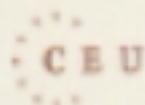


ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

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Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
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Edited by
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' Preface	5
I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES.....	7
Arvydas Pliucas <i>The Theory of Style in the Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus</i>	9
Tamás Visi <i>Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God: A Concealed Inconsistency</i>	29
Zsuzsanna Nagy 'To confusion of alle false Lollardes': <i>Encoded Messages in the Text and Illustrations of Nicholas Love's Mirroure of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ</i>	51
Dóra Bobory <i>Being a Chosen One: Self-Consciousness and Self-Fashioning in the Works of Gerolamo Cardano</i>	69
Grzegorz Żabiński <i>Mogila—A Case Study of the Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery in the Medieval Diocese of Cracow</i>	93
Marian Coman <i>From an Open to a Closed Frontier: The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450</i>	127
Péter Levente Szócs <i>The Abbey Church of Ákos: An Architectural and Functional Analysis of a 'Kindred Monastery' Church</i>	155
Elena-Dana Prioteasa <i>Western and Eastern Themes in the Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei (Hunedoara County, Romania)</i>	181
Mendicant Missions in the Territory of Orthodoxy	197
Foreword – József Laszlovszky.....	199
Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv <i>The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus': History and Historiography</i>	203



Claudia Dobre	
<i>The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land: A Case Study of Moldavia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries</i>	225
Zoltán Soós	
<i>The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania</i>	249
II. REPORT OF THE YEAR	275
Report of the Year – <i>József Laszlovszky</i>	277
Activities and Events in 2001/2002.....	285
Academic Field Trips.....	287
Courses of the Academic Year 2001/2002.....	289
M.A. Thesis Abstracts.....	293
Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002	313
Research Project Reports.....	333
Piroska Nagy and Katalin Szende	
<i>Conflicts, Control and Concessions. Report of the Pilot Project on the Archives of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary. Hungarian Records in East Central European Context</i>	333
Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova	
<i>Description of the Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library</i>	339
Resident Faculty: Publications, Papers, Academic Services	349



EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

The publication of the ninth volume of the *Annual* marks the end of the tenth academic year in the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU. The participants of our Alumni Meeting organised for the first weekend of July 2003 will be among the first readers of the articles and reports published here. So will the faculty and students of our Summer University course on the *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe* as well as participants of the tenth International Medieval Congress in Leeds, hosting a symposium entitled "Is Pan-European Medieval Studies a Chimera or a Coming Reality?"

The first ten years in the life of a department—just as in the life of a human being—is probably the most decisive period. This is the time when it undergoes the most profound changes, when it reacts most sensitively towards the challenges of the outside world, when it develops its own characteristic features and the wish to express these in front of others. In terms of the Department, this wish has manifested itself in our expanding publication policy, which by now includes, beside the *Annual*, the *Medieval News* newsletter published twice a year and the varied series of *CEU Medievalia*.

During the past decade, the *Annual* has fulfilled its role as a link between the Department and the outside world in several ways. It gives our best students an opportunity to publish articles in English (often the very first one in their scholarly career!) on their research results. It provides a forum for discussing a specific research topic (in this issue the missionary activity of the Mendicant Orders in Orthodox lands). It communicates the rich research world of the department in the abstracts of the years' MA theses and Ph.D. dissertations. It summarizes the activities and courses of the year (more detailed information on these can be found in *Medieval News*) and, last but not least, it serves as an exchange copy with other institutions to enrich the collection of our nicely growing library. If nothing else but the *Annual* remained at the disposal of scholars in the distant future to write a Ph.D. dissertation on the activity of our Department—or, let us concentrate on the present, if someone has access to no other source of information than our yearbook—we believe that they could still form a creditable opinion about the work accomplished on the fourth and fifth floors of the Faculty Tower of CEU.

One thing which the *Annual*—due to its academic seriousness—cannot probably convey is the special atmosphere that students, staff, faculty, and visitors experience when they spend some time with us. To this end, a special booklet, entitled *Ten Years of Medieval Studies at CEU 1993–2003* has been



compiled and will appear at the same time as this issue of the *Annual*. This *album* (designed in the appropriate form and style) besides giving a full overview of the academic fields taught and theses and dissertations defended in the Department, delivers colorful memories to the readers—let it be a surprise of what and whom.

Finally, the editors would like to thank all the contributors of this volume for their cooperation, and especially Matthew Suff for improving the clarity and fluency of the intellectually more demanding articles. We are also grateful to our traditional publishers, the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House for their patience and skillful assistance in creating a handsome publication from the manuscripts.



THE THEORY OF STYLE IN THE LETTERS OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

Arvydas Pliucas 

Introduction

In the course of the twentieth century a number of studies were dedicated to Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 330–390) as an orator and writer. Those studies, however, paid the greatest attention to the analysis of Gregory's practice of style in both his speeches and letters.¹

In contrast to the previous studies, this study will devote more attention to the theory, not the practice, of letter-writing. Side by side with the 249 letters of Gregory of Nazianzus we have a few dedicated to the *theory* of letter-writing, which gives us a great advantage not to be missed. The letter to Nicobulus, where such a theory is expounded, has so far merely been presented to readers, and only a superficial analysis of it has been attempted. Here I will go further and try to carry out a detailed scrutiny of the letter, aiming to explain the stylistic concepts of Gregory in connection with the stylistic theories of antiquity. Thus, close attention will be paid here to classical theoretical works on style and rhetoric—a point mostly missed in previous studies.²

¹ Marcell Guignet, *S. Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique*, analyses Gregory's speeches. Its supplement is *Les procédés épistolaires de S. Grégoire de Nazianze comparé à ceux de ses contemporains* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1911). See also R. R. Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus. Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

² This article is an abbreviated version of my MA thesis in Medieval Studies, "Theory and Practice of Style in the Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus" (Budapest: Central European University, 2002). As general studies of Classical rhetoric we can mention the following: D. A. Russell, *Criticism in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), especially 129–147; G. M. A. Grube, *The Greek and Roman Critics* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1968), and the series by G. A. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). E. Norden's study *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (second edition, Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1958) still remains one of the best.



Arvydas Pliucas

Gregory's Predecessors

The rhetorical tradition of Antiquity is not rich in passages dealing with the theory of letter-writing. One of the few, certainly the most famous, is in the *Peri e(rmhnei/aj* of Demetrius, passages 223–234. In this treatise, Demetrius examines the notion of style, dividing it into four general types: the elevated (*megalopreph/j*), the elegant (*glafuro/j*), the plain (*i)scno/j*), and the forceful (*deino/j*), and analyses each of them with regard to content, diction, and arrangement of words.

The style of letter-writing is discussed at the end of the chapter dedicated to the plain style, clearly indicating that it must be such (*De elocutione*, 223), although later Demetrius adds that two characters of style should be mixed in a letter—the plain and the elegant (235). It is, in fact, just a more technical way to say that the style of a letter should be a little more elaborate than the conversational style. In another passage, Demetrius partly agrees with, and partly argues with, the statement that “a letter should be written in the same way as dialogue, because a letter is, as it were, one half of the dialogue (223).” He comments thus: “it is true, but not completely, because a letter should be somewhat more studied than a dialogue (224).” Starting with Aristotle, it is the usual habit of rhetoricians to state that clarity of expression is the most important quality to be aimed at, and then to add that a style which is only clear and simple is in danger of becoming “cheap” (that is, “worthless”—*eu)telh/j*) or “low” (*tapeino/j*), and that is why some “dignity” (*semno/thj*) must be added.³ In this case, “dignity” is represented (or replaced) by the “elegant” (*glafuro/j*) type of style (the main quality of which is “charm” (*ca/rhj*), quite important in the theory of Gregory), and not by the “elevated” or the “forceful.”

A letter should also not be too long, its style not elevated (228); “it is the exposition of a simple subject in simple words” (231). The sentence structure of letters should have more freedom, for it would be ridiculous to use periods (229). A letter’s “beauty is friendly courtesies and frequent proverbs” (232). (Earlier in the treatise, proverbs were named among the constituents of the elegant style.)

Great importance is ascribed to the category of “character” or *ethos* (*h)=qoj*). “As well as dialogue,” Demetrius says, “a letter should abound in glimpses of character. It may be said that everyone reveals his own soul in his letters. In every other form of composition it is possible to discern the writer’s character but in none so clearly as in the epistolary (227).”

³ Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1404b1–8. For a later example, see Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 241.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

Character as a rhetorical category remained important in later times and there is probably no treatise on rhetoric where it is not addressed. It was also not unusual to connect it with style in letter-writing. Such, for example, is the case with Theon of Alexandria. He does not discuss letter-writing in his *Progymnasmata*, but mentions it under the heading of ἡγοποιία—description of character. According to him, together with panegyric and protreptic, the letter is one of the subdivisions under which one may note the presence and employment of ἡγοποιία. As Theon says further, “this kind of exercise is the most indicative of characters and feelings.”⁴

One more case when the topic of letter-writing is briefly discussed is in a letter⁵ of a sophist, Philostratus of Lemnos (first half of the third century). The terminology of Philostratus is original, but he mainly follows the prescriptions of Demetrius. Philostratus mentions the depiction of *ethos*, and also hints at the mean between conversational and rhetorical language. For the excess of rhetorical form, Philostratus uses the term *u(perattiki/zein*; its opposite—too conversational a style—is named *u(perlalei=n*; “a letter, he says, must be more Attic than everyday language and more of everyday language than of Atticism.” He forbids the usage of periodical language (except in short letters), emphasises the importance of “good” clarity and the need for non-excessive ornamentation.

The similarities between Gregory’s letter 51 and the passages of Demetrius are easy to see, and so are the differences.⁶ Both authors agree on the length of the letter, on the similarity of the letter’s style to conversational style, and on the usage of proverbs, both connecting these factors with the quality of “charm.”

Gregory, however, completely ignores the categories of the levels of style which are present in Demetrius’ treatise, namely those of the plain (*i(scno/j*) and the elegant (*glafuro/j*) style. Gregory’s presentation is more similar to the “virtues of style” (*(a)retai\ th=j le/xewj*) system, probably originating in the time of Theophrastus and present, for example, in many treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus or, in the Latin tradition, of Cicero.

In spite of the lack of a definite and accurate theoretical framework, Gregory’s system is quite close to that of Demetrius. Keeping it in mind that the

⁴ Theon of Alexandria, *Progymnasmata*, in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1854), 115, 20–22 and 117, 30–32.

⁵ Letter 1, Kayser.

⁶ Gregory is always quoted from the following edition: Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, *Lettres*, texte établi et traduit par Paul Gallay (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964 and 1967). It will further be referred to as Gallay, with page numbers.



Arvydas Pliucas

main characteristic of the plain style in Demetrius is clarity (202),⁷ and charm (ca/rij) is the main quality of the elegant (glafuro/j) style,⁸ we see that Gregory simply replaces more general concepts with more precise ones, but the message remains the same. Brevity, according to Demetrius, can be used successfully in all four styles.

A category completely ignored by Gregory, but important both in Demetrius' treatise and in other quoted passages, is that of "character" or "ethos" (h)=qoj). This category was first discussed in the *Rhetorics* of Aristotle, and remained important throughout the Classical rhetorical tradition, together with other two concepts, also ignored by Gregory: *pathos* (pa/qoj) and propriety (pre/pon).⁹ Demetrius emphatically connects "ethos" with letter-writing, so its avoidance by Gregory seems all the more strange. Also, as noted above, the concept of *ethos* did not disappear from later theories, but was rather considered as one of the most important requirements for a letter.

In spite of the explicit or implicit similarities between the texts of Gregory and Demetrius, it would not be safe to claim any direct influence. The letter of Gregory (as well as the text of Philostratus) reflects instead a common tradition of epistolography, the requirements of which, while fluid and flexible and not elaborated into a coherent system, were known to educated persons.

The theory of style in letter-writing should not be considered as standing alone, apart from more general stylistic theories discussing all kinds of literature from judicial speeches to poetry. These theories may explain what is meant by "conciseness" or by "charm;" they may help discover why Gregory omitted the concept of *ethos*. First, however, Nicobulus, the recipient of the letters, must be briefly considered.

The Recipient of Letters 51 to 55: Nicobulus

Paul Gallay¹⁰ dates letters 51 through 55 to between 384 and 390, in which case they would have been addressed to Nicobulus the younger, son of Nicobulus the elder and Alypiana, Gregory's niece (the daughter of his sister Gorgonia). Gallay disagrees with the Benedictine editors, who dated the letters to 372, in which case they would have been addressed to Nicobulus the elder, the husband

⁷ Demetrius, *Du Style*, texte établi et traduit par Pierre Chiron (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993). Further referred to as *De elocutione*, number indicating paragraph.

⁸ Demetrius, *De elocutione*, 128.

⁹ Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1408a 10.

¹⁰ Gallay, 66, note 2.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

of Alypiana.¹¹ Gallay's arguments are the following: (1) in letter 52 Gregory depicts himself as already an old man, comparing himself with Nestor; (2) together with his own letters he sends Nicobulus the letters of Basil (53), which could indicate that Basil is already dead; (3) letters 187 to 192 show that Gregory was interested in Nicobulus' education during 384 and 390, although all of these letters are dated to 383;¹² (4) letter 12, evidently written to the elder Nicobulus, is not grouped together with letters 51 to 55 in the manuscript tradition.

Accepting the fact that letters 51 to 55 are written to the younger Nicobulus¹³ (which is more than plausible), let us dwell on the third argument and examine all the available data on Nicobulus' education. The first recorded case of Gregory attending to the education of the elder Nicobulus's children is letter 157 to Theodore, bishop of Tyana, dated by Gallay to the autumn of 381 or the beginning of the year 382: "The children of the dearest Nicobulus are coming to the city [that is, Tyana] to learn shorthand writing; be kind to accept them with a fatherly affection (for canons do not forbid that), and take care that they attend church. For I want their characters to be formed towards virtue by meeting constantly Your Perfection."¹⁴ Only the younger Nicobulus appears in letter 167 to Helladius, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, dated by Gallay to the year 382. Gregory asks the bishop to find good teachers for his protégé and to "shape his character towards virtue,"¹⁵ which again would be achieved by Nicobulus seeing him often (167,2).

In the year 383 Gregory again recommends the children of Nicobulus the elder to a Cappadocian rhetor, Eudoxius (letter 174).¹⁶ In letter 175, probably written just after the previous one, only the younger Nicobulus is mentioned. Gregory says that the young man has the right nature, but is careless and needs a spur, so the care of Eudoxius is expected. In the following letter (176), Nicobulus is named again and Eudoxius is asked to perform the job of a rhetor

¹¹ See letter 12, written around 365, also the poems of Gregory: Migne, *P.G.*, 37. col. 1505 and col. 1521.

¹² Sic! This is what Gallay says. See Gallay, 66, note 2.

¹³ On Nicobulus the elder and Nicobulus the younger, see also M. Hauser-Meury, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz* (Bonn: Peter Hauste, 1960), 128–133.

¹⁴ 2–3. Shorthand was taught in elementary school, which usually was attended starting from the age of seven. See H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. George Lamb (New York: A Mentor Book, 1964), 433 and 434.

¹⁵ 167, 1: kai\ didaska/lwn susth/saj ... kai\ to\ h)=qoj pro\j a)reth\n r(uqmi/saj.

¹⁶ On Eudoxius, see Hauser-Meury, *ibid.* 66–69, where he is considered to be a private teacher.



Arvydas Pliucas

and sophist.¹⁷ The following four letters to Eudoxius (177 to 180, all dated to the same year, 383) treat the subject of Eudoxius's soul, persuading him to abandon rhetoric and to become a real Christian philosopher. Nicobulus is only mentioned in the first of these, and in the last "Dionysius the Critic" appears, that is, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see below), which shows that Gregory has not succeeded in converting Eudoxius.

After some time Eudoxius probably sent Gregory an evaluation of Nicobulus' progress, and to this Gregory replies (187,3–4):

Concerning that which you have written about my sweetest son Nicobulus, it is all very great and wonderful and enough to win the benevolence of the father, who easily believes things that he desires. But only then we shall admit that it is true, when the young man will prove to us that he is not unworthy of your promises and of our hopes.

This means that Nicobulus' education under Eudoxius has come to an end, and next we have a letter to Stageirius (188), a sophist in Cappadocian Caesarea, maybe a pagan.¹⁸ If the short phrase in the beginning of the letter is to be taken to mean that Gregory is still acting as a bishop in Nazianzus,¹⁹ the letter is again to be dated to 383. It is a letter of recommendation; Stageirius is asked to demonstrate to "the sweetest son Nicobulus" his education and prove their friendship. The next letter where Nicobulus is mentioned is the one to another sophist, Eustochius (letter 190), who probably had studied together with Gregory in Athens.²⁰ It is clear from this letter that Eustochius earlier reproached Gregory harshly because Nicobulus was studying under Stageirius instead of under himself, Eustochius. One more reply of Gregory follows (191), seeking the reconciliation of the two sophists, apparently without success; then comes a letter to Stageirius (192), demanding that he send Nicobulus to Eustochius. That is more or less all what we know about the education of Nicobulus the younger.²¹

Summarising the data scattered in many letters written to various rhetoricians, the following can be reconstructed: at the end of the year 381 or the beginning of 382, the sons of the elder Nicobulus study shorthand writing; in the year 383 they (surely including Nicobulus the younger) study under Eudoxius and then, for a short time, under Stageirius, then Nicobulus starts his

¹⁷ On the difference between "rhetor" and "sophist," see Marrou, 535 note 24.

¹⁸ See Gally, vol. 2, 55, note 5. Also see Hauser-Meury, 157–58.

¹⁹ 188,1: Ne/wn prokaqe/zV ; Pa/shj h(Iiki/aj h(=j. See note of Gally *ad loc.*

²⁰ See note *ad loc.* of Gally. Also see Hauser-Meury, 78.

²¹ See also Gregory's poem *Nicobuli filii ad patrem* (PG 37, col. 1505–1521).



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

studies under Eustochius. Shorthand writing, as mentioned above, belonged to primary education, which usually started at seven. Studies under a rhetor took the place of higher education, and were attempted “sometimes as early as fifteen.”²² This could mean that letter 157, where the “children of Nicobulus” are mentioned, does not refer to Nicobulus the younger.

When could the five letters to Nicobulus have been written? Gallay connects them with letters which Gregory sent to the above-mentioned rhetoricians while overseeing Nicobulus’ education, which is one of his main arguments for the younger and not the elder Nicobulus as the recipient of letters 50 to 55. If Gallay by mistake (or for the sake of cautiousness) dated these letters to 384–390, he can be corrected and the date established as 383. Is there further evidence for dating? Dionysius the Critic may be of help.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the only theorist of style mentioned by Gregory, appears in letter 180,2. It is the seventh and the last of the successive letters to Eudoxius; the first letter recommends Nicobulus to the rhetor, and the last letters try to convert the rhetor to a “Christian philosopher,” without success. The text runs as follows:

e)peidh\ kai\ au)to\ to\ mh\ o(mologeí=n th\ n filosofi/an sfo/dra filo/sofon. (/O peri\ tou= Lusi/ou tou= r(h/toro/j fhsin o(kritiko\j Dionu/sioj, o(/ti to\ a)/tecnon au)tou= li/an e)/ntecnon h)=n.

Since not to admit oneself to be a philosopher is itself very philosophical. This is what Dionysius the Critic says about Lysias, that the lack of art in his style is very artful.

[The reference is to 8, 5–6 of the *De Lysia* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.²³]

The context has little to do with rhetoric; taken alone, this reference would not prove that Gregory knew the *De Lysia* of Dionysius well or even that he read it at that time, around 383. He could simply have remembered the sentence because of its paradoxical nature, something cherished by Gregory. And since

²² Marrou, 358–359. It is difficult to establish the age of Nicobulus. If letter 12 to Nicobulus the elder was written around 365, and this is an approximate date of the marriage of Nicobulus and Alypiana (see note of Gallay *ad loc.*), Nicobulus cannot be older than eighteen in 383 and probably was not younger than fifteen.

²³ It is neither a quotation, nor a very similar paraphrase; the Dionysian text runs thus: ... toiau/thn tina\ para/scoi do/xan, o(/ti a)nepithdeu/twj kai\ ou) kata\ te/cnhn, au)toma/twj de/ pwj kai\ w(j e)/tuce su/gkeitai.)/Esti de\ panto\j ma=llon e)/rgou teknikou= kataskeuasme/noj. Pepoi/htai ga\r au)tJ= tou=to to\ a)poi/hton kai\ de/detai to\ lelume/non kai\ e)n au)tJ= tJ= mh\ dokei=n deinw=j kataskeua/sqai to\ deino\n e)/cei.



Arvydas Pliucas

he was writing to a rhetorician who has just refused to abandon rhetoric, he quoted another famous classical rhetorician.²⁴

Some more references. The first sentence of the same letter runs as follows: *Patroj ei)=j a)gaqoi=o, fi/lon te/koj, oi(=a punqa/nomai peri\ sou=.*—"You are a son of a good father, dear child, that is what I know about you." The first half of this sentence is a fragment of hexameter, constructed from various passages of Homer.²⁵ This sentence leads us to the beginning of another treatise by Dionysius, namely, *Peri\ sunqe/sewj o)noma/twn* (*De compositione verborum*); the first sentence of this is also composed of Homeric lines, starting with: *dw=ro/n toi kai\ e)gw/, te/knon fi/le, tou=to di/dwmi* ("I also, dear child, bring you this present.") *Fi/lon te/koj* of Gregory and *te/knon fi/le* of Dionysius (1,1), being similar rhythmically, suggest the first parallel. The second is suggested by *patroj ei)=j a)gaqoi=o* of Gregory and *patroj a)gaqou=* of Dionysius (1,4) (meaning the father of Rufus Metilius).

In a similar manner Homer is used in letter 52 to Nicobulus, with which Gregory sends his great-nephew his own and Basil's letters. After a few other references to Homer (Nestor, Eurystheias, and Heracles), comes the following passage: *th= nu=n tou=ton i(ma/nta tai=j sai=j e)gkaqa/tou bi/bloij, ou)k e)rwtko/n, a)lla\ logiko/n, ou)d' e)pideiktiko\n ma=llon h)\ crh/simon kai\ th=j h(mete/raj au)lh=j.*²⁶ This is also slightly reminiscent of a sentence from the paragraph of Dionysius quoted above, where a Homeric line is also used; then to the phrase *ou)d' e)pideiktiko\n ma=llon h)\ crh/simon* of Gregory there responds (or at least corresponds) the *ou)/t' ei)j ga/mou mo/non w(/ran, kai\ gameth=j ca/rin, a)lla\ ... kth=ma de\ soi\ to\ au)to\ kai\ crh=ma ... w)fe/limon, a)nagkaio/taton a(pa/ntwn crhma/twn* of Dionysius, and to the *kai\ th=j h(mete/raj au)lh=j* of Gregory, the *paidei/aj kai\ yuch=j th=j e)mh=j* of Dionysius.

Why should there be such a similarity? The *prooemium* of *Peri\ sunqe/sewj* is composed in the form of a letter: Dionysius congratulates the young Rufus Metilius on his birthday, and as a present sends him a treatise about the arrangement of words. Gregory, on the other hand, together with letter 52,

²⁴ To quote rhetoricians or other popular pagan authors when writing to the educated, especially to rhetoricians, was Gregory's usual habit. Compare letter 190 to Eustochius, in which eight allusions to pagan authors are used.

²⁵ See note of Gallay *ad loc.*

²⁶ "Do place this volume with your books—a work not amatory but oratorical, and not for display so much as for use, and that from our own home." The reference is to *Iliad*, 14, 219; the Homeric text is put in italics.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

sends the collection of his and Basil's letters to the young Nicobulus, and his letter could also serve as some kind of *prooemium*.

One more allusion may be inferred in letter 146 to a magistrate, Olympius, also written in 383, asking a favour on behalf of the elder Nicobulus. Gregory writes thus (146,3): $\text{)}\text{Epeita u(forw=mai to}\text{\textbackslash n ko/ron w(j to}\text{\textbackslash h(du}\text{\textbackslash lu/onta kai}\text{\textbackslash pa=sin e)pantiou/menon toi=j kaloi=j.}$ ("And I also suspect that *satiety destroys pleasure* and is opposite to all the good things.") The idea and the terminology are reminiscent of many places in Dionysius, to whom *ko/roj* is one of the chief vices of style.²⁷

All the similarities with Dionysian texts and concepts are found only in the letters dated to 383. Thus, if all this is correct and relevant, some influence of Dionysius on Gregory's theory of letter-writing as shown in letters 50 to 52 may be expected; this would confirm that at least most of the allusions are not accidental, and that the letters to Nicobulus should also be dated to 383 and not to 384–390 as Gallay has them.

Hypothetically, it is not impossible to argue that letter 52 to Nicobulus and letter 180 to Eudoxius were sent together (if Nicobulus was then studying under Eudoxius). The only possible allusion to the beginning of *Peri}\ sunqe/sewj o)noma/twn* of Dionysius appears in both of them (letter 180 alluding to the beginning and the end, letter 52 to the middle of the same paragraph), and it is probable that the letter to Nicobulus was expected to be read by Eudoxius.²⁸ At the very end of letter 51 (which followed 52) we read: "The rest you will work out for yourself, as you are quick at learning, and those who are smart (*komyoi/*) in these matters will teach you." This sentence could indicate that Nicobulus is still learning under a sophist; this final remark could also be aimed at the sophist: it praises Nicobulus, and states that Gregory is not going to rival the sophist in teaching Nicobulus, and that there are things to be added to his theory as presented in the letter.

²⁷ Cf. some similar passages: 11,22: $\text{baru}\text{\textbackslash j me}\text{\textbackslash n o(ko/roj;}$ 12,4: $\text{th}\text{\textbackslash n o(moio/thta dialu/ein;}$ 19,2: $\text{Ko/ron ga}\text{\textbackslash r e)/cei kai}\text{\textbackslash ta}\text{\textbackslash kala/, w(/sper kai}\text{\textbackslash ta}\text{\textbackslash h(de/a, me/nonta e)n th}\text{\textbackslash = tauto/thti. poikillo/menon d' e)n tai=j metabolai=j a)ei}\text{\textbackslash kaina}\text{\textbackslash me/nei;}$ 19,10: $\text{... kle/ptousai th}\text{\textbackslash = poikili/a}\text{\textbackslash to}\text{\textbackslash n ko/ron.}$

²⁸ See Ruether, 124: "... a person's letters were carefully polished to be little gems of language, in the expectation that they would be passed round and even read out loud to admiring groups of *literati*." Also *s. v.* epistolography in *The Dictionary of Byzantium*: Letters "were nearly always intended for publication, either in the sense of public reading or through circulation as a collection. ... Letters were frequently, if not normally, meant to be read aloud, not just to the intended recipient but also to an appreciative audience." *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).



Arvydas Pliucas

Analysis of Letter 51 and Other Letters to Nicobulus

Conciseness

First in letter 51 comes conciseness:

1. Writers of letters (since this is what you also ask) err either by writing at greater length than is fitting (makro/tera h)/per ei)ko/j) or making them much too brief (li/an e)ndee/sterā). Either mistake is a failure to achieve the mean (tou= metri/ou), just as, when men shoot at a target, the miss will be equally palpable whether one hits above or below the mark, though the causes in such cases are precisely the opposite. 2. The measure (me/tron) of a letter is determined by need (h(crei/a): when there is not much to say, one ought not to drag it out; when there is, one ought not to be measuring words. 3. What? Are we to measure our wisdom (sofi/an) by the Persian rope,²⁹ or by the cubits of a child, and to write so imperfectly as not to write at all but to copy the midday shadows, or lines foreshortened by looking straight along them, where the actual length is telescoped and is suggested rather than accurately measured from point to point, where, if I may phrase it more happily (w(j a)\n ei)/poimi kairi/wj), there is simply a likeness of a likeness (ei)kasma/twn ei)ka/smata)? We must in both respects avoid the lack of moderation and hit the mean. 4. This is my opinion as to conciseness (suntomi/aj);

It must be noted that conciseness, as it is explained here by Gregory, seems not to be a *stylistic* category at all: it only determines the length of the letter depending on its content—sometimes we need to write long letters, while sometimes short ones are enough. Letter 54 (which follows 51) adds some information about the point:

To be laconic (to\ lakwni/zein) is not, as you suppose, to write few syllables (o)li/gaj sullaba\j gra/fein), but to say a great deal in few (peri\ plei/stwn o)li/gaj). Thus, I call Homer very brief and Antimachus lengthy. Why? Because I measure the length by the matter (toi=j pra/gmasi) and not by the letters (toi=j gra/mmasi).

Conciseness as explained in this letter much better fits the traditional understanding of it in the Classical rhetorical tradition, in which conciseness or brevity was deemed to be created in the subject-matter and in diction or expression.³⁰ In the first case, brevity is achieved when the most important

²⁹ The Persian rope is a land measure.

³⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 5,1; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 83,14.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

things are told straightforwardly, when only the most important things are said, when nothing necessary is taken away, and nothing unnecessary is added.

In the case of expression, straightforward words and expressions and not paraphrases are used, and tropes and metaphors are not to be added, but a phrase will be finished after briefly telling the matter in indicative words; synonyms are not to be used; a single lexeme should not be replaced by a phrase (such as "left one's life" instead of "died"); simple, not composite, words are to be used, and shorter ones are to be preferred to longer when they mean the same; linking words, not the repetition of an article, should be preferred, for example, *th=j h(mete/raj gunaiko/j*, not *th=j gunaiko\j th=j h(mete/raj*.³¹

Clarity

Explanation of clarity, or perspicuity (*safh/nea*), follows in letter 51:

Concerning the question of clarity, it is an accepted principle that one must eschew the oratorical form (*to\ logoeide/j*) as much as possible and tend rather toward the conversational (*ma=llon ei\j to\ laliko\n a)pokli/nea*). To speak concisely (*i((/n' ei)/pw suntomw/j*), that is the best and most beautiful letter (*a)ri/sth kai\ ka/llista e)/cousa*) which can convince (*pei/qv*) the ordinary man (*i)diw/thn*) and the educated (*pepaideume/non*) alike, the former as something on the popular level, the latter as something above that level. Then the meaning of a letter ought to be at once quite clear, because it is equally unfitting when a riddle is easily understood and when a letter needs an interpretation.

What Gregory most probably means by *to\ logoeide/j*, is elaborate, sophisticated, satiated with tropes and figures, the language of epideictic rhetoric, of speeches made *ex cathedra*, using, also, expressions and words of authors of the Classical period, which could be appreciated by the educated, but were not employed or even understood by the majority (and here we may remember the way that the terms *u(perattiki/zein* and *u(perlalei=n* were used by Philostratus).

According to Aristotle, clarity is the chief virtue of style (followed by dignity and appropriateness), which is to be achieved by using proper nouns and verbs; those which are not proper will make style ornate and not mean.³² By non-proper or non-ordinary words Aristotle means rare, metaphorical,

³¹ For all these points see, *inter alia*, Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 83,15–18; 84,5–6; Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1407b 25–29 and 35–39.

³² Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1404b1–8.



Arvydas Pliucas

ornamental, invented, lengthened, curtailed, and altered words.³³ The only exception, it seems, is made for metaphor, which is both clear, pleasant, and unfamiliar.³⁴ Almost the same is repeated by Aphthonius.³⁵

For Demetrius, clarity of expression is the main feature of the plain style (191; 203), accompanied also by vividness (*e)na/rgeia*) and persuasion (*piqano/thj*) (203). First, clarity is achieved by using ordinary words and by using connective particles (192). Following Aristotle, Demetrius warns that ordinary and usual phrasing may be contemptible (77). Clear style should also avoid ambiguities and should use the figure of *epanalepsis*, which is a repetition of a conjunction in distanced phrases (196). For the sake of clarity, one should also repeat often, because “brevity is more pleasant than clear” (197). Using oblique cases is also not clear; the best is the nominative or the accusative (198–199). Demetrius reminds the reader that what is clear and manifest is likely to be considered with contempt (100).

Dionysius divides clarity into clarity of words and clarity in subject matter. The diction of Lysias, he says, is clear and manifest and seems to be far from “public speeches.” The clarity of Lysias’ style, he maintains further, comes not from the lack of oratorical power (in which case it would not be commendable), but from the richness of proper words.³⁶

Aristeides tells us that clarity is achieved in the subject matter when events are told in the sequence in which they happened, when thoughts “from outside” are not added and only what has happened is told, when known things are told as known and disputable as disputable. In diction we will achieve clarity when we use words which are common and indicative, and which vividly express the events, when we use figures of narrative, when we use but few tropes and metaphors.³⁷

Except for the division of the idea of clarity into subheadings of purity (*kaqaro/thj*) and limpidity (*eu)kri/neia*),³⁸ Hermogenes most often repeats what was said by previous authors. Pure thoughts are those which can reach (or seem to reach) everybody, being clear and understandable by themselves and having nothing deep nor contrived. The method of clarity is to present a naked thing, taking nothing from outside. It is also to present an event in a narrative

³³ Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1457b 1–3.

³⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1405a8–9.

³⁵ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 81,8–10.

³⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 4,1–3.

³⁷ Aristeides, 500,16–28

³⁸ Gallay, 226.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

manner³⁹ (as in Aristeides). *Epanalepsis* is again mentioned as useful for clarity and limpidity.⁴⁰ Pure diction is common diction, understandable to everybody, not “turned” or “altered,” nor being “hard” by itself, for all these techniques and attributes have vividness and grandeur, not purity. The figure of purity is “rightness,” not “obliqueness”⁴¹ (as in Aristeides). *Hyperbaton*, or transposition of words and clauses, also does not fit purity. Members of phrases (clauses) must be short, *commatic*, having in them a complete thought. Composition should be simple, not caring about collisions of vowels.⁴² Cadences of a period will be trochaic or iambic.⁴³

The questions of whether, and if so, how, conciseness and clarity may come together were also kept in mind. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 4,4: “Lysias is also better than anybody at expressing thoughts concisely and clearly, which task—to bring the both together and to mix them moderately—is difficult by nature.” Also Aphthonius said in his *Progymnasmata*, 79,20–28:

The virtues of a narrative are three: clarity, conciseness, and persuasiveness. If it is possible, narrative must have all three virtues. If not, we must strive so that conciseness be not contrary to clarity and to persuasiveness; for example, if a thing is by itself difficult, we must strive for clarity and persuasiveness—if it is simple and not tangled, for conciseness and persuasiveness—since a narrative must always be persuasive.

Charm

The last stylistic quality discussed in the letter is charm:

5. The third point about a letter is the charm (*ca/rij*) of its style. This we can achieve if we do not write in any way which is dry (*xhra/*) and charmless (*a)ca/rista*), unembellished (*a)kallw/pista*), unadorned, (*a)ko/smhta*) and untrimmed (*a)ko/rhta*), as it is called; as for instance a style destitute of maxims (*gnwmw=n*) and proverbs (*paroimiw=n*) and pithy sayings (*a)pofqegma/twn*), also of jokes (*skomma/twn*) and riddles (*ai)nigma/twn*), by which speech is sweetened (*oi(=j o(lo/goj kataglukai/netai*). Yet we must not seem to abuse these things by an excessive employment of them. Their entire omission is boorish (*a)groi=kon*), abuse of them is cloying (*a)plhston*). 6. They should appear

³⁹ Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 227.

⁴⁰ Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 239.

⁴¹ Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 229.

⁴² Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 232.

⁴³ Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 233.



Arvydas Pliucas

in the same proportions as purple does in embroidery. Thus tropes (tropai/) are permissible, but few and modest (ou)k a)naiscu/ntouj). Figures like *antithesis*, *pariosis*, and *isocolon* we shall leave to the sophists, or if we do sometimes admit them, we shall do so rather in play than in earnest (w(j katapai/zontej ma=llon ... h)\ spouda/zontej).

The term *xhro/j* is used by Demetrius to designate a style that is too simple, too plain, and both Gregory and Demetrius want letters to be adorned with the quality of "charm" or "grace" (ca/rij). The association of proverbs with charm of style is present in the *De elocutione* of Demetrius; he mentions proverbs in the quoted passages dedicated to letter-writing and discusses them in the passages about the elegant style.⁴⁴ "*Antithesis*, *pariosis*, and *isocolon*"⁴⁵ are also traditionally associated with graceful style. To summarise: charm, according to Gregory, is achieved by using maxims, proverbs, jokes and so on, then by occasional and cautious usage of tropes; figures of language should not be used, except only as if joking.

To illuminate Gregory's note on playfulness and earnestness in one of his epistles, "figures like *antithesis*, *pariosis*, and *isocolon* we shall leave to the sophists, or if we do sometimes admit them, we shall do so rather in play than in earnest,"⁴⁶ a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus may be quoted. Saying that "poetic and tropical expression" was for some time very popular in Athens, Dionysius continues:

Lysias did nothing similar in his seriously written works, that is in judicial and deliberative speeches, except a little in his panegyrics. For I should not speak about his epistles, his friendly writings and others, which he wrote playfully (o)j meta\ paidia=j e)/grayen).⁴⁷

Shall we infer from this that epistles, together with some other genres, were considered to be more playful and more fit for poetic expression?

Demetrius divides the category of charm into two parts: the serious, that of the poets, and the simple or "cheap," which is comic and similar to jokes or gibes⁴⁸—using hyperbole, for example (161). In subject matter charm may be created by proverbs and by using myths, either by employing existing ones or by

⁴⁴ Cf. Demetrius, *De elocutione*, 56: "In the matter of content, grace is taken from proverbs. Since a proverb is by nature graceful."

⁴⁵ For example, Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 302.

⁴⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistle 51*, 6, 4–6.

⁴⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 3, 31–36.

⁴⁸ Demetrius, *De elocutione*, 128.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

creating new ones fitting to one's topic (156–8). Charm can also be created by using similar clauses (29, 154), and by using meters, full or not full (180).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, after enumerating and briefly commenting on the virtues of Lysias' style, says that there is one more, "the most beautiful and the most important, by which alone the authenticity of Lysias' writings can be established."⁴⁹

And what kind of virtue is that? Some charm, flourishing in all of his words. And what kind of charm? This is greater and more wonderful than any explanation. It is very easy to notice, both by simple men and by specialists, but very difficult to explain, even for the very skilled ones.⁵⁰

Unfortunately, that is nearly all that Dionysius has to say about it; he adds some comparisons with dance and music, noting that there also the beauty is comprehended by the senses, not by reason (ai)sqh/sei ... ou) lo/gJ). Whatever it is, charm in Dionysius' system is created by means of the composition of words, not by using proverbs.

These paragraphs on charm from the treatise of Dionysius, already mentioned many times, could have influenced the inclusion of charm in Gregory's letter. Lysias was traditionally considered to be *the* representative of the simple style espoused by many Christian authors.⁵¹ It would not be surprising therefore if Gregory wanted letters to be adorned with the charm which befits simplicity.

Character

Many treatises contain a concept of character or *ethos* (h)=qoj). Gregory does not mention it, but it is worth discussing it so as to find at least a reason why Gregory misses it. The concept was important as early as the *Rhetorics* of Aristotle, where it is mentioned together with feeling (pa/qoj) as contributing to propriety of a speech; a style will be proper if it is expressive of feeling and character.⁵² By character Aristotle means "classes and habits," such as those of age (child, man, old man), of sex, of country, and also "moral states which form

⁴⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 10,3–13.

⁵⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 10, 5–6.

⁵¹ For passages of Christian authors dealing with the opposite categories of "simplicity" and "dignity," see Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 516–34.

⁵² Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1408a10–11.



Arvydas Pliucas

a man's character in life," such as those of being educated or uneducated;⁵³ for each of these characters one should use a different style.⁵⁴

Demetrius says that the so-called "Gorgian figures" (such as antithesis, *pariosis* and *isocolon*, mentioned by Gregory) do not fit when we want to express characters or feelings, because both of these need a simple and not artificial style.⁵⁵ According to Aphthonius, one "should describe a character using style which is clear, concise, flower-like, loose, and without any twisting and figure."⁵⁶ According to Hermogenes, character in a speech is created by "virtuousness" and simplicity (in a positive sense), also, in addition, by self-indicating sincerity and spontaneity.⁵⁷

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the so-called *ethopoiia* is also one of the virtues of Lysias. He goes on:

There are three elements which contribute to this virtue: thought, diction and composition, and in all three he is successful. *For he not only in thought presents the persons speaking to be good and reasonable, and temperate, making their speeches as if images of characters,* but he also gives them diction fitting to characters, which can indicate this in the best manner, being clear, ordinary, common and most usual to everybody. For grandeur, strangeness, and elaborateness do not at all fit for creating characters. And he puts these words together very plainly and simply, seeing that character appears not in periodical language and rhythms, but in a loose style.⁵⁸

Then pleasure (h(du/j, connected with charm in the Dionysian system) and persuasiveness are mentioned as features of Lysias' composition. "So, aiming at sincerity and hoping to become *an imitator of naturalness* one should use the composition of Lysias."⁵⁹

Can we, then, answer the question of why the concept of *ethos*, so important in the systems of Demetrius, Theon, and Philostratus, is omitted in Gregory's letter? First, part of what the earlier theoreticians had to say about *ethos* is said in Gregory's letter. He disapproved of the usage of the Gorgian figures (as did Demetrius, Aphthonius and Dionysius); he stated that style must

⁵³ Or in Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 321: "general and orator, ... a greedy man, or a coward, or an avaricious one, and so on."

