changing attitudes towards festivals: both internal attitudes within the associations (which, in general, are responses to external circumstances), or external attitudes, such as these expressed by the Church or by secular authorities (town governments). The festival culture in Livonian towns underwent significant changes and serious suppression as a consequence of the Reformation and following periods of war and devastation. Several traditional festivals or festival practices were now regarded as "heathen", "devilish" or "unseemly" and, thus, banned by the authorities. The effect of prohibitions was further guaranteed by the gradual infiltration of



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Protestant mentalities. However, the changes in customs in Livonia were not as rapid or radical as in some other regions. In contrast to Scandinavia and England, for instance, the major guilds and confraternities were not dissolved, but continued to exist until the first decades of the twentieth century (some even existing until the present day). The issue of social and cultural identities in this region remained permanently acute keeping certain traditional festivals alive, despite the changes in their form and content.

It is clear that for a deeper understanding of festival culture(s) in Livonia as well as its place in the general cultural context of medieval Europe, the research needs to expand in various directions. It is necessary to compare the corporate festivals of merchants with those celebrated by other social groups. In addition to recurrent festivals, the occurrence of which was determined by calendar or by a particular season, festivals not tied to the calendar also need to be investigated (e.g., life-cycle festivities or celebrations related to certain political events). Last but not least: any study of local customs remains of very little value if not examined in the wider comparative context of medieval Europe.



RESIDENT FACULTY AND INSTRUCTORS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AND ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES IN 2000/2001

JÁNOS M. BAK

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History of ideas and institutions, medieval rulership, social history of nobility

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Publications

- ✂ “La noblesse en Europe centrale au moyen âge et au début de l’époque moderne,” in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du moyen âge. Actes du colloque international organisé par l’Université d’Angers*, ed. N. Coulet et J.-M. Matz (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 149–58.
- ✂ “Signs of Conversion in Central European Laws,” in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. G. Armstrong, and I. N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 115–24.

Papers and lectures

- ✂ “Signs and Symbols of the Western Empire: Where There Special Ones?” 30th Interdisciplinary Workshop of Medieval Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, October 27, 2000.
- ✂ “The Entry of the Magyars into the Carpathian Basin: Was It a Conquest?” Joint Conference of the Medieval Academy of America and the Medieval Association of the Pacific, Tempe, AZ, March 18, 2001.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Chairman, Control Commission, Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution Public Foundation
- ✂ Member, 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 Central-Est—Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
- ✂ Member, Editorial Board, *MAJESTAS* (from vol. 8/9, 2000/1)



Resident Faculty and Instructors

NEVEN BUDAK

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Early medieval history, Christianization, ethnogenesis, urban history

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Publications

- ✂ [with Marija Mogorović Črljenko] *Povijest. Udžbenik povijesti za šesti razred osnovne škole* (History. History textbook for the sixth grade of primary schools) (Zagreb: Profil International 2001).
- ✂ *Karlo Veliki. Karolinzi i Hrvati* (Charles the Great. Carolingians and Croats), Scientillae Stephano Gunjaca dicatae vol. 5 (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika 2001).
- ✂ “The Culture of Dialogue,” in Christina Koulouri ed., *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe* (Thessaloniki, 2001), 33–35.
- ✂ “Slavic Ethnogenesies in Modern Northern Croatia,” in *Slovenija in sosednje dežele med antiko in karolinško dobo. Začetki slovenske etnogeneze*, vol. I. (Ljubljana, 2000), 395–401.
- ✂ “Slavery in Late Medieval Dalmatia-Croatia: Labour, Legal Status, Integration,” in *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age*, tome 112: (2000, 2), 745–760.
- ✂ [with Miljenko Jurković] “Les Anjou et les territoires croates,” in *L’Europe des Anjou. Aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 205–219.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “L’Europe des Anjou,” Fontevraud 2001.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Dean, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb
- ✂ Head, Croatian National Committee for Historical Sciences
- ✂ Editor-in-chief, journal *OTIVM*
- ✂ Member, editoriaial board of *Hrvatski zemljopis* and *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*
- ✂ Member, council of *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* and *Österreichische Osthefte*

ALICE CHOYKE

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Publications

- ✂ [ed. with L. Bartosiewicz] *Crafting Bone – Skeletal Technologies through Time and Space*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 937, (Oxford, 2001)
- ✂ “Late Neolithic Red Deer Canine Beads and Their Imitations,” in A. M. Choyke–L. Bartosiewicz eds. *Crafting Bone – Skeletal Technologies through Time and Space*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 937, (Oxford, 2001), 251–266.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “A quantitative approach to the concept of quality in prehistoric bone manufacturing,” in H. Buitenhuis–W. Prummel eds. *Animals and Man in the Past*. ARC-Publicatie 41, (Groningen, 2001), 59–66.