⁵⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetorics*, 1408a 25–32.

⁵⁵ Demetrius, *De elocutione*, 28.

⁵⁶ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 11.15–17.

⁵⁷ Hermogenes, *Peri ideon*, 321.

⁵⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 8, 4–17.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 8, 1–7. Italics mine, A. P.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

be clear and concise (as did Aphthonius); and he mentioned naturalness (which Dionysius connects with *ethos*). Secondly, a reason why Gregory might not have wanted to mention *ethos* may be a sentence from the quoted passage of Dionysius, which clearly implies that the task of an orator is *to present* a person as “good and reasonable, and temperate.” It may be said that the category of *ethos* can be interpreted in twofold manner. On the one hand, a person who is talking or writing must express himself in a way which befits him: an old man should not write in the same manner as a young one, nor an educated one like an uneducated one, and so on. That is what Demetrius means by saying that “a letter must abound in glimpses of character.” On the other hand, in the passage of Dionysius, the latter praises Lysias for the fact that he, writing speeches for other persons, speeches to be used in court, tries to present these persons as good and virtuous, whatever they really are.⁶⁰ This side of *ethos* is most explicitly expressed in the Dionysian passage; it is not so strongly implied in other authors. Also, in letter 180, where Gregory mentions Dionysius the Critic, the allusion is to the end of chapter 8, the chapter dedicated to *ethopoiia*.

Thus, this analysis shows that Gregory is both close to the Classical tradition of epistolography and coherent in terms of general theories of style. Dionysius of Halicarnassus probably influenced the interpretation of the notions of charm and character; his name may be connected with the mentions of playfulness and persuasiveness, maybe also with the order of presenting these concepts.

Conclusions

Theoretical and prosopographical analyses, combined together for scrutinising the theory of letter-writing of Gregory of Nazianzus, have helped to reveal the influence of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the theory of letter-writing as put by Gregory in his letters to Nicobulus the younger. This influence is not great; Gregory is almost inevitably close to the Classical tradition of letter-writing, which has its beginning in the treatise of Demetrius, or even earlier, while Dionysius never wrote anything on letter-writing. When, however, Gregory does not follow the main concepts of that tradition, or interprets it a little differently, we may rely on Dionysius for an explanation.

⁶⁰ We may remember here that in his letters to the educators of Nicobulus' children, Gregory has a few times expressed a care about their character and their virtue. See 157,2: τοῦ ἡ)=ροῦ τῶν παιδῶν προῦν ἀρεθῶν; 167,1: τοῦ ἡ)=ροῦ προῦν ἀρεθῶν ἠγαθῶν/σῶν. Also compare Gregory's comments on the character of Eudoxius in 178,5: τοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γαλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ... ἀνεπίθῶν/δεῶν.



Arvydas Pliucas

At the same time we cannot maintain that Gregory's theory has nothing original in it, or that it is just a compilation of earlier works: Gregory freely and skilfully chooses what he thinks is needed and leaves out what he considers to be unnecessary. Is it an attempted "Christianisation" or at least "philosophisation" of rhetorical theory? Around twenty years had passed since the educational edict of Julian the Apostate; the bishop could still have had some mistrust regarding the technicalities of rhetorical theory, so speculating on the topic could be interesting, but such a statement of the question is doubtful. What was analysed here is just a letter written to a young relative (whatever its possible "additional" audience was), and thus it was quite personal writing. In addition, Nicobulus the younger was studying under a professional rhetorician, and Gregory could be sure that the points missed in his letter would be added by the teacher (a request which he expresses at the end of letter 51). This allowed him to confine himself only to things that he considered the most important.

Rhetorical and prosopographical analysis on the one hand, and theoretical analysis on the other, have also helped to connect the letters to Nicobulus with some other letters of Gregory, and almost with certainty I can assert that letters 51 to 55 were written in the year 383, probably during the period when Nicobulus was studying under the rhetorician Eudoxius. Hypothetically, it is possible that letter 52 to Nicobulus and letter 180 to Eudoxius were sent together, both intended to be read by the rhetorician.

This work has also provided some information about rhetorical education in the fourth century, concerning both Gregory himself and his great-nephew. There are no studies that could answer the question of which rhetorical theories were popular at the time, and which of them were used for preparing future orators. I could find no traces of Hermogenes in Gregory's letters, but it seems indubitable that Gregory knew at least a few treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This is probably not enough for making far-reaching conclusions, since the references to Dionysius are restricted to the year 383. And soon, in the fifth century, Hermogenes became *the* rhetorician of the Byzantine part of the Roman Empire. The results obtained here could be fruitfully used when analysing the speeches of Gregory, which it is now more usual to discuss with reference to the later theories of Hermogenes and pseudo-Aristeides as put by pseudo-Aristeides and Hermogenes.

Following of the process of "educating one's great-nephew at the end of the fourth century" is also revealing. The first educators were two bishops who were requested to form the character of their pupils towards virtue, that is, to conduct moral and also, probably, religious education. Then come the rhetoricians.



The Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

While studying under Eudoxius, Nicobulus asks his great-uncle to send him letters of his own and of Basil. When this is done, then follows the request to present some theoretical background as well. Thus the more specific literary education is done both in practice and in theory. Gregory's letters acted in the same way, it may be added, in the succeeding ages of Byzantium, providing examples to be imitated and a theory to be followed.



MAIMONIDES' PROOF FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD: A CONCEALED INCONSISTENCY¹

Tamás Visi 

"God was it, or a man, who laid down to you, strangers, the principles of your legal arrangements?" asks the Athenian Stranger at the beginning of Plato's *Laws*. "God, stranger, god," answers Kleinias, the Cretan. "We Cretans call Zeus our lawgiver [...] Minos used to go every ninth year to hold converse with his father Zeus, and he was guided by his divine oracles in laying down the laws." The Athenian Stranger does not question the veracity of this myth at the beginning of the dialogue. However, some pages later, he accuses the Cretans of inventing a "story" (*mythos*) about Zeus and Ganymede in order to justify the homosexual practices existing in Cretan society:

[It is] contrary to nature when male mates with male or female with female, and that those first guilty of such enormities were impelled by their slavery to pleasure. And we all accuse the Cretans of concocting the story about Ganymede. Because it was the belief that they derived their laws from Zeus, they added on this story about Zeus in order that they might be following his example in enjoying this pleasure as well.²

According to Leo Strauss' suggestive interpretation, the Athenian Stranger draws a parallel between the myth of Zeus and Ganymede and the myth of Zeus' giving laws to the Cretans through Minos.³ Just as the first was invented in order to justify a social practice, the second one was invented to legitimate the whole body of laws in Cretan society. Plato is indicating here—according to Strauss' interpretation—that the Athenian Stranger does not believe in the Cretan myth of law-giving, yet, nevertheless, he does not want to criticise it openly, because he thinks that such stories are necessary for the well-being of society: the multitude will not obey the laws unless they believe them to be of

¹ During writing this paper I received the Jewish Studies Research Support Grant by the Yad Hanadiv Foundation, and I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to all concerned within that body.

² Plato, *Laws* 636c–d. Cf. *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. E. Hamilton and C. Huntington (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

³ Cf. Leo Strauss: *The Argument and the Action of Plato's Laws* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975) 12.



Tamás Visi

divine origin. Thus the Cretan myth of Zeus' giving laws to Minos is an example of the "noble lies" mentioned in the third book of the *Republic*.⁴

It can be doubted whether this interpretation of the text is correct. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Platonic concept of the "noble lie" found its way into medieval Muslim philosophy. Averroes, in his commentary on the *Republic* (which survived only in a medieval Hebrew translation), writes as follows:

But the lie (employed by) the rulers towards the masses is right and proper for them; it is like medicine for illness. Just as it is only the doctor who administers the drug, so it is the king in the exercise of rulership who employs a lie towards the masses. For lying tales [*sippurim kozvim*] are necessary for the education of the citizens. There is no lawgiver [*maniah nimus*] who does not employ fictitious tales, because this is necessary for the masses if they are to attain happiness.⁵

The Hebrew expression *maniah nimus*, 'lawgiver', occurring in the quoted text is presumably the translation of Arabic *wādi' al-nawāmis*. This phrase often means 'founder of religion' in Arabic philosophical texts.⁶ Religion was seen by some of the Arab philosophers as having been created by a Platonic philosopher king who was surrounded by vulgar people not capable of understanding philosophy at all.⁷ Consequently, the philosopher king could not refer to

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 414b–415c. As early as the first century C. E. Philo of Alexandria adopted the Platonic theory of "noble lies" in the Jewish context, in order to explain away the anthropomorphic expressions of the Hebrew Bible; cf. his *De mutatione nominum* 52–68.

⁵ Transl. E. I. J. Rosenthal; see *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, ed. and tr. E. I. J. Rosenthal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 129 (Hebrew text: p. 32). [I. xii. 5–6; ad *Republic* 389b–c.] Oliver Leaman tries to narrow down the significance of this and similar texts. See his *An Introduction to Medieval Islamic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 182–186. However, his reasoning is unconvincing. One can refer to texts in Averroes' works claiming that truth has several levels, and that the level intended for the multitude is the literal sense of the Scripture. However, the "different levels of truth" is but a euphemism for "noble lies." The literal sense of the Scripture is false *in the literal sense*; moreover, *it is the literal sense that the multitude should believe*. To make the multitude believe something in the literal sense which is not true in the literal sense—what is this if not lying to them?

⁶ Consequently, Plato's *Laws* was read by them as a text expounding a theory of religion which they easily adopted to Islam. See, for example, Al-Farabi, *Compendium Legum Platonis*, ed. and tr. F. Gabrieli (London: Warburg Institute, 1952), 33.

⁷ Cf. Al-Farabi, *Alfarabi's Book of Letters (Kitāb al-hurūf): Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, ed. Muhsin Mahdi (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq Publishers, 1969), 152, and Al-



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

philosophical doctrines when he tried to establish a social and juridical system for them. Hence, he had to persuade these men to believe in some imaginative doctrine, which was false in the literal sense but which nonetheless helped the vulgar to attain "happiness," and thus in a way substituted for philosophy.

Now a basic question in Maimonidean scholarship is to what extent Maimonides did adopt this theory of religion.⁸ One can imagine a Straussian-Farabian Maimonides who considers the fundamental doctrines of Judaism to be Platonic "noble lies." Just as the Cretans were obliged to believe that their laws had been given by Zeus through Minos, in a similar way the Jews were persuaded that their laws had been ordained by God through Moses. This Straussian-Farabian Maimonides did not believe in Judaism as a revealed religion; nevertheless, he accepted it as a Platonic "noble lie" that helps "the multitude" to attain happiness. Therefore he refrained from open criticism of the foundations of religion.

If this overall interpretation of the Maimonidean *oeuvre* is correct, then we must suppose that Maimonides did not communicate his real views about religion in an open, direct way. He did not want to destroy Judaism; therefore he concealed his criticism of it from the eyes of the multitude. Thus it is possible that his major philosophical or theological work, *The Guide of the Perplexed* (hereafter *GP*) has two senses, two levels of understanding: the first, exoteric sense is intended for "the multitude" and does not attack the views of ordinary people, while the other, esoteric level is intended for those few who understand philosophy.

In his influential study "The Literary Character of the Guide of the Perplexed," Leo Strauss has laid down a basic methodological principle for discovering the esoteric teachings of *GP*. According to Strauss' hypothesis, the most important device used by Maimonides to conceal the esoteric doctrine is the intentional inclusion of contradictory statements in the text of *GP*. There are some sentences in the *Guide* which say (or imply) A, whereas, other sentences say (or imply) non-A. Now Maimonides could not have meant that both A and non-A were true. Therefore, according to Strauss, we must assume that either A is the true, esoteric view, and non-A is the false, exoteric one, or vice versa.

Farabi, "The Attainment of Happiness," in *Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Hyman and James J. Walsh (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1973), 230. [Originally: *Alfarabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*, tr. Muhsin Mahdi (New York: Free Press, 1962)]

⁸ Cf. Lawrence Berman, "Maimonides, the Disciple of Alfarabi," *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974): 154–178.



Tamás Visi

Maimonides discloses the truth in one place, and conceals it in another place by denying it.⁹

It is indubitable that *GP* does contain texts pointing to that direction.¹⁰ In the introductory chapter of *GP* Maimonides writes as follows:

In speaking about very obscure matters it is necessary to conceal some parts and to disclose others. Sometimes in the case of certain dicta this necessity requires that the discussion proceed on the basis of a certain premise, whereas in another place necessity requires that the discussion proceed on the basis of another premise contradicting the first. In such cases the vulgar must in no way be aware of the contradiction; the author accordingly uses some device to conceal it by all means.¹¹

However, a critic of the Straussian interpretation, Oliver Leaman, brought a serious charge against it: Strauss' ideas about discovering the "real" views of Maimonides are simply irrelevant from the point of view of understanding the text itself. Maimonides wanted to *prove* his views, not just simply to state them, esoterically or otherwise. What matters in philosophy is the argument and not the "personal view" of the philosopher. Even if one can prove that Maimonides' "real" views or opinions differed from the ones he was actually arguing for in *GP*, that knowledge helps little in the understanding of the arguments themselves. A reader of *GP* should strive for the understanding of the

⁹ Leo Strauss, "The Literary Character of the *Guide for the Perplexed*," in *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980 [1952]), 73.

¹⁰ However, an excellent Israeli scholar argues in a recent article that Strauss' interpretation of the passage to be quoted is based on a medieval mistranslation of the Judaeo-Arabic original. Cf. Yair Lorberbaum, "Ha-sibba ha-shevi'it: al ha-setirot be-'More ha-nevukhim'—iyyun mehuddash" (The "Seventh Cause": On Contradictions in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*) *Tarbiz* 69 (1999/2000): 211–237.

¹¹ Transl. Shlomo Pines; see Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, tr. and int. Shlomo Pines (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), 18. (All quotations from *GP* are from this translation.) There are two fundamental editions of the original Judaeo-Arabic text: the *editio princeps* was prepared by S. Munk: *Le Guide des Égarés: traité de théologie et de philosophie par Moïse ben Maimoun dit Maimonide*, ed. and tr. Salomon Munk (Paris: A. Franck, 1856–1866). This edition was revised by Y. Yoel [Joël]: *Dalalat al-hā'irān (Sefer more nevukhim) le-rabbeinu Moshe ben Maymon* ("The Guide for the Perplexed" by our master, Moses the son of Maimon), ed. Yissachar Yoel [Joël] (Jerusalem: Defus Azriel, 1931). On the philological value of these editions, see Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*: Towards a Critical Edition," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann*, ed. Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1979), 133–142.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

arguments contained in the text. Speculations about "what Maimonides was really thinking about when he wrote the text" are irrelevant.¹²

This criticism might lead us toward a reformulation of Strauss' methodology that saves the original idea to a considerable extent. The esoteric sense of *GP* should not be defined as the "true" or "real" *opinions* of Maimonides, but as secret *arguments* that are present in *GP*, although they are not formulated explicitly. After all, it cannot be doubted that Maimonides explicitly claimed that *intentional inconsistencies* had been inserted into the text of *GP*: that is, arguments proceeding from premises contradicting each other (see the text quoted above). Now it can be taken for granted that Maimonides was not satisfied with any inconsistent argumentation. Therefore we must assume that an inconsistent argument is meant to be exoteric by him, and that an esoteric, *consistent* argument corresponds to every inconsistent argument. The task of the interpreter is to detect the inconsistencies of the arguments presented in *GP*, and to find hints in the text on the basis of which the esoteric argument can be reconstructed.

An Example: Maimonides' Argument for the Existence of God

The central part of *GP* deals with the proofs for the existence, unity and incorporeality of God. Having criticised the arguments of the *Mutakallimān* (Muslim theologians) and the arguments of the (Aristotelian) philosophers, Maimonides presents his own argument, which can be regarded as a contamination of the two former ones.¹³

The proofs of the *Mutakallimān* are dependent on the premise of the creation of the world in time: they stand or fall with that premise. The arguments of the philosophers are based on another premise stating the eternity of the world: if this premise cannot be proved, the "philosophers' arguments"

¹² See particularly his *Moses Maimonides* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990). Other important studies by Leaman: "Does the Interpretation of Islamic Philosophy Rest on a Mistake?" *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 7 (1980): 525–538, and *An Introduction...*, 182–201.

¹³ This was the view of the thirteenth-century Moshe mi-Salerno; see his commentary on *GP* I, 71, MS Bodleiana 1261. Moshe Narboni thought that it was the contamination of Plato's and Aristotle's method, cf. his *Bur le-sefer More ha-nevukhim* (A Commentary on *GP*), ed. Jacob Goldenthal (Vienna: Um, 1853), 27a (on *GP* II, 2). On the significance of this difference, see Harry A. Wolfson, "Notes on Proofs of Existence of God in Jewish Philosophy," in *Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1979), 571.



Tamás Visi

lose their demonstrative force. Moreover, Maimonides argues in *GP* II, 17 that there is no decisive proof either for the eternity or for the creation of the universe. Therefore, the arguments of both the philosophers and the *Mutakallimīn* fall short of demonstrating the existence of God.

Now Maimonides' own strategy is simple and witty: the world is either created in time or eternal; in the former case the proof of the *Mutakallimīn*, and in the latter case the proofs of the philosophers, will be valid. So God's existence can be proved in any case, even if the problem of the eternity *versus* creation of the world cannot be settled.

However, this celebrated argument of Maimonides rests on the premise that *both* the *Mutakallimīn* and the philosophers are right in inferring the existence of God from their own premises respectively. Therefore, Maimonides had to show that—for example—God's existence indeed followed from the *creation of the world in time*. Now it is clear that if it is *not* the case, then Maimonides' own argument is not satisfactory: it cannot exclude the possibility that the world came into being without a Creator.

Modern scholars usually assume that this possibility, namely that the world came into existence a finite time ago without any cause bringing it into existence, is absurd—or at least that it was perceived as absurd by medieval thinkers.¹⁴ This assumption is correct; it does not mean, however, that the above mentioned possibility was *unthinkable*.¹⁵ The problem for Maimonides was exactly this: there is *an absurd but not unthinkable* possibility which should be ruled out by means of reasoning.

A closer examination of Maimonides' argumentation will show that it failed to rule out this "absurd" possibility. Moreover, I will bring some textual evidence to show that Maimonides himself was aware of this fact. However, he *did not state* the weakness of the argument in a clear way. That is, he tried to *conceal* it. Thus, his proof for God's existence can be regarded as a part of his *exoteric* doctrine, whereas the very fact of its being inconsistent must have been his *esoteric* doctrine.

The concealed inconsistency of Maimonides' proof for the existence of God has apparently escaped the attention of modern scholars, although it has been noticed by a medieval reader of Maimonides, Rabbi Levi ben Gershon, better known as Gersonides (1288–1344). In fact, Gersonides alluded to this inconsistency—without stating it in clear terms—as an *objection* against

¹⁴ Cf. Herbert A. Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity, Creation and the Existence of God in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Philosophy* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 1.

¹⁵ Cf. Ibn Falaqera's commentary on *GP* I, 71 to be quoted later in this paper.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

Maimonides' theory. Thus, not just a concealed argument, but a *concealed philosophical debate* will be revealed in the following pages.

Ex nihilo nihil fit: an Unreliable Ally

Following the Muslim theologians Maimonides infers the existence of God from the premise of the non-eternity of the world (that is, of the heavenly sphere) as follows:

If the sphere is subject to generation and corruption, it is the deity, may His name be sublime, who brought it into existence after its having been nonexistent. This is a first intelligible, for everything that exists after having been nonexistent must have of necessity someone who has brought into existence—it being absurd that it should bring itself into existence.¹⁶

The proof is based on two premises—this is clearly stated by Maimonides: on the non-eternity of the world and on the *ex nihilo nihil fit*, “nothing comes from nothing” principle. The latter is a “first intelligible,” in other words a self-evident axiom in Aristotelian natural philosophy.¹⁷ Every generation must be preceded by something, since nothing comes from nothing. If the world was generated, then its generation must have been preceded by something. And this something is God.

The weak point of the argument is the last step. How do we know that “it is the deity” who preceded the generation of the world? Why is this not matter and form, as the standard theory of generation would require?¹⁸ Aristotelian physics had a definite theory of the nature of what must precede every generation. And this theory was used to refute the creation of the world in time. We will see that our argument for the existence of God is probably identical with the first steps of a widespread argument for the *eternity* of the world!

First a closer examination of the principle *ex nihilo nihil fit* is needed. In *Metaphysics* III, 4, 999b5-8 Aristotle presents the principle “nothing comes from nothing” thus:

But if there is nothing eternal, then there can be no becoming: for there must be something which undergoes the process of becoming,

¹⁶ *GP* II, 2. tr. S. Pines, 252.

¹⁷ On the first intelligibles, see Maimonides, *Millot ha-higayon* 8, 1–2, and Herbert A. Davidson, “Maimonides on Metaphysical Knowledge,” in *Maimonidean Studies*, 3 (1992): 87–92.

¹⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *De Generatione* II, 1, 329a24–26; *Physics* I, 7–9.



Tamás Visi

that is, that from which things come to be; and the last member of this series must be non-generated [*kai touton to eskhaton ageneton*],¹⁹ for the series must start with something, since nothing can come from nothing.²⁰

Alexander of Aphrodisias in his commentary elaborated the argument in this way:²¹ The main aim of this passage is to prove that if nothing is eternal, then no generation is possible. Now every generation must be preceded by two things: a substrate that will become the generated thing, and a cause that will change the substrate into the generated thing. For example, if a man is generated, then we need both a matter that will be transformed into the man, and another man that will cause the transformation. Now let us examine the substrate. If it is generated, then another substrate is needed. Suppose that we have arrived at an ultimate substrate (*eskhaton hypokeimenon*). This we call “first matter” (*protē hylē*). Thus the question is whether the first matter is generated or not.

If it is generated, then it is generated either from nothing or from something.²² But from nothing it cannot be generated, because

... it is a common opinion [*koinē doxa*] of the ones who speculate on nature [*zōn peri physeōs eiponton ti*] that nothing is generated out of nothing, and it is obviously absurd and impossible to say that something is generated thus.²³

On the other hand it cannot be generated out of another substrate either, because this would imply an infinite series of causes and substrates:

... but nor can it be that one is the cause of the other and one is the substrate of the other infinitely in a straight line as he [Aristotle] showed it in the “lesser Alpha.”²⁴

It is clear now that according to Alexander’s interpretation of *ex nihilo nihil fit* the “eternal” that must precede every generation is, first of all, the “ultimate substrate,” that is, the first matter (and not God!). However, he adds that by using the plural form *touton* in the expression *kai touton to eskhaton ageneton* (“and the last of these is eternal”) Aristotle’s intention was to express the point that

¹⁹ Alexander of Aphrodisias understood this expression in a different way (see below).

²⁰ Transl. Richard Hope; see Aristotle, *Metaphysics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 51.

²¹ *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca ed. Michael Hayduck, vol. 1 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1891), 212–213.

²² Compare with Aristotle, *Physics* I, 8. 191a25–33.

²³ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Metaphysicam*, 213.

²⁴ The reference is to *Metaphysics* II, 2, 994a–b.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

not just matter but the generated things must be eternal in a sense as well, since generation in nature requires, besides matter, the actual existence of a thing belonging to the same species as the thing to be generated:

It is possible that by *kai touton* he means not just the matter from which it is generated but the generated thing [*ginomenon*] as well. In the domain of naturally generated things it seems that similar is generated by similar. For man begets man; therefore, if a man is generated, there must be a man who makes and begets him. Therefore it is necessary that through these a maker should exist eternally [*anagkaion de kai epi touton einai poiëtikon aidion*] and this is what he intended to say (besides what he has said about the matter) that the generated thing should exist eternally as well [*kai to ginomenon aidion einai dei*].²⁵

To sum up, according to Alexander *ex nihilo nihil fit* means that every generation is preceded by [a] matter and [b] an active cause, and both of them must be eternal in a sense.

Alexander's commentaries on Aristotle were studied and considered to be authoritative by Maimonides, as we know from one of his letters to Shmuel ben Yehuda ibn Tibbon (who translated the *Guide* from Arabic into Hebrew):

The works of Aristotle are the roots and foundations of all works on the sciences. But they cannot be understood except with the help of commentaries, those of Alexander of Aphrodisias, those of Themistius, and those of Averroes.²⁶

Moreover, the influence of Alexander's interpretation of *ex nihilo nihil fit* can be traced in a passage of *GP* where Maimonides actually expounds an argument in favour of the eternity of the world:

Before the world came into being, its production in time must have been either possible or necessary or impossible. Now if it was necessary, the world could not have been nonexistent. If its production in time was impossible, it could not be true that it ever would exist. And if it was possible, what was the substratum for this possibility? For there indubitably must be an existent thing that is the substratum of this possibility and in virtue of which it is said of the thing that it is possible. This is a very powerful method for establishing the eternity of the world.²⁷

²⁵ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Metaphysicam*, 213.

²⁶ Cf. Alexander Marx, "Texts by and about Maimonides," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 25 (1934): 378.

²⁷ *GP* II, 14 tr. Pines, 287.



Tamás Visi

The influence of Alexander can be detected in the way Maimonides refutes a possible counter-argument in the continuation of the text:

However, an intelligent man from among the later Mutakallimān thought that he had solved the difficulty. He said: Possibility resides in the agent and not in the thing that is the object of the action. This, however, is no reply, for there are two possibilities. For with respect to everything produced in time, the possibility of its being produced precedes in time the thing itself. And similarly in the agent that produced it, there is the possibility to produce that which it has produced before it has done so. These are indubitably two possibilities: a possibility in the matter to become that particular thing, and a possibility in the agent to produce that particular thing.²⁸

This quotation shows that Maimonides shared Alexander's view that according to Aristotelian physics every generation must be preceded by [a] matter [b] an active cause.²⁹ Moreover, he refused the reduction of the principle to [b] offered by a Muslim theologian as a solution to refute the proof for eternity. This kind of reworking first principles is not a legitimate answer to philosophical and theological problems according to Maimonides. If you accept *ex nihilo nihil fit*, you have to accept it with all its consequences, even if you do not like all of them.

Now let us turn back to the proof for the existence of God on the basis of the non-eternity of the world. The argument can be reconstructed in the following way:

- (1) The world is not pre-eternal [premise].
- (2) Every generation is preceded by [a] matter and [b] an active cause. [This is the "first intelligible," *ex nihilo nihil fit*.]
- (3) The world was generated some time ago [follows from (1)].
- (4) Therefore, the world's generation is preceded by [a] matter and [b] an active cause [follows from (2) and (3)].

We can add a premise that would be accepted by virtually every monotheist theologian:

²⁸ GP II, 14 tr. Pines, 287.

²⁹ That the principle *ex nihilo nihil fit* is really at stake when Maimonides is speaking about the argument "from the possibility" is shown by the words of his refutation of the argument in GP II, 17: "We shall make a similar assertion with regard to the possibility that must of necessity precede everything that is generated. For this is necessary in regard to this being that is stabilized—in *this being everything that is generated is generated from some being*." (Emphasis mine; tr. Pines, 297)



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

(5) There is no composition in the nature of God [additional premise].

The argument leads to an interesting conclusion:

(6) At least one thing besides God existed before the generation of the world [follows from (4) and (5); God cannot be both matter and active cause, due to His unity rather than multiplicity].

Now if we add another premise that would be accepted by virtually every monotheist theologian,³⁰ we get a nice indirect demonstration of the eternity of the world:

(6) All the beings except God can be called "world" [additional premise].

(7) The world existed before the generation of the world [follows from (5) and (6)].

(8) But this is clearly absurd; therefore we have to reject (1).

I did not find the argument in this form in any sources.³¹ However, a widespread proof³² for the eternity of the world based on the eternity of the first matter seems to imply steps (5-8) as well. This proof consists of proving the eternity of first matter by *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and having done that, it is taken for granted that the eternity of the world is demonstrated.³³ Therefore it is not an anachronistic hypothesis that the kind of reasoning elaborated above (4-8) was implicitly included by Maimonides and his contemporaries as an inference from the eternity of the first matter to the eternity of the world.

³⁰ If you do not accept this premise, then you cannot exclude the possibility of other divine beings besides God.

³¹ However, Gersonides in *Milhamot ha-shem* VI, 1, 17 presents an argument that deduces—if I understand correctly this rather difficult text—the pre-eternity of the world from the pre-eternity of the matter, since matter cannot exist without form, and if you resist to call this pre-existent mixture of matter and form "world," then you have to call it "god." See Levi ben Gerson, *Milhamot Ha-schem: Die Kämpfe Gottes* (Leipzig: Carl B. Lorck, 1866), 362.

³² Cf. Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity*, 13–16.

³³ Maimonides presents the argument thus: "He [Aristotle] asserts that the first matter, which is common to the four elements, is not subject to generation and passing-away. For if the first matter were subject to generation, it would have to have a matter out of which it would be generated. And it would necessarily follow that the generated matter would have to be endowed with form, for the latter is the true reality of generation. But we have assumed that the matter in question was a matter not endowed with form. Now such matter necessarily must not be generated from some thing. It is consequently eternal and not liable to be destroyed. *These considerations too render obligatory the eternity of this world.*" (*GP* II, 14; tr. Pines, 286; emphasis mine.) Maimonides does not tell us how to infer from the pre-existence of the first matter the eternity of the world.



Tamás Visi

If this hypothesis is right, then the well-known and widespread “argument from the first matter”—based on the premise *ex nihilo nihil fit*—was meant to be an *indirect* demonstration of the eternity of the world.³⁴ But if this is true then the first two steps must have been as follows:

- (9) The world was generated. [Supposition to be refuted]
- (10) Every generation must be preceded by something. [“First intelligible”]

That means that this indirect demonstration of the eternity of the world is based on the same premises as the inference of God’s existence from the creation of the world! Hence, the two arguments are bound together: if you wish to accept the second, you cannot reject the first. If God exists then the world must be eternal.

I cannot prove by decisive textual evidence that Maimonides was aware of this striking parallel or in fact identity of the two arguments. However, it has been shown in this section that none of his statements exclude this possibility. Perhaps it is not useless to summarise the textual evidence at the end of this section:

According to Maimonides if you accept *ex nihilo nihil fit*, you have to accept all of its consequences (cf. the rejection of the *Mutakallimīn* in *GP* II, 14 (3) quoted above). It is clearly indicated in *GP* II, 17 that *ex nihilo nihil fit* has a crucial role in Aristotle’s proving of the eternity of the first matter and the world (cf. note 29). Moreover, it was also a well-known fact in his age (cf. note 32). Maimonides explicitly stated that *ex nihilo nihil fit* is the additional premise needed to prove God’s existence from the creation of the world (cf. *GP* II, 2; cited *supra*) Thus, all the elements of the argument are present in the text of *GP*.

Against Ex nihilo nihil fit

Since the principle *ex nihilo nihil fit* had a crucial role in one of the proofs for the eternity of the world (and moreover, it was a well-known tenet in the Middle Ages), several Christian and Muslim theologians decided to give up the universal validity of this “first intelligible.” We have already seen the example of a certain *Mutakallim* (Muslim theologian) quoted by Maimonides, who wanted to limit the validity of *ex nihilo nihil fit* to the active cause. We have seen that Maimonides refused this solution. A more profound way of reasoning for the limitations of *ex nihilo nihil fit* was developed by John Philoponus.

³⁴ Davidson has come to the same conclusion through a totally different reasoning. Cf. *Proofs for Eternity, Creation...*, 12–13.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

Simplicius reports in his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* that Philoponus in his work against Proclus denied the universal validity of *ex nihilo nihil fit*. He argued that the principle was valid in the domain of nature, while the creation of the world had been not a natural but a divine act:

First of all, he [Philoponus] says, even if nature brings forth the things that are created by her [*ta hyp' autēs demiourgoumena*] out of the existing things [*ex ontōn*]³⁵—since she possesses both her substance and her power [*energeia*] in a substrate and she is not able to exist nor to act [*energein*] outside this [substrate]³⁶—it is not necessary that God (who possesses both his substance and his power independently of any existing thing) should create out of the existing things [*ex ontōn demiourgein*] as well. [...] Hence, it is not necessary that if the things generated by nature [*ta ginomena hypo physeōs*] are being generated out of existing things [*ex ontōn ginetai*], then even the things generated directly³⁵ by God should be generated out of existing things.³⁶

The argument is clear enough: creation is not a natural generation and *ex nihilo nihil fit* applies only to natural generations. Therefore creation cannot be excluded by referring to *ex nihilo nihil fit*.

This idea found its way into the literature of Muslim theologians.³⁷ Maimonides was probably acquainted with it as well, since echoes of it can be discerned in *GP* II, 17. However, what we find in Maimonides is a much more elaborated and developed argument, which cannot be considered simply as an adaptation of Philoponus' or one of the *Kalam* writers' thought.

“Maimonides' Principle”

I would venture the conjecture that Al-Ghazali's argument against the philosophers' proof for the existence of God might have had a decisive influence on the formation of Maimonides' view concerning the validity of Aristotelian principles at the time of the creation. Both Maimonides and Al-

³⁵ Philoponus probably refers to the notion that even things generated by nature are in fact generated by God, nature being just an intermediary between God and the things. However, the creation of the world was not realised through intermediaries but a direct action on the part of God.

³⁶ *Simplicii In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Quattuor Posteriores Commentaria*, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, ed. Hermann Diels, vol. 10 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1895) 1141.

³⁷ Davidson refers to 'Abd al-Jabbār, Juwaynī and Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (who lived before Maimonides), cf. *Proofs for Eternity, Creation...*, 30.



Tamás Visi

Ghazali point out a “composition fallacy” in the argument of their opponents. Al-Ghazali formulated clearly the principle that

- (11) It is not necessary that everything that is true of the individual units is true of the totality. (وليس كل ما صدق على الأحاد يلزم ان يصدق على المجموع)³⁸

Using this principle, Maimonides could develop a more systematic and conceptualised way of limiting the validity of Aristotelian principles. The term “generation” was always applied by Aristotle and his followers to generation of individual things within the universe, that is, to the parts of the world. But “creation of the world” does not denote an event *within* the universe! On the contrary, it denotes the emergence of the universe *as a whole*, so the principles of individual generations cannot be applied to it. Therefore on the basis of (11) we can say that

- (12) It is not necessary that the principles that are true of the generations of the parts of the world are true of the generation of the world itself as well.

However, this formulation is not as precise as it should be. The phrase “the generations of the parts of the world” can be understood as a reference to the difference between the creation of the world *ab origine* and to the creation of the different parts of the world. This is contrary to our original intention, which was to contrast the “normal,” natural process of generation with the creation of the world, and not the creation of the parts with the creation of the whole. Therefore (12) must be modified:

- (12)* It is not necessary that the principles that are true of the generations of the parts of the world *after the world has been created* are true of the generation of the world itself.

This idea seems to be at work when he is refuting the Aristotelian proofs from matter and movement. Here we can see clearly that the distinction between “generation of the part” and “generation of the whole” is really important:

He [Aristotle] said that the first matter is subject to neither generation nor passing away and began to draw inferences in favor of this thesis from the things subject to generation and passing away and to make it clear that it was impossible that the first matter was generated. And

³⁸ Cf. Al-Ghazali, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, tr. Michael E. Marmura (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 83; Marmura’s translation: “Not everything that is true of the individual units is true of the totality.”



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

this is correct. For we do not maintain that that the first matter is generated as man is generated from the seed or that it passes away as passes away into dust. But we maintain that God has brought it into existence from nothing and that after being brought into existence, it was as it is now—I mean [...] it is not subject to generation as are the things generated from it, nor to passing-away as are the things that pass away into it, but is created from nothing. [...] We likewise say the same thing of motion. For he has inferred from the nature of motion that motion is not subject to generation and passing-away. And this is correct. For we maintain that after motion has come into existence with the nature characteristic of it when it has become stable, one cannot imagine that it should come to being as a whole, as partial motions come into being and perish.³⁹

However, at the beginning of the chapter he introduces the principle in a more generalised form, in which the distinction between part and whole is not present any longer:

- (13) It is not necessary that the principles that are true of any thing *after* its generation are true of it *during* its generation.

The reason for this change of formulation is that the generalised version works even in the domain of nature, and it can be proved by induction. Now if regarding natural generation, you cannot draw any inference from the final state of the generated thing to the process of generation, how more it must be true of creation, which is not a natural process at all! This is Maimonides' point in the first part of *GP II*, 17:

In the case of everything produced in time, which is generated after not having existed—even in those cases in which the matter of the thing was already existent and in the course of the production of the thing had merely put off one and put on another form—the nature of that particular thing after it has been produced in time, has attained its final state, and achieved stability, is different from its nature when it is being generated and is beginning to pass from potentiality to actuality.⁴⁰

³⁹ *GP II*, 17; tr. Pines, 297.

⁴⁰ Tr. Pines, 294. In the continuation of the text Maimonides argues for his principle by induction, examples taken from biology. After that he relates a kind of "Robinson Crusoe-type" story (very popular in contemporary Arabic literature) about a boy who has been brought up on an unpopulated island by his father and has never seen any woman and pregnancy. When he is informed by his father about the multiplication of



Tamás Visi

This principle has been labelled “Maimonides’ Principle” by Oliver Leaman, and this phrase will be adopted in this paper as well, as a *terminus technicus* signifying the argument of *GP II*, 17. Leaman writes as follows:

Maimonides appreciates that he cannot just apply the notion of creation *ex nihilo* to an Aristotelian model of the world, so he constructs a principle (which will be called ‘Maimonides’ Principle’) that will allow him to be an Aristotelian at the sublunar level and a believer in God at the supralunar level. The Principle is ‘No inference can be drawn in any respect from the nature of a thing after it has been generated, has attained its final state, and has achieved stability in its most perfect state, to the state of that thing while it moved toward being generated... nor... to its state before it begins to move thus’ (*GP II*, 17; 295).⁴¹

The most remarkable feature of his argument is that he systematically separates the realm of creation from the realm of nature. No necessary inference is possible from the one to the other. He implies that since our knowledge is based on the present nature of the world, we know nothing of the creation of the world. (Or, to put it in a more precise way, all we know about creation is known through revelation and not through science.) That this consideration applies to *ex nihilo nihil fit* as well is clearly indicated in the following passage:

We shall make a similar assertion with regard to the possibility that must of necessity precede everything that is generated. For this is necessary in regard to this being that is stabilized—in *this being*⁴² everything that is generated is generated from some being. But in the case of a thing created from nothing, neither the senses nor the intellect point to something that must be preceded by its possibility.⁴³

Maimonides’ Principle and the Proof from Creation

Now let us quote once more Maimonides’ argument for the existence of God from the premise of non-eternity:

If the sphere is subject to generation and corruption, it is the deity, may His name be sublime, who brought it into existence after its

the human species, he rejects the concept of pregnancy by correct proofs. This story is meant as a parable about Aristotle’s proofs against creation.

⁴¹ Leaman, *Moses Maimonides*, 68.

⁴² “in this being” (*fi hādā l-maujūd*) means “in the present state of the world.”

⁴³ *GP II*, 17; tr. Pines, 297. Emphasis is mine.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

having been nonexistent. This is a first intelligible, for everything that exists after having been nonexistent must have of necessity someone who has brought into existence—it being absurd that it should bring itself into existence.⁴⁴

Why is it of necessity, one might ask, that there must have been someone who brought the world into existence? Yes, it is absurd “that it should bring itself into existence,” if we accept the first intelligible *ex nihilo nihil fit*. But the validity of this principle does not transcend the domain of the present “stable” nature of the world. Therefore it loses its demonstrative force if we apply it to the creation of the world—that was Maimonides' point in *GP* II, 17. There is no way out of this difficulty. The only sound conclusion that can be drawn is that the existence of God cannot be inferred “of necessity” from the creation of the world. “Maimonides' Principle” has destroyed the proof for the existence of God.

And this conclusion—although not stated explicitly—is hinted at quite clearly by Maimonides himself. At the end of chapter 17 of the second part of *GP* Maimonides presents an imagined dialogue between an Aristotelian philosopher and a Jew. The former is arguing for the eternity of the world, the latter for creation:

However, should Aristotle, I mean to say he who adopts his opinion, argue against us by saying: If the existent [*bādā l-maujūd*]⁴⁵ provides no indication for us,⁴⁶ how do you know that it is generated and that *there has existed another nature that has generated it*—we should say: This is not obligatory for us in view of what we wish to maintain. For at present we do not wish to establish as true that the world is created in time. But what we wish to establish is the possibility of its being created in time.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ cf. note 16.

⁴⁵ Or “this being,” *i.e.* the present state of the world, cf. note 42.

⁴⁶ Or “prove nothing to us” (*lā yadullunā*); the verb used is from the same stem as the noun *dalīl*, a technical term for demonstration; cf. Arthur Hyman, “Demonstrative, Dialectical and Sophistical Arguments in the Philosophy of Moses Maimonides,” in *Moses Maimonides and His Time*, ed. Eric L. Ormsby (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 42.

⁴⁷ Tr. Sh. Pines (p. 298); emphasis is mine. The meaning of the Judaeo-Arabic original is clear enough. However, Shmuel Ibn Tibbon's medieval Hebrew translation of the emphasised part can easily be misunderstood: reading *teva ahar haviyyato* (cf. MS Vat. Ebr. 262. fol. 59^{v/c}) instead of *teva aher hiwahu* (cf. MS. Firenze, Bib. Med. Laur. Plut. III. cod. 12. fol. 179^r) the sense will be “there was a nature after its generation” instead of the



Tamás Visi

"Aristotle" asks two questions: (a) How can you prove that the world has been created if no inference can be drawn from the present state of the world? (b) How can you prove the existence of God if no inference can be drawn from the present state of the world? Maimonides' answer to question (a) is that we cannot prove that the world has been created, but this is not our purpose at all. Our purpose is simply to show that it is not impossible that the world has been created. Now what his answer was to question (b) is not stated in the text. But we can have little doubt that the implied answer follows the same pattern as the answer to question (a), that is, "we cannot prove that God exists; all we can prove is that it is not impossible that He (may His name be sublime!) exists."

The text quoted above from *GP* clearly testifies that Maimonides recognised the problem and that he did not wish to state his answer in clear terms. This textual evidence is enough to show that the following argument is present in the text of *GP*:

- (13) It is not necessary that the principles that are true of any thing *after* its generation are true of it *during* its generation. [This is "Maimonides' Principle" proved by induction.]
- (14) It is not necessary that the principles that are true of the world, as we know it today, were true during its creation [follows from (13)].
- (15) The conclusion of any argument based on principles mentioned in (14) is not necessarily true if it concerns the period before the world has achieved its final form.
- (16) But any proof for the existence of God based on the premise of the non-eternity of the world and other physical or metaphysical statements (that is, statements that are true of the world as we know it today) belongs to the type of arguments mentioned in (15).
- (17) Therefore no proof for the existence of God based on the premise of the non-eternity of the world and other premises that are true of this world is valid of necessity.

This argument showing that philosophy falls short of proving God's existence can be labelled as a "consistent, esoteric" one as opposed to his "exoteric, inconsistent" argument for the existence of God.

correct "there was another nature that has generated it" (In Ibn Tibbon's vocabulary *qal* forms of the verb *haya* are used to denote generation, whereas the *piel* of the same root [*hiwa*] denotes creation.) In fact, most printed editions contain the corrupted form! This might have been an important factor in modern scholars' failure to realise the significance of this sentence.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

Ibn Falaqera and Gersonides on Maimonides' Argument

The problem caused by *ex nihilo nihil fit* in the demonstration of God's existence was partly recognised by a thirteenth-century commentator, Yosef ben Shem Tov ibn Falaqera, as well. Commenting on Maimonides' proof for the existence of God he notes the following:⁴⁸

And what he [Maimonides] says that it is a first intelligible [*muskal rishon*] that what is produced in time cannot produce itself [*ki ha-mehuddash lo yehaddesh 'acmo*]⁴⁹—this should be reconsidered since [a] apparently this (principle) cannot be admitted without research, and since [b] we find that some of the ancients say that things can be produced in time out of themselves [*ha-devarim mithaddeshim me-'acmam*].

Falaqera clearly rejects Maimonides' claim that *ex nihilo nihil fit* is a self-evident principle ("first intelligible") that may be known without any further research, and that is corroborated by the consensus of everybody. Therefore, Falaqera indicates, something is wrong with Maimonides' argument. However, he did not develop this point further.

Nevertheless, the fact that "Maimonides' Principle" destroys his argument for the existence of God from the premise of the creation was not left unnoticed by medieval scholars. Gersonides argued for a *limited* acceptance of the Principle. According to him, there must be some invariable metaphysical principles to which the Principle does not apply. One of them is *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Consequently, Gersonides gave up creation *ex nihilo* (since it was untenable due to the invariability of *ex nihilo nihil fit*), and developed a doctrine of creation out of pre-existent matter.⁵⁰ In his polemics against Maimonides he referred to the fact that the unqualified acceptance of the Principle resulted in undesired theological consequences:

Moreover, if this Principle [*haqdama*] is accepted in its universal form, then it will not allow us to investigate into the [process of the] generation of this existent [*ha-nimca*], and thus it will destroy our investigation pertaining to what is *after* its generation. But in this case we are not benefited at all from the supposition that the world was created in time [*mehuddash*], because we are not able to prove those

⁴⁸ Ibn Falaqera, *Sefer More ha-More* (A Guide for the Guide) (Pressburg: Anton Edlen v. Schmid, 1837), 43.

⁴⁹ I render these Hebrew words as Pines rendered their Arabic equivalents.

⁵⁰ Cf. Jacob J. Staub, *The Creation of the World according to Gersonides* (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1982).



Tamás Visi

beliefs for the sake of which it was necessary to believe that the world was created in time; as the Rav More [Maimonides] himself has mentioned, namely, that the demonstrations are [based solely on principles that are valid] after the world has come into being.⁵¹ Now if [the principles that are valid] after the world has come into being are solely due to the nature of this existent [*teva ha-meciut*]⁵²—as it appears from this Principle—then there is no proof which will lead to those beliefs to be demonstrated.⁵²

Gersonides carefully avoids the explanation of what are these “beliefs to be demonstrated.” However, we can have little doubt that he alludes to the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God. His argument is clear in spite of his difficult way of expression. If there is absolutely no inference from the present state of the universe to its creation, since all the principles are due to the present state of the world (“this existent,” “the nature of this existent”), then God’s existence cannot be inferred from the creation of the world either, and thus we cannot prove that there was a God at the time of the creation.⁵³

If this interpretation is correct, then a reconstruction of a concealed *philosophical debate* between Maimonides and Gersonides has been carried out here. The methodology proposed in the introduction has helped us in unveiling an interesting and important philosophical discourse that has been apparently unnoticed by modern scholars. Thus, Oliver Leaman’s charge that the searching for an esoteric meaning in *GP* is not interesting from a philosophical point of view is answered in the proper way.

⁵¹ The reference is probably to *GP* I, 71: “there is no possible inference proving His existence, may He be exalted, except those deriving from this existent [*hādā l-maujūd*]” (tr. Pines, 183; Munk, 88a; Joel, 126)

⁵² Gersonides, *Milhamot ha-shem*, 367 [VI, 1, 17]. Some comments on the translation: [*we-*]a-ze in the first sentence seems to be the Hebrew equivalent of Arabic *li-hādā* meaning “therefore, for this reason.” The idiom *we-ze she-* in the middle of the passage is probably meant to be the equivalent of Arabic *wa-dālika anna* “that is to say, namely.”

⁵³ Another possible evidence for the medieval recognition of this problem can be found in an unpublished commentary on the *GP* written by a certain Shmuel ben Shlomo of Krekshona and preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Vatican library. Shmuel writes that without the premise of the eternity of the world God’s existence cannot be proved “for the existence of [God] ble[ssed be He] does not follow from the creation of the world except in a weak way.” כי מחדוש העולם לא יבואר מציאותו ית’ כי אם באפן הלוי (MS Vat. Neofiti 17, fol. 44r). However, a proper analysis of this interesting document cannot be carried out here.



Maimonides' Proof for the Existence of God

Conclusion

Philosophers and theologians hotly debated the problem of eternity *versus* creation in the Middle Ages. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* was a whore that slept with both parties. If you accept the *ex nihilo nihil fit* principle, then you can infer God's existence from creation—but you have to admit the eternity of the world as well. If you reject the *ex nihilo nihil fit* principle, then you can defend the possibility that the world was created in time—but you cannot infer the existence of God from creation. If you say that the principle is valid when we infer God's existence from creation but invalid when the Aristotelians are proving the eternity of the world, then your argument is not really coherent.

In *GP* II, 17 Maimonides argues that the principles of Aristotelian physics were not valid when God created the world. This applies to the principle of *ex nihilo nihil fit* as well. But if this is true, then Maimonides' argument for God's existence from creation collapses. This is a major internal contradiction in the text of *GP*. Maimonides refrained from pointing out this difficulty in a direct, open way. However, he alluded to it quite clearly. Therefore one might consider this difficulty as a "hidden message" of the text; thus Leo Strauss' theory of the esoteric meaning of *GP* might not be totally unjustified.

A contemporary philosopher, Jürgen Habermas, defines the criteria of a rational discourse as follows:

Whoever enters into discussion with the serious intention of becoming *convinced* of something through dialogue with others has to presume performatively that the participants allow their "yes" or "no" to be determined solely by the force of the better argument. However, with this they assume—normally in a counterfactual way—a speech situation that satisfies improbable conditions: openness to the public, inclusiveness, equal rights to participation, immunization against external or inherent compulsion, as well as the participants' orientation toward reaching understanding (that is, the sincere expression of utterances). In these unavoidable presuppositions of argumentation, the intuition is expressed that true propositions are resistant to spatially, socially, and temporally unconstrained attempts to refute them.⁵⁴

Philosophical texts in the Muslim world were usually not written in this spirit during the Middle Ages. They can rather be characterised by another

⁵⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *On the Pragmatics of Communication* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 367.



Tamás Visi

concept of Habermas: *verzerrte Kommunikation*, “distorted communication.”⁵⁵ The freedom of philosophical investigation and the right of the philosophers to publish their results was not acknowledged and guaranteed by the religious and political authorities—to say the least.⁵⁶ Therefore, a modern reader of philosophical texts from this period should be open-minded towards the possible presence of disguised arguments or even *disguised philosophical debates* in these texts. The concealed inconsistency of Maimonides’ proof for the existence of God and Gersonides’ criticism of Maimonides’ position might be two examples of “distorted communication” in the history of medieval Jewish philosophy.

⁵⁵ Cf. Jürgen Habermas, *Erkenntnis und Interesse* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1969), 332–342. Analysing Freud’s ideas on society Habermas characterises “distorted communication” as the practice of *repressing* the possible objections against a ruling ideology rather than answering them. Doubts are believed to come from the devil. Consequently, the critics of the ideology are demonised and excluded from discourse: the believers should not listen to them. One could point to Koran 2:5–39 as a text nicely illustrating this. It is useless to instruct the unbelievers, says Muhammad, because Allah took away their mental sight. They “do not know anything” (*la ya’aluminā*), their minds have been corrupted; therefore they cannot partake in the normal discourse of the religious community. The latter is preserved for those who “know,” that is, those who accept the basic tenets of Muslim faith. Knowledge equals faith; the unbeliever is ignorant; doubt is a sin and should be eliminated totally. However, there are some extremely interesting traces of a positive approach toward doubts in some ninth-century Muslim writings. Al-Jāhīz, speaking of his master, Abu Ishāq Ibrahim an-Nazzām (d. 840–850), expounds the idea that uncritical belief is the characteristic of the uneducated masses, whereas permitting doubts is the peculiarity of the intellectual elite. Cf. Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 305. It is possible that Maimonides was of the same opinion.

⁵⁶ On the persecution of philosophers in Islam see Ignác Goldziher’s classical study: *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*. Aus den Abhandlungen der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1915, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 8 (Berlin, 1916).



“ TO CONFUSION OF ALLE FALSE LOLLARDES” :
ENCODED MESSAGES IN THE TEXT AND
ILLUSTRATIONS OF NICHOLAS LOVE’S MIRROR OF
THE BLESSED LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST

Zsuzsanna Nagy 

Introduction

The *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,¹ a highly influential work of devotion, was translated into Middle English by a Carthusian monk, Nicholas Love,² and was renamed as the *Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesus Christ*.³ It contained the official approbation of Archbishop Arundel,⁴ given in 1410, granting its appropriateness for the instruction of the faith and the refutation of Lollardy.⁵ The very rapid

¹ The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* were attributed to Bonaventura, but in fact were written by Johannes Caulibus, a Franciscan friar from Tuscany, for his sister, a Clarisse, around 1250. It became one of the most influential works in the Middle Ages, one which served as an aid for meditation on the narrative of the Gospels. See *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, ed. Balduinus Distelbrink, *Bonaventurae Scripta: authentica, dubia vel spuria critice recensita*, Subsidia scientifica Franciscalia 5 (Rome: Istituto storico Cappuccini, 1975). The English translation of the work is provided by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, eds., *Meditations on the Life of Christ, An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

² Little is known about the life and other works of Nicholas Love. He was prior of the Carthusian monastery of Mount Grace around 1415. For more details, see Michael G. Sargent, ed., *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ. A Critical Edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686* (New York: Garland, 1992), xxii–xxiii (henceforth: Sargent: Mirror).

³ The most recent edition of the text was made by Sargent, *Mirror*. The text, following the original, retells the narrative of the Gospels in a more detailed way. It emphasises the importance of imagining the scenes described; thus, with the help of the practice of imagination, the reader was invited to an inner participation in the events of the life of Christ. The sequence of the narrative is structured according to the days of the week, and the days are segmented according to the order followed by the Breviary.

⁴ Thomas Arundel (1353–1414), Archbishop of York from 1388, then Archbishop of Canterbury from 1399. For the text of the approbation, called *Memorandum*, see Sargent, *Mirror*, 7.

⁵ Lollardy was the only massive movement of heterodoxy in England before the Reformation. It started around 1370–1380, being influenced by the theological views of



Zsuzsanna Nagy

dissemination of the text was partly due to the popularity of its source text but also, in the same measure, to this approbation. The *Mirroir* was one main device of the official Church in the fight against the Lollard heresy.

Michael G. Sargent, in his recent edition of the *Mirroir*, has provided a detailed analysis of the anti-Wycliffite stances present in the text. Two manuscripts contain a surprisingly large cycle of illuminations, the New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 648,⁶ and the National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 17.1.8, kept in Edinburgh.⁷ Although the manuscripts contain a text

John Wycliff. From the London area it soon spread, mainly in the southern and eastern regions, and in some places it lasted until the Reformation. See Anne Hudson, *A Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), etc.

⁶ The Morgan MS M 648 is a manuscript on vellum, written and illuminated in England around the middle of the fifteenth century, c.1440. It contains 144 folios (279 x 197 mm), written in two columns. The *Memorandum* of Archbishop Arundel is to be found at the end, on fol. 141r. The *Treatise on the Sacrament*, written by Love, follows the translation of the text of the *Meditationes*, beginning on fol. 131r. The text is in Middle English, complete, written in mid-fifteenth century Bastard Secretary hand, in the South Central Midlands dialect. It is bound together with a Lollard tract on the necessity of the translation of the Bible, (ff. 142r–143r), and a short Latin extract from the *Revelations* of Saint Brigitta, Chapter VII (fol. 144). The binding dates from the eighteenth century. The original ownership is not known. It contains sixteen illuminations; thirteen are three-quarter-page and three are one-third-page, from a mid-fifteenth century London workshop. The marginal decorations are made by the same hand as those of the *Advocates*. The quality of the illuminations is mediocre. The detailed description of the manuscript is in the *Descriptive Notes on the Manuscript in the Morgan Library Files*, not published. I obtained this material from the Pierpont Morgan Library.

⁷ The National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 18.1.7 contains the same full text, in a southern dialect, and was also produced in the London area, by the mid-fifteenth century, probably before 1465. It contains 162 folios (323 x 224 mm). The text is written in double columns, in Anglicana. The *Treatise on the Sacrament* follows the translated text of the *Meditationes*, beginning on fol. 150r. The *Memorandum* is at the end, on fol. 160r. The manuscript was written and decorated for Edmund Grey, fourth Baron Grey of Ruthin. The manuscript was probably made after his marriage to Katherine Percy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, in about 1460. The seventeen full-page miniatures and the border decorations (full bar-frame borders and spray-work) are of a high quality. The colouring and the representation of the landscapes demonstrate a unique skill on the part of the illustrator. For a description of the manuscript, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 98–99.



"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

of great importance,⁸ and the illuminations, mainly those of the Advocates copy, are among the finest of late medieval English illuminations, a more comprehensive comparative study of them has not yet been achieved.⁹

The influence of Lollard activity on the formation and changes of iconography has been paid comparatively little attention so far. The thorough work of Ann Eljenholm Nichols¹⁰ serves as a pioneering work in this field. It relates the development of the Seven Sacrament Art in southern and eastern England as being influenced by the Lollard presence in the area, but she does not deal with manuscript illuminations. Kathleen L. Scott has shown that Lollardy, particularly the Lollard ideas about images, had effects on the style of manuscript illuminations,¹¹ but her studies have not indicated whether such ideas had any influence on their iconography as well.

Through the comparative analysis of the two manuscripts I would like to investigate the way the anti-Lollard programme was encoded not only in the text but also in the illustration of the text. Doing this I hope to contribute to the understanding of Lollardy, not only as affecting the style of image-production of guilds and illuminators,¹² but also as a factor influencing the illumination of manuscripts from an iconographic point of view.¹³

⁸ Sargent notes that the *Mirror* text survived in as many copies as the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer and the *Piers Plowman*, see Sargent, *Mirror*, lix.

⁹ Kathleen L. Scott, "The Illustration and Decoration of Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*," in *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference, 20–22 July 1995*, ed. Soichi Oguro, Richard Beadle and Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 61–86. This is Scott's short study of the illuminated manuscripts containing the *Mirror* text. She concentrated on providing a full list of all the illuminated or decorated copies of the *Mirror*, but a more systematic and full study of the two manuscripts fell beyond her intended limits.

¹⁰ Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *Seeable Signs. The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments 1350–1544* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994).

¹¹ "It is important to locate Lollard thought... both in London and among metropolitan populace as one element of the dramatic change in ornamentation of English books that occurred around 1400... St. Paul's Cathedral, where the Lollards were posted, was... at the heart of the district in which books were made and decorated, and it is inconceivable that Lollard ideas concerning images and unnecessary vain crafts had not been received and discussed by members of the book trade." Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), vol. 1, 44.

¹² See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 44.

¹³ Due to the limits of this article, I shall not undertake a comparative study of the illustration tradition of the *Meditationes* manuscripts and the two *Mirror* ones. They would undoubtedly offer the possibility of further research.



Zsuzsanna Nagy

I will carry out a comparative iconographic analysis of the two series of illuminations, and a comparative analysis of the relations between the text and the images, limiting myself to the cases which bear a certain relevance to the anti-Lollard programme encoded. I will rely almost exclusively on the iconographic tradition of the English manuscript illumination, as Scott demonstrates the scarcity of Continental influence in this period.¹⁴

The Text and the Images

The Lollard movement in England derived from highly academic circles such as Oxford, but developed into a popular movement as well, through the wide circulation of Wycliff's ideas.¹⁵ The backbone of Wycliff's and his followers' teaching was the rejection of the authority exercised by the Church *qua* papacy, which was not susceptible to criticism on the part of the laity either in matters of faith or even in secular ones. A radical reinterpretation of the sacramental doctrine of the Church, of the role of the saints, and of the veneration of images followed. The response to it provided by the translation of Love thus dealt with the same issues, namely the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the faithfulness to the doctrine of the Church and the sacraments, especially the Eucharist.

Meditational devotion and images are strongly interconnected on various levels.¹⁶ The growing importance of visualisation in the formation of the new devotion was in great part due to the reception and appreciation (and

¹⁴ See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, "Introduction," 59–64. Although I am aware of the fact that no complete catalogue or database has been created yet, which would grant a study of Late Medieval English illuminations absolute reliability, the consultation of a fairly great material of images, provided by the catalogues of Scott, J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, The University Archives, and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Alexander, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, (London: H. Miller, 1975–96); and of several manuscripts of the National Library of Scotland and that of the Edinburgh University hopefully ensured a relative objectivity in considering the iconographic tradition of English manuscripts.

¹⁵ John Wycliff (c. 1330–1384), Magister and Doctor of Theology at Oxford, until his repudiation in 1370, was the main figure of the Lollard movement, which was thus also called the Wycliffite one. For his works, see *Wycliff's Latin Works*, ed. for the Wycliffite Society, 1882–1922, 35 vols (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1966) (all subsequent references in footnotes will be to the reprints only); Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), etc.

¹⁶ See Henk W. van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300– 1500* (Princeton: Merrell Holberton, 1994).



"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

presumably influence) of the programme installed in the text of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.¹⁷ The image is an aid to enhance the imagination, either by an internal visualisation of the subject of the text or by using a concrete, depicted image as an aid to develop further inner visualisation and meditation. However, illuminations functioned on more levels even in works intended for private meditation. They could signal the divisions of the text, serving the *ordinatio* of the material, and also as "representations of the textual matter, they were a visual interpretation and an extension"¹⁸ of the text. By fulfilling the second function they were suitable to carry messages.¹⁹ Facing the Lollard danger, the Church exerted its influence on the formation and production of manuscript illumination as well.

The Church exercised this function by a control over the guidelines or regulations of the guild, mostly in the case of books with religious content, such as Missals, Pontificals and Psalters, and also by asserting its influence on the pictorial matter as commissioner of these manuscripts. Therefore, the orthodoxy of the illuminations of the *Mirror* text is also very likely to have been guaranteed.²⁰

The text, according to Arundel's approbation and of Love's explicit formulation, had the double function of serving meditation and of refuting Lollard ideas by giving instruction. It seems that the illuminations served the same double purpose. The illustrative cycles of the Advocates and the Morgan manuscripts differ in several points. There are differences in the list of the illustrations in each of these manuscripts, and in the iconographic programme itself. From a stylistic point of view it is clear that they do not belong to exactly

¹⁷ This tendency was later to grow into the great movement of Thomas Kempis of the *Imitatio Christi* and is also present in the mystical movement as a central element, in England in the works of Hilton, Rolle, Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich.

¹⁸ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, "Introduction," 46. In her article "Design, Decoration and Illustration" Scott categorises the functions of the pictures as narrative, static and utilitarian, stating, that these normally overlap.

¹⁹ For the power of images as manipulating and carrying messages, see M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), and Michael Camille, "Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the Bible Moralised," *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 111–30, and finally David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989).

²⁰ "If it were not that the Lollards eschewed imagery, we might also know of a prohibition concerning heretical illustrations! As it is, we are left to assume that surviving religious images in religious books were orthodox, even if such important subject as the Trinity might appear in different forms." Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 52.

Zsuzsanna Nagy

the same tradition. On account of the differences between the two manuscripts, it would be difficult, and not fully justified, to argue for the hypothesis that a very close relation existed between the two illuminators. However, the similarities call for an interpretation. It seems very interesting that these similarities, despite a basic difference of style, iconographic tradition and of artistic quality, are mainly present in cases which can be connected to some issues which were critical to Lollardy. Therefore the assertion that maybe a common programme derives from a common assent about the formation of certain elements of the illustrative cycle, relevant from the point of view of the refutation of Lollardy, and of their iconography, may be justified.

A phenomenon existing in both manuscripts is the application of the method of convincing and reassuring the viewer of the legitimacy of the doctrine of the Church by displaying expressive images about the *Ecclesia Universalis*, about the Celestial and Ecclesiastical hierarchy. This intention is clearly present in the block of opening images in both manuscripts. In the Advocates copy the Coronation scene (Fig. 1) introduces the first chapter of the *Mirroure*. It is represented together with a detailed and grandiose Celestial Hierarchy. As Kathleen L. Scott puts it, "the Coronation page is unique,"²¹ and this is due to the fact that in the combination of the Coronation theme with that of the celestial hierarchy the latter is elaborated in a way unprecedented in English manuscript illumination. Its presence in the manuscript and its role are puzzling, as the subject of this opening image does not fit the text of the first

*Fig. 1. Coronation of the Virgin
(Advocates MS fol. 12v).*

chapter it precedes. Scott thinks that this image "cannot be taken as an introduction to the text as a whole."²² She suggests that it was selected because of the personal Marian devotion of the patrons.

However, examining the text of Love's translation another idea seems to be worthy of consideration as well, complementing Scott's assumption: this new

²¹ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 274.

²² Scott, "Illuminated Manuscripts of Love's Mirror," 64.



“To confusion of alle false Lollardes”

idea is that the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin condenses the illustration of two important parts of the text: that of the *Proheme*, written by Love and of the first chapter beginning with the description of the heavenly council, serving, in a way, as an introduction to the whole work, corresponding to passages which can be found in the twofold textual introduction. Thus it also serves as the visual embodiment of the intention of the work: to impose visually the Credo in the legitimacy of the Church by the representation of the Celestial Hierarchy.

The text of the *Proheme* contains elements which occur again in the next first chapter, itself an introduction to the body of the *Meditationes*. Already in the *Proheme* Love formulates the aim and the way this work has to be read and interpreted, and he presents the Order of the Heaven as a mirror which, through the use of the imagination, inspires devotion, quoting St Gregory on the same principle of correspondence between the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.²³

In the exposition of the Trinity about the Incarnation, Love inserts a very important passage where he gives lengthy advice on how the Trinity should be imagined by the unlearned. It is notable that he warns against the same mistakes for which Wycliff attacked the image-making practice of the Church. Then Love gives a general command of how the unlearned should relate to matters of faith and also to images as representations of matters of faith, that is, to follow the doctrine of the Church and not to seek further with their own reason.²⁴

²³ *Wherefore it is to vnderstonde at þe bygynyng as for pryncipal & general rewle of diuerse ymaginacions þat folowen after þis boke þat þe disruyng or speches or dedis of god in heuen & angels or opere gostly substances bene only wryten in dis manere, & to þis entent þat is to saye as devoute ymaginacions & likenessis stryng symple soules to þe loue of god & desire of heuently þinges for as Seynt Gregory seip, // þerfore is þe kyngdome of heuene likenet to erþly þinges' þat by þo þinges þat bene visible & þat man kyndly knowepþe be stired & rauyshede to loue & desire gostly inuisible þinges, þat he kyndly knowep not.* Sargent, *Mirror*, 10.

²⁴ *For þou shalt vnderstand dat þis blessed Incarnacion was þe hie werke of al þe holy Trinite, þouh it so be dat al only person of þe son was incarnate & became man. Bot now beware here þat þou erre not in imaginacion of god & of þe holi Trinite, supposyng dat þees þre persones þe fadere de son & þe holi gost bene as er þly men, þat þou seest with þi bodily eye, þe whech ben þre diuerse substances, ech departed fro opere, so þat none of hem is oder. . . . þerfore take here a generale doctrine in þis mater now for algate. What gtyme þou herest or denkest of þe trynite or of þe godhede or of gostly creatours as angeles & soules de whech þou maist not se in hire propre kynde with þi bodily eye, nor fele with þi bodily witte.' Study not to fer in dat matere occupy not di wit derwip als þou wouldest vnderstande it, by kyndly reson, . . .and derfore when þou herest any þinge in byleue dat passed þi kyndly reson, trowe sodfastly þat it is so þ as holy chirch techep & go no ferþer.* Sargent, *Mirror*, 22. The same argumentation about the invisibility of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist is repeated by Love in the exposition on the Eucharist in the Chapter of the Last Supper and in the Treatise on the Sacrament.



Zsuzsanna Nagy

Several factors contribute to support the idea that the representation of the Hierarchy had as much importance as the Coronation of Mary itself.²⁵ Not only the choice itself of a Coronation image with a Celestial Hierarchy, but also the fact that it was represented in an unprecedented lavishness and complexity, with a special care to clearly indicate the identity of each section of it, by adding the inscription of the names to each group of angels, by the uniquely great size and fine elaboration of a Hierarchy-image, serves to lay a special emphasis on the Hierarchy. Although such a combination was customary on the Continent and appears in two more English manuscripts,²⁶ neither of them provides an image where the angelic and ecclesiastic orders are so elaborated. A closer look at the iconographic representation of the scene confirms this view.²⁷ By her Coronation, the Virgin becomes the Queen of Angels, but also of the whole *Ecclesia*, of the Celestial Hierarchy as well as the Ecclesiastical one. Iconographically it is interesting that the whole Trinity crowns her, and also that the position of the figures, by depicting the Trinity one step higher than the Virgin, also show that a correct representation of the hierarchy is secured. Moreover, this is the only image in the manuscript which has several marginal illustrations. The images of the patrons depicted at the bottom of the page in a pious position shows their intention to participate in the event, as beneficiaries of the intercession of *Maria Mediatrix*²⁸ and also as members of the universal

²⁵ The representation of the Virgin was an issue criticised by the Lollards, who, although Wycliff himself was rather moderate on the doctrine of Marian devotion, espoused more radical views, like that of John Edward of Newsbury: "*quod tanta virtus fuit in una herba sicut fuit in beata Virgine Dei genetrice Maria*", see Anne Hudson, *A Premature Reformation*, 384.

²⁶ The Coronation scene appears in eleven manuscripts, but only in two is it combined with the hierarchy as well, in the London BL Additional 29704–05, fol. 152v the coronation appears with hierarchy, angels singing and the *Gnadenstuhl*-Trinity. In the London BL MS Harley 7026 fol. the Coronation only represents the Virgin with the Trinity, but on fol. 16r the Virgin enthroned in glory with all saints and prelates can be found. A combined illustration of the Coronation by the Trinity with the Assumption where the Virgin is with Orders of Angels was depicted as a wall-painting in Exeter Cathedral, but this dates from later, from the late fifteenth century.

²⁷ For a detailed study of the iconography of the representations of the Coronation scenes, see Nigel Morgan, "The Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity and Other Texts and Images of the Glorification of Mary in Fifteenth-century England," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 223–241.

²⁸ On the function of the Virgin in Coronation scenes as *Maria Mediatrix*, see Morgan, "The Coronation," 227.



"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

Church. The presence of grotesque figures in the marginal decoration may stress the authoritative and at the same time festive character of the main image.²⁹

The image of an orthodox representation of the *Ecclesia Universale* with the Virgin as Queen as an opening page would well fit the intention of the text, clearly formulated on the first page of the manuscript by Archbishop Arundel, and in the *Proheme* by Love, that of the instruction of faith and refutation of heretics.³⁰

The image of the Hierarchy may be the symbol of the Faith of the Church, and directly opposes the main critique of the Church by the Lollards, that is, the attack on the Hierarchy. Such an image eloquently expresses and enforces the authority of the Church guaranteed by the Celestial Hierarchy itself, thus refuting the Lollard denial of the authority of ecclesiastical offices, and at the same time announcing visually the grandeur of the *Ecclesia*.

Fig. 2. Crucifix-Trinity
(Morgan MS fol. 5v).

In the Morgan copy the corresponding image placed at the beginning of chapter one is the Crucifix-Trinity³¹ (Fig. 2) or the

Gnadenstuhl-type. This image is openly a sacramental representation: the Godhead is holding the Son, Christ on the cross, thus showing the acceptance

²⁹ Michael Camille observed that ironising marginal figures are placed exactly next to images which have a serious, most often religious content, to serve as a counterpoint to them, thus emphasising, in a negative way, the main image. See Michael Camille, *The Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

³⁰ Another case supports such a supposition. Nigel Morgan notes that in the *Carmelite Missal*, a similar picture of the Virgin, present as the Woman in the Sun represented with the Trinity, had a role in the controversy with Lollardy: "There is a clear reference to the Church. This could be a topical emphasis on orthodox doctrine, for at the time of the making of the Missal members of the Carmelite community in London, notably Peter Stokes, were actively defending the Church against the heresy of the Wycliffites. Morgan, "The Coronation of the Virgin," 231.

³¹ On the iconography of the Crucifix-Trinity, see N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, II, 1250–1285, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* (London: H. Miller, 1988).



Zsuzsanna Nagy

of His sacrifice in the Mass.³² There are a great many representations of this in late medieval English illuminated books, according to the cataloguing of Scott, namely 27 pictures, which is a really considerable number. Nevertheless, none of them presents a picture full of angels.³³ Here the most notable and individual feature is the emphatic size of the four angels and the Celestial host of bishops, virgins and kings and queens condensed in the background inside the mandorla; thus all the elements of the Celestial Hierarchy are present as well as the Eucharistic image of the *Gnadenstuhl*. Again, the image illustrates the text of the chapter only symbolically but at the same time may serve as a visual introduction or emblem mirroring the intention of the whole work.

The concern to avoid direct platforms of dispute about issues of faith challenged by Lollardy, and thus to obviate any possible misunderstanding on the part of the unlearned, is present on many levels of the cultural and intellectual life. In parallel with the huge exhortational and instructional material and of the texts of debates against Lollard ideas, the official disposition gave rise to a prohibition of the exposition and commentary of certain topics most exposed to Lollard critique, in a public sermon.³⁴ The same concern lies behind the massive prohibition of the publication of texts containing, even in an indirect (that is, more literary) manner, theological issues. The need for caution finds its expression in the indirectness of the message towards the public. The characteristic of the illustrative programme of the two *Mirror* manuscripts may correspond to this phenomenon.

Another tendency which seems to characterise both manuscripts, besides the presence of the images on hierarchy, is therefore the presence of indirect Eucharistic allusions. These allusions are present in scenes which normally have no such implication in the iconographic representation. Naturally, they are usually doctrinally justified: Patristic literature presents enough parallels for such identifications.³⁵

³² See Gertrude Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*. (Gütersloch: Güterslocher Verlagshaus, 1980–1991), vol. 2, 104. The priest in the Mass offers the Holy Sacrifice through the angels, in the name of the Church.

³³ The majority of the illuminations are quite simple: normally they only represent the Trinity; one of them is depicted in the upper part of a double image, while the lower part contains a baptism scene, thus forming a two-sacraments group. See London BL Additional 29704–05.

³⁴ See Arundel's Constitutions, XXX.

³⁵ The sacramental message could have been much more direct and emphasised if compared to such manuscripts as the Carthusian Miscellany. The great difference lies in the fact that the manuscript made for monastic use is much more mystical than purely meditational. A monastic public used to mystical language and imagery was more able to

"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

However, the scene of the Presentation in the Temple (*Fig. 3*) in the Morgan manuscript (it does not appear in the Advocates one) is a very interesting one, which differs from the traditional representations of this episode. The High Priest Simeon is represented clearly as a Catholic priest, with a halo behind a cap, dressed in the liturgical mantle of a mass, his hands being covered by his alb and preparing to hold the Infant Jesus who is standing on the altar. His covered hands, his

*Fig. 3. Presentation in the Temple
(Morgan MS fol. 25v).*

stature, clearly represent a priest ready for the elevation of the Eucharistic Host. The figure of Christ confirms this decoding of the image. He is standing on the altar, right on the paten,³⁶ next to the chalice, which indicates the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Christ is holding the Host, a scene not found in any other MS depiction, and this gives Him His function as High Priest.

The illustration follows the text quite closely, elaborating and interpreting it even further. The text likens the event to a procession, hence the correspondence with the candles and the pilgrimage-illusion in the image. It is the representation of the contemporary feast of the Presentation, *Afterwarde þei geden in maner of procession toward de autere, with þe childe, De which procession is represented dis day in alle holi chirch, with list botn to goddus wirshipe.*³⁷ It elaborates on the Infant Christ as offering:

decode and understand such illustrations, which directly mirrored a mystical experience or a tradition formed on such experiences, than was a lay audience, where the danger of a false interpretation was much higher. Therefore a more conventional representation was preferred, where the Eucharistic allusions were more indirect.

³⁶ The Child Jesus in the Patene: this motif came into the iconography due to the ever-growing popularity of the Eucharistic miracles relating visions of the Child in the Host. See Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, vol. 1, 694.

³⁷ Sargent, *Mirror*, 47.



Zsuzsanna Nagy

*Bot we shol fully trowe þat it was by angeles presented vp in to þe court of heuen,
& of þere of þe fadre of heuen ful gladly accepede, so dat alle þe blessed cumpanye
of heuen, þereforh was reioycede & gladed.*³⁸

The iconography goes one step further than the text, as it identifies Christ with the Host and with His role as High Priest offering Himself. This image simultaneously gives reverence to the Eucharist and to the priesthood, both attacked by Lollardy.

The following series of images is rather unique in the illumination tradition and therefore it should be considered as being conscientiously chosen and consequently seen as important. These are the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, the Plucking of the Wheat and the Multiplication of the Loaves. The presence of the Sermon on the Mount and of the Plucking of the Wheat images is even more interesting as they are not required by the position of the texts they illustrate.³⁹ They all seem to have a serious potential in serving as a refutation of Lollard ideas or presence.

The Temptation images, as they represent the seduction towards power and dominion, may have had a certain resonance with the preoccupation of Lollards with the claim of secular power, which may have been somewhere in the mental background of the contemporaries. The next image in both manuscripts is the Sermon on the Mount. In the Advocates copy (*Fig. 4*) the Apostles are listening to Christ preaching, whereas in the Morgan manuscript a great number of people are represented. In both images Christ is positioned much higher than His listeners, thus showing His authority. In the Advocates manuscript the image of Christ as the true Teacher of Faith can be identified if one looks at the figure of an Apostle, very likely that of Judas, depicted in the front row, so that he is very visible, as he turns to another Apostle, as if in the act of contradicting Christ's words. His gesture, that is, his finger pointed at the

*Fig. 4. Sermon on the Mount
(Advocates MS fol. 57v).*

³⁸ Sargent, *Mirror*, 48.

³⁹ All the texts which mark the beginning of a new day for the meditation are illustrated.



"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

Apostle, his position, on the left of the group of the Apostles, which is the traditional place of the "bad figures," and the depiction of his face, with a marked Jewish nose and an ugly expression, undoubtedly signals that he is a bad character, sowing dissemination and false opinions. The idea that a contemporary viewer, always ready to seek the known element in an image, might identify this figure not only with the Jews but also—and perhaps more—with the known Lollard dissenters does not seem too audacious.⁴⁰

In the Morgan copy (*Fig. 5*) the composition is interesting. The figure of Christ, due to the static, majestic pose, is very similar to representations of

Christ in Glory; the people around Him are placed in two ascending rows, with gestures and pose of reverence, not only listening. The composition strongly evokes the image of Christ in Glory with heavenly hosts and saints around Him, and the authority of Christ as the Teacher of Faith is marked and stressed. The combination of these two elements may indirectly underline the legitimacy of the

Fig. 5. Sermon on the Mount (Morgan MS fol. 46re).

apostolic Church receiving its teaching of faith from Christ.

Another important characteristic of this seemingly common underlying programme is the fact that the illuminations, exactly at these critical junctures, that is, around the Eucharist, are in an interesting, double relation to the text. In the case of the first illustration of the Eucharistic group, the Plucking scene, the appearance of an illustration emphasises even more the importance of the textual passage. The effort to avoid the exposition of the most hotly attacked and debated issues is most clearly present in the case of the illustrations in some way concerning the Eucharist.

Both manuscripts contain the image about the Plucking of the Wheat on the Sabbath. (*Figs. 6 and 7*) The inclusion of this illustration gains even more relevance by the fact that this type of image, that is the depiction of this subject, as far as my investigations could ascertain, has no match anywhere else: it

⁴⁰ In congruence with the tradition of the anti-Lollard tracts, Love explicitly identified Judas with the Lollards on the grounds of their unbelief, see Sargent, *Mirror*, 153.

Zsuzsanna Nagy

appears only in the two *Mirror* manuscripts.⁴¹ They are very similar iconographically and compositionally.⁴² In both copies the corn is depicted with great care and realism, and is focused by its size and the detailed representation. When it was depicted like this, it usually refers to a Eucharistic parallel, or it functions as a Eucharistic pre-figure or figure.⁴³ Thus the presence of this image underlines the intentional nature of the textual reordering of the passage by Love himself in order to form the thematic unit of the Eucharist.⁴⁴ Also the reproof of the Pharisees is significant, as they may be identified with those who followed the Scriptures but could not recognise the authority of Christ over the laws. Christ appears in the text as lord over the law: *And also his presence þat was lord and auctor of þe lawe'. 9af hem leue.*⁴⁵ In the next scene in the biblical narrative the Pharisees

Fig. 6. Plucking of the Wheat (Advocates MS fol. 66r).

⁴¹ Interestingly, Kathleen L. Scott also does mention this scene in her very short description of the illustrations of these copies, along the mentioning of the unusual presence of two other images. Although she uses these two as a proof of the dissimilarity of the manuscripts, she not only categorises the images as rare ones, which, in my opinion, could be exacted as probably being without pairs, but she even emphasises the similarity of these two. Scott, "Illumination," 65.

⁴² There is a difference between the two manuscripts in the placement of the illustration on the page, however. In the *Advocates* manuscript, as always, the scene is depicted as a full-page miniature, whereas in the *Morgan* version it occupies only a relatively small space at the bottom of the page, being the smallest illustration of the series, and being inserted into the very body of the text, perhaps indicating that the artist was aware of the uniqueness of it.

⁴³ The wheat or corn signifies the Eucharist in the iconography, see Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, vol. 1, 81–82.

⁴⁴ Love reorganised the original sequence of the chapters of the *Meditationes*, also in order to create a Eucharistic block, and to attain this goal he removed this passage from its place in the *Meditationes* and inserted it at a very distant place from the original location.

⁴⁵ Sargent, *Mirror*, 98.