GYÖRGY GERÉBY

Visiting Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest

Medieval philosophy and theology, logic, Greek-Latin interactions, patristics

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Publications

- ✂ [Reader and part translator of latin texts] Petri Pazmany, *Opera omnia*. I. Felelet (Response). (Budapest, 2000).

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Plato’s cave reversed. The philosophical metaphors of the Protoevangelium Jacobi and its contemporaries,” Stapledon Society of the Department of Philosophy, University of Liverpool, February 18, 2001.
- ✂ “Plato’s cave reversed. The metaphor of cosmic redemption in the Protoevangelium Jacobi,” Conference on ‘A light in the cave. Aspects of illumination from Homer to Derrida.’ Claremont Graduate University, February 22–24, 2001.
- ✂ “Mental prayer and cognitive psychology: changing backgrounds from Evagrius to Ignatius of Loyola,” Conference on ‘La priere en latin de l’antiquité au XVIe siècle: formes, évolutions, significations.’ Nizza, May 10–11, 2001.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Invited Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Liverpool, February - March, 2001. Courses taught: *Introduction to Medieval philosophy; Darwin, Marx, Freud and Hellenistic philosophy*
- ✂ Conference organizer with István Perczel, *The eucharist in philosophy and theology*, An international conference, Tihany, October 25–29, 2000.
- ✂ Summer course director with István Perczel, *Religious identity and religious syncretism*. CEU SUN, July 30 – August 10, 2001.

GERHARD JARITZ

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

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Publications

- ✂ [ed.], *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, vols. 43, 44, and Sonderband XI and XII.
- ✂ [ed.], *Die Straße. Zur Funktion und Perception öffentlichen Raums im späten Mittelalter* (Forschungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen



Resident Faculty and Instructors

Neuzeit. Diskussionen und Materialien, 6) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001).

- ✂ “Das Image der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt. Zur Konstruktion und Vermittlung ihres äußeren Erscheinungsbildes,” in *Die Stadt als Kommunikationsraum. Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Karl Czakó zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Helmut Bräuer and Elke Schlenkrich (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2001), 471–485.
- ✂ “Social Grouping and the Languages of Dress in the Late Middle Ages,” *Medieval History Journal*, 3,2 (2000), 2001: 235–259.
- ✂ “Straßenbilder‘ des Spätmittelalters,” in *Die Straße. Zur Funktion und Perzeption öffentlichen Raums im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Forschungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Diskussionen und Materialien 6) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 47–70.
- ✂ “History of Everyday Life in the Middle Ages,” *History and Computing*, 11 (1999), 2001: 101–112.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “(Text)-Vernetzungen im späten Mittelalter,” Internationaler Germanistenkongress, Vienna, September, 2000.
- ✂ “Straßenbilder im Spätmittelalter,” workshop on ‘Die Straße. Zur Funktion und Perzeption von öffentlichem Raum im späten Mittelalter,’ Krems, Institut für Realienkunde, October, 2000.
- ✂ “*Ira Dei*, Material Culture, and Behavior in the Late Middle Ages,” conference ‘Gestures, Behaviors and Emotions in the Middle Ages’ of the Illinois Medieval Association, Chicago, February, 2001.
- ✂ “Images and the Power of the Spoken Word,” workshop ‘Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context,’ Budapest, CEU, February, 2001.
- ✂ “Das Unbeschreibliche beschreiben – Bilderdatenbanken für Historiker,” workshop ‘Neuere Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte sowie der Geschichte des Mittelalters,’ Berlin, Humboldt-Universität, April, 2001.
- ✂ “Ambiguities in Context, or: Making the Language of Late Medieval Dress Understandable,” International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, May, 2001.
- ✂ “Constructions of Late Medieval Poverty,” International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July, 2001.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Member, program committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds
- ✂ Member, editorial board of *The Medieval Review*, Kalamazoo

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Resident Faculty and Instructors

Publications

- ✂ “La magie dans l’Odyssée: Circé,” in *La Magie*. Actes du Colloque Internationale de Montpellier, ed. A. Moreau, J.C. Turpin, (Montpellier 2000), Tome II. 185–198.
- ✂ “A Leláncolt Prométheusz szerkezete” (The Structure of the Prometheus Bound), *Literatura* (2000/4): 420–431.
- ✂ “Versenyjátékok az Íliászbán” (The Funeral Games in the Iliad), *Holmi* (2001, April): 412–427.
- ✂ “Antigoné és Kreón halottai” (The Deads of Antigone and Creon), *Ellenfény* (2001, 4): 16–22.
- ✂ Review articles in the journals *Színház* (Theatre) and *Critikai lapok* (Critical Review)

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Signe de reconnaissance ou déguisement? Le rôle du vêtement dans la tragédie grecque,” Paris, April 2001.
- ✂ “A bölcs Nesztór” (The wise Nestor), Pécs, November 2001.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Member, editorial committee of the review *Kentron* (Caen, France)
- ✂ Invited professor, Université Paris-X Nanterre, Département du Grec, March-April 2001.