"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

are scandalised by the words of Christ asserting that His body is truly food. The connection between the two scenes, besides the Eucharistic reference, are the scandalised, first over the corn, (a Eucharistic symbol), then over the bread as an illustration to the words of Christ about His body as the Bread of Life.

*Fig. 7. Plucking of the Wheat
(Morgan MS fol. 54v).*

The next scene of the Eucharistic group in the text and correspondingly in the manuscripts is the Multiplication scene, itself very rare.⁴⁶ A very strange phenomenon can be detected in this case, one which is present in both manuscripts and requires interpretation. The Multiplication scene is conflated with the Last Supper scene, serving as a supplement to it. The ambiguity, or rather, duplicity of meaning is clear. In the Morgan copy (*Fig. 8*) an Apostle holds the bread in his hands covered by his mantle. Covering the hands when holding or touching a sacred object was a liturgical prescription; therefore this gesture of the Apostle together with the blessing gesture of Christ makes the parallel between this image and the Last Supper, or at least endows the scene with a Eucharistic hint. The conflation of the two scenes is even more evident in the Advocates image.⁴⁷ (*Fig. 9*) The Multiplication scene here is similar to a Last Supper scene to the extent that even Scott, its expert cataloguer, twice described it as the Last Supper scene, once in the description of the Morgan manuscript, referring to the Advocates scene of multiplication and once in the subject index, where she gave the reference of the illustration of the Multiplication scene under the Last Supper heading,⁴⁸ considering it as a combined image. The composition, a big round table with people around it, the two fishes and the chalice-like cups on the table, Christ in the foreground in a leaning position, perhaps evoking the washing of the feet, are all reminiscent of the Last Supper images.

⁴⁶ It appears only once, in the Sherborne Missal, Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland British Library Loan MS 82.

⁴⁷ It may be of interest that the figure of Christ is depicted here wearing a golden vestment, the symbol of glory.

⁴⁸ See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 410.



Zsuzsanna Nagy

*Fig. 8. Multiplication
(Morgan MS fol 57 re).*

Fig. 9. Multiplication (Advocates MS fol. 69r).

Such a conflation was necessary, as there is no other Last Supper image in either of the manuscripts. Although it was not a scene required so strongly by the tradition of *Vitae Christi* and other Biblical narratives, such as the Crucifixion scene, it appears about five times in other manuscripts,⁴⁹ and therefore had a

⁴⁹ In a Missal from 1398 London, BL MS Additional 29704–05 fol. 68v, in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 161, fol. 17, in the *Hours of the Virgin* London BL MS Additional 50001, fol. 7, in the *Privy of Passion*, Cambridge,



"To confusion of alle false Lollardes"

certain iconographic convention. The absence of this image in particular is made even more striking as the text contains the long exposition of the Sacrament inserted by Love expressly at this point.⁵⁰ Such a major incongruity between the text and the image is singular in these manuscripts.

In the attempt to find an interpretation for this phenomenon, only a hypothesis could be created. However, two arguments would support the assumption that it was deliberately left out as it too directly represented the scene *par excellence* of the great Eucharistic debate between Lollardy and the official Church. First, a relation may exist between this absence and the prohibition of discussion of the matter of the Eucharist in a public sermon by the Constitution of Arundel. The purpose of the absence in both cases may mean the intention of avoiding false understandings of this matter of high complexity and importance. The second argument is given by the general tendency of the iconography of both manuscripts to incorporate Eucharistic allusions indirectly, that is, to present clearly Eucharistic images in scenes which traditionally would not require them, and therefore where these would not be expected. Therefore the attribution of the lack of the Last Supper scene from both manuscripts to the influence of Lollardy may be worthy of consideration.

Conclusions

As the analysis of the pictorial cycles demonstrates, the two manuscripts may be described as possessing individuality. The difference between them consists in the choice of the images and in the focus of the iconography they use in relating the same topic. However, the differences of choice as well as of the aspects given a special emphasis in both manuscripts fit well into the anti-Lollard programme.

The individual character of the two manuscripts notwithstanding, the presence of an underlying common programme influenced by the challenge of Lollardy is testified by the several indirect allusions. These refer to the

Trinity College MS B. 10. 12, fol.4, and in Cambridge, Trinity College 161, containing Ludolphus of Saxony's *Vita Iesu Christi*, on fol. 111v on the border.

⁵⁰ Another fact confirms the unusual character of this absence: the Last Supper scene is missing from the illustrative cycles of all the printed copies of the *Mirroure* as well, except for one! For an analysis of the printed versions of the *Mirroure*, see Lotte Hellinga, "Nicholas Love in Print," in *Nicholas Love at Waseda*, 143–162. For a cataloguing of the printed versions, see *A Short Title of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, ed. W. A. Jackson, F. J. Ferguson, completed by Katherine Pantzer (London: np, 1978–86).



Zsuzsanna Nagy

Eucharist, the missing Last Supper scene, the Trinitarian representations, so abhorred by Lollards, the figure of Judas as a dissenter, and finally the stressing of the legitimacy of the Church and its teaching by the Teaching Christ and most of all by the Celestial Hierarchy, represented so often (which is unique), throughout both pictorial cycles, with the climax in the Coronation scene. The presence of all these motifs demonstrates that the illuminations are in perfect congruence with the aim of the text of the *Mirror* and do reflect, through their methods, the programme of strengthening the faith of the believer in the sacraments and also of the feeling of belonging to the legitimate Church. The text and the illuminations of the two *Mirror* manuscripts thus fulfilled their mission, as formulated by Love in the closing sentence of the *Mirror*: "*Ðat treuly byleuen, & to confusion of alle false Lollardes & heretykes*"⁵¹

⁵¹ Sargent, *Mirror*, 223.



BEING A CHOSEN ONE: SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND SELF-FASHIONING IN THE WORKS OF GEROLAMO CARDANO¹

Dóra Bobory 

Introduction²

The generally accepted view, widespread since the nineteenth century, is that modern science, born or at least formed in the Renaissance movement, met no substantial resistance and simply swept magic and superstition away from world history. In contrast, Paolo Rossi claims that “the Hermetic-magical tradition had an important influence on many of the leading exponents of the Scientific Revolution... Today, the Enlightenment-era positivist image of scientific knowledge marching triumphantly through the darkness and superstition of magic has definitely been laid to rest.”³

There is another aspect to the Renaissance that must be clarified—the role of solitary adventurers in the new fields of “science,” indebted to no tradition, only keen to share their new discoveries with their peers, often by means of correspondence and personal visits rather than communal endeavour. Although the romantic attitude of Burckhardt, viewing the Italian Renaissance as the

¹ This is a shortened version of my MA thesis, defended at the Department of Medieval Studies, CEU in 2002. The entire first chapter, focusing on the tradition which indicated a possible connection between physiological phenomena and purely spiritual capacities, and the way some scholars utilised them to accentuate their uniqueness, that is, the tradition of melancholy, was thus left out of this version.

² I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude towards Matthew Suff, who always found the phrases corresponding to my thoughts.

³ Paolo Rossi, *The Birth of Modern Science*, tr. C. De Nardi Ipsen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 26. This is also the view of Steven Shapin, who states that “There was no such thing as the Scientific Revolution... Many historians are no longer satisfied that there was any singular and discrete event, localized in time and space, that can be pointed to as “the” Scientific Revolution. Such historians now reject even the notion that there was any single coherent cultural entity called “science” in the seventeenth century to undergo revolutionary change. There was, rather, a diverse array of cultural practices aimed at understanding, explaining, and controlling the natural world, each with different characteristics and each experiencing different modes of change.” Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1–3.



Dóra Bobory

revolt of particular individuals against the darkness of the medieval heritage, has—as noted above—been successfully criticised, there is no question that there were important participants of the intellectual sphere (and certainly that of art) who did not belong to philosophical schools or institutions. These intellectuals were not necessarily supported by powerful patrons; rather, they were scholars who made their own way through the complex network of ideologies and traditions, following their own presentiments while utilising—consciously or not—a great variety of sources and thoughts. The fact that they stood outside the universities and traditional institutions (even if they often had some temporary experience of them) gave them a freedom of choice, while it also meant that the sources and ideas they made their own were not part of or rooted in the mainstream.⁴

This paper focuses on the sixteenth century, the third generation of Humanists, which as such “no longer presented the exciting aspect of continuous discovery, renewed year by year”⁵ by the publication of new materials and fresh approaches. New discoveries were no longer new; the anxiety caused by the sensational discovery of the Hermetic texts⁶ in the late fifteenth century was dying down. Their presence became usual, like other discoveries both literary and geographical; they became absorbed in that mass or complexity of traditions, cultures, and attitudes that now we call the Renaissance.

The “new intellectuals,”⁷ or, as some of their contemporaries simply called them, sorcerers, magi, or even charlatans, were thus solitary figures without the financial and social support a courtier could enjoy, and as a result they laboured under the necessity of fighting their way to the scholarly community unaided. In consequence, they had to create extremely strong “survival strategies” to find a

⁴ “Scientific activity was being carried on in an unstructured ideological framework wherein everyone tried, with difficulty, to make his way, practising two or three disciplines at once, teaching one but not the other, without any spirit of specialisation in the present-day sense of the word.” Robert Mandrou, *From Humanism to Science 1480–1700*, tr. Brian Pearce (Bungay, Suffolk: Penguin, 1978), 22.

⁵ Mandrou, *From Humanism to Science*, 138.

⁶ On the Hermetic tradition and its impact on Renaissance culture, see the following: Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964) which still represents the most trustworthy authority on this subject; Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Eugenio Garin, “Nota sull’ermetismo,” in *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano. Ricerche e documenti* (Florence: Sansoni, 1992), 143–154.

⁷ Mandrou, *From Humanism to Science*, 122.



public, and more especially, a patron ready to support them. This “new intellectual” had to be a conscious, determined businessman who knew how to sell his literary products and shape himself into whatever form was required. “In the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process.”⁸ The matter of the ability to control one’s own identity (and, by extension or at least by persuasion, that of others) played a decisive role in a person’s further career. If one negotiated well enough among the capricious market-forces one was able to survive, even to acquire recognition, fame, success, and wealth.

Some of these “new intellectuals” went further than simply embracing the opportunities; they really believed that they were meant to do more than fulfil the requirements of their readers; they were, rather, to lead some kind of a mission. They felt that they were initiated, chosen for knowing the secrets that others were not allowed or prepared or able to know. The occult,⁹ the mysterious, the unexplainable was the borderline which divided the masses from them, the ones chosen for the mission. One in possession of the knowledge of the hidden, the occult, could sense a more intimate relation to the divine. However, a scholar engaged in an eager search for secrets while lacking an institutional background could easily get into trouble. The accusation of heresy was familiar to Paracelsus, Agrippa, Cardano, Della Porta, even to Campanella and Bruno.

Since it is always easier to approach an epoch through the life and work of a characteristic individual, this paper will focus on Gerolamo Cardano. He was an enigmatic and controversial figure of the Italian Renaissance, one whose life and works reflect faithfully the problems and difficulties a scholar in sixteenth-century Italy had to face.¹⁰ His worth was estimated by a respectable authority, Leibniz, thus:

⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.) 2.

⁹ The word “occult” has the meaning of something hidden, not available for everyone, but the wise and virtuous: as Matthew said, “Do not give dogs what is holy, and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under foot and turn to attack you,” Gospel of Matthew 7:6.

¹⁰ There is a growing interest shown towards the works of Cardano: every year a different scholar aims at exploring one of the numerous fields of knowledge he was involved in. In relation to his medicine, see Nancy G. Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); on his astrology, see Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). There are also great collections of articles on his work, such as the following: Eckhard Keßler, ed.,



Dóra Bobory

It seems to me that knowledge exerts magic that is comprehensible only to those who have been seized by it. I am not only referring to factual knowledge which is not concerned with the powers of reasoning, but rather that kind of knowledge which Cardano possessed. He was a truly great man, despite his misconceptions. If not for them, he would have been unequalled.¹¹

He was born in 1501 in Pavia. He graduated in Medicine and Arts at the age of 25 from the University of Padua, but his illegitimate birth impeded him from being accepted into the College of Physicians in Milan for many years, thus he could not practise his profession officially. He was a man of universal interests, who dealt with mathematics, moral and natural philosophy, and botany, contributing to each branch of science. In some cases he performed something really outstanding (in the field of mathematics, the demonstration of the method for solving cubic equations, or a special suspension designed for the carriage of the Emperor Charles V, the so-called "joint" of Cardano¹²), while in other cases his role is not easy to define.

In the course of the following, I intend to examine the means and modes this particular scholar used for the various purposes needed to acquire fame and earn a livelihood in the scholarly world. Through the analysis of Cardano's efforts aimed at creating an image of himself as a chosen one with special abilities, I will try to show how raw market-forces challenged him and his fellow scholars to perform (or at least claim to do so) something outstanding and often astonishingly bold in the scientific world.

The sources for this research are of two different kinds: the *De propria vita*, full of miraculous stories accentuating Cardano's centrality in his *microcosmos*, which I consider the non-scientific formulation of the author's ideas, and

Girolamo Cardano: Philosoph, Naturforscher, Arzt (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994); M. Baldi and G. Canziani, eds. *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Milano 11–13 dicembre 1997* (Milan: Francoangeli, 1999).

¹¹ "Die Wissenschaft und Gelehrsamkeit scheint dergleichen Anmut zu haben, die von Leuten, die sie niemals geschmeckt, nicht kann begriffen werden. Ich verstehe nicht ein bloßes historisches Wissen, ohne die Erkenntnis der Gründe; sondern ein solches Wissen, wie Cardan seines, der bei allen seinen Fehlern in der Tat ein großer Mann war: und ohne diese Fehler unvergleichlich würde gewesen sein," in Leibniz, *Theodicee Herrn Gottfried Wilhelms Freiherrn von Leibniz* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996), 260. Translated by Helga Niman in Markus Fierz, *Girolamo Cardano 1501–1576. Physician, Natural Philosopher, Mathematician, Astrologer, and Interpreter of Dreams* (Basle-Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 1983), 175.

¹² On this invention, see Berthold Laufer, *Cardan's Suspension in China* (Washington, 1916).



passages in his scientific works that refer to the traditions of Hermetism and melancholy.¹³

Image of the Self in the Autobiography

Gerolamo Cardano was a prolific writer, a fertile mind whose various writings on diverse topics fill ten folio volumes, and yet the book that has always been the most widely read is undoubtedly the *De propria vita*, entitled the *umbilicus scriptorum* by the author himself.¹⁴

The *De propria vita* was completed in 1576, in the year of the author's death. We have to bear in mind the importance of the genre of self-narrative from the point of view of this research, since—in the hands of an expert—it can be transformed into a means of self-fashioning. August Buck¹⁵ classifies the genre of autobiography into three categories on the basis of the author's motivation: (1) self-justification in the eyes of contemporaries and future generations; (2) fathoming the self in order to regulate one's life; and (3) curiosity about one's self-realised individuality. Cardano's work is generally considered as belonging to the first group. The fact that Cardano wrote the *De propria vita* in his declining years (and indeed it proved to be his last work) implies a certain synoptic,

¹³ Concerning the history of melancholy, see the following books: Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson, 1964); Winfried Schleiner, *Melancholy, Genius, and Utopia in the Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), and Wolf Lepenies, *Melancholy and Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), tr. Jeremy Gaines and Doris Jones. It must here be admitted that Cardano who liked to style himself officially as a physician, was interested basically in the physiological—rather than psychological, or spiritual—aspects of the excess of black bile. There are a few exceptions: one is the sentence, "Quod melancholici futura praevideant, innumeris confirmatur exemplis" (Cardano, *Paralipomenon, Opera omnia* X, 462), and the other is a reference to (pseudo-) Aristotle, "Quin etiam illud ei respondet, quod Philosophus ait, et quotidie experimentum docet, sapientes plerumque esse melancholicos" (Cardano, *Theonoston, Opera omnia* II, 424). There may well be a discrepancy between the image put forth in the later autobiographical work and that in the "scientific" corpus, in which Cardano had, *volens nolens*, to accommodate himself to the demands of the age.

¹⁴ Cardano, *De propria vita*, in *Opera omnia* (Lyons: Ravaud and Huguetan, 1663), I, XLV, 43. There are reprint editions of these ten volumes of 1663: Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt, 1966, and New York, 1967.

¹⁵ August Buck, "Girolamo Cardano's *De propria vita*," in *Studien zu Humanismus und Renaissance. Gesammelte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1981–1990* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 203.



Dóra Bobory

summarising approach on the part of the author to the events of his own life. The reader can suspect with good reason that this writing represents a last effort at justifying himself before contemporaries and for posterity, an attempt to show the world the author of hundreds of scientific works, the serious scholar, the well-known physician and mathematician, denuded, in his pure and feeble mortality. In fact, Cardano follows the Humanist tradition of self-narrative, but refuses to depict himself in the idealistic way, the way he should have been (rejecting thus the example of Marcus Aurelius); on the contrary, he portrays himself without any embellishment (in this respect seeming to follow Suetonius).¹⁶ However, while acknowledging his shortcomings (both physical and psychological),¹⁷ "this realisation remains of no consequence to his conduct. Without remorse he accepts the way he is."¹⁸

Being a physician, he subscribed to the fundamental significance of experience for the understanding of man and the world around him.¹⁹ Furthermore, he sees himself as one of his patients,²⁰ or as a case study: his own self represented a part of nature, and he collects retrospectively the many observations he has made during a long life. He is subject to his own thorough observations; he even reports his illnesses faithfully, which is also unique or at least unusual in Humanist writing. In the following I will seek examples of his conscious effort towards making, or building up, an image of himself, an image that shows a man full of pride and very aware of his particularity. He describes himself in his own words:

¹⁶ Buck, "Girolamo Cardano's *De propria vita*," 205.

¹⁷ It appears that the burden of being a chosen one, with a liminal status, was seen as something very difficult to bear with a sane mind. Those gifted ones, who had an insight in the hidden dimensions of life, were often considered madmen. The same applies to Cardano. There is a vast literature on his supersensitive mind. Cesare Lombroso's *Genio e Follia*, just to mention a well-known example, contains a rather lively description of Cardano's strange habits. Nevertheless, I agree with August Buck, who states "it would be difficult, indeed impossible, to obtain a definitive picture of Cardano's psychological make-up from the available materials, since he is himself essentially our only source of information." See *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁸ Buck, "Girolamo Cardano's *De propria vita*," 205.

¹⁹ Buck, "Girolamo Cardano's *De propria vita*," 206.

²⁰ Anne C. E. van Galen, in her article "Body and Self-Image in the Autobiography of Gerolamo Cardano," in Karl Enekel, ed. *Modelling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), argues that Cardano regards the physical as so much a substantial aspect of the self that we can almost say they are considered by him to be identical. She argues, furthermore, that Cardano applies Renaissance medical theory to the description of the self.



Being a Chosen One

*Scientia multarum rerum, itinera, pericula, munera quae exercui, conditiones oblatae, Principium amicitiae, fama, libri, miracula circa sanationes, et in aliis quae contigerunt, et res raras pene supra naturam, Spiritus insuper, et cognitio splendoris.*²¹

I will try to show how the different concepts contained in the idea of melancholy have their correlatives, one by one, in Cardano's *De propria vita*. According to the ancient Greek tradition of melancholy, and especially the *Problems XXX*, 1 of pseudo-Aristotle,²² the man characterised by an excess of black bile is often seen as belonging to neither of the two realms: neither the human nor the divine. This ambiguous—and frequently positive (in the semi-numinous sense)—appraisal of melancholy was to be superseded in the Middle Ages by a purely Christian interpretation of the condition, reliant equally upon the theory of the humours and the transformation of the idea of a Saturnine character into that of one suffering from—or guilty of—*acedia*. However, between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century, the pseudo-Aristotelian thesis came back into favour, albeit somewhat reformulated, with additional emphasis upon the abilities of foresight and divination which melancholy conferred.²³ In the interpretation of the Ficinian school, the literati, primarily philosophers, are particularly subject to melancholy, because the philosopher has to sever his mind from the external motions of the body and bring it closer to God, making it an instrument of the divine, *Unde divinis influxibus oraculisque ex alto repletus, nova quaedam inusitataque semper excogitat, et futura praedicit.*²⁴

The melancholic often surpasses limits—this transgression is necessary to perform something outstanding. In the case of Gerolamo Cardano, his very

²¹ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXXII, 24.

²² The passage on melancholy is quoted by Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson, 1964).

²³ It must be admitted that not all Renaissance thinkers considered melancholy to be “the most desirable temperament.” According to Schleiner, the example of Celso Mancini, in his *De somniis ac Synesi per somnia, De risu ac ridiculis, Synaugia Platonica* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1591), for instance, shows that in the late sixteenth century “it was no longer possible to expound at length the melancholic’s outstanding abilities of foresight and divination without taking into account an increasing opposition to this view,” 39. Indeed, later on the critical approach, mainly clerical, to the question of genial melancholy transformed “the most desirable temperament” into the “humor pessimus.”

²⁴ Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, eds. and tr. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark, (Tempe, AZ: The Renaissance Society of America, 1998), Book One, VII, 123.



Dóra Bobory

birth involved a certain flouting of mournful portents and transgression of limits, since he was born in spite of many interventions aiming at abortion:²⁵

*Tentatis, ut audivi, abortivis medicamentis frustra, ortus sum an. M. D. VIII. Calend. Octobris, hora noctis prima non exacta*²⁶... *Damnatus a prima pueritia ad mortem spirandi illa difficultate ... Astra quae minitabantur omnino obitum, ut omnes dicebant ante annum xlv. omnia vana inventa sunt.*²⁷

His conscious will to live is illustrated by the lines that follow: *Natus ergo, imo a matre extractus, tanquam mortuus, cum capillis nigris et crispis, recreatus balneo vini calidi, quod alteri potuit esse perniciosum.*²⁸ The family could not expect anything better, having read the stars at the moment of the child's birth: Cardano says that very little was lacking for him to become a monstrous creature had the stars not been benevolent in some respect. Apart from a few imperfections in his physical appearance, they provided him with a special ability to foresee the future.²⁹

As a kind of corroboration of this particularity, namely the idea that Cardano considered the self (that is, the psychological self) and the body as identical, is shown in a passage on a strange portent that appeared on the child Cardano's body, interestingly, in the shape of a cross: *Mihi carbunculi quinque in facie crucis in effigiem, supervenerunt, ut unus, forest in nasi apice.*³⁰ The author claims this with the obvious intention of accentuating his peculiarity, which thereby

²⁵ In fact, his own birth appeared to him as exemplary from the astrological point of view, as we can see from the horoscope he cast for himself in the *De exemplo centum geniturarum, Opera omnia* V, 517–541.

²⁶ Cardano, *De propria vita*, II, 2.

²⁷ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XLI, 36.

²⁸ Cardano, *De propria vita*, II, 2.

²⁹ This is reported by him in the following manner: "Et cum Venus dominaretur, ut dixi, toti figurae, et Iupiter esset in ascendente, factus sum abiectae sortis: lingua parum blaesus, et addita est propensio (ut Ptolemaeus ait) media inter frigidam et Harpocratiam, id est rapacem et inconsultam divinationem: in quo genere (praesensionem honestiore vocabulo dicunt) non obscure aliquando valui: similiter ac in aliis divinandi generibus" in Cardano, *De propria vita*, II, 2. In his *De rerum varietate, Opera omnia* III, XV, 79, Cardano states that among the five things that are necessary for one to acquire power of prediction one is being born under the planet Venus. Although traditionally Saturn was considered the ruling planet of melancholics, Cardano departs from received wisdom here. The question of whether he does so in good faith, or whether he rather conveniently ignores certain traditions when they appear to disprove or undermine his claim to elect status, is open.

³⁰ Cardano, *De propria vita*, IV, 3.



Being a Chosen One

manifested itself in this way, as in others, at a tender age. He was a child of delicate health, and subject to various accidents which he attributed to the wrath of the planet Jupiter. First he rolled down the stairs, then a piece of plaster fell on his head while he was sitting on the doorstep of his parents' house, and in general his childhood is depicted by him as a well-designed field of obstacles. (In fact, Cardano dedicates whole chapters to the dangers avoided due to his presentiments, such as the one entitled *Pericula et casus, et de insidiis multiplicibus, variis, et assiduis*).³¹ The gods (as he puts it) kept an eye on him even in adulthood:

*In adversis autem quae levia erant, pro admonitione ut caverem accepi; et o quoties eiusmodi monitis, maximas vitavi calamitates!*³² ... *Non de hoc miror quod ita contigerit, sed quod cum toties viam mutaverim, nunquam sponte, nisi in huiusmodi periculis, forsitan alias non animadverti. Attamen res magna, non admiranda, si exemplum frequens non adesset.*³³

What is more, his father—a highly cultivated man—had the habit of taking the young boy with him wherever he went as a kind of servant to carry his paraphernalia. These were the occasions when Cardano became familiar with the rudiments of mathematics, astrology, and geometry; however, his account of his father's attitude reveals something less than enthusiasm: *Sed non mutata sors mea, nam rursus pater me ut servum ducebat secum mira pertinacia, ne dicam saevitia, ut divino potius consilio factum, ex his quae post sequuta sunt credas quam patris culpa*.³⁴ This statement (or perhaps it is better to call it an allusion) is again a manifestation of his conviction that someone somewhere had serious designs for him. The physical features of Cardano and his extraordinary self-image, which explained the physical by the transcendent and vice versa, are well illustrated by this passage: *brachiis admodum tenuibus, dextra manu crassiore, digitsque incompactis, ut chiromantici rudem esse pronunciarint ac stupidum: inde ubi norunt puduerit*.³⁵ Thus, he had a poor constitution, he suffered from various illnesses, and he seemed to be exposed to constant life-threatening danger. Finally, after all these mournful portents and events, it was a dream that foretold the positive changes to come in his life.

Dreams had a special place in Cardano's work: he dedicated a vast book to their classification and interpretation, the *Synesiorum somniorum libri III*.³⁶ It is

³¹ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXX, 18.

³² Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXIII, 15.

³³ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXX, 19.

³⁴ Cardano, *De propria vita*, IV, 3.

³⁵ Cardano, *De propria vita*, V, 5.

³⁶ Cardano, *Synesiorum somniorum libri IIII, Opera omnia* (Lyon: Huguetan & Ravaud, 1663), V.



Dóra Bobory

much more idiosyncratic and peculiar, however, that he uses his dreams as evidence for his ability to foresee the future, and in general for the unspoken claim that he was a chosen one. Interestingly, these dreams usually revealed a misfortune to come in his family, or a turn in his professional career; indeed, in the majority of the cases his dreams were directed to different members of his familial and social circle—his personal microcosm of the world in general.³⁷ A colourful collection of prophetic, or at least important, dreams is available in his *Synesiorum somniorum*, book IV, and the *De propria vita* is also full of accounts of various *somnia*. In the one he had before he met his wife—according to his own interpretation—it intimated to him all the fateful and sorrowful events to come.³⁸ Cardano explains this dream as predicting his marriage to a beautiful young woman, but at the same time he felt a sense of being trapped in an unpleasant situation, one from which he could not escape.

There are topics that seem to be central to Cardano's interest, as demonstrated by the fact that he returns to them under different titles. One of these favourite motifs in his life was his awareness (obsession, in fact) of being a victim to the spite of some contemporary scholars who even went so far as to try to poison him more than once in his own house. These are stories that sometimes verge on slapstick, but Cardano reports them gravely. He finds it no exaggeration to say that the death of his enemies (even those who accused his son, Giambattista³⁹), which occurred shortly after they wanted to hurt him, was due to divine providence.⁴⁰

³⁷ There are a few exceptions, such as the case when he foresaw that Cyprus would fall to the Turks.

³⁸ "Ac quasi mortalis in immortalis sede collocatus, aut ut melius dicam, iucunditate: cum ecce nocte quadam, video me in horto quodam amoeno, nimisque pulchro, floribus ornato, fructibus diversi generis referto, spirabat aura suavis, ut nihil iucundius non pictor, non Pulcius Poeta, non cogitatio simile quicquam confingere posset; etiam in vestibulo horti, ostium apertum patebat, et aliud inde ex adverso: cum ecce video puellam candida veste indutam, eam adeo amplector, exosculor, statim a primo osculo hortulanus clausit ostium, enixe coepi rogare ut apertum dimitteret, nunquam potui obtinere: moestus itaque, et puellae haerens, exclusus manere visus sum," in Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXVI, 16.

³⁹ "Eorum qui ipsum accusarunt nemo non nisi magna calamitate evasit, aut percussus, aut enectus." Cardano, *De propria vita*, XLI, 36.

⁴⁰ "Ergo cum viderem me potius providentia divina fervatum, quam propria solertia, desii, in posterum sollicitus adeo esse de periculis: verum quis non videt haec omnia, quasi fuisse gloriae consecuturæ praeiudicia, aut vigilam quandam?" Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXX, 21–22.



Divine providence indeed plays a central role in the creation of Cardano's image of the self.⁴¹ His accounts of his special abilities are even more central to his *De propria vita* than the stories about vicious enemies ready to murder him. Various chapters on extraordinary presentiments, visions, and phenomena both natural and supernatural were all destined to draw his attention to those things that he should avoid or simply take into consideration. Let us gather some of the most interesting accounts from his *De propria vita*. The dream mentioned above showed him that his marriage would be full of difficulties, manifested first of all in the children granted to him: two boys, Giambattista and Aldo, and a girl, Chiara. Further admonitions for Cardano, however, were supposed to point out the unhappy events to come. He discovered that his elder son, Giambattista had married the woman whom Cardano had recommended him not to marry because of her bad reputation through an earthquake that no one but he experienced or even noticed: *Cogitavi divinum nuncium, quod cognovisset conclusum vesperi, nocte voluisse significare, nam ubi illuxisset, antequam domo prodiret, agressus eram filius.*⁴² A few months afterwards, he heard a monotonous voice singing from the street and he realised that his son had confessed and was thus lost, because the song he heard was similar to a lament and similar in tone to a confession. The death of Giambattista, however, was not due to God's wrath, according to the author, but was the result of a conspiracy against him by his numerous enemies and the many rivals who envied him. He claims that his enemies wanted him to lose his mind (or even die) of the pain he would feel on the loss of his favourite son.⁴³

The younger son, Aldo, did not give him any joy in his life; he became a thief, who even broke into the house of his own father in order to burgle him. Cardano's daughter was feared to be barren for a long time.⁴⁴ It seems, despite

⁴¹ "Et similiter de successu, quod non nisi deplorata iam omni spe illuxerit occasio, ut omnino Dei voluntate factum videri debeat." Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXXVII, 27. We should not neglect the evolution in the terms he uses: this is no longer *providentia*, but directly *voluntate*.

⁴² Cardano, *De propria vita*, XLI, 35. Very interestingly, we can find the following lines in Hippocrates' *Regimen*, 4: the trembling of the earth or of a house means an illness when the dreamer is in good health, and vice versa. In Steven M. Oberhelman, "Dreams in Graeco-Roman Medicine," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II. Principat 37.1, Wolfgang Haase, ed., 121–156 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

⁴³ "Confessi sunt quidam e Senatu (sed puto non de seipsis intelligi voluisse) ea spe damnasse illum, ut dolore interirem, aut insanirem, at unoque quam parum abfuerim, Superi norunt (et ego suo loco enarrabo) sed non successit," Cardano, *De propria vita*, X, 8.

⁴⁴ In the *De rerum varietate*, VIII, 40, Cardano asserts that the sons of the wisest men go to the bad: "Et ob id filii sapientissimorum ignavi videntur quia iam mixtio ad summum



Dóra Bobory

all the tragedies which happened to different members of his family, that he tells these things in his *De propria vita* in order to accentuate his own mournful destiny, and perhaps to win the compassion of his readers. If we go further in the interpretation, we see that he suggests something like this: these tragedies could have been avoided had he been able to use his special abilities more efficiently. This is a grave responsibility that he has to bear; not only is his own destiny in his hands but also to some extent the fate of his relatives, albeit from a different point of view (by means of science, as a kind of mission on earth to disseminate knowledge). Even the whole of mankind owed him a great deal. I shall return to this aspect later.

Cardano reports some interesting information in his *De propria vita* about guardian angels, *daimones* and other indefinable creatures that appeared to him with the intention of helping him or revealing to him something from the future. The first apparition was that of a young man who visited Cardano many times while he was sleeping; he sat down by the side of Cardano's bed and talked to him in a gentle manner. Once the scholar asked him what his name was, and the young man answered gravely: *Stephanus Dames*.⁴⁵

What is even more peculiar is the fact that Cardano's own father came to him in a dream:

Secundum, ibidem non multo post moranti: videbatur mihi quod anima mea esset in Coelo Lunae, nuda a corpore, et solitaria, et ob id quaerebar, audivi vocem

subtilitatis pervenit: igitur infirmi fiunt corpore atque ideo etiam anima." This, again, is a very ambiguous statement, for it implies that Cardano judged his children as being somewhat degenerate, while it also implies that he considered himself a "sapientissimus." Again, the question of whether he was taking a kind of comfort even in such familial troubles, since they could be seen as proof of his status, or whether he was simply desperate to use any factor remotely plausible as such proof, arises.

⁴⁵ "Visus sum etiam aliquando invenem mihi bladientem agnoscere, cuius tamen experectus minime memini, quem cum interrogassem quis esset, et cuias, gravate respondit *Stephanus Dames*. Non fert lingua Latina aliter explicari quam aliena sonet. Ego saepius cogitavi de hoc, *στέφανος coronam* significat *μέσος media, medietasve*," Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXXVII, 29. The author's explanation is again a good example of his accentuation of his uniqueness. Instead of a well-known angel, the one appearing to Cardano is an undefined, unknown visitor, whose name is the only key to his being. Etymologically, *Stephanus* means—in Cardano's understanding of the words—a kind of crown, while *Dames* stands for 'middle' or 'state in between'. The latter element is more interesting for us, since here we deal with the different intermediaries Cardano claimed to have, and his translation of *Dames* is exactly a being in between, an intermediary.



*patris mei dicentis Datus sum tibi custos a Deo ... Id ego sic interpretatus sum, Patris anima tutelar spiritus, quid amicus aut iucundius.*⁴⁶

Despite Cardano's admission of such visits he denies confidently and vehemently the rumours that his aptitude and ability in scholarly debates (making him a much-feared opponent) were due to a certain *daimon*.⁴⁷ This is—in my opinion—a conscious step in building up the image of the self, designed to present an image of a very intelligent scientist who fought his way up to the zenith of his career unaided, using nothing but the capacities of his mind. Despite his ironical comment on the simplicity of his adversaries, he later states that *Spiritus affidentes, aut praesidentes ... fuisse quibusdam viris pro constanti, ut dixi receptum est. Socrati, Plotino, Synesio, Dioni, Fl. Iosepho, sed et mihi.*⁴⁸

The examples taken from Cardano's *De propria vita* corroborate the argument that he built up an image of himself in a very conscious manner. In so-doing he using accounts of miraculous apparitions and special abilities in order to support his unspoken claim, according to which he was a chosen one, especially dear to God, guarded and protected by transcendent beings, admonished by natural and supernatural portents. The question *Remanent dubitationes cur haec sollicitudo pro me non aliis?*⁴⁹ seems to be useless, and even sacrilegious.

The *De propria vita*—not without value when taken as an early example of the science known much later as psychology—is the only writing that provides the reader with an insight into the most hidden secrets of the self. However, a different kind of more objective knowledge is less concerned with the act of or reasons for perception than with phenomena perceived.

Below I will analyse the scientific correlatives of the topics brought up in the *De propria vita*. I shall also try to answer the question of whether there was any difference in the formulation of his ideas between the scientific treatises (destined to expose his miraculous findings) and the *De propria vita*.

⁴⁶ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XXXVII, 29. In comparison I would like to quote Tommaso Campanella, who had the habit of hearing a warning voice: "Ma io, sempre che ho da patir qualche cosa, mi sento tra il sonno e la vigilia un che mi chiama: - Campanella -, chiaramente, e ogni poco lo provo e sto attento, e non so chi sia, e se non è angelo o demonio, bisogna che sia l'aria turbata dalla mia passion futura, o infatta da chi me la prepara." *Opere di Giordano Bruno e Tommaso Campanella*, A. Guzzo and R. Amerio, eds. (Milan: Ricciardi, 1956), 1055.

⁴⁷ "Dignique etiam venia sint, qui ad malum daemonem talia referunt, quando neque bonum, neque Dei benignitatem agnoscunt." Cardano, *De propria vita*, XLIV, 39.

⁴⁸ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XLVII, 44.

⁴⁹ Cardano, *De propria vita*, XLVII, 44.



Dóra Bobory

Self-Fashioning through the Scientific Works

Bearing in mind what Stefano Pittaluga stated⁵⁰ about the possibility of considering as autobiography any kind of text in which—presupposing the identity between the 'I' as author and the 'I' as narrator—the writer becomes protagonist, there may be a link between Cardano's (late) explicit self-narrative (the *De propria vita*) and the implicit one, that is, the scientific corpus (if we accept the idea that for Cardano, life and work were so closely interlinked that both became the expression of the ego).⁵¹

If in the case of the *De propria vita* the motivation was clearly definable, first of all to justify himself and all his prior endeavours in the eyes of contemporaries and future generations, in relation to his scientific works⁵² (for the sake of precision I should call them "all the works except the *De propria vita*," since the correct application of the term "science" to the Renaissance would require a chapter on its own), we now have to try to think in terms of self-advertisement and a slightly different kind of self-fashioning, too. The aim of the author was not to simply make a better impression on the reader through his peculiar personality, but to impress a prospective patron in order to find a sponsor for the publication of further works, to build his scholarly career, and to increase the number of his readers.

⁵⁰ Stefano Pittaluga, "L'autobiografia nell'Umanesimo," *L'autobiografia nel Medioevo. Atti del XXXIV convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 12–15 ottobre 1997* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998), 292.

⁵¹ See Fierz: "Only after reaching the end of one's deliberations does one realize the entire course one's argument ought to have taken in order to have smoothly arrived at the insight which was achieved. It is this logical path which is presented to the reader. But Cardano does not write like this; even his philosophical writings are, as it were, biographical in nature." Markus Fierz, *Girolamo Cardano 1501–1576. Physician, Natural Philosopher, Mathematician, Astrologer, and Interpreter of Dreams*, tr. Helga Niman (Basel–Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 1983), 57.

⁵² In the 1663 edition of the complete works of Gerolamo Cardano the editor, Carlo Spon organised the volumes according to the various fields of interest, thus helping the reader in the orientation among the hundreds of writings. Volume I contains treatises related to philology, logic, and *moralia*, while the second tome includes the *naturalia*. In the third volume one can find the encyclopaedic works, the *De rerum varietate* and the *De subtilitate*, while the fourth one involves mathematics, first of all. Volume five is dedicated to the divinatory arts; the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth tomes deal with medicine. The tenth volume includes various treatises, from *historia animalium* to music.



Miracula and Mirabilia in the Encyclopaedic Works

In the so-called scientific corpus two works require separate treatment, *De rerum varietate*⁵³ and *De subtilitate*,⁵⁴ two encyclopaedias written with the purpose of collecting all the information available on the most peculiar topics, such as interesting inventions, machines, supernatural (or at least mysterious) phenomena, sirens, demons and many other curiosities. They were designed by the author to answer the expectations of the public, not necessarily scholarly ones in this case, yet also first of all to satisfy his own curiosity. In fact, many of the peculiar topics that emerge in the *De propria vita* as unexplainable, miraculous things are treated in the encyclopaedic works in a much more detailed manner. Cardano never stops accentuating the importance of *experimentum*, even when he fills these volumes with *miracula* and *mirabilia*.⁵⁵ He stoutly states that sirens, for instance, do exist because Theodore Gaza and George of Trebizond say so, and (according to Cardano) they had no reason to lie;⁵⁶ his criticism of Albertus Magnus was based on the fact that he was prone to believe anything from hearsay.

The encyclopaedic works seem to form a separate unit in the whole of the scientific corpus, since they appear to be the only instances in which Cardano lets his personal interests overcome his conscious self-fashioning.⁵⁷ What is more, the author claims to have received an admonition in a dream to expose

⁵³ Cardano, *De rerum varietate libri XVII* (Avignon, 1558).

⁵⁴ Cardano, *De subtilitate libri XXI* (Lyon: Guillome Rouillé, 1558).

⁵⁵ This subtitle refers to the article of Luisa Simonutti, "Miracula and Mirabilia in alcune opere di Cardano," M. Baldi and G. Canziani, eds., *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Milano (11–13 dicembre 1997)* (Milan: Francoangeli, 1999). Simonutti points out that for Cardano *miracula* and *mirabilia* were simply *naturalia*, "pur risultando straordinarie e rinviando a cause sconosciute, non per questo presuppongono l'intervento di angeli o demoni, al contrario sono proprietà di cui l'uomo può avere esperienza" while Cardano "riserva alla divinità la possibilità logica di compiere "vera miracula", ossia di modificare il corso, i moti della natura." Simonutti, 196, 198.

⁵⁶ Cardano, *De rerum varietate*, VII, 38.

⁵⁷ As Maclean formulates it, "the *De subtilitate* allies itself to some degree with the genre of occult writing... On the one hand they claim to open up a hidden universe to the uninitiated; on the other, they protect this hidden universe from the eyes of the vulgar by a number of expressive and argumentative plays." Ian Maclean, "The Interpretation of Natural Signs: Cardano's *De subtilitate* versus Scaliger's *Exercitationes*," in Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 234–235.



Dóra Bobory

his thoughts in the book *De subtilitate*.⁵⁸ Thus these works cannot be treated as expressions of a wish to pander to public fancy, their genesis lies in something other than market forces. Their rationale, however, coincided with such quotidian demands as publication, publishing, propagation, all serving public and private purposes, both overt and occult.⁵⁹

Divination and Self-Fashioning

The so-called divinatory arts, such as astrology,⁶⁰ chiromancy, metoposcopy and interpretation of dreams, despite an ambiguous attitude on the part of scholars throughout the centuries,⁶¹ still enjoyed a great popularity in the age of Cardano. He was a devoted and acknowledged practitioner and defender of astrology and dream-interpretation. He insisted that in order to be able to practise it at a high level one should learn the art very profoundly, although he admitted that a natural disposition was also of great importance.⁶² He never seemed to lose his faith in his own capacities, not even when a prophecy turned out to be wrong;⁶³ in these cases he usually put the blame on the inaccuracy of the data which the commissioner made available for him.

⁵⁸ Cardano, *De libris propriis, Opera omnia* I, 108.

⁵⁹ These two works (among many others, except the treatises on medicine) were put on the Index in the year 1571, since errors of faith were found in them. In fact the Holy Congregation ordered the inquisitor of Bologna (where Cardano stayed at the moment) to force the scholar to abjure and prohibit his books, especially the *De rerum varietate*. The encyclopaedic works in which there one could see "il gusto dell'occulto, del segreto e del misterioso mescolandosi, magari, a osservazioni ed esperienze di indiscutibile valore" reflect the effort to reconcile *magia naturalis* and religious orthodoxy. See Cesare Vasoli, *Profezia e ragione. Studi sulla cultura del Cinquecento e del Seicento* (Naples: Morano, 1974), 473.

⁶⁰ On Cardano's understanding of astrology, see Jerzy Ochman, "Il determinismo astrologico di Girolamo Cardano," in *Magia, astrologia e religione nel Rinascimento. Convegno polacco-italiano (Varsavia: 25–27 settembre 1972)* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974), 123–130.

⁶¹ A good example for the ambivalence in the evaluation of these "arts" is the *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Florence, 1496).

⁶² The question of whether he saw himself as one perfectly disposed to the interpretation of future events by reading the stars or explaining dreams is beyond doubt. In the previous chapter I quoted a passage on the astrological circumstances at the moment of his birth, and that he attributed his ability to foresee the future to the conjunction of the dominant planet, Venus, and the planet in the ascendant, Jupiter.

⁶³ A well-known case was that of King Edward VI of England, for whom Cardano prophesied a long life, albeit one with many difficulties, while not much later the young king, who suffered from a very weak constitution, died.



Being a Chosen One

The role of Cardano's works on astrology is of particular interest here since it shows "the lifelong effort to understand and explicate his own experiences, and a systematic demonstration of the unique powers of analysis and prediction that he had dedicated his life to developing."⁶⁴ Furthermore, the *De propria vita* emerged from the genre of geniture (the standard form of a geniture was a mosaic-like format,⁶⁵ a two-dimensional, schematic rendering of the three-dimensional configuration assumed by the planets at the moment of the client's birth) because astrology "offered a means of understanding one's own character—and not allowing it to become one's destiny."⁶⁶ Thus, Grafton argues that the astrological works, the great number of genitures and prognostications Cardano cast for himself in the course of his life, did not simply contribute some autobiographical information to a more precise image of the author, but in many cases proved to be much franker and more straightforward than the later autobiography itself. What could be the explanation for this? In Grafton's analysis, "Cardano had deliberately broken the normal rules of literary self-presentation—the rules that the prudent writer would follow in all cases," because he liked to play "the hero of science,"⁶⁷ who exposed himself completely to his readers so that they could learn from him and his mistakes, thus subscribing to the moralising aspect of astrology.⁶⁸

From the beginning of his scientific career Cardano cast himself in the engaging character of prophet.⁶⁹ He was aware of the call of readers for

⁶⁴ Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos. The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 180.

⁶⁵ Grafton states that this mosaic-like format of the commentary on a horoscope proved the ideal mirror for Cardano's fractured soul. Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos*, 198.

⁶⁶ "The good astrologer—like the good biographer—promised to teach his disciples to read, and even to rewrite, the book of human character itself." Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos*, 194.

⁶⁷ "If I am silent, what use will be to students of the discipline? Let love of truth and public utility win out!" Cardano, *Liber xii geniturarum, Opera omnia*, V, 523, tr. and quoted by Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos*, 191.

⁶⁸ Cardano states in fact that "Alia enim est naturalis affectio, alia studiorum et disciplinae, qua mores uniuscuiusque instituuntur." Cardano, *Liber xii geniturarum, Opera omnia* V, 523.

⁶⁹ Even if in his autobiography he complained that his enemies (we have learned from the analysis of the *De vita propria* that Cardano had many of them) "afferebant quoque nativitatum fasciculos, ut de his pronunciarer, tanquam ariolus et vates, non ut medicinae professor," *De vita propria, Opera omnia* I, XXXIX, 31. Grafton states that "He adopted an assertive, dogmatic tone—more that of the prophet who had a direct link to



Dóra Bobory

prophecies concerning political, economic, and social issues, and he understood that an adept intellectual could profit from a pamphlet full of predictions about the short and the long term. Thus he produced the *Pronostico*,⁷⁰ a rather equivocal, yet noteworthy, debut in the scientific world.⁷¹ Indeed, Cardano was conscious of the cut-throat competition among astrologers and tried to fashion himself in such a way that he could survive; thus he made a constant and effective advertisement for himself.⁷² He evaluated his own works from time to time, which testifies to the fact that he was conscious of the evolution of his scientific performance. He excluded, for instance, his first astrological work, the *Pronostico*, from the list of his books.⁷³ This indeed suggests that later on he did not find it scholarly enough, but also that he saw it as less than attractive to the reading public (scholarly or otherwise) and that he thus refashioned himself in a way which obviated potential objections to earlier expositions of his thought.

Dreams and Demons

Astrology was Cardano's profession, but dream-interpretation⁷⁴ was his real delight, as is shown by the great number of dreams that the author brought up as examples of divine providence in his non-scientific writing, the *De propria vita*.

a divine source than that of the astrologer to take all the facts into accounts," in *Cardano's Cosmos*, 94.

⁷⁰ Cardano, *Pronostico*, Germana Ernst, ed., in M. Baldi and G. Canziani, eds. *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Milano (11–13 dicembre 1997)* (Milan: Francoangeli, 1999).

⁷¹ Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos*, 38.

⁷² He was able to change the tone of his writings so much that later he managed to win the attention and recognition of Lutheran circles as well. This is to be seen as a very conscious (and successful) attempt to conquer new segments of the market for himself.

⁷³ On the interpretation of the lists of his own books, see Ian Maclean, "Interpreting the *De libris propriis*," in M. Baldi and G. Canziani, eds., *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Milano (11–13 Dicembre 1997)* (Milan: Francoangeli, 1999).

⁷⁴ Dreams and their interpretation have always been at the centre of attention; consequently there is a great amount of literature, both primary and secondary, which has come down to us. Concerning Antiquity in general, see first of all the book of Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); the article of Steven M. Oberhelman, "Dreams in Graeco-Roman Medicine," in Haase, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II. Principat 37.1, and Kessels, "Ancient Systems of Dream-Classification," *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 22, (1969): 389–424. On Synesius, who was one of the sources of Cardano's dream-theory, see Christian Lacombrade, *Synesios de Cyrène, hellène et*



The vast book entitled *Synesium somniorum libri IIII*⁷⁵ was dedicated exclusively to dreams, their classification and their origins; its content are heavily and proudly indebted to the *De insomniis* of Synesius⁷⁶ (as the title of the work suggests), and to Artemidorus Daldianus.⁷⁷ Similarly to Galen,⁷⁸ whom Cardano followed and criticised with the same vehemence, he acknowledged divinatory dreams sent from the god(s); indeed, this is the category which Cardano considered to be the most noteworthy.

Dreams also reflected the proud Renaissance attitude that placed man, the dreamer, at the centre of the universe, being just another level on which divine nature reveals and exhibits itself. Cardano definitely subscribed to this idea when he specified three reasons for the creation of man: (1) to know God, (2) to function as an intermediary between heaven and earth, and (3) to rule earthly things.⁷⁹ Even if dreams seem to have a purely natural cause,⁸⁰ the prophetic,

chrétien (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951), especially pages 150–169. Another important predecessor of Cardano in dream-interpretation was Artemidorus Daldianus; on his dream-book, see Dario Del Corno, “C’è del metodo in questa follia: Artemidoro,” in *Il sogno in Grecia*, Giulio Guidorizzi, ed. (Rome: Laterza, 1988) 147–159, and Hans Bender, “Predizione e simbolo in Artemidoro alla luce della moderna psicologia del sogno,” in *Il sogno in Grecia*, 161–171. Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) provides a detailed description of medieval dream-interpretation, while on the Renaissance tradition of dream-divination, see Marina Beer, “Sognare a corte,” in *L’ozio onorato: saggi sulla cultura letteraria italiana del Rinascimento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996); Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia’s Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁷⁵ It was first published in the year 1562, in Basle.

⁷⁶ On Synesius, see Jay Bregman, *Synesium of Cyrene, Philosopher-bishop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) and Lacombrade, *Synesium de Cyrène*.

⁷⁷ A detailed analysis of the sources of Cardano’s dream-classification is available by Alice Lavinia Brown, “Girolamo Cardano’s *Somniorum Synesium Libri IIII*,” in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* (1979): 41. The *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus was first published in 1518, in Venice, together with the *De somniis* of Synesius, which was later translated into Latin in 1539.

⁷⁸ Steven M. Oberhelman, “Dreams in Graeco-Roman Medicine,” in Haase, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II. Principat 37.1.

⁷⁹ This idea is retraceable in many of Cardano’s works, such as the *Proxenetæ*, *Theonoston*, *De subtilitate*, *De rerum varietate*.

⁸⁰ Francesco Gandolfo, *Il “dolce tempo.” Mistica, ermetismo e sogno nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978), 282. In contrast to the Neoplatonic, or Averroist understanding of dreams, indeed, which traces them back to a supernatural cause, Cardano shows his infinite belief in divine providence which—he argues—makes possible to the mind the exploration of his “secrets” simply through the profound study of nature. “La “magia”



Dóra Bobory

revelatory type needs a cautious interpretation. (After all, it is God who reveals Himself through nature.) This attitude to dreams was similar to a contemporary of Cardano, Giambattista Della Porta,⁸¹ because they both believed that there were rules of sympathy between dreams and the natural world, and in consequence, one possessing the appropriate means⁸² and skills could affect the formal aspects of his dreams.⁸³

This is the point where the figure of a chosen one with special abilities (in this case the ability to interpret dreams in general, and dreams of divine origin in particular) seems to have been instantiated again by Cardano. In a specifically scholarly, academic, and indeed professional context he claims to be one of the few who are qualified to understand the message encoded in the *somnia*. This profession was the most divine and most human at the same time, since it was a mirror of the universe, but also a human narration.⁸⁴

Herophilus' classification of dreams⁸⁵ provides a connection to the next topic: he divides dreams according to their origin as godsent dreams and natural dreams. A "godsent dream" in his definition is one in which a single dream-figure presents itself, gives a prophecy, advice, or warning; this figure can be a god or a father-image.⁸⁶ In the *De propria vita* Cardano claimed that his guardian angel was none other than his own father. Even if this statement is rather surprising, it becomes more acceptable if one takes into account the tone and the context of the autobiography. More oddly, this motif also emerges in some

di Cardano definisce con questo la sua più sostanziale distinzione rispetto alla prospettiva neoplatonica del sogno come estasi liberatoria, termine finale di un processo ascetico di rigenerazione spirituale." Gandolfo, *Il "dolce tempo"*, 282.

⁸¹ Giambattista Della Porta, *Magia naturalis* (Naples, 1589) and *Phytognomonica* (Frankfurt, 1608). On Della Porta, see Luisa Muraro, *Giambattista Della Porta mago e scienziato* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978).

⁸² By taking care of diet and the balance of humours, for instance.

⁸³ In fact, in the *Synesiorum somniorum* we can find a detailed description of the effects that various foods have on the dreamer: "...si quis in prandio edat sanguinem nigrae ovis, aut agnae, cum sale, dormieritque paulo post in pellibus nuper mactatae eiusdem atque aliarum furvarum pecudum, nondum bene siccatis, somnia vedebit terribilia," in Cardano, *Synesiorum somniorum libri IIII, Opera omnia V*, 682.

⁸⁴ Agnese Grieco and Mauro Mancía, *Introduzione a Sul sogno e sul sognare* (Venice: Marsilia, 1991).

⁸⁵ E. R. Dodds, "Dream-Pattern and Cultural Pattern," *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 107.

⁸⁶ Although divine dreams were sent only to the privileged dreamer, kings, while commoners had to be content with the ordinary symbolic dream to be interpreted with dream-books. *Ibid.*, 107.



of the scientific works.⁸⁷ In the *De propria vita* passage a peculiar game with double intermediaries appears: one is his dead father, who is now in possession of a higher knowledge, while the other is Cardano himself, the writer of this imaginary-fantastic dialogue, who assumes the role of the interpreter and communicates his own selectness to the world.⁸⁸ The fact that both Cardano and Giordano Bruno found this way to formulate their ideas concerning their own particularity testifies to their belief that if such an astonishingly explicit claim was communicated through the figure of someone else (such as Teofilo in the *La Cena de le Ceneri* of Bruno, and Fazio Cardano for Gerolamo) it would appear less presumptuous in the eyes of the readers. It is left to the taste of each reader whether he or she finds the claim expressed in this manner more convincing and trustworthy than if it were announced unreservedly. However, one should be careful here: no hint of cynical manipulation of the readership is necessarily implied. Perhaps one of the most extraordinary aspects of Cardano's writings is that he appears, genuinely and sincerely, to make no distinction between the truly scientific (in the veridical sense) and the anecdotal: he reports all that occurs to him.

In contrast to the old man who, looking back at his past, writes his memoirs in which he admits to having had special abilities, guardian angels, and a *daimon*, here *Hieronymus Cardanus physicus Mediolanensis*, the scholar, could sense that the world and science itself were heading in new directions. He understood that superstition did not have a place in serious works, and he wanted to be acknowledged even if he had to give up (or at least remain silent about) some of his personal convictions. This is the reason why there are no passages stating that Cardano had a *daimon*, for instance. What appear in some of the scientific treatises are endeavours to describe supernatural phenomena in terms of popular encyclopaedic science, in a very objective and scholarly way.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Cardano, *Dialogus Hieronymi et Facii Cardani Ipsius Patris, Opera Omnia I*, 637. The passage is of particular interest, for it is based upon personal testimony: it relates how his father reported to Cardano the way he would ascend through the divine spheres and draws his attention to the fact that God was constantly taking care of him.

⁸⁸ This is a striking parallel to the *La Cena de le Ceneri* of Giordano Bruno, where the author makes one of the protagonists of the dialogue talk about his spiritual and intellectual greatness, his superiority above the masses: "Or ecco quello ch'ha varcato l'aria, penetrato il cielo, discorse le stelle, trapassati gli margini del mondo, fatte svanir le fantastiche muraglia de le prime, ottave, none, decime ed altre, che vi s'avesser potuto agiongere, sfere, per relazione di vani matematici e cieco veder di filosofi volgari... ha donati gli occhi a le talpe, illuminati i ciechi." Giordano Bruno, *La Cena de le Ceneri*, Augusto Guzzo, ed. (Milan: Mondadori, 1995), 22.

⁸⁹ See, for instance, Cardano, *Paralipomenon, Opera omnia X, XXI*, 471 and *XXIII*, 476.



Dóra Bobory

The two encyclopaedias, the *De subtilitate* and the *De rerum varietate*, are the exceptions to the rule: they constitute the forum where Cardano decided to expose his otherwise denied, or at least hidden, interests in *magia naturalis*.⁹⁰ However, what we today, more than five hundred years later, define as superstition and magic or supernatural phenomena in Cardano's works (dreams, demons, apparitions) for him were all manifestations of the divine providence, natural portents, since nature is a means of God of transmitting His will.

Conclusion

In the analysis of Gerolamo Cardano's autobiography and some particular examples drawn from his scientific works I have sketched out the possibility of placing him in a tradition which viewed man as being the centre of the universe and its heir.⁹¹ More than a century had elapsed between the Italian Neoplatonist enthusiasm for the Hermetic texts and sixteenth-century conscious self-fashioning. This period saw the re-elaboration and reshaping of the ancient Greek tradition of melancholy into a complex, yet ambiguous, network of ideas which involved genius and divination, madness and mental disturbances, intellectual supremacy and moral deviance. It brought about some new attitudes in the understanding of man's role and function. Cardano's conduct, both unprofessional and professional, served in this paper as a case study for the interaction of various requirements (either internal or external) that a scientist had to satisfy in order to earn a livelihood and recognition in the scholarly community.

On the basis of his autobiography and the numerous elements of self-narrative in the scientific corpus, we can see how Cardano built up the image of himself as a chosen one, step by step, through advertising his special abilities, although always in a rather implicit manner. He appears to have been quite innovative in this respect; while the Florentine Neoplatonist philosophers

⁹⁰ We could add two more minor works, the *De arcanis aeternitatis* and the *De fato*, although they were less well-known (and the latter was not even published in the author's life), because they both are very much involved in *magia naturalis*.

⁹¹ Paracelsus' view of the dignity and capacities of man is summarised by Webster in the following way: "Man was cast in the image of God; he was the centre part of creation, the summation of all the elements in the macrocosm. His status was so high and great that he is provided with *arcana*, *mysteria* and *magnalia* without number from the heavens. As God's legitimate heir, the effects of the Fall notwithstanding, man was destined to inherit the kingdom on earth." In Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton. Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 49.



mainly utilised the Hermetic corpus, and with reservations the tradition of melancholy, as sources of justification for their claims to be chosen ones, Cardano accentuated his particularity even through his independence from these well-known traditions.

He took part in a movement that intended to reform knowledge through an attempt at synthesising some of the major traditions of European culture, such as the Aristotelian and Humanist traditions. Apart from the synthesis of old, respected traditions, the goal of their activity was to reach to something new and revolutionary. The stress on the importance of experience reflects this conscious effort, and indeed, the understanding of its essential role in science (even if both the words “experience” and “science” meant something rather different) can be considered as a decisive step towards rational science. This has been hallmarked traditionally by the name of Descartes, and also his contemporary, Leibniz, who noted Cardano’s worth in the quote given in the introduction.

In this respect we can acknowledge the scientific activity of Gerolamo Cardano as contributing to the birth of modern science; the restrictions we have to bear in mind are clear now. There are no real restrictions, however, when his merit as a mathematician is under examination—as Leibniz, a mathematician himself, observed—since it is a fact that he was the first scholar who managed to demonstrate the formula of cubic equations.⁹² Furthermore, he made a number of outstanding observations in the field of medicine, and some of his inventions (such as the “joint of Cardano”) proved to be long-lasting. Nevertheless, on the basis of what has been said so far it seems that in the figure of Cardano we are not dealing with a scholar who was building up an ideological system step by step, work by work, but probably someone who was led by his various interests and curiosity in far too many directions.

Cardano’s case is by no means the best-known among his contemporaries, to say nothing of his predecessors and successors in these Renaissance endeavours, those savants, half medic and half mystic, who are celebrated today. Yet perhaps this is to his credit—he has no ill fame like that of Paracelsus, or Dee and Kelley. Accusation of heresy may have had some validity in the context of his time, and accusations of naiveté or histrionic self-obsession may have some currency in the context of ours, but accusations of malice or duplicity or fraud will not stand up. Whatever else Cardano was, he was sincere. Only some reservations need be made with regard to his eagerness to seize upon any evidence of his elect status, be they wayward progeny or the planet ruling over

⁹² On Cardano’s contribution to mathematics, see Silvio Maracchia, *Da Cardano a Galois—Momenti di storia dell’algebra* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1979), especially pages 17–57.



Dóra Bobory

him. If he was hungry for recognition, he was not greedy for anything else—he was no fraudulent alchemist in the Kelley mould. Despite his fascination with himself as self, he maintained a scientific objectivity in medical matters, as they were understood to him. Thus we can understand Leibniz's estimation: Cardano was indeed great, but working within a confused tradition, and with limited tools of analysis and data (save in pure mathematics, where mental effort and conceptual reasoning sufficed and prevailed, without being sullied by contact with the surly bonds of quotidian personal experience). There is a certain irony that in the case of this sincere, if somewhat inconsistent, thinker, it was the brute force of the market, the need to prove himself in a world of patrons and public, that inspired him to emphasise all the more forcefully his distance from that world. Another irony resides in his subsequent marginalisation in all matters (save the practical concerns of mathematics)—a fate which he attempted to avoid, and yet strangely fitting for one who saw himself as rather less (or more!) than "of this world."



MOGIŁA—A CASE STUDY OF THE CREDIT ACTIVITY OF A CISTERCIAN MONASTERY IN THE MEDIEVAL DIOCESE OF CRACOW

Grzegorz Żabiński 

Introduction

The first Cistercian monks appeared in Poland during the period of the most dynamic development of the order in Europe, that is, the 1140s. It is possible to see two phases of the order's implementation in Poland: from the 1140s to 1195, and from ca. 1210 to 1300–1372. The Cistercian abbeys of Little Poland were founded in the following years: Jędrzejów in 1149, Sulejów in 1177, Wąchock in 1179, Koprzywnica in 1185, Mogiła in 1222, and Szczyrzyc in 1239.¹ With regard to some general features of the economic development of Cistercian monasteries, in most cases their early benefices comprised not only land, but also already-existing villages, as well as various other kinds of incomes. Until the mid-thirteenth century the most important way of extending monastic property was through donations. In the second half of this century, exchanges played an increasing role in consolidating property, and in the first half of the fourteenth century the role of purchases of land property rose considerably. Moreover, as early as at the beginning of the thirteenth century, settlement processes in the monastic estates began to intensify. Apart from agriculture, monastic involvement played an important role in urban economy, such as salt mining and the salt trade, establishment or acquisition of trade stalls in towns, and the development of monastic handicrafts.²

¹ Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, "Powstanie zakonu cystersów i jego rozwój na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu" (The origin of the Cistercian Order and its development in the Polish lands in the Middle Ages), in *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae 1, Dzieje i kultura męskich klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych* (History and culture of male Cistercian monasteries in the Polish lands and the old Republic from the Middle Ages until the present), ed. Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, Jerzy Strzelczyk, and Krzysztof Kaczmarczyk, 37–39 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999).

² Józef Dobosz, Andrzej Marek Wyrwa, "Działalność gospodarcza cystersów na ziemiach polskich—zarys problemu" (The economic activity of the Cistercians in the Polish lands—an outline), in *Monasticon 1*, 189–212. See also Volume 2 of *Monasticon*



Grzegorz Żabiński

Cistercian credit involvement in the diocese of Cracow has already been dealt with earlier,³ where it was possible to present only the most basic remarks without pursuing deeper implications. This paper aims to fill this gap. The monastery of Mogiła was selected as a case study which is intended to demonstrate that although the credit activity of this monastery had some particular features, it also had parallels in both the region of Cracow and in the general European context. Because of the enormous amount of scholarship mentioning credit operations of "rural" monasteries, only those references considered the most informative were selected.⁴

Credit Operations of the Clergy in the Medieval Diocese of Cracow⁵

Clerical credit involvement in the diocese can be divided into two periods: from 1251 (the oldest known record) to 1399, and from 1400 to 1497 (the last known record in the fifteenth century). In the first period liens were the most important

(Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2000), for a brief overview of the history and economic activity of particular monasteries and extensive bibliographical references.

³ Grzegorz Żabiński, "Credit Activity of the Catholic Church in the Medieval Diocese of Cracow," MA thesis, Budapest: Central European University, 2000. (hereafter: Żabiński) The present paper is a part of author's research on a comparative social and economic history of the Cistercian monasteries of Mogiła and Henryków (Silesia).

⁴ Ernst Sackur, "Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte französischen und lothringischen Klöster im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1893): 154–190; E. Allix and R. Génestal, "Les opérations financières de l'abbaye de Troarn, du XIe au XIVe siècle," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 2 (1904): 616–640; among numerous general works mentioning the question of Cistercian economy and credit activity see: Michael M. Postan, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); Wolfgang Ribbe, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter: Agrarwirtschaft," in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland*, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler. Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes 10, ed. Kaspar Elm (Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1981 hereafter: *Die Zisterzienser*), 203–215; Winfried Schich, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Zisterzienser im Mittelalter: Handel und Gewerbe," in *Die Zisterzienser*, 217–236; Constance H. Berman, "Land acquisition and the use of the mortgage contract by the Cistercians of Berdoues," *Speculum* 57.2 (1982): 250–266.

⁵ Here only a general analysis of clerical participation in credit operations in the diocese is presented. More detailed definitions and figures (presented in tables) are to be found in the appendix.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

credit form for both clerical creditors and debtors.⁶ This was related to the dominant group of clerical participants (rural monasteries) and to the mainly rural character of the economy at that time.⁷ In the fifteenth century rent purchases and liens (royal inscriptions) prevailed, which was related to the role of kings and town councils as the chief customers of ecclesiastical credit. As regards clerical debts, liens retained their leading role.⁸

In the first period the main creditors were rural monasteries and the second most prominent participants were urban monasteries. The chief customers of clerical credit were the nobility and Cracow burghers. The dominance of rural monasteries is also visible in their own money-borrowing activities. There was a clear difference between the orders as monastic creditors and debtors. The chief creditors of clerical debtors were nobility and the cathedral chapter of Cracow.⁹ Such a *status quo* fits well into a general European pattern.¹⁰

In the fifteenth century the most important creditors were urban clergy and the credit share of rural monasteries fell, although the volume of money of rural monasteries was similar in absolute terms. This can be related to the structure of customers of clerical credit—the most important were rulers (chiefly kings of Poland) and town councils (mainly the Cracow town council).

⁶ For clerical creditors it was 44.9% of the total volume, and for debtors 68.1%, Żabiński, 21.

⁷ For other regions see: Markus Bittmann, "Kreditwirtschaft und Finanzierungsmethoden. Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen des Adels im westlichen Bodenseeraum 1300–1500," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Beiheft 99 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 223–224; Bogdan Lesiński, *Kupno renty w średniowiecznej Polsce: Na tle ówczesnej doktryny i praktyki zachodnioeuropejskiej*. (Purchases of rent in medieval Poland: against the background of contemporary Western European doctrine and practice), Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Prace Wydziału Prawa 23. (Poznań: Powielarnia i Introligatornia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1966), 244–251.

⁸ For clerical creditors the proportion of rent purchases was 63.8%, and liens-royal inscriptions was 23.7%. For clerical debtors the share of liens was 52.2% versus 28.5% of rent purchase volume, Żabiński, 23.

⁹ Żabiński, 24–25. The percentage of rural monasteries was 44.8%, versus 19% for the Cracow cathedral chapter. The proportion of nobility as debtors was 42.9% and Cracow burghers represented 20.7%. The proportion of rural monasteries as debtors was 36.9% and urban monasteries was 24.1%. The proportion of nobility as creditors of clerical debtors was 41.2% and the cathedral chapter of Cracow was 16.6%.

¹⁰ Alix and Génestal, 617–640; Sackur, 164–168; Postan, 299–300.



Grzegorz Żabiński

Nobility was the third most important party.¹¹ The chief clerical debtors were still rural monasteries (their indebtedness in absolute figures remained similar as well), and the cathedral chapter of Cracow. The chief creditors of clerical debtors were nobility, altarists, and Cracow burghers—this confirms the creditor-debtor relationship of the nobility and rural monasteries visible in the previous period.¹²

Cistercian Credit Involvement in the Medieval Diocese of Cracow¹³

In the first period the Miechów monastery of God's Grave gave the highest sum of loans, although the total of the Cistercians was also high; moreover, the monastery had the most diversified customers, while the Cistercians concentrated only on the nobility.¹⁴ The credit activities of other "rural" orders were small. For monastic indebtedness, the institutions with the highest volume of credit given were the least indebted and *vice versa* (Miechów, Mogiła, Jędrzejów, Koprzywnica versus Wąchock). Several monastic institutions that borrowed money were not creditors at all.

Apart from differences in the total volume of loans, particular Cistercian monasteries show similarities such as the size of sums lent. Their customers

¹¹ The percentages of particular clerical creditors were the following: altarists/mansioners 21.9%, bishops of Cracow 19%, hospitals 12.7%, urban priests 11.1%, urban monasteries 9.4%, rural monasteries 2.9%. The proportion of debtors to clerical credit is as follows: rulers 46.8%, town councils 30%, nobility 18%, see Żabiński, 26–27.

¹² For main clerical debtors the figures are the following: rural monasteries 32.3%, the cathedral chapter of Cracow 29%; for creditors of clerical debtors—nobility 50.5%, altarists 18.2%, and Cracow burghers 10.4%, Żabiński, 27–28.

¹³ Due to space limitations, it is not possible to present a detailed analysis here of non-Cistercian participants—they are referred to in a general way only. Relevant tables may be found in the appendix.

¹⁴ Hipolit Sereżyński, "Uposażenie klasztoru cystersów w Mogile" (Land estate of the Cistercian monastery of Mogiła), in *Monografia opactwa cystersów we wsi Mogiła* (Monograph of the Cistercian abbey in the village of Mogiła) (Cracow: Towarzystwo Naukowe Krakowskie, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1867), 75–77; Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa and Stanisław Szczur, "Dzieje opactwa cystersów w Koprzywnicy do końca XIV wieku" (A history of the Cistercian abbey in Koprzywnica to the end of the fourteenth century), *Nasza Przyszłość* 60 (1983): 49–51; Mieczysław Niwiński, "Opactwo cystersów w Wąchocku. Fundacja i dzieje uposażenia do końca wieków średnich" (The Cistercian abbey in Wąchock: Foundation and development of land estates to the end of the Middle Ages), in *Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 2.43.68 (Cracow: Wydawnictwa Akademii Umiejętności, 1932), 59.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

were noblemen—of special interest is the case of Mogila's loan to a ruler, discussed in detail below. One can see the relations: liens—higher sums, simple loans—lower sums. For Cistercian indebtedness, one notices the exclusive presence of liens, and the predominance of noble creditors, save one example of a burgher's loan to Koprzywnica.

In the fifteenth century the role of rural factors fell both with regard to the proportion and the absolute figures. An almost total lack of loans from urban monasteries to burghers is quite surprising, but probably due to bias in the sources used here.¹⁵ Instead, one notices the predominance of the chief debtors of this century—the king and the town council of Cracow.¹⁶

The rural monasteries did not apply new forms of credit,¹⁷ nor did they take advantage of opportunities caused by the appearance of new debtors. Mogila might have been an exception on account of the presence of *Wiederkauf* and a rent purchase; however, the latter is probably related to the burgher debtor, and the former cannot be seen as typical.¹⁸ One does not see greater differences between the size of credit sums given by Cistercian monasteries except Jędrzejów, which appears only once as creditor.

The volume of Cistercian credit fell double (i.e., decreased twice) and some monasteries retreated from the market (Wąchock, Sulejów). Although some creditors already present in the previous period enlarged their volume

¹⁵ For agreements of Great Poland Dominicans with local burghers see Jacek Wiesiowski, "Dominikanie w miastach wielkopolskich w okresie średniowiecza" (Dominicans in Great Polish towns in the Middle Ages), in *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972* (Studies on the history of the Dominicans in Poland 1222–1972) 1, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975), 217–218, Zofia Wojciechowska, "Akta klasztoru dominikanów w Poznaniu" (Records of the Dominican monastery in Poznań), *Poznański Rocznik Archiwalno-Historyczny* 1 (1993): 42–46; Lesiński, Kupno, 178.

¹⁶ Franciszek Piekosiński, ed. *Codex diplomaticus civitatis Cracoviensis 1257–1506 (CDCC)*. Vol. 4. Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 7. Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 24. (Cracow: Drukarnia "Czasu"), 1882. No. 534: 670–671, No. 537: 672–673, No. 557: 683, No. 560: 684, No. 561: 685, No. 564: 686, No. 565: 686–687, No. 566: 685, No. 588: 699–700, No. 597: 704.

¹⁷ On the contrary, Silesian Cistercians did not hesitate to apply rent contracts; Stanisław Rybandt, *Średniowieczne opactwo cysterskie w Rudach* (The medieval Cistercian abbey in Rudy), *Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego A.195* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977), 35.

¹⁸ Eugeniusz Janota, ed. *Diplomata monasterii Clarae Tumbae prope Cracoviam (DMCT)*. (Cracow: Nakładem C.K. Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego, Drukarnia C.K. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego), 1865, No. 143: 141–142, Seredyński, 78.



Grzegorz Żabiński

(Koprzywnica), they could not balance the general decrease. The level of indebtedness of Koprzywnica decreased, too; as did that of Szczyrzyc, while Mogiła was not present at all as a debtor. In general, the Cistercians' indebtedness fell almost five times, which confirms the thesis about the order's withdrawal from the credit market.

The next issue is the relation between the level of credit given and/or taken and estimated monastic annual revenues. In order to estimate these revenues, fourteenth century papal estimations were applied—however, they were made on a quite approximate basis and the actual revenues could be three or even more times higher.¹⁹ As can be seen, there is a direct proportion between the amount of credit given and the income of a given monastery.

Table 1. Volume of credit given and/or taken by particular Cistercian monasteries against their revenues, until 1400

Monastery	Total Volume of Credit Given in <i>trophes</i>	Total Volume of Credit Taken in <i>trophes</i>	Estimated Income in Marks, 1325–1327 (in parentheses: multiplied by 3)	Estimated Income (multiplied) in <i>trophes</i>
Mogiła	114 699	2 881	145 marks (435) 1325–1327	245 775
Jędrzejów	63 182	–	100 marks (300) 1325–1327	169 500
Koprzywnica	36 154	12 805	90 marks (270) 1325–1327	152 250
Wąchock	14 446	20 956	85 marks (255) 1325–1327	144 075
Sulejów	Unknown		–	–
Szczyrzyc	–	11 186	41 marks (123) 1325–1327	69 495

Source: for monastic loans and debts—as in the tables in the Appendix; for the taxation: Dudziak, Płatnicy, 58; id. *Dziesięcina papieska w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Papal tithes in medieval Poland), *Rozprawy Wydziału Teologiczno-Kanonicznego* 31, (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1974), 191.

¹⁹ Marek Daniel Kowalski, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu* (The Cracow cathedral chapter benefices in the Middle Ages), (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2000), 158; also Jan Dudziak, "Płatnicy i płatności annat papieskich w Polsce" (Payers and payments of papal annates in Poland), *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 9.1 (1962): 58–60. It is impossible to calculate monastic revenues from *Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis* by Jan Długosz (in: *Joanni Długosz Opera Omnia* 9, Tomus III *Monasteria*, ed. Aleksander Przeździecki, Cracoviae: Kirchmaier, 1864), as it is incomplete with regard to monasteries.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

Detailed Analysis of Mogiła's Credit Activity

The first case reveals the political background of a credit arrangement. It concerns the loan of 150 marks silver to Henry IV Probus, Duke of Silesia, Cracow, and Sandomierz between 1288 and 1290. Its details are obscure, known from the charter of 22 December 1291 of Wenceslas II, King of Bohemia, Duke of Cracow and Sandomierz. Wenceslas states that he was reminded by Abbot Theodoric of Mogiła of the obligation for this sum due from Henry. The king declares that in order to reimburse Henry's debt (called *carissimus consanguineus noster*), and for the salvation of his own soul, he grants the monks 50 hides of land, to be held on the same terms as other monastic estates.²⁰

The loan to Henry and the assumption of his debt by Wenceslas are to be seen against the background of the struggle for the Cracow throne in the thirteenth century, in which dukes of Silesia played a considerable role. Their claims were taken over by Wenceslas after the death of Henry (1290). It has been remarked in previous scholarship that the loan to Henry may be seen as support for his claims and an attempt to gain his favour; the fact that Wenceslas assumed his debt can be interpreted as an attempt to obtain monastic support.

Firstly, several grants by Silesian dukes to Mogiła are known—they were issued when these dukes were also Dukes of Cracow; thus, one may infer that they considered Mogiła (founded from the Silesian motherhouse Leubus) a natural ally to support their claims.²¹ This assumption is also supported by the

²⁰ *DMCT*, No. 40: 32; Seredyński, 76.

²¹ A tax liberation of the monastic village Prandocin in 1235 by Henry the Bearded, Duke of Silesia and Cracow, is known, *DMCT*, No. 13:11; *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch (SU)* 2. ed. Winfried Irgang. (Vienna, Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1977), No. 106: 72–73; Konstanty Górski, "Ród Odrowążów w wiekach średnich" (The Odrowąż kin group in the Middle Ages). *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie* 8 (1926–27): 21; There is a mention that the church in Prandocin was fortified during the war for Cracow of Henryk against Konrad Duke of Masovia, *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska* (Chronicle of Boguchwał). In: *MPH* 2. ed. August Bielowski. (Cracow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1872), 556—it is inferred that the fortification was done by Henryk in 1231 (although it cannot be excluded that it was done by Konrad in 1234), see Benedykt Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy* (Henryk the Bearded and his times) (2nd ed. Warsaw: TRIO, 1997), 263, 268. Another grant of Henry is known from 1238, *DMCT*, No. 15: 12; *SU* 2, No. 145: 94; Seredyński, 76; a confirmation charter from 1239, *DMCT*, No.17:13; *SU* 2, No. 168: 108–109; Seredyński, 76; Wenceslas was also generous to Mogiła: on 24 December 1291 he confirmed a forged charter of Leszek the White, Duke of Cracow, concerning liberations for Mogiła, *DMCT*, No. 4: 4–5; and in 1291 he granted Mogiła with the German law for some monastic villages, *DMCT*, No.



Grzegorz Żabiński

contacts between Mogiła and John Muskata, bishop of Cracow, one of the chief partisans of Wenceslas (the captain of Cracow on his behalf) and the zealous enemy of Duke Władisław Łokietek (later the King of Poland).²² Muskata, imprisoned by Łokietek for a period of time, died on 7 February 1320 and was buried in Mogiła. The burial of the king's chief opponent, although Muskata and Łokietek were reconciled before Muskata's death, can be seen as a clear demonstration of Mogiła's political sympathy.²³

The next case may be seen as an example of using mortgage contracts to extend monastic estates. On 20 July 1323, a knight Mikołaj, son of Henryk Borusz, *scoltetus* (village mayor) of the monastic village Prandocin, borrowed 42 marks *grossorum Pragensium* from Mogiła. The loan was secured on six free hides of Mikołaj in Prandocin, his meadow in Kacice (close to Prandocin and a part

42: 33–34, No. 43: 34; *SU* 6. ed Winfried Irgang. (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), No. 173: 139–140; Seredyński, 76.

²² In 1300 the bishop granted tithes to Mogiła, *DMCT*, No. 44: 34–35; Seredyński, 77 (with an erroneous date).

²³ *Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej* (The calendar of the Cracow cathedral). In: *MPH* 2, 912; the new edition in *MPH* seria nova. *Pomniki dziejowe Polski* 5. ed. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa. (Warsaw: PWN, 1978), 122; *Katalogi biskupów krakowskich* (Catalogues of the bishops of Cracow). In: *MPH* 3. ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński. (Lwów: w Komisie Księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878), 366; the new edition in *MPH* seria nova. *Pomniki dziejowe Polski* 10.2. ed. Józef Szymański. (Warsaw: PWN, 1973), 65, 101, 114, 185. No charter of Łokietek for Mogiła is known—but in 1308 he issued privilege charters for the Cistercians of Jędrzejów, Koprzywnica, Wąchock, Szczyrzyc and Sulejów, Franciszek Piekosiński, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Poloniae Minoris (CDPM)*. Vol. 1 (*Monumenta Mediaevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia* 3. Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 9. (Cracow: Drukarnia Leona Paszkowskiego, 1878), No. 545: 212–213, No. 546: 213–215, *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae ... ab antiquissimis inde temporibus usque ad a. 1506 (CDP)*. Vol. 3, eds. Antoni Muczkowski and Leon Ryszczewski. (Warsaw: Drukarnia pod firmą "Gazety Codziennej", 1858), No. 74: 171–174. Thus, Mogiła was the only Cistercian monastery in the diocese that was granted no privileges by this duke. This speaks for itself. Moreover, I have not found to date any charters of Silesian dukes or Wenceslas issued for any other Cistercian monastery in the diocese than Mogiła during the time of their rule in Cracow. For a general overview of the monastery's political orientation in this period and for an extensive list of references see a recent work of Maciej Zdanek, "Proces implantacji opactwa cystersów w Mogile" (The process of implanting the Cistercian abbey in Mogiła), *Nasza Przyszłość* 96 (2001): 515–549: contacts with Henry the Bearded, 518–519, loan to Henry the Pious, relations to Wenceslas and Jan Muskata, 533, 537–541. Of interest is the remark about an absence of the abbot of Mogiła on the coronation of Łokietek in 1320, 543 (note 126); and on the lack of donations of this ruler for this monastery, 543–544.