GÁBOR KLANICZAY

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Comparative study of sainthood, popular religion, heresy, witchcraft, historical anthropology of medieval and early modern Europe

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Publications

- ✂ “The *Annales* and Medieval Studies in Hungary,” *Trondheim Studies on East European Cultures & Societies* No. 2 (2000): 1–22.
- ✂ “Medieval Origins of Central Europe. An Invention or a Discovery?” in Lord Dahrendorf, Yehuda Elkana, Aryeh Neier, William Newton-Smith and István Rév eds., *The Paradoxes of Unintended Consequences*. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000), 251–264.
- ✂ “Képek és legendák Árpád-házi Szent Margit stigmatizációjáról” (Images and legends on the stigmatization of St Margaret of Hungary), in *Magyar szentek tisztelete és ereklyéi* (Cult and relics of Hungarian saints), Catalogue. Eds. Pál Cséfalvay and Ildikó Kontsek, (Esztergom: Keresztény Múzeum, 2000), 36–54.
- ✂ [Postface and translation] Jacques Le Goff, *Az értelmiség a középkorban*, (The Intellectuals in the Middle Ages), (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), p. 245.
- ✂ “I miracoli e i loro testimoni. La prova del soprannaturale,” in Paolo Golinelli, ed., *Il pubblico dei santi. Forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici*. Atti del III Convegno di studio dell’AISSCA, Verona 22–24 ottobre 1998, (Roma: Viella, 2000), 367–386.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “La noblesse et le culte des saints dynastiques sous les rois Angevins,” in *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque... Angers-Saumurs, 3–6 juin 1998, (Roma: École française de Rome, 2000), 511–526.
- ✂ “National Saints on Late Medieval Universities,” in Márta Font – László Szögi, eds., *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*. (Pécs, 2001), 87–108.
- ✂ “La fortuna della leggenda di S. Alessio ovvero l’Antichità cristiana nell’Ungheria del Medioevo,” in *L’eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*. Atti dell’XI Convegno italo-ungherese, Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 9–11 novembre 1998, a cura di Sante Graciotti – Amedeo di Francesco, (Roma: Editrice “il Calamo”, 2001), 1–20.
- ✂ “Écritures saintes et pactes diaboliques. Les usages religieux de l’écrit (Moyen Âge et temps Modernes),” (en collaboration avec Ildikó Kristóf) *Annales HSS* 56 (2001): 947–980.
- ✂ “Everyday life and the elites in the later Middle Ages. The civilised and the barbarian,” in Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson eds., *The Medieval World*, (London-New York: Routledge, 2001), 671–690.
- ✂ “Georges Duby et les *Annales* en Hongrie,” in *Rencontres intellectuelles franco-hongroises – Regards croisés sur l’histoire et la littérature*, études réunis par Péter Sahin-Tóth, (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2001), 106–117.
- ✂ “Transz és szkepticizmus Johannes Nider *Formicarius* című traktátusában” (Trance and scepticism in the *Formicarius* of Johannes Nider), in Éva Pócs, ed., *Demonológia és boszorkányság Európában*, (Demonology and witchcraft in Europe) (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2001), 39–106.
- ✂ [with Éva Pócs, Péter Tóth G. and Robert Wolosz] “A Κλειο-boszorkányperadatbázis” (The Κλειο witchcraft database), in Éva Pócs, ed., *Demonológia és boszorkányság Európában*, (Demonology and witchcraft in Europe) (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2001), 293–335.
- ✂ [ed. with Edit Madas] *Legendák és csodák (13–16. század). Szentek a magyar középkorból II.* (Legends and miracles: 13th to 16th centuries. Saints from the Hungarian Middle Ages) (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), p. 501; Postface: 249–291.