Mogiła—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

of the estate), and a sixth denar of judicial fines, i.e., on a part of Mikołaj's benefices as mayor. Mikołaj conceded the profits from the lien voluntarily to Mogiła *suae volens providere salutem, in suae animae remedium suorumque progenitorum*, which may be considered as securing the arrangement against possible accusations of usury. Mikołaj had the right to freely redeem the lien.²⁴ As regards the aims of this arrangement, on 12 October 1334 King Casimir confirmed the sale of the mayor's office in Prandocin by Mikołaj to Mogiła for 410 Marks. The office's benefices were 13 free hides, a mill, and taverns. According to the agreement, Mikołaj was to keep the use of two hides for two years; at that time the abbot was to pay that price and Mikołaj was to redeem other estates pledged by him (he was probably still unable to redeem the pledge from 1323). On the same day, the king issued a privilege charter for Mogiła, liberating it from the duty of participating in wars that was part of the mayor's office in Prandocin.²⁵ These data enable one to draw conclusions on the previous arrangement: if the value of 13 hides (plus a mill and taverns) was 410 marks, the value of six hides (plus the meadow and judicial fines) would be about 189 marks. Of course, this calculation is tentative, as a mill and taverns were definitely valuable properties. Comparing the sum of credit (42 marks) to the value of the pledge stated above, even in case of a lien the sum of credit would be lower than the actual value of the pledge. Considering possible differences in the value of currency (in the other agreement it was referred to only as mark *grossorum*), it seems that the monastery made a good agreement, or, in other words, Mikołaj had serious financial trouble and had to accept unfavourable conditions. This leads to a question as to whether the actual aim of the monastery was to acquire the pledge, in this case a rich enterprise of the mayor's office, which would additionally enable the monastery to consolidate the income from the entire estate. Although it is not possible to give a decisive answer, it may be inferred that Mikołaj's inability to repay the debt could have created favourable circumstances for the monastery to take over his office.²⁶

²⁴ *DMCT*, No. 51: 40; Mikołaj was the son of Henryk, burgher of Cracow and mayor of Prandocin, known from the charter of Engelbert, abbot of Mogiła, of 1283 for the mayors of Prandocin. Their benefices included: hereditary office, one third denar of judicial fines, 2 hides of forest, a sixth free hide in the village, two free taverns, one quarter of the vineyard and one half of the mill incomes, half of the free meadow in Kacice, two butcher's stalls in Prandocin, two fishponds and a smithy, *DMCT*, No. 35: 28–29; see also Jan Ptaśnik, "Study nad patrycyatem krakowskim wieków średnich (Studies on Cracow patriciate of the Middle Ages)," *Rocznik Krakowski* 15 (1913): 27, 31–32.

²⁵ *DMCT*, No. 59–60: 46–48, see also Seredyński, 77.

²⁶ This agreement is mentioned by Zdanek, 547. See also the entire contribution for information on Mogiła's property concentration and consolidation; Zbigniew Pećkowski,



Grzegorz Żabiński

The next two transactions may be seen (apart from purely 'business' aims) as an example of maintaining good relations with a noble entourage by means of credit contracts. On 18 January 1375 Abbot Mikołaj Mogiła confirmed a loan of 50 marks *grossorum latorum* to Imbram, son of Zawisza, castellane of Wojnicz, and his wife Anka, daughter of Lenard, heir of Piaszów, to be secured on six fishermen on the embankment in Piaszów (presently the suburb of Cracow close to the monastic site) and incomes from acorns in the forest there. The debtors were free to redeem the lien at any time.²⁷ Data about the circumstances are scarce—Mogiła obtained a fishpond in Piaszów after 1324;²⁸ therefore it can be said that lending money against a lien there was aimed at concentrating income from fisheries in Piaszów. It is not known exactly when the debt was repaid—in 1424 Jakub of Piaszów sold a village Pleszowski/Piaszowski Brzeg (i.e., "embankment in Piaszów") with three fishponds to Mikołaj Wierzynek of Śledziejowice for 400 Marks.²⁹ This could testify to the fact that at that time the debt had already been repaid. Anyway, the lien did not spoil the relations between Mogiła and the debtor, as in 1401 Mogiła sold the village of Domaszów to Imbram, heir of Piaszów, for 150 marks.³⁰

The next record concerns a debt of a noblewoman, Małgorzata of Nieswojowice,³¹ widow of Jan, and her sons. On 12 May 1400 two knights, Dobiesław of Zębocin and Mikołaj of Jełowice, promised to repay Małgorzata's debt of 50 marks *pecunie communis*; it was to be repaid by them within five years in annual instalments of 10 marks. In case of non-repayment they were obliged

Ziemia miechowska. Zarys dziejów osadnictwa do końca XVIII wieku (Land of Miechów. A sketch of settlement to the end of the eighteenth century) (Cracow: "Secesja", 1992), 95.

²⁷ *DMCT*, No. 88: 72, see also Seredyński, 77.

²⁸ *DMCT*, No. 54: 41–42, Seredyński, 77; *DMCT*, 42, Stanisław Kuraś, ed., *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich* (A collection of documents from Little Poland) (*ZDM*), 8 vols. (Wrocław and Warsaw: Ossolineum and Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1962–1975), Vol. 1, No. 231: 287–289.

²⁹ *DMCT*, 72.

³⁰ *DMCT*, 68; *ZDM* 5, No. 1155: 7; Seredyński, 78. Domaszów (not existent today) was situated between Mogiła and Pleszów, see Kazimierz Rymut, *Nazwy miejscowe północnej części dawnego województwa krakowskiego* (Local names of the Northern part of the old Voievodship of Cracow), Komitet Językoznawstwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk, *Prace Onomastyczne* 8 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1967), 45–46; the agreement is also mentioned in *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu* (A historical-geographical dictionary of the Voievodship of Cracow in the Middle Ages). Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii. 1.3 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, PAN, 1985): 595.

³¹ District Proszowice, Rymut, 114.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

to pledge twenty oxen to the monastery for each instalment—a similar obligation of reimbursement was given to them by Małgorzata.³²

It seems surprising that such a considerable sum of money was lent without any pledge—that is probably why the guarantors secured it. However, the lack of a profitable pledge would mean the lack of additional income for the monks; therefore, one can suspect that favourable relations existed between the monastery and the debtor's family.

The next case is an example of a credit arrangement as a part of monastic activity in the urban market. On 16 June 1410 the town council of Bochnia stated that Mikołaj Ungirfynt, magister of the local hospital, conferred perpetually two butcher's stalls in the town to Mogila, due to the debt of 60 *lapidum sepi* (stones of tallow). The two stalls were pledged to the monastery *nomine censum*,³³ which can be interpreted as securing the debt with rent from the stalls. The contract probably contained an item that in the case of non-repayment the stalls would be taken by the monastery. In the next year the monastery gave the stalls to Mikołaj Parsczko and his wife Anna—they were to possess the stalls in a hereditary manner, with the right of alienating them, against a yearly rent of 10 stones of tallow from each stall.³⁴ This agreement can be seen against the background of monastic involvement in the urban economy.³⁵ It illustrates that such a credit arrangement was by no means an isolated case, but part of monastic activity in the urban market.³⁶

³² Boleslaus Ulanowski, ed., *Antiquissimi libri iudicales terrae Cracoviensis 1374–1390; 1394–1400*. *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki (SPPP)* 8.1–2. (Cracow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, Drukiem Wł. Anczyca i Spółki, 1884–1886), *SPPP* 8.2, No. 10161: 861.

³³ *DMCT*, No. 114: 97; Seredyński, 78.

³⁴ *DMCT*, No. 115: 97.

³⁵ In the foundation charter of 1222, Iwo Odrowąż, Bishop of Cracow, donated a source of salt, *DMCT*, No. 2: 2–3; Seredyński, 75. Iwo was also said to have donated two butcher's stalls in Cracow; see a confirmation charter of Prandota of Białaczew (also of the Odrowąż kin group), Bishop of Cracow, of 1244, *DMCT*, No. 20: 15–16 and of Boleslaus Duke of Cracow and Sandomierz of 1273, *DMCT*, No. 32: 25–26, Seredyński, 76. In the same year the monastery acquired another source of salt in Wieliczka close to Cracow, *DMCT*, No. 21: 16; Seredyński, 76; Before 1299 the monastery possessed a court (*curia*) in Cracow, see Stanisław Estreicher, ed. *Antiquum registrum privilegiorum et statutorum civitatis Cracoviensis*, Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej PAU 82 (Cracow: PAU, 1936), No. 1; in 1313 a stone house of the monastery in Cracow is testified to, Franciszek Piekosiński, Józef Szujski, eds., *Libri antiquissimi Civitatis Cracoviensis 1300–1400 (LACC)*, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 4, Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 5



Grzegorz Żabiński

The agreement from 13 May 1413 is similar, both from the point of view of monastic involvement in urban economy and salt mining. Mogiła bought an eternal rent of 8 *Grossi* weekly (i.e., 8.666 mark annually) from the salt mines called Wojewodzia and Szewcza for 80 marks *Grossorum Pragensium numeri Polonialis* from Urban, son of Piotr Penak, a Bochnia burgher. Together with the rent, Urban conceded the charter of his father, stating the purchase of the income by him in 1397.³⁷ In this case, the interest rate was 10.825 per cent, which is quite high, more like repurchase rent.³⁸ In the case of a rent purchase, a higher interest rate was a higher gain for the debtor, but it would render a potential repurchase of the rent more onerous. This could support the idea that

(Cracow: Drukarnia "Czasu", 1878), No. 273, in 1324 Mikołaj *tabernator et molendinator* of the monastery acquired a half of a court in Cracow, *LACC.*, No. 707, in 1341 the monks sold a house with a lot in Cracow to a certain burgher, *LACC.*, No. 1417. Another acquisition in this town was four butcher's stalls (1312), *DMCT*, No. 47: 37; Seredyński, 76. Possession of five butcher's stalls was confirmed by Casimir King of Poland in 1334, *DMCT*, No. 58: 46; Seredyński, 77. In 1362 Mogiła acquired a house in Cracow, *DMCT*, No. 78: 65–66; Seredyński, 77. In 1364 the monastery acquired two other butcher's stalls in Bochnia. This charter also confirms the possession of four stalls together in Bochnia by Mogiła, *DMCT*, No. 79: 66; Seredyński, 77. This would suggest that the monastery alienated three of the stalls confirmed by Casimir in 1334. In 1369 King Casimir granted the houses and lots of Mogiła in Cracow with liberations, *DMCT*, No. 84: 70. In 1370 the monastery acquired another lot in Cracow, *DMCT*, No. 85: 70–71. In 1371 Mogiła was granted a yearly rent of 6 *latos grossos* from a house in Wieliczka, *DMCT*, No. 86: 71. In 1373 the town council of Bochnia sold a butcher's stall in the town to Mogiła, *DMCT*, No. 87: 71–72; Seredyński, 77, erroneously refers this record to Cracow. In 1378 in exchange for two monastic courts in Bochnia, the town council freed five monastic butcher's stalls in the town from the taxes, *DMCT*, No. 91: 74–75; Seredyński, 77. In 1375 the land court of Cracow confirmed monastic rights to a house and a lot in this town, *CDPM* 1, No. 327: 390–391. Another urban possession of Mogiła was a rent from a butcher's stall in Cracow, mentioned in the charter of 1382, *DMCT*, No. 95: 78–79; Seredyński, 77.

³⁶ For the relations of the monastery with the towns see Zdanek, 533–536, 540–542, 545–546.

³⁷ *DMCT*, No. 116: 97–98, the charter of 1397 *DMCT*, 98. The deal was confirmed in 1433 by King Władysław Jagiełło, *DMCT*, 98; Seredyński, 78; Ptaśnik, 65.

³⁸ At the end of the fourteenth century, a usual interest rate for the repurchase rents in Cracow was ca. 10%. Eternal rents were usually cheaper (5–8%). In the fifteenth century, the usual interest rate for eternal rents was about 3–4%. In Cracow, repurchase rents at the beginning of the fifteenth century were usually sold at approximately 10%, which decreased, then 5–7%; eternal rents in the period 1412–1415 were sold at 5%: Lesiński, Kupno, 62–63, 148, 182–187, 193–194; Lesiński, "Les rentes comme instrument de crédit dans la Pologne médiévale," *Studia Historiae Oeconomicae* 3 (1968), 54.



Mogiła—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

the purchase of this income was quite important for Mogiła and the monks were prepared to pay a higher price.

The last case of credit given by Mogiła reveals a complexity of economic and spiritual features. On 22 August 1467 Jan Odrowąż, butler of Sandomierz and captain of Sambor, confirmed the testament grant of his brother Andrzej, palatine of Lwów and general captain of Rus', of 400 marks *communis monete currentis*. According to his will, this sum, donated *in remissionem nostrorum peccaminum et in remedium salutis nostrorum progenitorum, in augmentumque et incrementum cultus divini in monasterio Claraetumbe*, was to be used for the purchase of a rent from the estates of the Odrowąż family. As Jan was not able to concede the sum to Mogiła, he decided to sell part of the village of Sprowa (Voievodship Cracow, county of Sarnów) to the monastery for 400 marks with the right of repurchase—a property that had already been donated to the monks by Andrzej for his lifetime.³⁹ As can be seen, in order to avoid the payment of 400 marks to the monastery, Jan sold a property for this sum; in this way the testament of his brother was executed and Mogiła obtained a profitable property. On the other hand, the family was able to keep the money. Of course, one cannot neglect the spiritual benefits for Andrzej, whose soul acquired the necessary prayers.

On one hand, one can see this agreement against the background of the relations between the monastery and the family of its founders,⁴⁰ as the charter clearly refers to the monastery as *nostra fundatio*. However, as K. Górski has pointed out, the contacts of the Odrowąż kin with the monastery were rather loose, and Mogiła was, “always a foundation only.”⁴¹ It is useful to trace the fate of the possession sold on account of the testament of Andrzej—it was probably not redeemed by the members of the family, as the agreement from 1467 was confirmed by King Sigismund I of Poland in 1527.⁴² This charter also confirms another arrangement, a 1476 exchange between the monastery and Jan Pieniążek of Iwanowice of the Odrowąż kin group, in which Mogiła acquired

³⁹ *DMCT*, No. 143: 131–132; Seredyński, 78.

⁴⁰ Revelant charters may be found in *DMCT*; they are too numerous to list here.

⁴¹ Górski, 86. Mogiła had been founded by Bishop Iwo and his brother Wisław, but the members of the kin group were unwilling to accept it. After the death of Iwo, some of them tried to regain the estates granted to the monks, although later they finally accepted the foundation. Apart from donations in the mid-thirteenth century there were no new grants up to the second half of the fourteenth century. At that time, a series of donations were made by, among others, Jan of Sprowa, judge of Sandomierz, Piotr of Sprowa palatine of Rus' (the father of Jan and Andrzej mentioned in the charter of 1467), Górski, 84–86, a genealogical table, 97.

⁴² *DMCT*, 132.



Grzegorz Żabiński

another property in exchange for the one in Sprowa.⁴³ As regards both Jan and Andrzej who were mentioned in 1467, they were recorded in the monastic *Liber Mortuorum*: Jan, who died on 21 March 1485, as *benefactor* and Andrzej, who died on 1 May 1465, as *fundator* (he was buried in the monastery of Mogiła).⁴⁴ Moreover, it is of interest that Andrzej was present among the members of the Odrowąż kin group issuing a charter in 1462 to the monastery of Mogiła. At that time the group confirmed the renunciation of family estates by their ancestors Bishop Iwo and Wisław, the founders of Mogiła monastery.⁴⁵

The only known case of Mogiła's debt concerns an agreement of 28 December 1357 with Knight Herman, a royal procurator of Cracow and Sandomierz.⁴⁶ In the case of this contract, it was necessary for the monastery to assume the obligation of a third party in order to acquire the entire property of a certain estate. In the charter, Herman states that Abbot Mikołaj, as rightful heir of Zesławice/Zdziesławice (at present Zesławice close to Cracow-Nowa Huta) reimbursed him with the sum of 12 marks *monete usualis* for a meadow in Zesławice, held by Herman in pledge. The abbot paid the money and Herman gave him the meadow. This agreement can be seen against the background of the monastery's acquisition of Zesławice in its entirety, which was a long process because the village was in hands of numerous owners.⁴⁷ On 6 July 1351

⁴³ *DMCT*, No. 146: 132–133, confirmed in 1477, *DMCT*, No. 147: 134. It may be supposed that the part of Sprowa sold by Jan to Mogiła in 1467 was identical with the part of Sprowa sold in 1438 by Jan of Sprowa, the judge of Sandomierz for 400 marks to Piotr Odrowąż of Sprowa palatine of Rus' (father of Jan and Andrzej), *DMCT* No. 129: 116, as this arrangement was also confirmed in the charter of Zygmunt from 1527. See also Górski, 86.

⁴⁴ *Excerpta e Libro Mortuorum Monasterii Mogilensis Ordinis Cisterciensis*. ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (*MPH* 5, Lwów: w Komisie Księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888), 808–809. Biographies of both noblemen by Feliks Kiryk can be found in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary) (*PSB*) 23: 541–549 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1978).

⁴⁵ *DMCT*, No. 140: 128–129. This charter, issued on 22 November 1462 during the diet in Piotrków, can be interpreted as a manifestation of the family's power. For Andrzej, the testament donation for Mogiła can be also seen as an act of expiation for his rather violent proceedings in Rus', which provoked royal intervention in 1465, see Górski, 81, 86.

⁴⁶ See his biography by Zofia Leszczyńska in *PSB* 9: 460–461 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1960–1961).

⁴⁷ In 1348 Mogiła acquired a part of Zesławice from Włodzimierz of Zesławice for 100 marks—Herman the general procurator was one of the witnesses, *DMCT*, No. 66: 54–55; Seredyński, 77. The presence of a high official as the witness of a royal charter is not surprising; however, in this way Herman became acquainted with Mogiła's actions



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

King Casimir confirmed another agreement in which Mogila purchased a part of Zesławice from Mikołaj, heir of Zesławice, and his nephew for 100 marks *grossorum Pragensium usualis monete*. This agreement is of crucial importance here, as it states that a part of the property was a meadow held in pledge by the royal procurator Herman.⁴⁸ Therefore, it can be inferred that the payment of 12 marks to Herman by Mogila resulted from the assumption of the obligation of a third party and was necessary for the acquisition of full property rights in the village.⁴⁹

Analogies and Parallels

Mogila's agreements can be grouped into categories by their aims for the monastery: political (1288 to 1290); land acquisition (1323, 1357);⁵⁰ urban economic involvement (1410, 1413); friendly relations with their social environment (1467). Naturally, all of them had a purely "economic"

concerning the village, which could have facilitated further contacts. Herman also witnessed a charter of King Casimir of 1348 with a royal donation of the village of Dąbie to Mogila, *DMCT*, No. 67: 58, and another royal charter of 1350 with a donation of a meadow in Januszowice, *DMCT*, No. 68: 58–59. On 15 June 1350, Casimir confirmed the acquisition by Mogila of another part of Zesławice from Czadro of Zesławice, for 100 marks, *ZDM* 1, No. 60: 79–80; *DMCT*, 55; Seredyński, 77.

⁴⁸ *ZDM* 1, No. 63: 81–82; *DMCT*, 56.

⁴⁹ The evidence may be found in *ZDM* 1, No. 64: 83–84, No. 70: 91–92, No. 71: 92–93, No. 72: 93–94, No. 73: 95, No. 74: 96–97, No. 99: 128–129; *DMCT*, 55–57, No. 70: 59–60; Zbigniew Perzanowski, ed., *Dokumenty sądu ziemskiego krakowskiego* (Documents of the land court of Cracow) (*DSZK*) (Polska Akademia Nauk Oddział Kraków. Materiały Komisji Nauk Historycznych 20. Wrocław and Warsaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971), No. 6: 8. See also Seredyński, 77. It is worth noticing that agreements with a royal procurator and the issue of confirmation charters by Casimir took place in the period when the relations of Mogila with the Crown, rather cold during the reign of Władysław Łokietek, were quite good, Zdanek, 544. See also numerous examples of confirmation charters by Casimir for Mogila noted above.

⁵⁰ Liens as a means of land acquisition are dealt with by: Sackur, 169–170; Allix and Géneštal, 618, 623–630; Tadeusz Przybysz, "Z dziejów wielkiej własności ziemskiej w XIII i XIV w. Spór klasztoru cystersów w Łeknie z rodem Pałuków" (On the history of great land estate in the thirteenth and fourteenth century: a litigation of the Cistercian monastery in Łekno with the Pałuki kin group). *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza* 63. *Historia* 7 (1963), 196–202, deals with an example of taking over the estates of the family of the founder by the monastery in Łekno in Great Poland; Berman, 255–266, claims that mortgage contracts of the monastery of Berdoues (southern France) were predominantly applied for land acquisition.



Grzegorz Żabiński

component, i.e., profit, broadly understood. Moreover, other agreements (1375, 1400) could also be classified into the category of “friendly relations.”

This is paralleled in the activity of other diocesan monasteries. For the first category, no other credit agreements with rulers are known, which would make Mogiła a special case. However, some agreements of other monasteries are known that were probably aimed at maintaining good relations with local officials.

On 22 April 1399 the land court of Cracow recorded a warranty for a loan of 30 marks by Jędrzejów to Dobiesław of Koszyce, vice-judge of Cracow.⁵¹ Dobiesław probably also contracted another loan from Jędrzejów—on 11 May 1400 the land court of Cracow recorded the warranty of two noblemen for the repayment of his debt of 20 marks *pecunie communis sive quartensium*.⁵² It was Dobiesław who judged (as a vice-judge) some cases of litigation between Jędrzejów and the family of Skroniów (1372),⁵³ ending with a verdict favourable for the monastery.⁵⁴ Although they were later than the above credit arrangements, one can wonder whether lending money to a local official on favourable terms was done on purpose—facing trials with men claiming the right to monastic possessions, the monks probably wanted to make local officials favourable towards their case.

Koprzywnica made a similar arrangement on 4 March 1421. Piotr of Falków, land judge of Sandomierz,⁵⁵ pledged half of the village of Czyżemin (Voievodship of Sandomierz, exact location unknown) for 60 marks *mediorum grossorum*. This estate was already pledged by a third party to Piotr for 60 marks. It was to be held with its incomes until redeemed by persons having the right of proximity to it.⁵⁶ In all probability, Piotr, needing money, was not able to wait till the income from the village compensated for the loan and he decided to pledge it to the monks. The monastery was probably prepared to wait longer for the

⁵¹ *SPPP* 8.2, No. 8615: 692. The loan was to be repaid to the next feast of St Nicholas (6 December).

⁵² *SPPP* 8.2, No. 10130, 10132: 858.

⁵³ *CDPM* 1, No. 309: 373.

⁵⁴ The case of 1404 with Sędzisz of Skroniów (*CDPM* 4, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 17. Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 62. Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1905, No. 1083: 92–93) was judged by Tomasz judge and Dobiesław vice-judge; the case of 1409 with Sędzisz (*CDPM* 4, No. 1114: 119) by Jan of Oleśnica judge and Dobiesław vice-judge.

⁵⁵ See his biography by Feliks Kiryk in *PSB* 26: 397–398 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1981).

⁵⁶ *CDPM* 4, No. 1198: 189.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

property to be redeemed. Piotr was probably not going to redeem the village, as such an option is not stated in the charter—it was the person who pledged the property to Piotr who was entitled to do so. The monastery probably did not intend to acquire the village, considering the arrangement only as a profitable investment. Another issue is whether other circumstances could have influenced this contract. In 1416 Piotr of Falków (as a vice-judge) confirmed the credit conceded by Koprzywnica to Piotr of Kozłów.⁵⁷ Moreover, as the vice-judge, he took part in issuing other favourable decisions for the monastery.⁵⁸ Thus, it can be inferred that because of these relations both parties knew each other and could consider each other reliable business partners.

Evidence is plentiful as regards the other category, i.e., land acquisition. Particularly noticeable is the fact that the property acquired by monasteries by means of credit contracts was usually situated either close to monastic sites or to existing estates. On 3 February 1372 the land court of Cracow decided the litigation between Niemsta, heir to Skroniów (a monastic neighbourhood), and Jędrzejów concerning part of Skroniów. According to Niemsta, the part called *Świętosławi*, part of his wife's dowry, was pledged to the abbot for 200 marks. However, the monastery presented the charter of the Cracow land court that had previously adjudicated the possession in question to the monks, therefore the court eventually gave Jędrzejów the right to the property.⁵⁹

One could infer that Niemsta in fact pledged the property to Jędrzejów, probably with the condition that in case of non-repayment by the deadline the pledge would become monastic property. There is evidence concerning monastic "expansion" in Skroniów.⁶⁰ In 1363 it came to a trial between the monastery, the same Niemsta and Mikołaj, sons of Andrzej, heirs of Skroniów, for one-third of the heredity in Skroniów. A monastic procurator presented a charter of King Casimir confirming the monastery's purchase of a part of Skroniów. Therefore, the land court of Cracow awarded the right to the monastery of Jędrzejów.⁶¹ It is possible that the monks presented the charter of

⁵⁷ *CDPM* 4, No. 1157: 158.

⁵⁸ *ZDM* 1, No. 272: 345, No. 274: 347–348; *CDPM* 4, No. 1116: 120, No. 1142: 144–145; *ZDM* 5, No. 1235: 114–115.

⁵⁹ *CDPM* 1, No. 309: 373. For the location of Skroniów see the map of the estates of Jędrzejów by Waldemar Bukowski in *Cystersi w Polsce. W 850-lecie fundacji opactwa jędrzejowskiego* (The Cistercians in Poland: at the 850th anniversary of the foundation of the Jędrzejów abbey), ed. Daniel Olszewski, fig. 9 (Kielce: Jedność, 1990).

⁶⁰ *CDPM* 1, No. 240: 284–285, No. 268: 317–318.

⁶¹ *CDPM* 1, No. 270: 319–320; in 1364 it came to another litigation of Niemsta and Mikołaj with Jędrzejów, also lost by the brothers, *CDPM* 1, No. 273: 322–323.



Grzegorz Żabiński

Casimir from 1355, referring to another part of Skroniów, in order to justify their claims.⁶²

Thus, it can be inferred that in the trial of 1372 the monastery presented a charter of 1364—however, in 1364 the rights of Jędrzejów were confirmed by the charter of 1363. Moreover, the confirmation of monastic rights to the part of Skroniów in question was made according to the royal charter of 1355, which referred to another part of the village. The claim to the part of Skroniów, first mentioned in the agreement of 1372 and raised in 1364, was raised by the heirs of Świętosław. In that trial, however, the monastery presented different evidence, probably the charter of 1363. Therefore, it can be inferred that as early as 1364 the heirs of Świętosław raised a claim to part of Skroniów. Thus, it can be said that the property was pledged to Jędrzejów before 1364. After Niemsta married Pechna he raised the claims again, also without success.⁶³ In summary, the first claim was raised by the heirs of Świętosław, including Pechna. After Pechna married Niemsta, he raised the claim again (i.e., in 1372), but in this trial the monks presented another charter (of 1363), which concerned another part of the village.

Another example is the loan by Koprzywnica on 7 January 1370 to Mikołaj and Wojciech of Gnieszowice (Voievodship Sandomierz, parish Koprzywnica), who pledged part of their property there for 54 marks *grossorum Pragensium*. No

⁶² In 1364, Czader, Andrzej, and Pechna, children of Świętosław, heir of Modlnica, raised a claim against Jędrzejów, over a part of Skroniów. However, their claim was denied, *CDPM* 1, No. 274: 324–325; Marcin Sepiał, "Krań rodzinny Andrzeja herbu Jastrzębiec biskupa Wilna 1388–1398 (The family circle of Andrzej of the coat-of-arms Jastrzębiec, Bishop of Wilno 1388–1398)", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 1248 (2001), *Prace Historyczne* (128): 71–78. The brothers Niemsta and Mikołaj, sons of Andrzej, were members of the Jastrzębiec clan and the Skroniów family. Pechna, daughter of Świętosław of Modlnica, was in all probability the wife of Niemsta, mentioned (but without stating her name) in the charter of 1372.

⁶³ For other litigations of heirs of Skroniów with Jędrzejów see: *ZDM* 4, No. 1119: 286–288; *CDPM* 1, No. 321: 385–386; *CDPM* 4, No. 1083: 92–93, No. 1114: 119. Proof of good relations between at least some members of the family of Skroniów and the monastery can be seen in the fact that Jan Kula, son of Stanisław Niemsta and grandson of Niemsta of Skroniów (mentioned in 1372), died as a monk in Jędrzejów in 1459. Another son of Stanisław Niemsta, Krzysztof Kula, died in 1454 as a monastic *confrater*. Another member of this family mentioned there was *Stachna de Skroniów confratrix* who could be identified either with the third wife of Stanisław Niemsta or the daughter of Niemsta of Skroniów, Sepiał, 75, 77; *Liber Mortuorum monasterii Andreoviensis ordinis Cisterciensis*. ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (*MPH* 5), 774–775, 783.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

deadline is stated in the agreement,⁶⁴ therefore the arrangement was not unfavourable for the debtor, because forfeiture of the pledge in case of non-repayment is not stated. As regards the further fate of the pledge, on 7 January 1374 Wojciech and Mikołaj sold their village of Gnieszowice to Koprzywnica for 500 marks.⁶⁵ This makes one wonder whether the sale was forced by the monks—as the contract did not contain a mention about the forfeiture, it can be inferred that the sale took place through the free will of the debtors.⁶⁶ Thus, although it cannot be proven that the monks intended to acquire the property, they did not hesitate to do so when the opportunity arose.

The next case was also probably aimed at acquiring property. On 11 June 1395, a nobleman, Jakusz Ventriss, the heir of Krzcin, donated in his testament 33 marks and 8 *scotis grossorum Pragensium numeri Polonialis* to Koprzywnica for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors, to be secured on his three hides in Krzcin (Voievodship Sandomierz, parish Koprzywnica). They were to be held by the monks until the sum was repaid by Jakusz's relatives.⁶⁷ Although this agreement took the form of a donation, it was in fact a sort of credit. As in the case of a "standard" credit arrangement, the money was to be repaid to the monastery and the payment was secured by a pledge.⁶⁸

As the pledge was close to the monastic site, the question arises to what extent this arrangement was a part of the monastic tendency to extend

⁶⁴ *CDPM* 3 (Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 10. Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 37. Drukarnia "Czasu" Fr. Kulczyckiego i S-ki, 1887), No. 832: 242–242.

⁶⁵ *CDPM* 3, No. 832: 241–242.

⁶⁶ The debtors were probably in such financial hardship that they considered the sale the only solution. See Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 49–50. The acquisition of this village was a part of a broader phenomenon of taking over the property of the founder's family, the clan of Bogoria.

⁶⁷ *CDPM* 4, No. 1034: 51. This arrangement was approved by several noblemen, probably the relatives of Jakusz. Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 51, maintain that it was in fact a sale of the property—Jakusz was unable to sell it openly due to possible resistance from his relatives on account of *ius proximitatis*. Additionally, they quote Jan Długosz and his *Liber Beneficiorum*, 389, according to which this property was simply sold to the monastery.

⁶⁸ Royal inscriptions of similar form are known from Poland from the end of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. See Marcin Sepiał "Zastaw na dobrach ziemskich i dochodach królewskich w okresie panowania Władysława III Warneńczyka na Węgrzech (1440–1444) (Liens on royal estates and revenues during the reign of King Władysław III of Poland in Hungary)", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 1219 (1998), *Prace Historyczne* (125): 35–49.



Grzegorz Żabiński

possessions; source data state that the monastery was acquiring property there.⁶⁹ Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur interpret the matter as a planned action to acquire the entire property in Krzcin.⁷⁰ Whether this agreement was a conscious action to acquire part of the village or not, it seems that it was skilfully used by the monks for this purpose.

Another example of using credit to acquire property is the agreement of Koprzywnica from 4 March 1420: a nobleman, Mikołaj of Skotniki (about 5 km from Koprzywnica), pledged his village of Bóbrka (between Jasło and Krosno, about 9 km southwestwards from the latter) for 200 marks *monete numeri et ponderis Polonialis*. If Mikołaj neglected to redeem the village within three years, it was to become a possession of the monastery.⁷¹

As is known, Koprzywnica possessed estates around Jasło. Its holdings were concentrated chiefly north-eastwards from it,⁷² and Bóbrka is located south-eastwards from the town. Until the end of the fourteenth century, there is no evidence of monastic advance in that direction. As far as previous contacts of the Skotniki heirs with Koprzywnica, some agreements are known, but they do not reveal any special features.⁷³ As for the agreement of 1420, the debt was not repaid and the property was taken over by the monastery.⁷⁴

Another example of this kind is an agreement from 1258, when Wąchock conceded a loan of 33 marks silver to Mściwniew of the Awdaniec clan, son of Pakosław Starszy, secured on a pledge of the village Pęcokosławice (Voievodeship Sandomierz, district Opatów, about 50 km from Wąchock). The debt was to be repaid within three years or the pledge was to become a monastic property. After three years the abbot demanded that the village be redeemed, but

⁶⁹ See Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 13, 55–56; *CDPM* 3, No. 654: 28; *CDPM* 4, No. 1049: 64–65, No. 1091: 99–100, No. 1096: 102–104, No. 1184: 177–179, No. 1197: 188–189. See also: Jan Wroniszewski, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze* (The nobility of the land of Sandomierz in the Middle Ages: social and economic issues). *Badania z Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, vol. 60, ed. Marek Górny (Poznań–Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Historyczne, 2001), 167–168.

⁷⁰ Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 54.

⁷¹ *CDPM* 4, No. 1188: 184.

⁷² Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 16 ff.

⁷³ *CDPM* 3, No. 885: 300–301, No. 895: 313–314; *CDPM* 4, No. 1012: 34–35, No. 1013: 35, 1391; see also Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 48–50. Thus, one can see the arrangement as a part of the interaction between the monastery with the members of Bogoria clan, where the patron—client relation between the clan and the monastery tended to revert in favour of the monks.

⁷⁴ *Liber Beneficiorum*, 390–391. See also: *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny 1.1* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, PAN, 1980): 149.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

Mścigniew and his relatives were unable or unwilling to do so. Mścigniew requested that he pay the abbot an additional 13 marks; if the value of the village exceeded the sum of 46 marks (the sum of the credit plus 13 marks), Mścigniew would offer the surplus *pro remedio animarum patris et matris sue pro suaque salute*. The abbot agreed and Mścigniew resigned the village. The duke approved the agreement in 1274.⁷⁵ The monastery probably planned from the beginning to assume the village, which can be inferred from the short deadline and condition of forfeiture. This village was situated in the vicinity of existing monastic estates (Brzezie).⁷⁶ However, one can wonder why the abbot agreed to pay more if he already had the full right to assume the property. It was probably in order to avoid claims by members of Mścigniew's family—because the charter states that Mścigniew also resigned the property in the name of his successors.⁷⁷

The last case is an agreement of Sulejów recorded on 9 September 1251. In the presence of Casimir, Duke of Kujawy and Łęczycza, a nobleman, Myślībór, stated that his ancestors had pledged a heredity in Łęczzna (today Łęczno, 5 km from the monastic site), situated close to a monastic village, to the monastery and wanted to redeem it. However, the abbot stated that this property with its belongings was donated to the monastery by Duke Leszek and presented a charter to confirm it. As Myślībór was unable to present any counter-evidence, Duke Casimir awarded the property to the monastery.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *CDPM 2* (Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 9. Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 33. Drukarnia "Czasu" Fr. Kulczyckiego i S-ki, 1886), No. 480: 133–134. The agreement is known from a charter of Duke Boleslaus the Chaste from 8 May 1274 that contains the confirmation of a pact between the monastery and Mścigniew concerning this village.

⁷⁶ Niwiński, 58.

⁷⁷ Niwiński, 59–60, maintains that the generosity of Mścigniew towards the monks speaks for a close relation between the clan and Wąchock. Moreover, judging from later evidence he claims that the family got back part of Pękosławice, but in the times of Długosz the entire village already belonged to the monks.

⁷⁸ According to the charter presented by the abbot, the property had always belonged to the dukes and was donated by Leszek to a knight, Chociemir, for his merits. However, shortly thereafter the duke demanded it back and compensated the knight with 80 marks and 5 Erfurt denars, paid via the abbot of Sulejów. Finally, the duke granted the village to the monastery, *CDP 1*, ed. Julian Bartoszewicz. (Warsaw: Typis Stanisłai Strąbski, 1847), No. 37: 58–60. In all probability, the sons of Myślībór raised a claim to the property again, but it was denied as well, see the charter of Duke Władislaus Łokietek of Kujawy from 1291, where he denies the claims of the sons of Myślībór to a property of *Łaczynów*, raised against the monastery of Sulejów, see *CDP 1*, No. 75: 136–138.



Grzegorz Żabiński

As regards the charter of Leszek from 22 September 1224, it was claimed that the charter itself was forged, but it mentions authentic events, i.e., the sale of Łęczno to the monastery.⁷⁹ However, such an interpretation does not explain why the claim of Mysłibóř was raised because of a credit contract and not, for example, proximity rights. Moreover, it is possible that the property presumably pledged by the ancestors of Mysłibóř and the property sold by Chociemir were two different estates, although situated in the same village, Łęczno. This would additionally explain the monastic interest in obtaining a property situated close to already existing estates. Thus, this arrangement can probably (although not certainly) be seen as extending monastic estates by means of mortgage.

Koprzywnica provides an example of a monastery's involvement in urban economy. On 3 March 1395 the town council of Sandomierz stated that Kierstan Freigut, a local burgher, had restored two butcher's stalls to the monastery, pledged to him by the monks. Kierstan did so *ad remorsionem consciencie sue necnon in remedium anime sue*—however, he reserved the rent for himself.⁸⁰ It can be inferred that the contract was a lifetime mortgage, i.e., the creditor was allowed to hold the property with its income until his death. Such a contract could be considered an insurance policy for the creditor—for a certain sum of money he obtained a profitable property that guaranteed a regular income for his lifetime. It was probably also a pious intention that inclined Kierstan (who may have felt death approaching?) to resign earlier from the stalls and accept the repayment *in spiritualibus*.

Credit contracts, as was shown above, were a way of maintaining friendly relations in the social environment, as is seen in the examples of loans to local officials. On the other hand, sometimes the monasteries received loans on favourable terms—not only cases where a pious intention of the creditor is

⁷⁹ Józef Mitkowski, *Początki klasztoru cystersów w Sulejowie. Studia nad dokumentami, fundacją i rozwojem uposażenia do końca XIII w.* (The beginnings of the Cistercian monastery in Sulejów: studies on charters, the foundation and development of benefices to the end of the thirteenth century). Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych. Prace Komisji Historycznej 15 (Poznań: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego, 1949) 50–79. He states that both the charter of Leszek (*CDPM* 2, No. 389: 32–33), and a confirmation charter of Konrad Duke of Cracow and Masovia (3 May 1233, *CDPM* 2, No. 408: 53–54), were forged. The latter was forged before 1250, i.e., as the monks had to defend their rights to Łęczno. According to Mitkowski, the charter of Casimir of 9 September 1251 is genuine, 79–85. He claims that Łęczno was in fact sold by Chociemir to Sulejów, 206–207.

⁸⁰ *CDPM* 4, No. 1031: 49. See also Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 63. For other possessions of Koprzywnica in Sandomierz see *CDPM* 3, No. 804: 210, No. 808: 214, No. 841: 252; Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 60–61.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

stated directly, but also such cases where credit contracts were made on extraordinarily favourable terms for the monasteries.

On 26 December 1354, Castellane Lassota of Zadybie stated that he had lent 20 marks to Wąchock against the pledge of the village Jabłonnica (Voievodeship Sandomierz, district Szydłowiec, parish Borkowice, about 35 km from Wąchock) and its income. The pledge was to be held by Lassota for 13 years, during which time the income from the property (save the tithes that were due the monastery) was to extinguish the debt and Lassota was to return the village to the monastery.⁸¹ Thus, the conditions of this arrangement were convenient for the monastery, as the debt would repay itself. Therefore, the contract may be seen as an act of charity and it cannot be excluded that Lassota counted on repayment *in spiritualibus*. A special relation between Lassota or his family and the monks might also have existed.⁸²

On 16 April 1304, a nobleman, Bień, son of Wojsław called Wicsicz, heir of Łososina (Voievodeship Cracow, about 30 km from the monastic site) stated that he had restored the village of Kurdwanów (today a suburb of Cracow) to Szczyrzyc. The village with its income had been pledged to him by the monks for 33 marks *puri argenti*. When the monastery repaid the debt, Bień returned the village.⁸³ Although this loan was not as favourable for the debtor as the above

⁸¹ *CDPM* 3, No. 709: 102.

⁸² Jabłonnica was already a monastic property in the thirteenth century, see Niwiński, 58. It can be assumed that the property was returned to the monastery by Lassota, as in 1374 it was handed over to Burzuj of Ninków by the monks for his lifetime *ad meliorandum*, Niwiński 144, *CDPM* 3, No. 865: 278. The fact that the property was alienated twice by the monastery can be related to the isolated location of the village. Thus, it can be inferred that its alienation was not too detrimental to the monastic economy, Niwiński, 137.

⁸³ *ZDM* 1, No. 15: 21–22. It was not the entire village Kurdwanów that was pledged to Bień, as in 1302 Raclaw, canon of Cracow cathedral chapter, purchased a village of Kurdwanów from two burghers of Cracow, *DSZK*, No. 1: 3–4. In 1303 he donated it for the altar of the Holy Virgin in the cathedral church, Piekosiński, Franciszek, ed. *Codex diplomaticus cathedralis ad s. Venceslaum ecclesiae Cracoviensis (CDC)*. Vol. 1. Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 1 (Wydawnictwa Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie 4. Cracow: Drukarnia Leona Paszkowskiego, 1874), No. 106: 141–142. The part of Kurdwanów that belonged to Szczyrzyc was probably purchased in 1252 from Premonstratensian monasteries in Brzesko (monks) and Zwierzyniec (nuns) for 33 marks *puri argenti*. It is of interest that the sum of purchase equalled the sum of credit conceded by Bień to Szczyrzyc, secured on the village. *CDPM* 1, No. 39: 43–44; Stanisław Zakrzewski, "Najdawniejsze dzieje klasztoru cystersów w Szczyrzycu (1238–1382). Przyczynek do dziejów osadnictwa na Podhalu" (The oldest history of the Cistercian monastery in Szczyrzyc (1238–1382): a



Grzegorz Żabiński

example, it was still much more convenient than many loans conceded by the monasteries. As no deadline was stated, the debtor did not risk losing the property.

It can be inferred that the relations between the family of Bień and Szczyrzyc were of some duration—in 1252 Duke Boleslaus of Cracow and Sandomierz had confirmed the sale of a village by two noblemen to the monastery. Among the witnesses was a certain Wojsław, son of Bronisz, in all probability the father of Bień.⁸⁴

Although such agreements are not present among Mogiła credit contracts, other examples of Cistercian credit arrangements can be seen as insurance contacts.⁸⁵ As in the case of the arrangement of Kierstan Freigut with Koprzywnica (1395), they reveal complex economic, social, and spiritual features.

On 27 April 1397 a noblewoman, Jarosława, widow of Maczko of Chroberz (probably Chobrzany, near Koprzywnica)⁸⁶ donated 50 marks *grossorum latorum Pragensium numeri Polonialis* to Koprzywnica *pro salute anime sue et predecessorum suorum nec non pro bono et utilitate ecclesiae et monasterii predicti*. In exchange, the abbot donated a monastic village Dobrocice (district Sandomierz, parish Malice) to be held for her lifetime with its gains and with an opportunity of amelioration (which might have been an additional gain for the monastery). After the death of Jarosława, the village was to return to the monastery,⁸⁷ which in fact occurred.⁸⁸ The insurance nature of the contract is visible: a widow grants the monastery a sum of money and (apart from spiritual gains) she obtains a property that provides her with a steady income.

The other agreement, struck on 13 July 1400, is similar. A nobleman, Warsz of Kosowice (unknown) and his wife Spytka, granted the monastery 40

contribution to the history of settlement in Podhale). *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności* 41: 36. (Cracow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1902); Beata Kwiatkowska-Kopka, "Najstarsze dzieje klasztoru oo. Cystersów w Szczyrzycu (The oldest history of the Cistercian monastery in Szczyrzyc." *Teki Krakowskie* 8 (1998): 29; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny* 3.2 (Cracow: Secesja, 1997) 359.

⁸⁴ *CDPM* 1, No. 38: 43, 14 May 1252. Bień himself appears on 16 April 1304 (i.e., on the same day that he restituted the pledge to Szczyrzyc), as he and his brothers Stanisław and Jan sell a lot in Cracow to Raclaw, a canon of cathedral chapter, *CDPM* 1, No. 134: 163. As both deals were struck in Cracow, one can assume that they were done jointly.

⁸⁵ For the general European context see: Sackur, 170–172; Allix and Génestal, 630–636.

⁸⁶ See Maria Kamińska, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa sandomierskiego* (Local names of the old Voievodship of Sandomierz) 1 (Komitet Językoznawstwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Prace Onomastyczne 6) (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1964–65), 45.

⁸⁷ *CDPM* 4, No. 1041: 57. See also Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 63.

⁸⁸ *Liber Beneficiorum*, 387.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

marks *monetae communis* and obtained in exchange a monastic possession in the village Krobielice (district Sandomierz, parish Goźlice, vicinity of Koprzywnica) to be held for their lifetime with its income. As in the previous arrangement, the pledge was to return to the monastery,⁸⁹ which in fact happened.⁹⁰ From differences between the credit conceded by Warsz and the prices of particular parts of this village, it can be inferred that the monks did not pledge the entire village to Warsz. Further, it can be inferred that Warsz and his wife were quite elderly when this arrangement was made with the monastery and it was their short life expectancy that decided both the low sum of credit and the small part of the village received in exchange.

Conclusions

As can be seen from the above discussion, the credit involvement of the monastery of Mogila reveals the complexity of economic, social and spiritual issues. Although several traits of the activity of this monastery are quite particular, general features of its agreements are paralleled in credit contracts of other monasteries in the diocese, and this fits well into a general European pattern. This includes using credit as a means of maintaining friendly relations, as a part of monastic involvement in the urban economy, as a way of acquiring new estates, and so on. In this last case it is of particular interest that property acquired by the monks was usually situated either in the vicinity of the monastery or in proximity to already existing estates. Similarly, the majority of monastic credit partners came from places situated near the monastery, which poses a question concerning the range of monasteries' influence. Monastic credit partners (who in most cases came from the monastic neighbourhood) were also related in other ways to the monasteries, in either a positive or negative manner. This means that credit agreements were not isolated cases of monastic activity, but they were usually a part of broader Cistercian interaction with their social environment.

⁸⁹ *CDPM* 4, No. 1058: 73. See also Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 63. Other evidence about this village can be found in: *CDP* 3, eds. Antoni Muczkowski and Leon Ryszczewski (Warsaw: Drukarnia pod firmą "Gazety Codziennej", 1858), No. 157: 316–317; *CDPM* 3, No. 899, 900: 316–317, No. 926: 343–344, No. 947: 364–365; *CDPM* 4, No. 976: 9, No. 1081: 91, No. 1100: 107; *ZDM* 1, No. 182: 234, No. 187: 239–240, see also Kozłowska-Budkowa and Szczur, 51, 61–62, 67.

⁹⁰ *Liber Beneficiorum*, 380.



Grzegorz Żabiński

APPENDIX

Table 2. Monastic Creditors, 1251–1399⁹¹

Creditor	The <i>Trophe</i>	Debtor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Miechów, God's Grave, Male, Rural	237 978	6 cases of loans to: nobility (2 cases: 1251—131 333 <i>trophes</i> ; 1398—41 <i>Ń</i>); Cracow burgher (1 case: 1386—90 313 <i>Ń</i>); collegiate church of St Florian in Cracow/Kazimierz (2 cases: bef. 1287—11 820 <i>Ń</i> ; 1387—4 471 <i>Ń</i>); 1 case unknown						
Mogila, Cistercian, Male, Rural	59 100	Henry Duke of Silesia, Cracow, Sandomierz	Unknown	1288–1290	150 Mark Ag	?	Unknown	Unknown
Total 114 669	31 839	Nobility, (Couple)	Lien Mortgage	1375	50 Mark <i>Grossorum Latorum</i>	?	Rent, Village	Not Stated
	23 730	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage	1323	42 marks <i>Grossorum Pragensium</i>	?	Rent, Land	Not Stated
	47 690	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage with Deadline for Forfeiture?	Before 1372	200 marks unknown	?	Village	Unknown
Total 63 182	5 334	Nobility, Male	Simple Loan?	1398	33 marks <i>Grossorum</i>	?	Unknown	Less Than 1 Year
	4 846	Nobility, Male	Simple Loan?	1399	30 marks <i>Grossorum</i>	?	Guarantor	Less Than 1 Year
	3 841	Nobility, Male	Simple Loan?	1398	15 marks <i>Grossorum Latorum</i>	?	Unknown	Less Than 1 Year
	1 471	Nobility, Male	Simple Loan?	1399	10 marks <i>Quartensium</i>	?	Guarantor	Less Than 1 Year
	Total 36 154	27 617	Nobility, Male, Group	Lien Mortgage	1370	54 marks <i>Grossorum Pragensium</i>	?	Land (Hides)
8 537		Nobility, Male	Lien Inscription	1395	33,33 marks <i>Grossorum Pragensium</i>	?	Land	Not Stated
Wąchock, Cistercian, Male, Rural	14 446	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage with Deadline for Forfeiture?	1258	33 marks Ag	?	Village	3 Years

⁹¹ All currencies were converted into *trophes*, i.e., the value of a man's daily nutrition in grams of silver, see: Zbigniew Żabiński, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich* (Currency systems in Polish territories), Polska Akademia Nauk–Oddział w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Archeologicznej 20 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1981), 8–15; 37–39, graph 1; 54–55, graph 2; 240, table 146; 242, table 148.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

Creditor	The <i>Trophe</i>	Debtor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Sulejów, Cistercian, Male, Rural		Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage?	Before 1251	Unknown		Village	Not Stated
Total Cistercian	228 451							
Tyniec, Benedictine, Male, Rural	13 475	2 cases of loans to: the King of Poland (1 case: 1398—12 829 <i>ł</i>); nobility(?) (1397—646 <i>ł</i>)						
Mstów, Regular Canons	4 846	1 case of loan to: nobility (1392—4 846 <i>ł</i>)						
Stary Sącz, Clarisian, Urban	9 608	2 cases of loans to: nobility (1 case: 1395—8 820 <i>ł</i>); unknown secular (1 case: 1293—788 <i>ł</i>)						
Kazimierz, Monk of Hermits Augustians, Urban	2 881	1 case of loan to: Cracow burgher (bef. 1368—2 881 <i>ł</i>)						
Cracow, Nun, Unknown, Urban		1 case of loan to: Cracow burgher (1339—unknown)						
Kazimierz, Nun, Unknown, Urban		1 case of loan to: Kazimierz burgher (1369—unknown)						

Source: *CDP* 1, No. 37: 58–60; *CDPM* 1, No. 309: 373; *CDPM* 2, No. 434: 84–85, No. 480: 133–134, No. 509:169–170, No. 526: 194; *CDPM* 3, No. 832: 241–242; *CDPM* 4, No. 973: 5–6, No. 1034: 51; *DMCT*, No. 40: 32, No. 51: 40, No. 88: 72; *DSZK*, No. 28: 31–32; *ZDM* 1, No. 171: 218–219, No. 183: 234–236; *ZDM* 4, No. 1061: 215–216; *ZDM* 5, No. 1291: 190–196; *Codex diplomaticus monasterii Tynecensis (CDMT)*. 2 vols. Ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, and Stanisław Smolka. (Lwów: Nakładem Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, Drukarnia Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1875), No. 127: 181–182; *SPPP* 8.1, No. 4735: 261; *SPPP* 8.2, No. 5323: 399, No. 6655: 485, No. 7268: 550, No. 7283: 551, No. 8615: 692, No. 8769: 708; *LACC*, No. 1318: 143; Chmiel, Adam, ed. *Acta Consularia Casimiriensia 1369–1381 et 1385–1402 (ACC)*. Wydawnictwa Archiwum Aktów Dawnych miasta Krakowa 2. (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1932), 5; Krzyżanowski, Stanisław, ed. *Acta Scabinalia Cracoviensia 1365–1375 et 1390–1397 (ASC)*. Wydawnictwa Archiwów Aktów Dawnych miasta Krakowa 1. (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1904), No. 320: 39.



Grzegorz Żabiński

Table 3. Monastic Debtors, 1251–1399

Debtor	The Trophe	Creditor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Cracow, Clarisian, Urban	177 288	5 cases of debts to: the canon of Cracow cathedral chapter (2 cases from 1382, each 53 652 <i>ł</i>); nobility (3 cases: bef. 1351—27 842 <i>ł</i> ; 1351—27 842 <i>ł</i> ; 1351—14 300 <i>ł</i>)						
Tyniec, Benedictine, Male, Rural	140 263	6 cases of debts to: unknown (2 cases: bef. 1394—76 829 <i>ł</i> ; 1376–1392—2 603 <i>ł</i>); nobility (3 cases: 1377—25 471 <i>ł</i> ; 1398—20 488 <i>ł</i> ; 1398—3 668 <i>ł</i>); rural parish priest (1 case: 1381—11 177 <i>ł</i>)						
Miechów, God's Grave, Rural	48 283	7 cases of debts to: nobility (3 cases: 1398—38 415 <i>ł</i> ; bef. 1387—3 929 <i>ł</i> ; bef. 1364—unknown); Słomniki burgher (1 case: bef. 1397—4 410); Jews (bef. 1364—unknown); unknown (2 cases: bef. 1388—1 529 <i>ł</i> ; bef. 1364—unknown)						
Wąchock, Cistercian, Male, Rural	16 156	Nobility?, Male	Lien?	Before 1398	100 marks unknown	?	Immovable Unknown	Unknown
	4 800	Nobility, Male	Lien Vif-gage with Deadline	1354	20 mark <i>Grossorum</i>	0	Village	13 Years
Total	20 956							
Koprzywnica, Cistercian, Male, Rural	12 805	Nobility, Female	Lien Mortgage for Lifetime	1397	50 marks <i>Grossorum Latorum Pragensium Numeri Polonialis</i>	?	Village	Lifetime
		Burgher, Sandomierz, Male	Lien Mortgage for Lifetime?	Before 1395	Unknown		Urban, Enterprise	Lifetime?
Szczyrzyc, Cistercian, Male, Rural	10 657	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage	Before 1304	33 marks Ag	?	Village	Not Stated
	529	Nobility, Female	Lien Mortgage	1392	4.5 marks unknown	?	Rural, Land	Not Stated
Total	11 186							
Mogila, Cistercian, Male, Rural	2 881	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage?/Interception	Before 1357	12 marks unknown	?	Rural, Land	Unknown
Total Cistercian	47 828							
Zwierzyniec, Premonstratensian, Female, Rural	34 864	4 cases of debts to: Cracow cathedral chapter (bef. 1263—14 146 <i>ł</i>); Jews (1396–1398—4 846 <i>ł</i>); unknown (2 cases: bef. 1252—13 133 <i>ł</i> ; bef. 1399(?)—2 439 <i>ł</i>)						

Source: *CDP* 3, No. 158: 317, No. 163: 324–325, No. 180: 354–356; *CDMT*, No. 102: 156, No. 119: 174–176, No. 134: 194–195; *CDPM* 1, No.39: 43–44, No. 233: 277–278, No. 233: 277–278, No. 363: 428–430, 364: 431–432; *CDPM* 3, No. 709: 102, No. 772: 176; *CDPM* 4, No. 1031: 49, No. 1041: 57; *CDC* 1, No. 64: 88–90; *DMCT*, No. 74: 62–63; *ZDM* 1, No. 15:21–22, No. 218: 274–275; Zygmunt Antoni, Helcel, ed. *Z ksiąg rękopiśmiennych dotąd nieużytych głównie zaś z ksiąg dawnych sądowych ziemskich i grodzkich ziemi krakowskiej wyciągnął i wydał Antoni Zygmunt Helcel* (From manuscript books not used so far, mainly from old land and castle court books of the land of Cracow, extracted and published by Zygmunt Antoni Helcel). *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego* Pomniki 2. (Cracow: Nakładem Ludwika Helcla, Czcionkami Zrazu Drukarni Katolickiej Wład.Jaworskiego, a w końcu Drukarni "Czasu", 1870), No. 179: 60; *SPPP* 8.1, No. 4371: 219, No. 4723: 259;



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

SPPP 8.2, No. 6286: 443, No. 6559: 473–474, No. 6891: 508, No. 7295: 553, No. 7311: 554, No. 8185: 646; Abdon, Kłodziński, ed. *Najstarsza księga sądu najwyższego prawa niemieckiego na zamku krakowskim* (The oldest book of the supreme court of the German law in the castle of Cracow) (NKS^M). *Collectanea ex Archivo Iuridicii* 10. (Warsaw and Cracow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1936), No. 22: 3.

Table 4. Monastic Creditors, 1400–1497

Creditor	The Trophe	Debtor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Kazimierz Hermits Augustians, Male, Urban	420 596	7 cases of loans to: nobility (3 cases: 1494—126 630 <i>t</i> ; 1468—29 951 <i>t</i> ; bef. 1425—16 815 <i>t</i>); Cracow town council (2 cases: 1463—98 100 <i>t</i> ; 1460—96 300 <i>t</i>); Kazimierz town council (2 cases bef. 1449—26 400 <i>t</i> each)						
Olkusz Hermits Augustians, Male, Urban	106 463	3 cases of loans to Cracow town council (1462—61 140 <i>t</i> ; 1463—2 cases: 39 240 <i>t</i> and 6 083 <i>t</i>)						
Total Hermits Augustians	527 059							
Stradom, Bernardines, Female, Urban	291 829	5 cases of loans to: the King of Poland (2 cases: 1474—102 625 <i>t</i> ; bef. 1465—14 937 <i>t</i>); Cracow town council (2 cases: 1475—59 000 <i>t</i> ; 1483—53 407 <i>t</i>); nobility (1 case: after 1492—61 860 <i>t</i>)						
Cracow, Franciscan, Male, Urban	120 200	2 cases of loans to Cracow town council (1441—72 200 <i>t</i> ; 1442—48 000 <i>t</i>)						
Cracow, Dominican, Male, Urban	75 834	4 cases of loans to: Cracow town council (2 cases: 1462—54 617 <i>t</i> ; 1446—unknown); nobility (2 cases: 1470—19 748 <i>t</i> ; bef. 1403—1 469 <i>t</i>)						
Cracow, Clarisian, Female, Urban	51 688	3 cases of loans to: nobility (1408—46 666 <i>t</i>); unknown (1431–1441—2 576 <i>t</i>); Skala town council (1472—2 466 <i>t</i>)						
Sącz, Clarisian, Female, Urban		1 case of loan to nobility (bef. 1427—unknown)						
Total Clarisian	51 688							
Kazimierz, Regular Canons, Male, Urban	47 016	3 cases of loans to: nobility (1442—38 800 <i>t</i>); Cracow burgher (bef. 1409—8 188 <i>t</i>); unknown (bef. 1436—98 <i>t</i>)						
Cracow, Monk, Unknown, Male, Urban	303	1 case of loan to: Jew (1476)						



Grzegorz Żabiński

Creditor	The <i>Trophe</i>	Debtor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Mogila, Monastery, Cistercian, Male, Rural	59 903	Nobility, Male	<i>Wiederkauf</i>	1467	400 mark <i>Monetae Communis</i>		Rural, Village	Not Stated
	17 860	Bochnia, Burgher, Male	Rent Purchase Eternal	1413	80 marks <i>Grossorum Pragensium Numeri Polonicalis</i>	10.825	Urban, Rents, Enterprise	Eternal
	6 684	Nobility, Female, Male, Group	Simple Loan?	Before 1400?	50 marks <i>Pecuniae Communis</i>		Guarantor	5 Years
		Bochnia, Magister of Hospital, Male	Lien Mortgage with Deadline?	Before 1410	60 stones of tallow		Urban, Enterprise	Unknown
Total 84 447								
Koprzywnica, Monastery, Cistercian, Male, Rural	27 907	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage with Deadline for Forfeiture	1420	200 marks <i>Grossorum Monetae Numeri Polonicalis</i>		Rural, Village	3 Years
	9 070	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage	1416	65 marks <i>Grossorum Mediorum Polonicalium</i>		Rural, Land	Not Stated
	7 920	Nobility, Male	Lien Mortgage	1421	60 marks <i>Grossorum Mediorum Polonicalium</i>		Rural, Village	Not Stated
Total 44 897								
Jędrzejów, Monastery, Cistercian, Male, Rural	2 673	Nobility, Male	Simple Loan?	Before 1400?	20 marks <i>Pecuniae Communis</i>		Guarantor	Less Than 1 Year?
Total Cistercian	132 017							
Święty Krzyż on Łysa Góra, Benedictine, Male	121 839	3 cases of loans to: nobility (1438—117 073 <i>t</i> ; 1439—4 766 <i>t</i> ; bef. 1400—unknown)						
Beszowa, Pauline, Male, Rural	66 000	1 case of a loan to: nobility (1449—66 000 <i>t</i>)						
Mstów, Regular Canons, Male, Rural	23 333	1 case of a loan to: nobility (bef. 1406—23 333 <i>t</i>)						



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

Creditor	The <i>Trophe</i>	Debtor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Kłobuck , Regular, Canons, Male, Rural	3 330	6 cases of loans to: Kłobuck burgher (3 cases: 1485—1 287 <i>t</i> ; bef. 1481—1 067 <i>t</i> ; 1481—513 <i>ł</i>); Kłobuck unknown (1466—463 <i>ł</i>); peasant (1482—unknown); unknown (1482—unknown)						
Total Regular Canons Rural	26 663							
Miechów, God's Grave, Male, Rural	2 247	2 cases of loans to: nobility (1420—1 270 <i>t</i> ; 1420—977 <i>ł</i>)						
Brzesko, Premon- stratensian, Male, Rural		1 case of a loan to: unknown (1406—unknown)						

Source: *CDPM* 4, No. 1056: 72, No. 1157: 158, No. 1188: 184, No. 1198: 198, No. 1246: 236–237, No. 1344: 329–330, No. 135: 340, No. 1480: 452–453; *DMCT*, No. 114: 97, No. 116: 97–98, No. 143: 131–132; *ZDM* 1, No. 342: 436; *ZDM* 3, No. 632: 45–47; *ZDM* 6, No. 1696: 257–259; *DSZK*, No. 156: 167–168, No. 165: 176–177; *SPPP* 2, No. 1050: 155, No. 1176: 175, No. 2686: 424, No. 2989: 489–490, No. 3900: 738–740, No. 4018: 769–770; *SPPP* 8.2, No. 10132: 858, No. 10161: 861; *CDCC* 3, No. 432: 563–569, No. 461: 604; *CDCC* 4, No. 534: 670–671, No. 537: 672–673, No. 557: 683, No. 560: 684, No. 561: 685, No. 564: 686, No. 565: 686–687, No. 566: 685, No. 588: 699–700, No. 597: 704, *NKSN*, No. 1683: 178, No. 1720: 183; Zbigniew, Perzanowski, ed. "Spominki klasztoru kłobuckiego" (Memorials of the Kłobuck Monastery) ("SKK"). *Rocznik Muzeum Okręgowego w Częstochowie. Historia* 1 (1985): 95–118, No. 15, 17, 22, 25: 100–101, No. 101: 112, No. 109: 113, No. 118: 114; Teodor, Wierzbowski, ed. *Matricularium Regni Poloniae Summaria (MRPS)*. 2 vols. (Warsaw: Typis Officinae C. Kowalewski, 1905–1907), Vol. 1, No. 1145: 59, No. 1252: 64; *MRPS* 2, No. 40:3, No. 320: 20; Jan, Fijałek, ed. *Zbiór dokumentów zakonu OO. Paulinów w Polsce* (A collection of documents of the Pauline order in Poland) (*ZDP*). (Cracow: Nakładem OO Paulinów w Częstochowie, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1938), No. 132: 260–261; Bożena, Wyrozumka, ed. *Jews in Medieval Cracow. Selected Records from Cracow Municipal Books*. (Cracow: Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995), No. 541: 125; Bożena, Wyrozumka, ed. *Księga ławnicza Kazimierska 1407–1427* (Acta Scabinalia Casimiriensia 1407–1427). Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa. *Fontes Cracovienses* 4. (Cracow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia "Drukrol S.C.", 1996), No. 862: 79; *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii generalis Cracoviensis* (CDUC). 3 vols. [Edited by Żegota Pauli]. (Cracow: Sumptibus et Typis Universitatis, 1870–1880), Vol. 3, No. 232: 5–7.



Grzegorz Żabiński

Table 5. Monastic Debtors, 1400–1497

Debtor	The Trophe	Creditor	Type of Credit	Year	Sum Currency	%	Means of Securing	Deadline
Zwierzyniec, Premonstratensian, Female, Rural	270 274	9 cases of debts to: nobility (4 cases: bef. 1487—102 720 <i>t</i> ; 1442—24 025 <i>t</i> ; 1442—14 400 <i>t</i> ; 1432–1438—5 151 <i>ł</i>); Olkusz altaris (1490—106 413 <i>ł</i>); priest (1448—10 560 <i>ł</i>); unknown (bef. 1439—4 688 <i>t</i> ; bef. 1439—1 029 <i>ł</i>); Skała town council (1432–1438—1 288 <i>ł</i>)						
Kazimierz Lateran Canons, Male, Urban	76 186	2 cases of debts to: Cracow burgher (1413—38 093 <i>t</i> ; 1413—38 093 <i>ł</i>)						
Tyniec, Benedictine, Male, Rural	36 960	1 case of debt to: nobility (1496—36 960 <i>ł</i>)						
Sieciechów, Benedictine, Male, Rural	5 876	1 case of debt to: nobility (bef. 1403—5 876 <i>ł</i>)						
Total Benedictine	42 836							
Cracow, Clarisian, Female, Urban	27 847	3 cases of debts to: Kleparz collegiate church (2 cases: 1473—7 643 <i>t</i> ; 1474—7 078 <i>ł</i>); nobility (bef. 1468—13 126 <i>ł</i>)						
Miechów, God's Grave, Male, Rural	8 172	1 case of debt to: Sącz canon (1449—8 172 <i>ł</i>),						
Koprzywnica, Monastery, Cistercian, Male, Rural	5 349	Nobility, Male, Female, Group (Couple)	Lien Mortgage for Lifetime	1400	40 marks <i>Monetae Communis</i>		Rural, Village	Lifetime
Szczyrzyc, Monastery, Cistercian, Male, Rural	3 907	Nobility, Female	Unknown	Before 1412	16+12 marks <i>Grossorum Rent</i> marks unknown	75	Unknown	Unknown
Total Cistercian	9 256							
Kłobuck, Regular Canons, Male, Rural	1 678	1 case of debt to: unknown (1417—1 678 <i>ł</i>)						

Source: *CDPM* 4, No. 1058: 73; *CDC* 2, No. 542: 378–379, No. 543: 379–380; *ZDM* 1, No. 247: 308–309; *ZDM* 2, No. 530: 289–293; *ZDM* 3, No. 604: 22–23, No. 625: 49–50, No. 823: 307–308; *CDMT*, No. 288: 542–543; *SPPP* 2, No. 3939: 749; *NKSN*, No. 3003: 356, No. 3014: 358, No. 3044: 363, No. 3054: 364, No. 3074: 366; “SKK”, No. 50: 104; *MRPS* 1, No. 2149: 112; *CDUC* 2, No. 141: 84–86; *CDUC* 3, No. 239: 27–28, No. 246: 40–42, No. 280: 132–139.



Mogila—Credit Activity of a Cistercian Monastery

Table 6. *Types of Credit*

Type of Credit	Definition
Lien	In order to secure the loan, the debtor pledges property to the creditor. Appears in numerous variations: see below.
Lien Inscription	The sum of the loan is inscribed by the debtor for the creditor on a property; that is, the creditor receives the right to receive the income from the property. This may last until the amount of received income equals the sum of the loan (vif-gage) or until the repayment of the loan by the debtor (mortgage)—in such case the income from the property constitutes the creditor's interest.
Lien Royal Inscription	Similar to the form mentioned above; however, in the case of royal inscriptions they often do not constitute a means of securing the loan given to the king, but are either a form of royal award for merits from the Crown, or a form of settling royal debts originating from the king's obligations (salaries, pay, etc.) May appear either as mortgage or as vif-gage.
Lien Mortgage	The creditor reserves the right to receive the income from the property until the debtor repays the sum of the loan. The income from the property constitutes the creditor's interest.
Lien Mortgage for Lifetime	As above, but the repayment of the loan (and restitution of the pledged property) is possible only after the death of the creditor by his/her heirs (in certain cases, after the death of debtor by his/her heirs). However, there were cases when the restitution of pledged property was to be done automatically after the creditor's death, without the necessity of repaying the loan.
Lien Mortgage with Deadline	As Lien Mortgage, but a deadline is established before which the debtor is to repay the sum of the loan. In certain cases, the deadline is not a <i>terminus in quem</i> , but a <i>terminus post quem</i> the debtor is to repay the loan and redeem the pledge, as it could be profitable for the creditor to hold the pledge and receive the income from it for a relatively long period of time.
Lien Mortgage with Deadline for Forfeiture	As above, but in the case of not repaying the loan the pledge becomes the property of the creditor.
Lien Vif-gage	The creditor has the right to receive the income from the pledge, but only until it equals the sum of the loan; after that, the pledged property is to be restored to the debtor.
Lien Vif-gage with Deadline	As above, but it is stated that the income from the pledged property should equal the sum of the loan within a given period.
Rent Purchase	The creditor, giving a loan, buys a rent from a property of the debtor: the sum of purchase constitutes the loan and the rent constitutes the creditor's interest. May appear in various forms: see below.
Rent Purchase Eternal	The rent, bought by the creditor, is to be paid to him eternally.



Grzegorz Żabiński

Type of Credit	Definition
Rent Purchase for Lifetime	The rent, bought by the creditor, is to be paid to him either until his/her death, or until the death of the debtor.
Rent Purchase for Repurchase	The rent, purchased by the creditor may be freely repurchased by the debtor—the income from the rent, not extinguishing the sum of the loan, constitutes the creditor's interest.
Simple Loan	A simple concession of the sum of a loan by the creditor to the debtor.
<i>Wiederkauf</i>	The creditor buys a property belonging to the debtor, who reserves the right to repurchase it at any time—the sum of the purchase constitutes the loan and the income from the property constitutes the creditor's interest.

Remarks: The above terminology of liens is based to a great degree on the divisions proposed by Matuszewski and Rymaszewski with regard to Little Poland's credit market. However, for the sake of this contribution, I decided to modify them slightly, by adjusting them to the cases mentioned in my sources. Nevertheless, the principles of dividing the liens according to the obligations of creditor and debtor remain the same. Jacek S. Matuszewski, *Zastaw nieruchomości w polskim prawie ziemskim do końca XV stulecia* (Liens of immovables in Polish land law to the end of the fifteenth century), *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Folia Iuridica. Seria 1.53* (Łódź: Pracownia Poligraficzna Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1979), 11–63; For the terminology concerning rents, see Lesiński, *Kupno renty*, 12–14.



FROM AN OPEN TO A CLOSED FRONTIER THE WALLACHIAN–MOLDAVIAN FRONTIER FROM C. 1350 TO C. 1450¹

Marian Coman 

The topic of the medieval Wallachian–Moldavian frontier, due to the flimsy extant evidence² and to ideological biases,³ has rarely been addressed or has been dismissed in just a few lines by previous Romanian scholars. Although it is still recognised as a historical frontier, it is also, from a national perspective, a pseudo-frontier, since the Wallachians and the Moldavians were regarded as part of the same nation. Different historians differently undertook the difficult task of fitting the sources into a modern interpretative framework. However, in my opinion, the various interpretations can be grouped around two main solutions. The first, and the most often used, was to ignore the problem. The second was to emphasise that this frontier is special, with particular features. By interpreting the frontier from a different perspective and by analysing other sources, previously ignored for this topic, I propose a reconsideration of the problem. Until now, historians have approached the problem of the territorial extent of the Moldavian and Wallachian medieval states in two ways. The first is the ‘regressive’ method, by which a historian starts from the first extant exhaustive

¹ This study is a revised version of the second chapter of my M.A. thesis, “The Building of the Moldavian-Wallachian Frontier c. 1350–1450” (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2002).

² Only two pieces of information are extant concerning the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier during the period covered here: one mentions an agreement and the other a conflict. Neither the terms of the agreement, nor the precise disputed borderlands are mentioned in the sources. For the agreement between Mircea, voivode of Wallachia (1386–1418) and Alexander, voivode of Moldavia (1400–1432) see Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan* (The charters of Stephen the Great) (Bucharest: Socec, 1913), vol 2, 334–336 (hereafter Bogdan *Documentele*). For the conflict see Antonius Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Witoldi* (Cracow: Academiae Litterarum Cracoviae, 1882), 836 (hereafter Prochaska, *Codex Witoldi*).

³ See for example P. P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân* (Mircea the Old) (Bucharest: Corint, 2000), 275 (hereafter Panaitescu, *Mircea*) or Cristofor Mironescu, “Hotarul între Moldova și Muntenia” (The boundary between Moldavia and Wallachia), *Anuar de geografie și antropogeografie* 2 (1911): 87.



Marian Coman

description of the frontier and attempts to reconstruct earlier frontiers.⁴ The second approach is the analysis of the different parts of the *intitulatio* of the voivode, each of them corresponding to a territory.⁵ Both these approaches analyse the frontier as a political issue, from the point of view of the political history of the medieval state.

What is proposed here is a different approach, analysing the frontier not as a matter of political history, but as an issue of human geography.⁶ Through the attempt to reconstruct the geographic distribution of the population, I argue that both the Wallachian and the Moldavian societies were politically and demographically expanding towards the north-east and south-west, respectively. The thesis of this study sustains that the *closing* process⁷ of the medieval Wallachian-Moldavian frontier began precisely in this period, c.1350–c.1450. Before addressing the main problem, namely the demographic evolution of these two societies, Wallachian and Moldavian, there are two necessary preliminaries. Firstly, a short review of the extant sources on the other medieval frontiers of these two states will provide some guidelines for a comparative view. Secondly, a description of the landscape of the Wallachian–Moldavian borderland offers a possible explanation for the demographic evolution in the region.

Natural and Artificial Boundaries

Since the medieval Wallachian and Moldavian frontiers are mentioned in the sources as linear borders rather than as frontier regions, they seem, at a first reading of the sources, to have been closed from an early period. However, this is only an illusion, and, from the point of view of demographic evolution, a clear distinction must be made between two types of linear borders: natural boundaries, marked by a natural element like a river, and artificial boundaries, marked by human-made signs.

⁴ See Ștefan Gorovei, "Formation et évolution de la frontière de la Moldavie médiévale," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 35 (1996): 131–136.

⁵ The classic example is the study of Dimitrie Onciul, "Titlul lui Mircea cel Bătrân și posesiunile lui" (The *intitulatio* of Mircea the Old and his possessions) in D. Onciul, *Scrieri istorice* (Historical writings) (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1968), vol. 2, 19–142.

⁶ This perspective can, to some extent, be considered a Turnerian approach. For a discussion on the Turnerian thesis applied to medieval history see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000 – c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7.

⁷ For this concept see Archibald Lewis, "The closing of the Medieval Frontier (1250–1350)" *Speculum* 33 (1958): 475–483.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

The Dniester River, separating Moldavia and Lithuania, is a case of a natural barrier that became a clearly delineated political frontier. The travel account of a Russian pilgrim, Deacon Zosima, who crossed the river around 1419 on his way to Constantinople, allows the observation of the mechanism of this transformation:

Then we set out for the Tartar steppe and went fifty miles along a Tartar road which is called "To the Great Valley," and we came to a large river, below Miterevye Kyshina,⁸ which is called the Dniester. There was a ferry there, and it was the Wallachian⁹ border. On the far side the Wallachians take a ferry [charge], and on this side Grand Prince Vitovt's men take a tax; thus they both do [the same thing]. It is three days from there through the Wallachian land to Belgorod.¹⁰

This short account provides some hints as to the process of the development of a feature of landscape into a political frontier. Willing to exploit the source of revenues represented by the medieval tax¹¹ on crossing rivers, the Lithuanian prince and the Moldavian voivode were both interested in controlling crossing points over the Dniester. Due to its size, the river limited the possibilities for crossing, and by its location on an important commercial route¹² provided significant tax revenues. Although this is a sketchy presentation

⁸ "Miterevye Kyshina" means the stones of the customs. This place is probably in front of today's Soroca; see George P. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 180, footnote 16 (hereafter Majeska, *Russian Travellers*). Giurescu identified the place with Tighina; see C. C. Giurescu, *Târguri sau orașe și cetăți moldovene din secolul al X-lea până la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea* (Moldavian boroughs or cities and citadels from the tenth to the middle of the sixteenth century) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1967), 293.

⁹ The name Wallachian is used here as an ethnic description. Moldavians were often called Wallachians in the medieval sources, both Western and Eastern.

¹⁰ Zosima's account is edited, both in Russian and English translation, in Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, 178–180. The fragment regarding Moldavia is edited in Romanian translation in the first volume of *Călători străini în Țările Române* (Foreign travellers about Romanian lands), vol. 1 ed. Maria Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu and Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1968), 43–44 (hereafter Holban et al, *Călători străini*).

¹¹ Panaitescu considered that in medieval Wallachia there were three types of customs: at a market town, at a mountain and at a ford; see Panaitescu, *Mircea*, 150.

¹² It is worth noting that Zosima travelled from Kiev with "merchants and great magnates" (И поидох от Киева с купцы и велможамы с великими). The editor of the text believes that this "Tartar road" was probably the standard route taken by merchants going between Kiev and Belgorod; see Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, 178, footnote 14.



Marian Coman

of the process, it nevertheless contains the principal elements: motivation (economic benefits) and means (controlling the river fords).¹³ The case of the Danube is probably a similar situation, albeit less clearly documented. When a traveller crossed the big river he knew he had entered Wallachia: "From Târnovo we arrived in a city named Şiştov. Here we crossed the Danube. Then we had arrived in Wallachia."¹⁴

Although both the Danube and the Dniester were linear frontiers for Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively, neither of them marked a closed frontier from the demographic point of view. Both narrative and diplomatic sources project an image of largely uninhabited regions in the vicinity of the two rivers.¹⁵ Therefore, the frontiers on the two rivers were not established as a consequence of a progressive demographic expansion, but rather preceded it. In comparison, the case of the linear frontiers artificially delineated is completely different.

References to artificial boundary markers are mentioned in the documents for this period mainly in relation to the boundaries of individual estates, as is abundantly attested, especially for Moldavia,¹⁶ but they were also used for designating the borders of the states themselves.¹⁷ In the charters, the most common references for delimiting boundaries were mounds of earth (*meta terrea*,

¹³ Miron Costin mentions, among the duties of the *vornic*, that of organising "the guards of the fords and borders," see Miron Costin, "Poema Polonă" (Polish Poem), in *Opere* (Works), ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest: Ed. pentru Literatură, 1965), 238. This illustrates the connected development of military control on fords and borders.

¹⁴ This is the account of the German pilgrims Peter Sparnau and Ulrich von Tennstadt; see Holban et al., *Călători străini*, vol.1, 19.

¹⁵ See the section entitled "Borderlands and demographic realities" below, and map 1.

¹⁶ Of the 755 villages in Moldavia mentioned in documents prior to 1449, 525 have old boundaries; see Henri H. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești* (Contributions to the study of Romanian village communities), vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1958), 105.

¹⁷ Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between these two types of boundaries: state and estate. Two documents from 1366 describe the procedure of delimiting the estates of a Hungarian subject, Peter of Cîsnădie, from the land of Vladislav, voievode of Wallachia (*a terra seu tenutis magnifici viri, domini Ladislai, vaivode Transalpinii*). *Documenta Romaniae Historica. D. Relațiile dintre Țările* (Romanian Historical Documents. Series D. The relationships between Romanian principalities). Vol. 1 (1222–1456), ed. Constantin Cihodaru and Ștefan Pascu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1977), 84 (hereafter *DRH-D*). This could have been a local affair between estates in Făgăraș; or, since King Louis did not make any distinction between the "Făgăraș feuds" and Wallachia (*terra nostra Transalpina*), this procedure could be regarded as similar to that used for the Wallachian–Hungarian border.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

pillars,¹⁸ scratches on trees (Romanian *cioplei*),²⁰ and boundary-crosses.²¹ The aurochs (Romanian *bouri*), mentioned later, yet probably in use in the period under discussion here, are blocks of stone or sometimes trees on which an aurochs was inscribed.²² In Wallachia boundary signs are attested only in a later period. Mentions of Wallachian estates' boundaries are not only later but also scarcer than the Moldavian ones. In a sample of 100 documents covering the period from 1352 to 1450 for Wallachia and from 1384 to 1430 for Moldavia, only three Wallachian documents depict the boundaries of a donation (two of them for Făgăraș donations, probably later interpolations) compared to 34 Moldavian documents. It is possible that the different chancellery practices originated from different realities of human geography.²³

The strict delimitation of an artificially linear border, drawn by the parts placed on the two sides of it, is the most visible sign of a closed frontier. Fortunately for understanding the case of the Wallachian–Hungarian frontier, one surviving document mentions the end of the process.²⁴ In 1520 the

¹⁸ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldova* (Romanian Historical Documents. Series A. Moldavia) (hereafter *DRH-A*), vol. 1 (1384–1448), ed. Constantin Cihodaru, Ioan Caproșu and Leon Șimanschi (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1975), doc. 38, from 1414, 53.