- ✂ “The Middle Ages,” in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001), vol. 14, 9785–9792.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Judicial history, *histoire des mentalités*, historical anthropology,” The theory and practice of justice: laws, norms, deviance, 19th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 6–13, 2000.
- ✂ “Holy writings and pacts with the Devil. The use of writing in medieval popular religion” (written together with Ildikó Kristóf), Social Practices of Writing and Reading from Antiquity to the Present, 19th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 6–13, 2000.
- ✂ “The coronation of St Stephen in the light of his hagiography,” Rulership at the end of the first and the beginning of the second Millennium, Maiestas conference, 19th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo, August 6–13, 2000.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “Beginnings of witch-hunting in the Alpine regions,” Centre for Medieval Studies, Trondheim University, August 13, 2000.
- ✂ “The past in the present – a case study: the many Middle Ages,” opening address, The past in the present, Intercongressional symposium of the International Musicological Society, Budapest, August 23–28, 2000.
- ✂ “Nationalheilige an spätmittelalterlichen Universitäten,” Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa, University of Pécs, August 30 – September 1, 2000.
- ✂ “Szent István és az ideális keresztény uralkodó képe a középkori magyarországi sermo-irodalomban” (The Image of St Stephen and the Ideal Ruler in Medieval Hungarian Sermon-literature), Szent István alakja a régi magyar és az európai irodalomban, művészetben és történetírásban, Tihany, September 27–30, 2000.
- ✂ “Le sabbat des sorcières entre les visions angéliques et les techniques archaïques de l’extase,” Le diable en procès, Institut Historique allemand, Paris, December 14–15, 2000.
- ✂ “Proving sanctity at the canonization trials (St. Elizabeth and St. Margaret of Hungary),” Medieval canonisation trials, legal and religious aspects, Collegium Budapest, February 8–10, 2001.
- ✂ “A boszorkányhit és a történelmi antropológia” (Witchcraft beliefs and historical anthropology), University of Szeged, February 23, 2001.
- ✂ “Speaking about miracles,” Oral history of the Middle Ages. The spoken word in context. Interdisciplinary Workshop, Department of Medieval Studies, CEU, February 26–28.
- ✂ “On Multi-Stories History” (a panel with Natalie Zemon Davis, Carlo Ginzburg, János Kis and István Rév), CEU, March 12, 2001.
- ✂ “Memory and the supernatural in a juridical context: The making of the saint and the witch,” Plenary lecture, 7th Conference of the Société Internationale d’Ethnologie et de Folklore, April 23–28, 2001.
- ✂ “Speaking about miracles: Oral testimony and written record in medieval canonization trials,” The development of literate mentalities in East Central Europe, Fourth Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht University, June 28–30, 2001.
- ✂ “Teaching and discovering medieval Central Europe – the experience of the CEU,” and “Nouvelle histoire, historical anthropology and the Central European Middle Ages,” How to be a medievalist? Institute of History, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow, July 9–11, 2001.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Rector, Collegium Budapest
- ✂ Member, CEU Senate Committee for Appointments
- ✂ Member, International Advisory Council of the CEU Humanities Center
- ✂ Member, Academic Review Committee of NIAS (Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, Wassenaar) 2000 December
- ✂ Member, Scientific Committee of the Socio-Economic Research Conference 2001, organised by the DG Research of the European Commission
- ✂ Chairman, Editorial Board of *Budapest Review of Books*



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ Co-editor, series *Mikrotörténelem* (Microhistory) at the Osiris Publishing House (with Gyula Benda and István Szijártó)
- ✂ Co-editor, series “Central European Medieval Texts” at CEU Press (with János M. Bak, Urszula Borkowska, and Giles Constable)

JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY

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Medieval archaeology, monastic and mendicant architecture, medieval settlement systems, history of material culture

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Publications

- ✂ [ed. together with Zsolt Hunyadi] *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001), p. 608.
- ✂ “Crusades and Military Orders: State of Research,” in Zsolt Hunyadi – József Laszlovszky, eds., *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001), xvi–xxiii.
- ✂ [together with Zoltán Soós] “Historical Monuments of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania,” in Zsolt Hunyadi – József Laszlovszky eds., *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001), 319–337.
- ✂ “Egy reneszánsz emlék újjászületése” (The rebirth of a Renaissance monument) in Buzás Gergely, *Giovanni Dalmata Herkules-kútja a visegrádi királyi palotában* (The Hercules Fountain of Giovanni Dalmata in the Royal Palace of Visegrád) (Budapest-Visegrád: TKM Egyesület, Mátyás király Múzeum, 2001), 7–8. (also in English, in the English version of the book)

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “University Peregrinatio and the Emergence of New Monastic Orders in Central Europe, 12–13th centuries,” Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa, Pécs, September 2000.
- ✂ “Priors and Fishponds: Material clues for constructing the past,” Plenary session lecture. Medieval Academy 76th Annual Meeting, Tempe, Arizona, March 2001.
- ✂ “Az Árpád-kori angol-magyar kapcsolatok kutatása” (The research of English-Hungarian contacts of the Arpadian Age) Albion, Conference on British History and Political Sciences, Debrecen, May 2001.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Visegrád, Hungary (co-directing with Gergely Buzás)
- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval Franciscan friary at Mont Beuvray, France (Center of European Archaeology, Bibracte. Co-directing with Patrice Beck, Paris)
- ✂ Director, field survey project in the Upper Tisza region (co-directing with John Chapman, Newcastle)



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval royal chapel of St. Frambourg at Senlis, France
- ✂ Medieval Royal Seat and Parkland at Visegrád. Application by the Republic of Hungary for the inclusion of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Responsible for the preparation and submission of the application
- ✂ Member, CEU Senate
- ✂ Member, CEU Academic Forum
- ✂ Chair, CEU Senate Committee for Library
- ✂ Member, CEU Senate Committee for Academic Program Organization and Travel Grants

BALÁZS NAGY

Library curator, Dr. Phil., Budapest
Economic history and medieval social history
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Publications

- ✂ [ed. with Frank Schaer] *Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*. Central European Medieval Texts Series (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), p. 259.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “National Identities as reflected in the Autobiography of the Emperor Charles IV, King of Bohemia,” Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, April 19, 2001
- ✂ “The Profile of a New Medieval Library in Hungary: Experiences from East Central Europe,” Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University: 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 4, 2001
- ✂ “Economic Transformations and Climatic Changes in Late Medieval Central Europe,” Leeds, 9th International Medieval Congress, July 10, 2001

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Member, CEU Library Committee
- ✂ Member, Programming Committee of the International Medieval Congress organised by the International Medieval Institute, University of Leeds, responsible for the session on East Central Europe

Fellowship

- ✂ Visiting scholar, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, March–May 2001



Resident Faculty and Instructors

ISTVÁN PERCZEL

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil. Budapest

Patristics, Byzantine theology, Late Antique and Byzantine philosophy, Eastern Christian studies, Greek and Syriac manuscripts

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Publications

- ✂ “Sergius of Reshaina’s Syriac Translation of the Dionysian Corpus: Some Preliminary Remarks,” in *La diffusione dell’eredità classica nell’età tardo-antica e medievale. Filologia, storia, dottrina*. Atti del Seminario nazionale di studio (Napoli-Sorrento, 29–31 ottobre 1998). Ed. C. Baffioni. (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso 2000), 79–94.
- ✂ “«Théologiens» et «magiciens» dans le Corpus Dionysien,” in *Adamantius: Newsletter of the Italian Research Group “Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition”* 7 (2001): 54–75.
- ✂ “Saint Symeon the New Theologian and the Theology of the Divine Substance,” in *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 41 (2001): 125–146.
- ✂ “Humanitárius háború” (Humanitarian War), *Eszmélet* 49 (2001).
- ✂ [translation of] Michel Foucault, *L’archéologie du savoir*: (Budapest: Atlantisz, 2001), p. 311.
- ✂ [translation of] G. Orwell, “Shooting an Elephant,” in *Az oroszlán és az egyszarvú I. Esszék, tanulmányok, publicisztikák*. Ed. B. Nóvé, (Budapest: Cartafilus, 2000), 19–28.
- ✂ [translation of] G. Orwell, “The Way to Wigan Peer: A Diary,” in *Az oroszlán és az egyszarvú I. Esszék, tanulmányok, publicisztikák*. Ed. B. Nóvé, (Budapest: Cartafilus, 2000), 84–114.
- ✂ [translation of] G. Orwell, “The British Crisis. A Letter to the *Partisan Review*,” in *Az oroszlán és az egyszarvú I. Esszék, tanulmányok, publicisztikák*. Ed. B. Nóvé, (Budapest: Cartafilus, 2000), 189–202.
- ✂ [translation of] G. Orwell, “The Rediscovery of Europe,” in *Az oroszlán és az egyszarvú II. Esszék, tanulmányok, publicisztikák*. Ed. B. Nóvé, (Budapest: Cartafilus, 2000), 69–83.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Notes sur la pensée systématique d’Evagre le Pontique,” Colloquio Nazionale ‘Origene e l’Alessandrinismo Cappadoce (III-IV secolo)’, University of Bari, September 18–22, 2000.
- ✂ “Rapport sur une mission indien-français-hongrois au Kérala,” with A. Desreumaux and F. Briquel-Chatonnet at the *Centre d’Etude des Religions du Livre* in Paris, Villejuif, December 9, 2000.
- ✂ “The Syrian Christians of Kerala and their Manuscripts,” Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen – Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften – Orientalisches Seminar, Tübingen, May 17, 2001.
- ✂ “Dionysius the Areopagite and the Peri Archon,” Colloquium Origenianum Octavum (Eighth International Conference of Origenian Studies), University of Pisa, August 24–29, 2001



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “A transzcendencia útjai Keleten és Nyugaton: az eunomiánus vita” (The Ways of Transcendence in East and West: the Eunomian Debate), Colloquium “A transzcendencia megjelenítése az európai hagyományban” (The Representation of Transcendence in East and West), Szombathely, Művészetek Háza, November 17, 2001.

Grants

- ✂ CEU Research Grant for the team-project “Saving the Cultural Heritage of the Syrian Christians in Kerala” March 2001.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Director, Doctoral Studies at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU
- ✂ Associate Member, *Centre d'Etude des Religions du Livre* (C.N.R.S. – Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes), Paris
- ✂ Foreign correspondent, *Adamantius*. Newsletter of the Italian Research Group on “Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition”
- ✂ Member, Editorial Board of the review *Iran and the Caucasus*

JUDITH ANN RASSON

Assistant Professor, Ph.D., SUNY-Binghamton

Cultural anthropology, material culture, academic writing, archaeology

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Publications

- ✂ [with Jonathan Eagles] *Style Guide* of the Department of Medieval Studies (2001)
- ✂ [copy-edition of] *Sitagroi Excavations* (Greece), Vol. 2 and *The Late Holocene of the Southern California Coast*. Two manuscripts for the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA (appr. 1000 pages each)

Grants

- ✂ University of California Research Expedition Program (UREP) grant for archaeological research project employing volunteers at the Százhalombatta Archaeological Expedition (SAX) project, Hungary. 2001
- ✂ Prepared project report (with Helen Wells): “Volunteers in Archaeology—The SAX Experience”

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “What can we learn from pits at the Földvár tell excavations?” SAX symposium, Matrica Múzeum, Százhalombatta. August, 2001

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Co-Director, American volunteer excavator program of the Százhalombatta Archaeological Expedition (SAX) project
- ✂ Guest lectures at ELTE on the Prehistory of the Iron Gates of the Danube River



Resident Faculty and Instructors

MARIANNE SÁGHY

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Late antique and medieval intellectual and social history, political history
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Publications

- ✂ “The Making of the Christian Kingdom in Hungary,” in *Europe around the Year 1000*. ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DIG, 2001), 451–465.
- ✂ “*Scinditur in partes populus*: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome,” *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000, 3): 273–287.
- ✂ “Les femmes de la noblesse angevine en Hongrie,” in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*. eds. N. Coulet – J.-M. Matz (École française de Rome, 2000), 165–174.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “L’organisation des églises en Hongrie autour de l’An Mil: le cas de l’évêché de Csanád,” Gerberto d’Aurillac da Abate de Bobbio a Papa dell’Anno 1000, Congresso Internazionale, Bobbio, Auditorium di S. Chiara, September 28–30, 2000.
- ✂ “Les Hongrois et Attila: le passé inventé,” Colloque Le monde païen dans l’historiographie et les textes littéraires du Moyen-Âge, Université Paris IV–Sorbonne, May 18–19, 2001.
- ✂ “Damasus pápa és a római mártírkultusz,” (Pope Damasus and the Roman Cult of Martyrs) I. Patrisztikus konferencia (First Conference on Patristics), Kecskemét-Hungary, June 21–23, 2001.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Academic director, Institut Hongrois de Paris

MARCELL SEBŐK

Assistant Professor, Ph.D., Budapest
Late medieval and Renaissance cultural history, Humanism and Reformation, historical anthropology
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Publications

- ✂ [ed. with Katalin Szende] *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 7. (Budapest, 2001), pp. 334.
- ✂ “*Friendship Feeds on Communication*: S. Ambrosius and His Part in the Sixteenth-Century Republic of Letters,” in *Colloquia* Vol.V–VII (1998–2000): 94–107.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Mobility, Communication and Interactions: Scholars in Early Modern Central Europe,” Forum on Central Europe, Warburg Institute–London, May 30, 2001.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “A Közép-európai Egyetem története,” (History of the Central European University), Annual Meeting of Hungarian Historians’ Association, Paks–Hungary, July 2001.

Fellowship

- ✂ Visiting fellow, British Academy, Warburg Institute, London, May–June 2001.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Academic coordinator, *Early Modern Republic of Letters* Dutch-Hungarian Study Center
- ✂ Member, editorial board, *European Review of History*
- ✂ Chief editor, *KonTextus.hu*, online culture and humanities

BÉLA ZSOLT SZAKÁCS

Assistant Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest

Medieval art and architecture, visual resources and cultural heritage

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Publications

- ✂ “Le culte des saints à la cour et le Légendaire des Anjou-Hongrie,” in *L’Europe des Anjou*, Catalogue Fontevraud, (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 195–201.
- ✂ “A Dél-Alföld felfedezése” (Discovering Southern Hungary, review of “A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer”), *Budapesti Könyvszemle* XIII (2001): 340–347.
- ✂ “Reference Books of Visual Resources,” in *Issues and Resources for the Study of Medieval Central Europe*. eds. János M. Bak and Péter Banyó. (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, CEU–Cambridge, MA: Committee on Centers and Regional Associations of the Medieval Academy of America, 2001), 130–139.
- ✂ “Az Anjou-kor művészete Magyarországon,” (Art of the Angevin Period in Hungary), in *Krónikás*, 2001 Különszám (Magyar Évad Franciaországban), 22–24.
- ✂ [Review of] “Három kódex” (Three codices), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* L (2001): 173–176.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Oscillation between East and West: Interpretations of Medieval Hungarian Architecture” (poster), Thirtieth International Congress of the History of Art (CIHA), London, September 2000.
- ✂ “Kegykép és uralkodói reprezentáció: a magyar Anjouk emlékezete az európai zarándokhelyeken” (Andachtsbild and Royal Representation: the Memory of the Hungarian Angevin Dynasty in the European Pilgrimage Centres), Time and Memory conference, University of Szeged, October 2000.
- ✂ “Állandó alaprajzok – változó vélemények? Megjegyzések a ‘bencés templomtípus’ magyarországi pályafutásához” (Constant Ground Plans – Changing Ideas? Notes on the Carrier of the ‘Benedictine Church Type’ in Hungary) Constancy and Transformation, conference on art history, Ráckeve (Hungary), October 2000.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “Az imagótól a historiáig: az Isztambuli Antifonale iniciáléi” (From Imago to History: the Initials of the Istanbul Antiphonary), *Imago and historia*, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, April 2001.
- ✂ “Art History of Medieval East-Central Europe as Reflected in Local Photo-archives,” *Ostmitteleuropäische Kunsthistoriographien und der nationale Diskurs* (Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin – GWZO, Leipzig, Berlin, June 2001.

KATALIN SZENDE

Assistant Professor, Ph.D., Budapest

Urban history and archaeology, history of everyday life, local history

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Publications

- ✂ “From Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son? Intergenerational Patterns of Bequeathing Movables in Late Medieval Bratislava,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 7 Ed. Marcell Sebők and Katalin Szende, (Budapest, 2001), 209–232.
- ✂ “A magyarországi középkori német nyelvű források kiadásának elvei és gyakorlata,” (Principles and practice of editing medieval German texts from Hungary) *Fons VII* (2000, 1): 49–62.
- ✂ [review of] Házi Jenő: *Pozsony vármegye középkori földrajza* (The medieval geography of Pozsony County), Bratislava: Kalligram, 2000, in *Soproni Szemle* 54 (2000): 448–451.
- ✂ [ed. with Marcell Sebők] *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 7 (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies, 2001).

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “*Fidelitas* és politika. Kihez és miért volt hűséges Sopron városa a középkorban?” (Fidelity and politics. To whom and why was the town of Sopron faithful in the Middle Ages?), Symposium *A civitas fidelissima diskurzus* (The discourse of *civitas fidelissima*), Sopron, September 27, 2000.
- ✂ “Testaments and Testimonies. Orality and Literacy in Composing Last Wills in Late Medieval Hungary,” Interdisciplinary Workshop *The Oral History of the Middle Ages*, CEU, Budapest, February 26–28, 2001.
- ✂ “The Uses of Archives in Medieval Hungary,” Symposium *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, Fourth Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy Utrecht University, June 28–30, 2001.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Member, International Commission for the History of Towns
- ✂ Editor-in-chief, local history quarterly *Soproni Szemle*
- ✂ General editor, series *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ödenburg*



Resident Faculty and Instructors

LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY

Visiting professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest

Medieval Latin paleography, cultural history, military history

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Publications

- ✂ [ed.] *Hungary, Eleven Centuries in the Heart of Europe*. CD-ROM. Ed. in chief Tamás Ungváry, (Budapest: Kossuth, 2000).
- ✂ “Conversion in Chronicles: The Hungarian Case,” in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*. Ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 133–146.
- ✂ “Kalandozások Európában, Korai hadtörténetünk, A késő Árpád-kor hadi eseményei” (Chapters from the medieval Hungarian military history), in *Nagy képes millenniumi hadtörténet. 1000 év a badak útján*. Ed. Árpád Rácz. (Budapest: Rubicon-Aquila, 2000), 12–14, 23–33, 36–44.
- ✂ “Gesta Ungarorum,” “Gisela, Königin von Ungarn,” “Geschichte Ungarns,” “Stephan der HL,” “Emmerich,” in *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*. Vol. 2. Eds. Alfried Wieczorek – Hans-Martin Hinz. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 542–550, 608–612, 868–870, 875–879, 880–882.
- ✂ “Latrunculi, cursatores, hussarones: Megjegyzések Kézai latinságához” (On the Latinity of Simon of Kéza), in „*Magyaroknak eleiről*”. *Makk Ferenc emlékkönyv*. Ed. Ferenc Piti. (Szeged, 2000), 673–680.
- ✂ “Hispania,” in *Európa és Magyarország Szent István korában*. Eds. Gyula Kristó – Ferenc Makk. (Szeged, 2000), 125–138.
- ✂ “On the Border of Book and Charter Palaeography,” in Michael Gervers ed., *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 193–206.
- ✂ “Lovas pecsétek Magyarországon” (Rider-seals in Hungary), in *Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból*. Ed. András Hegedűs. (Esztergom: Érseki Levéltár, 2000), 11–18.
- ✂ “Hadszervezet Szent István korában” (Military organization in the age of St Stephen), in *Államalapítás, társadalom, művelődés*. Ed. Gyula Kristó. (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001), 31–42.
- ✂ “The Birth of Hungarian Identity in the Historiography of the Middle Ages,” in *Conquete, acculturation, identité: des Normands aux Hongrois. Les traces de la conquete*. Ed. P. Nagy. (Rouen: PUR, 2001), 93–109.
- ✂ “Sacramentarium töredék” (A sacramentary fragment), in *Paradisum plantavit*. Ed. Imre Takács. (Pannonhalma, 2001), 190–192.
- ✂ “Sälenkapitel, Darstellung einer Ritterschlacht, Ungarischr Krieger,” in *Bayern, Ungarn Tausend Jahre*. Eds. Wolfgang Jahn – Christian Lankes – Wolfgang Petz – Evamaria Brockhoff. (Augsburg: Haus der bayerischen Geschichte, 2001), 77–78, 90–92.
- ✂ “Kiegészítések az Assisiben található Árpád-kori ferences Missaléhoz” (Additions to a Franciscian missal in Assisi), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2001): 100–101.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✧ “Some Remarks on Recent Historiography of the Crusade of Nicopolis,” in *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky. (Budapest: CEU-SSCLE, 2001), 223–232.
- ✧ “Kaiser Karl der Grosse und Ungarn”, in „*svet sinen vriunt bebaltet, daz ist lobelich*”. *Festschrift für András Vizkelety*. Eds. V. Márta Nagy and László Jónácsik. (Budapest-Piliscsaba: Katolische Péter-Pázmány-Universität, 2001), 195–204.
- ✧ “Szt. Kinga legendája” (The legend of St Kinga. A Translation), in *Legendák és csodák. Szentek a magyar középkorból II*. Eds. Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas. (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 118–171.
- ✧ “The Holy Crown of Saint Stephen,” in *Saint Stephen and His Country. A Newborn Kingdom in Central Europe: Hungary*. Ed. Attila Zsoldos. (Budapest: Lucidus, 2001), 95–110.

Papers and Lectures

- ✧ “Hungary’s Conversion and the Foundation of State,” University of Toronto, Toronto, September 2000.
- ✧ “The Birth of Hungarian Identity in the Historiography of the Middle Ages,” Université de Rouen, November 2000.
- ✧ “Ostmark und Ungarn,” Hungarian Academy of Sciences, December 2000.
- ✧ “King St Stephen and His Crown,” Oriel College, Oxford, January 2001.
- ✧ “Literacy in Central Europe,” University of Utrecht, June 2001.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✧ Member, Editorial Board of *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* (Review of Military History)
- ✧ Co-secretary, Hungarian Historical Society
- ✧ Secretary general, National Committee of the Hungarian Military Historians
- ✧ Researcher, Project for the edition of medieval Latin codex fragments