¹⁹ *DRH-A*, vol. 1, doc. 79 from 1428, 116.

²⁰ *DRH-A*, vol. 1, doc. 264 from 1446, 373

²¹ N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători* (History of Romanians through travellers) (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1981), 167–168.

²² The aurochs was the medieval symbol of Moldavia. From it derives the Romanian expression “s-au mutat bourii” (literally: moving the aurochs) which in fact means to “move the boundary.” For a recent analysis of the aurochs as a boundary sign, see Gheorghe Burlacu, “Bourul Moldovei – semn de hotar” (Moldavian aurochs—boundary sign) *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol* 31 (1994): 517–543.

²³ For example, a document from 1495 of Vlad Călugăru (1481–1495) mentions the use of boundary signs: *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească* (Romanian Historical Documents. Series B. Wallachia) (hereafter *DRH-B*), vol. 1 (1247–1500), ed. Petre P. Panaitescu and Damaschin Mioc (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1966), 415–416.

²⁴ Document no. 194, *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească* (Romanian Historical Documents. Series B. Wallachia) (hereafter *DRH-B*), vol. 2 (1500–1525), ed. Ștefan Ștefănescu and Olimpia Diaconescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1972), 375. The manner in which the document was elaborated, namely the lack of any reference to a previous settlement of the frontier, indicates that this was probably the first in this area. The first to interpret the document as attesting a change in the nature of the frontier, from borderland region to a linear boundary, was the geographer Ion Conea, “Cel dintâi hotar



Marian Coman

Wallachian and Transylvanian voivodes, Neagoe Basarab and John Zápolya, settled the frontier between the Olt River and the city of Râșova.²⁵ The frontier was drawn along the peaks of the mountains, which became its distinguishing features,²⁶ although this did not exclude the use of artificial signs.²⁷ From a comparative perspective, there are three relevant elements in this document: the place where the frontier was drawn, the actors, and their motivation(s). Not by chance was the delimited area in the western part of Wallachia, which had the highest population density from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries onwards. (See *Map 1*.) The two voivodes had two reasons for entrusting the task of settling the frontier to the nobles and boyars who owned properties in that area: they knew the place best and their lands were directly involved.²⁸ The motivation for this action is not clearly specified in the document, but it is to be found in the economic interest of the local lords, the ones who actually made the decision. The local lords were not just emissaries, but decision-makers acting under the authority of the voivode, and in the assembly held at Morișor they made the decisions and settled the frontier. The oath taken by both parties not to steal or plunder supports the idea of an economically determined agreement.

Different types of economic interests in a given geographic area, in the routes (a commercial interest), or in the land itself (an agricultural interest) determine different models of a frontier.²⁹ In the first case, the stress is on controlling the key points and this is the model that applied to the frontier area between Wallachia and Moldavia for a long period. The city of Chilia was the main disputed borderland between the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes in

politic pe creasta munților Olteniei (1520)" (The first political boundary on the peaks of the Oltenian Mountains) *Revista geografică română* 1 (1938): 1–20.

²⁵ Óææá, óíááá uòæèíèøá è õìðàðàì wáàì ááá çáíèè wò ìèáíèíè, èèíæá àà ñá çíááò: wò èíèà Wèòúèíá ààæá àí Ðúðááá, wò éú Áðááèñèþ çáíèá è wò éú Áèàøèþ Çáíèè.

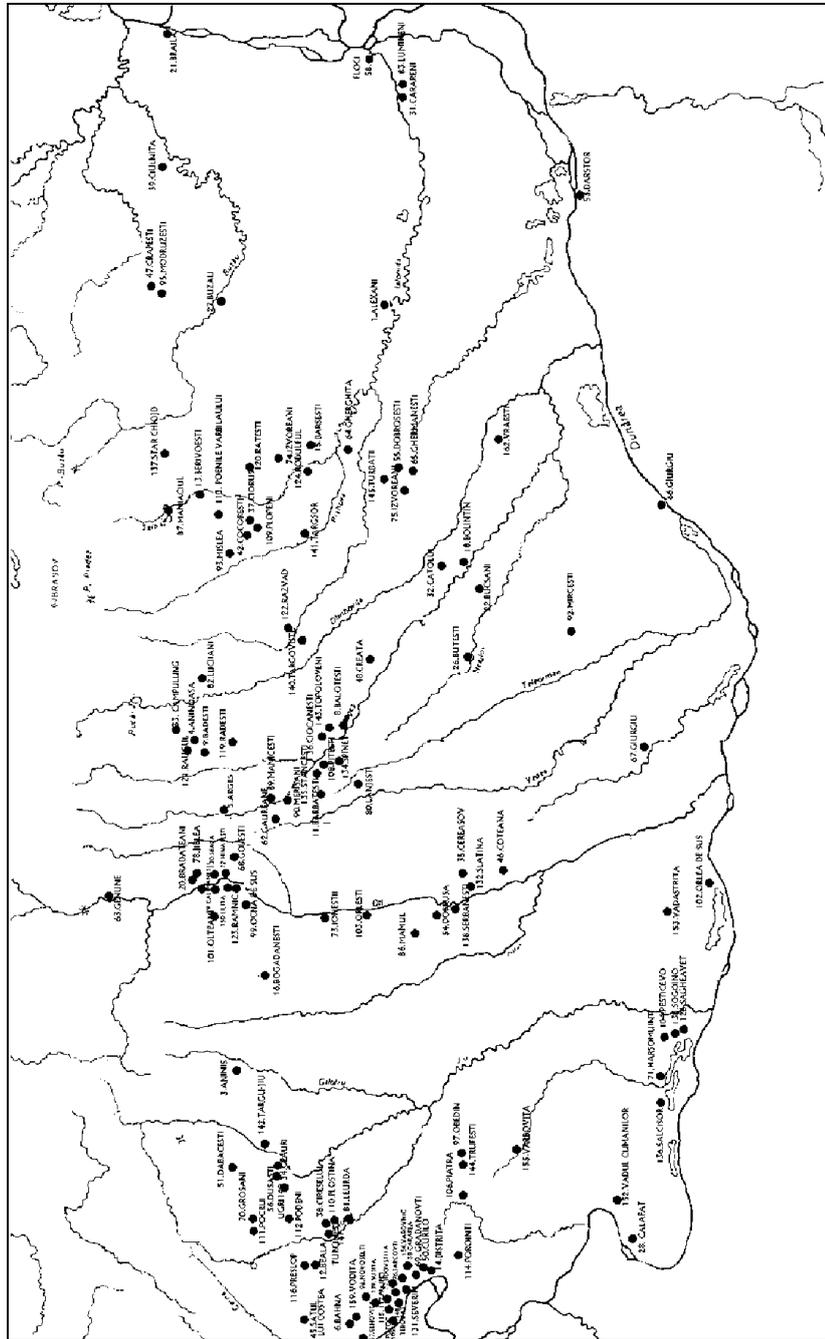
²⁶ I give an excerpt from the document to illustrate the settlement of the border on peaks: è wò òuáá ááñ ïí áðúó àí ìèáíèí Èðáèuè ìèõíèíá è ìèáíèí Èuíáíuè è wò óíá ááñ, u ááá çíáá ñá ìèáíèí Èðáèwáá è ìèáíèí çíáá íá Áááá è ìèáíèí Wíáøàòáè.

²⁷ The boundary signs are explicitly mentioned: è ááèh¾è iw ìèáíèíè.

²⁸ The Hațeg nobles were from Răchitova, Mujina, Mățești, Sătcili and Răul Bărbat. The Wallachian boyars were from Crasna, Borăști, Românești, Baia, and Polovragi.

²⁹ The theory of human territoriality based on an economic model that emphasised the relationship between the resources and the costs of use/defence of an area, was contested by a model stressing ecological variables as major factors determining territoriality. Rada Dyson-Hudson and Eric Alden Smith, "Human territoriality: an ecological reassessment," *American Anthropologist* 80 (1978): 21–41.

The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450



Map 1. Wallachian settlements mentioned in internal documents (c. 1350 – c. 1450). Map by the author.



Marian Coman

the first half of the fifteenth century. Its importance was mainly due to a branch of the Levantine trade that crossed it.³⁰ The second case requires a clear delimitation of the land due to a decrease in the ratio between available agricultural land and the size of the population, the states' borders being in fact the boundaries of individual estates. This second stage is attested for a much later period in the Moldavian-Wallachian case; the first known accord concerning the frontier that settled the use of the land by the inhabitants on the two sides of the border dates only from 1706.³¹

An Overview of the Landscape

The region through which the future Moldavian-Wallachian boundary was to be drawn, from west to east, is composed of two main geographic units disposed in a north-south direction. The Sub-Carpathian Hills and the Carpathian Mountains are located in the present-day departments of Buzău in Wallachia and Vrancea in Moldavia. To the east the Wallachian Plain and the Southern Moldavian Plain also form a geographic unit. The Putna, Milcov, Siret, and Bârlad rivers in Moldavia and the Buzău River in Wallachia formed an alluvial plain easily flooded by unstable riverbeds until modern times.³² A natural barrier in the region is the Siret River, located between the Moldavian Plateau, the

³⁰ See Șerban Papacostea, "De Vicina à Kilia. Byzantins et Genoïses aux bouches du Danube au XIV^e siècle" *Revue des Etudes Sud-est Européennes* 1 (1978): 65–79 and Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Le commerce du Levant et la Hongrie au Moyen Age," *Annales ESC* 31 (1976): 1176–1194. For the Wallachian–Moldavian conflict over Chilia see Ștefan Andreescu, "Une ville disputée: Kilia pendant la première moitié du XV^e siècle" *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 23 (1985): 217–230. For a different opinion, see Virgil Ciocâltan, "Chilia în primul sfert al veacului al XV-lea" (Chilia in the first quarter of the fifteenth century), *Revista de istorie* 34 (1981): 2091–2096.

³¹ C. Constantinescu-Mircești and Ion Dragomirescu, "Marginea țării. Aspecte caracteristice în zona hotarului dintre Moldova și Țara Românească" (The border of the country. Particular features in the borderland between Moldavia and Wallachia). *Studii și articole de istorie* 9 (1967): 85 (hereafter Constantinescu-Mircești and Dragomirescu, "Marginea țării").

³² For the changes that took place in the Siret riverbed, see Nicolae Antonovici, "Probleme hidrografice în basinul inferior al Siretului" (Hydrographic issues of the low riverbed of the Siret), *Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*. Series 3: 1–8. For a discussion on the frontier dispute provoked by these changes see C. Constantinescu-Mircești and Ion Dragomirescu, "Contribuții cu privire la cunoașterea hotarului dintre Moldova și Țara Românească de la întemeierea Principatelor până la Unire" (Contributions to research on the boundary between Moldavia and Wallachia from the foundation of the Principalities until the Union), *Studii și articole de istorie* 6 (1965): 65–70.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

Romanian Plain, and the Sub-Carpathians.³³ Paradoxically, the frontier was eventually established through the very middle of these geographic units, dividing them along the Milcov River, traditionally considered the border between Moldavia and Wallachia.

Different types of soil distinguish the two geographic areas, the plains on one hand and the mountains and hills on the other. In the Sub-Carpathian hills the type of soil suggests that these were probably forested areas for a long period.³⁴ Numerous clearance areas attested here in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries confirm this interpretation.³⁵ The soil of the plains region, levigate chernozem, is different, specific to unforested areas and excellent for agriculture.³⁶ Using nineteenth century realities as a comparative base, it is clear that the area between the Siret and Ialomița rivers is the least forested region in all of Wallachia and Moldavia. These unforested plains regions³⁷ represented a perfect corridor for people coming from the eastern steppes. This gave the region its paradoxical status: a good land for agriculture, but at the same time an open space communicating directly with the eastern steppes through Bugeac, and therefore exposed to recurrent population incursions that had significant demographic impacts.

Borderlands and Demographic Realities

The number of inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, especially during the first century of their existence, remains a disputed matter in historiography, mainly due to the lack of sources. For Wallachia, a figure between 266,000 and 700,000 inhabitants has been proposed, with variations determined by the sources

³³ *Geografia României* (Geography of Romania), ed. Lucian Badea (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1984), vol.1 *Geografia fizica* (Physical geography), 632 and 645.

³⁴ N. Florea, I. Munteanu, and C. Rapaport, *Geografia solurilor României* (The geography of the soils of Romania) (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1968), 61 (hereafter N. Florea, et al., *Geografia*).

³⁵ For a discussion on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century modifications of the landscape in the Moldavian-Wallachian frontier region see C. Constantinescu-Mircești and I. Dragomirescu, "Marginea țării," 81–121.

³⁶ N. Florea, et al., *Geografia*, 466.

³⁷ In his monograph, Giurescu does not mention any important forest in the frontier area of Moldavia–Wallachia. C. C. Giurescu, *A History of the Romanian Forest* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1980).



Marian Coman

chosen for estimation and by ideological factors.³⁸ Ioan Bogdan, who used a 'regressive' reckoning, estimated the populations of Wallachia and Moldavia in the fifteenth century to have been 266,000 and 415,625 inhabitants, respectively. He starts with the census from 1885–1886 and projects his estimation into the past for four centuries; therefore his results are questionable.³⁹ P. P. Panaitescu based his evaluation on the size of the army and, by assuming a ratio of 1:10 between the army and the general population, he estimated that Wallachia was inhabited by 400,000 to 500,000 people.⁴⁰ The discovery of two fiscal references allowed Louis Roman to propose the even higher number of approximately 700,000 inhabitants.⁴¹ For Moldavia, historians have estimated around 400,000 inhabitants at the time of Stephen the Great (1457–1504); while this is generally accepted, that does not mean it is more certain. Louis Roman estimated the evolution in number of the Moldavian villages as follows: 1000 around the year 1241, 850 at the middle of the fourteenth century and 1500 to 1600 one century later.⁴² Based on these data, the average population density in Wallachia and Moldavia is estimated at four and three inhabitants, respectively, per square kilometre for the middle of the fourteenth century, taking into account their entire future territory.⁴³ This short review has been intended to establish some

³⁸ These estimates were ideologically influenced by a nationalist attitude that requires an emphasis on present Romania as a land inhabited during history by Romanians, in large number and in all regions.

³⁹ See Louis Roman, "Populația Țării Românești în secolele XIV–XV" (The Wallachian population in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *Revista de Istorie* 39 (1986): 669 (hereafter Roman, "Populația").

⁴⁰ According to some Venetian sources, the army in the time of Vlad Țepeș (1456–1462, 1476) had 30,000–40,000 soldiers. Panaitescu, *Mircea*, 74–75. Ștefan Ștefănescu, by a different estimation, arrived at the same number. Ștefan Ștefănescu, "La situation démographique de la Valachie aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles d'après les conjonctures socio-politiques," *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire* 4 (1970): 47–61.

⁴¹ Louis Roman uses the two accounts discovered and edited by Șerban Papacostea, both using Hungarian sources, which give a number of 60,000 families (in the sense of fiscal units) for Wallachia. See Șerban Papacostea, "Populație și fiscalitate în Țara Românească în secolul al XV-lea: un nou izvor" (Population and fiscality in the fifteenth-century Wallachia: a new source), *Revista de Istorie* 33 (1980): 1179–1786. However, Roman's estimation is unconvincing, and shows a clear tendency of arriving at higher numbers. Roman, "Populația," 669–684.

⁴² Louis Roman, "Toponimia și demografia istorică" (Toponymy and historical demography), *Revista Istorică* 8 (1997): 432.

⁴³ See a comparative table of population density in Bogdan Murgescu, *Istorie românească, istorie universală* (Romanian history, universal history) (Bucharest: Editura Teora, 2000)



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

necessary limits for the approach taken in this study and has also shown the difficulties and the uncertainty of demographic studies for medieval Wallachia and Moldavia.

Population distribution is an even more difficult matter, especially due to the lack of studies on this topic.⁴⁴ However, an approach based on three different categories of sources, namely, narrative, diplomatic, and archaeological, can offer a reasonably accurate picture, with special regard to the frontier zone of Moldavia and Wallachia.⁴⁵

The few narrative sources from this period that contain references to the population agree that medieval Moldavia and Wallachia were, by contemporary standards, sparsely populated. King Louis of Hungary's chronicler, John of Küküllő, describes Moldavia as a "land subject to the Hungarian Crown but for a long time empty of inhabitants owing to the proximity of the Tartars."⁴⁶ Ghillebert of Lanoy, a messenger of the Duke of Burgundy, travelling in 1421 in the hinterland of Cetatea Albă and Chilia in southern Moldavia, speaks of great deserted regions.⁴⁷ In the Lublau treaty (1412) the expression *campis desertis* is used to refer to the same territories.⁴⁸ Another Burgundian, the crusader Walerand of Wavrin, gives a similar account, this time for Wallachia, around 1445: "la Vallaquie...un grand et spacieux pays, mal peuple en aulcunes marches."⁴⁹ The most interesting demographic aspect recounted by Wavrin

22. For Transylvania the estimate is 7 inhabitants/km², for Poland 10 inhabitants/km², and for Italy 33 inhabitants/km².

⁴⁴ A notable exception is the study of Robin Baker, "Magyars, Mongols, Romanians and Saxons: Population Mix and Density in Moldavia, from 1230 to 1365," *Balkan Studies* 37 (1996): 63–76 (hereafter Baker, "Magyars, Mongols").

⁴⁵ Some historians have noted that this region had a low density of population: "In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the density of the population appears to have been relatively uniform in the centre and north of Moldavia, on the other hand in the steppes on the north of the mouth of the Danube, the population was sparse because of the incursions of tribes of Turkish and Mongol horsemen," Victor Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1986), 137–138 (hereafter Spinei, *Moldavia*).

⁴⁶ See Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1, ed. E. Galántai and J. Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 185 (hereafter Thurocz, *Chronica*).

⁴⁷ "En m'en allay par grans desers, de plus de quatre lieues, en laditte Wallachie." Holban et al., *Călători străini*, vol. 1, 50.

⁴⁸ Prochaska, *Codex Witoldi*, 230.

⁴⁹ Jehan de Wauvrin, *Croniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne, a present nomme Engleterre*, vol. 5, ed. William Hardy and Edward L. C. P. Hardy. (London, 1891. Reprint, Nendeln: Kraus, 1967), 104. (hereafter Wauvrin, *Croniques*)



Marian Coman

regards the uneven distribution of population in Wallachia and the attempts of the voivode, at that time Vlad Dracul, to colonise the marginal regions—towards Moldavia—with people from south of the Danube.⁵⁰ Although geographically imprecise, these accounts paint an image of a sparsely inhabited territory. However, this information has been questioned by historians, who have made solid criticisms, such as the purposes of these authors,⁵¹ their comparative views, and the images reflected by other sources. For instance, the Burgundians came from a densely inhabited region of Europe, and therefore the subjective nature of their view, with its implicit comparison to their country, must be taken into account.⁵² On the other hand, the most often quoted source for a positive demographic image is the patriarchal document by which the second metropolitan see of Wallachia was founded at Severin. The Patriarch of Constantinople justifies this act by the large population.⁵³ Therefore the narrative sources cannot constitute, at least not by themselves, a reliable basis for historical reconstruction.

A second category of sources that can be used for analysing the distribution of population in Wallachia and Moldavia is represented by internal documents, mainly donation charters. The 100 preserved Wallachian documents from 1352 to 1450 contain references to 163 settlements, compared with more than 750 in the 298 Moldavian documents.⁵⁴ Most of them can be located, thanks to the geographical references contained in the documents. These settlements represent, of course, the lower limit; in reality their number must

⁵⁰ "Puis requist ledit seigneur Vallaque au cardinal et au seigneur de Wavrin quilz lui voulsissent aidier a passer ces christiens Volquaires outre la riviere de Dunoue tant quilz feussent en son pays, adfin dyceulz mettre hors de chetivete; si mist on bien trois jours et trois nultz a les passer, car ilz estoient bien douze mille personne, hommes, femmes, et enfans sans les bagues et bestail, si disoient ceulz quy les veyrent que cestoit telz gens comme sont Egiptiens." Wauvrin, *Croniques*, 105

⁵¹ Probably John of Küküllő's intention is to play down the significance of the loss of Moldavia to Hungary; see the criticism by Spinei, *Moldavia*, 206.

⁵² See P. P. Panaitescu's remarks on Wavrin in *Mircea*, 74, and the analyses on the significance of the word "desert" by Lanoy in Holban et al., *Călători străini*, vol. 1, 61.

⁵³ *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Documents concerning the history of Romanians), series 1, vol. 1 (1199–1345), ed. Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Densușianu (Bucharest: Socecu & Teclu, 1889), 8–9. Another positive account is that of the archbishop John of Sultanieh, who appreciates that the two Wallachias *non habent civitates magnas sed villas multas*. A. Kern, "Der 'Libellus de notitia orbis' Johannes III O. P. Erzbischofs von Sultanieh," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 7 (1938): 103.

⁵⁴ The documents are published in *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, series A for Moldavia and series B for Wallachia.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

have been much higher. In his analysis for the period between 1352 and 1625, Ion Donat estimates the number of Wallachian settlements at 3,220.⁵⁵ For this study, a more important aspect is whether the maps reflect a correct image of the population distribution; that is why possible distorting factors must be taken into account.

The first possible objection concerns the way in which the documents were preserved. In Moldavia secular donations are more numerous than monastic ones, but in Wallachia most of the documents represent donations to the monasteries and were preserved by them.⁵⁶ Therefore, one could argue that the Wallachian map of settlements is rather a map of monasteries' possessions, with the settlements concentrated around the monastic sites of Vodița, Tismana, Cotmeana, Glavacioc, and Snagov. It was not mandatory for these settlements to be localized to an area around the monastery and sometimes they could be located at great distances. This is the case for the village situated at the mouth of the Ialomița River given by Mircea to the Cozia monastery.⁵⁷ However, there was usually a geographic connection between a monastery and its possessions. One could argue that even the distribution of the monasteries could be connected with the settlements' density, since a monastery needed the support of several settlements for its survival. If this argument is accepted, then different demographic realities correspond to the difference between eastern Wallachia and western Wallachia, where monastic foundations are numerous in an early period.⁵⁸

The second possible distorting factor concerns the nature of the documents. Only the villages in which a change in the property system took place are mentioned in these charters, as the settlement was usually transferred from the ruler's domain into monastic or boyar property. Therefore, the villages inhabited by free peasants are not attested in documents. This could explain the blank spots on the maps, especially those from the region of direct interest here. Indeed, in

⁵⁵ Ion Donat, "Așezările omenești în Țara Românească în secolele XIV–XVII" (Human settlements in Wallachia from the fourteenth to seventeenth century), *Studii Revistă de Istorie* 9 (1956): 75–95 (hereafter Donat, "Așezările"). Lia Lehr contested the result with strong arguments—Donat includes in his list toponyms that probably do not represent settlements—and proposed the number of 2,100. L. Lehr, "Factori determinanți în evoluția demografică a Țării Românești în secolul al XVII-lea" (Determinant factors in the demographic evolution of Wallachia in the seventeenth century), *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 7 (1974): 161–205.

⁵⁶ Charters for monasteries represent almost two-thirds of Wallachian documents and less than one third of Moldavian documents.

⁵⁷ *DRH-B*, vol.1, 65–66.

⁵⁸ For a map of the Wallachian monasteries from the period 1352–1625, see Donat, "Așezările," 86.



Marian Coman

the region of the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier, where the so-called “Republic of Vrancea” is attested,⁵⁹ the percentage of free villages was substantial.⁶⁰ However, the existence of these villages of free peasants could be due to a later peopling of the area after the emergence of medieval states.

The third factor refers to the issuers of these documents. Since the charters were written by the chancelleries of Wallachia and Moldavia, they only refer to the territories within these states; thus, it is possible that these “blank spots” represent areas outside the control of the two voivodes. This would also explain why the settlements next to the frontier area are only mentioned in a later period.

Two opposing theories address the hypothesis that during his reign Basarab, the first Wallachian voivode, extended his territories eastwards, to include the future Bessarabia region. The first theory suggests that Basarab extended the territory of Wallachia during the Hungarian expeditions against the Golden Horde, in which he participated as an ally of the Hungarian king. Only three pieces of evidence support this scenario, first the Romanian historical tradition that recalls participation in the wars against the Tartars under the rule of King Lașău, hypothetically identified with King Louis of Anjou; second, a letter of Pope John XXII in which he praised the fight of Basarab against the infidels; and third a highly singular interpretation concerning the reason that led Charles Robert to attack Basarab.⁶¹ To my mind, this hypothesis is completely wrong, because such an early end to the Mongol control over the region (the 1320s) is contradicted both by the written sources and the archaeological evidence.

The second theory suggests exactly the opposite, namely that Basarab extended his domination under Tartar hegemony, in an evolution similar to the Russian model of the Muscovy knezat. The hypothesis is only indirectly supported by the sources. Firstly, there is sufficient information from contemporary sources for assuming Wallachian-Tartar cooperation or rather Mongol hegemony over Wallachia. Secondly, the hypothesis is strengthened by

⁵⁹ The name of “Republic” was given by Dimitrie Cantemir to three Moldavian regions: Câmpulung, Tigheciu and Vrancea. Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio antiqui et hodierni status Moldaviae*, ed. and tr. Gheorghe Guțu (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1973), 303. This term was taken over by H. H. Stahl who assumed that this represented an archaic (pre-state) form of social organisation. Henri H. Stahl, *Les anciennes communautés villageoises roumaines* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969), 37.

⁶⁰ See Stahl’s maps and estimations in Stahl, *Les anciennes communautés*, 25–32.

⁶¹ See P. P. Panaitescu, *Introducere la istoria culturii românești* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1969), 304–314. The same opinion at Ștefan Ștefanescu, *Istoria medie a României*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Universității București, 1991), 114.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

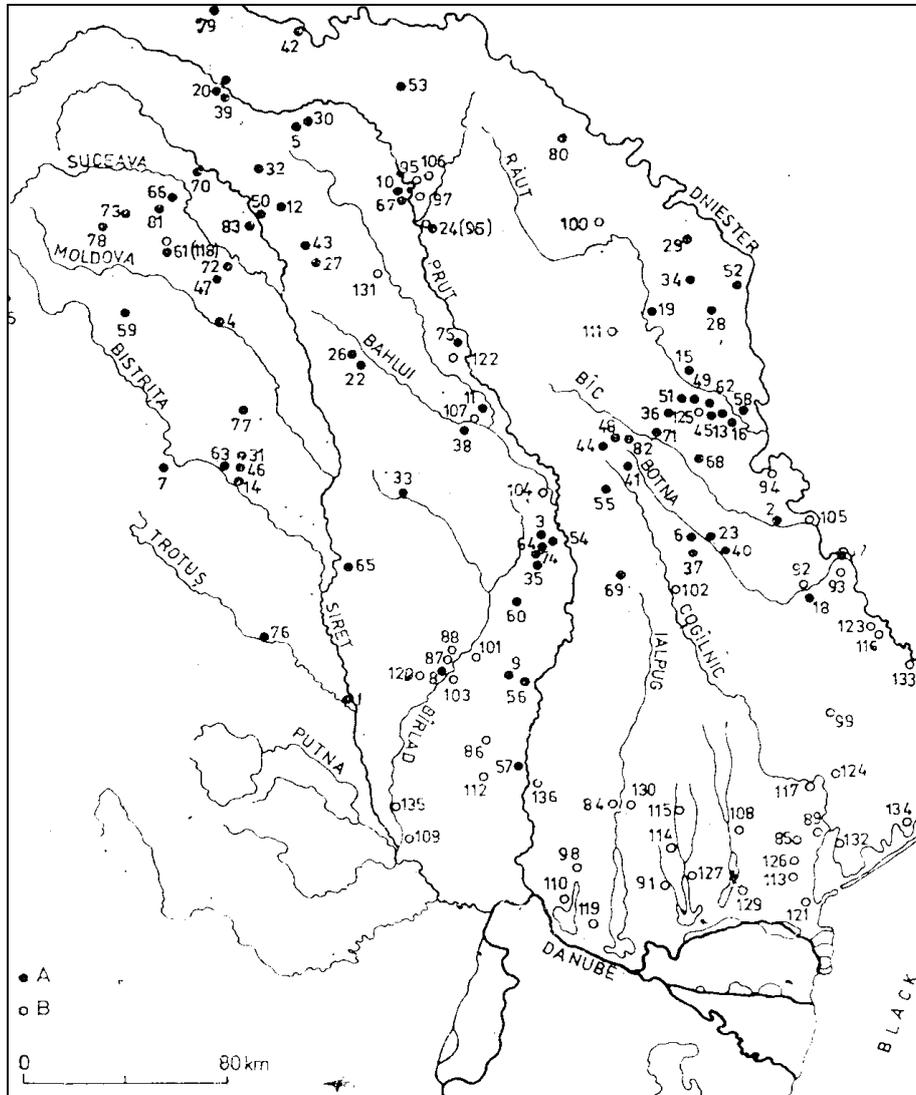
the existence of a precedent: the Bulgarians ruled over a large area under Mongol hegemony during the first two decades of the fourteenth century. This region could have subsequently been given to Basarab.⁶² However, even if one of these two theses, highly speculative, is accepted, this extension of Wallachia was only for a short period of time. There are two main sources that support the idea of Wallachia's eastern border being on the Ialomița River before 1368: King Louis' privilege from 1358, given to the Brașov merchants,⁶³ and John of Küküllő's description of the Wallachian–Hungarian confrontation of 1368.⁶⁴

⁶² For this thesis see N. Iorga, "Imperiul cumanilor și domnia lui Basarabă" (The Cuman Empire and the rule of Basarab), in N. Iorga, *Studii asupra Evului Mediu românesc* (Studies on the Romanian Middle Ages), ed. Șerban Papacostea (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984), 70; Panaitescu, *Mircea*, 346–350; Șerban Papacostea, *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc* (The genesis of the state in the Romanian Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Corint, 1999), 29; and Virgil Ciocâltan, *Mongolii și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV* (The Mongols and the Black Sea in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries) (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), 252.

⁶³ "ut vos cum vestris mercimoniis et quibuslibet rebus inter Bozam et Prahov, a loco videlicet ubi fluvius Iloncha vocatus in Danobium usque locum ubi fluvius Zereth nominatus similiter in ipsum Danobium cadunt, transire possitis libere et secure, nec vos aliquis in ipso vestro transitu indebite valeat impedire." *DRH-D*, vol. 1, 72. The privilege from 1358 has been used by some historians to argue for the existence of Hungarian control over the region between Buzău and Ialomița, the so-called "Hungarian corridor." The idea of the "Hungarian corridor" was first suggested by N. Iorga in *Istoria românilor*, (History of Romanians), vol. 3 (Bucharest: Ed. Enciclopedică, 1988). The theory was developed by E. C. Lăzărescu, in his unpublished doctoral thesis "Români, Unguri și tătari în vremea întemeierii domniilor românești" (Romanians, Hungarians and Tartars at the time of foundation of the Romanian reign) (Bucharest, 1946), considered that this "corridor" continued to exist until 1382, when Wallachia was included in its boundaries in the context of the internal disputes in the Hungarian kingdom, as quoted by Gh. Brătianu, "Les rois de Hongrie et les Principautés roumaines au XIV^e siècle," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 28 (1947), 86. The theory was contested especially by P. P. Panaitescu and M. Holban. See Panaitescu, *Mircea*, 115, and Maria Holban, "Contribuții la studiul raporturilor dintre Țara Românească și Ungaria Angevină – Problema stăpânirii efective a Severinului și a suzeranității în legătură cu drumul Brăilei" (Contributions to the study of Wallachia and the Angevin-Hungary relationship—the problem of the effective rule over Severin and of suzerainty in connection with the Brăila road), *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 15 (1962): 325. To my mind, the privilege given in 1358 should be interpreted as indicating the eastern limits of the Wallachian state, without automatically implying effective Hungarian control over those regions.

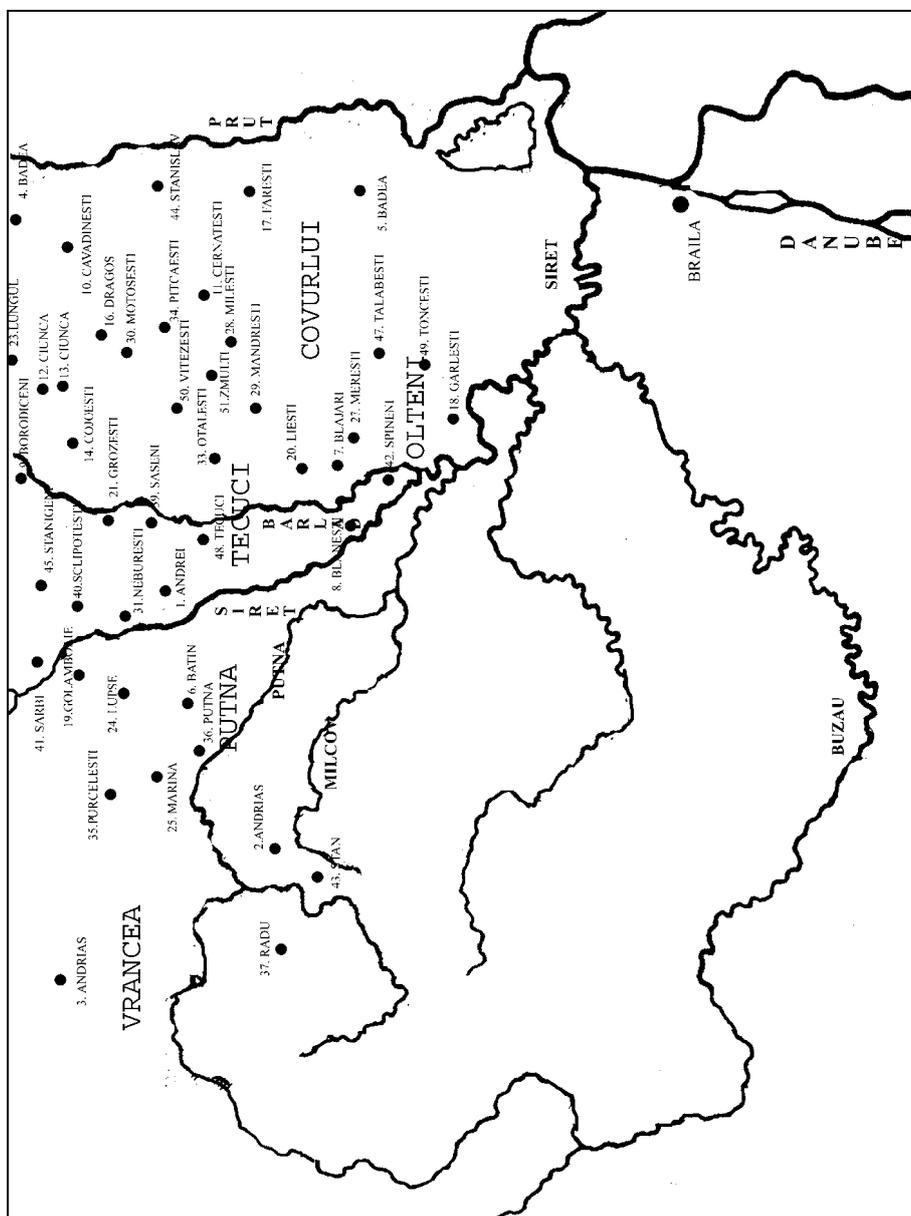
⁶⁴ "Qui quidem Nicolaus wayuoda cum exercitu predicto fluvium Jlimcza, ubi fortalitia et propugnacula erant per Olachos firmate," Thurocz, 181. The first interpretation in this sense of John's information is that of Brătianu, "Les rois de Hongrie," 87–88.

Marian Coman



Map 2. The main archaeological findings in Moldavia (c. 1250 – c. 1350)
based on: Victor Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th centuries*
(Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1986), 226.

The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450



Map 3. South-western Moldavian settlements mentioned in internal documents (1384–1448).
Map by the author.



Marian Coman

However, the use of archaeological evidence, the third, independent source, reinforces the image of population distribution with a low density in the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier zone, reflected in the maps of settlements. However, the archaeological investigation does not follow the written evidence. The similarity of the archaeological features belonging to the same material culture discovered throughout Moldavia and Wallachia—some sites being also documentarily identified—shows that the same type of settlement is attested by both written and archaeological sources. I added to this study the map of Spinei (see *Map 2*), because it is the only one that covers the entire medieval Moldavia, not only the present day Moldova region from Romania. In Wallachia's case, a map of fourteenth-century settlements attested by archaeological sites reveals almost deserted regions in eastern Wallachia. Panait remarks that 40 sites dating from this century are grouped in the northern region (Olt-Cotmeana-Târgoviște-Târgșor-Poienari), the southern region (along the Danube) and in the central area (near today Bucharest, Verbicioara, Craiova).⁶⁵ For Moldavia, an archaeological survey revealed 135 locations with evidence from the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ Out of these, 117 are in the northern part of Moldavia and the rest on the Central Plateau and the Huși-Elan-Horinceu depression; not even one lies in the plain of Siret or in the southern part of the Sub-Carpathian region.⁶⁷ Although recent studies have added new elements to this image by including recent archaeological discoveries in the region,⁶⁸ these have not changed the previous patterns. Taking into account the archaeological findings, the south-western Moldavian region was far less inhabited in the fourteenth century than the northern regions (see *Map 3*). Another map of archaeologically attested settlements from the tenth to the

⁶⁵ P. I. Panait, "Cercetarea arheologică a culturii materiale din Țara Românească în secolul al XIV-lea" (Archaeological research on the material culture from fourteenth-century Wallachia), *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* 22 (1971): 247–263.

⁶⁶ The authors mention in the Introduction that their repertory and map is based on a survey of the entire surface of Moldavia. However, they did not include the part of Moldavia then situated in the U.S.S.R., today in Ukraine and Republic of Moldova. N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu-Dâmbovița and Em. Zaharia, *Așezările din Moldova. De la paleolitic până în secolul al XVIII-lea* (Moldavian settlements. From Palaeolithic until the eighteenth century) (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1970), 12–17 (hereafter Zaharia, et al., *Așezările*).

⁶⁷ Zaharia et al., *Așezările*, 148.

⁶⁸ The most recent monograph on the region is that of Anton Paragină, *Habitatul medieval la curbura exterioară a Carpaților în secolele X–XV* (The medieval habitat outside the Carpathian curve from the tenth to the fifteenth century) (Brăila: Istros, 2002). For a repertory of the archeological findings see pages 115–129.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

fourteenth century, created this time on a different basis,⁶⁹ again revealed blank spots in north-eastern Wallachia and southern Moldavia. On this map there are no settlements between Buzău and Siret for the period between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, yet a concentration of settlements can be noted in the Brăila zone, between Buzău, Călmățui and the Danube.⁷⁰ This set of maps based on archaeological evidence must also be analysed taking into account two possible distorting factors: the lack of uniformity of archaeological investigation and the conservation of material evidence of settlements. Namely, the dwellings in the Sub-Carpathians, built of wood and the topsoil, are less well preserved than the structures from the plains and plateaux.⁷¹

The correlation of written sources with the archaeological evidence—each of them projecting problematic images, but whose overlap shows an image close to medieval reality—strongly suggests that the future Moldavian–Wallachian frontier area was sparsely inhabited in the fourteenth century, even compared with other Wallachian and Moldavian regions.

Political and Demographic Expansion

Most scholars consider, even if to different degrees,⁷² that the Mongol invasion in 1241–1242 was the main reason for the depopulation of Wallachia and Moldavia, and especially of the future frontier areas. The Mongols' demographic impact is difficult to estimate, due to the lack of sources dating from both before and after the invasion, but there seem to be two factors that have to be

⁶⁹ Olteanu, contrary to Zaharia and Petrescu-Dambovița, takes into account only the sites which reveal settlements (cemeteries, dwellings) and refuses to identify as settlements any stray discoveries of ceramics and coins; Ștefan Olteanu, "Evoluția procesului de organizare statală la est și la sud de Carpați în secolele IX–XIV" (The evolution of the process of state organisation east and south of the Carpathians from the ninth to the fourteenth century), *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 23 (1971): 759 (hereafter Olteanu, "Evoluția").

⁷⁰ The few archaeological discoveries in Buzău-Siret area revealing human settlements from this region are for the period between the tenth and the twelfth century: Dragoslaveni, Pietroasa, Balotesti, Milcova (sic), Malu, Oituz, Adjudul Vechi, Ibrianu. Olteanu believes that the Brăila zone, which in his opinion was a pre-state formation, was incorporated by Wallachia in a later period. Olteanu, "Evoluția," 766.

⁷¹ Olteanu, "Evoluția," 761.

⁷² One of the most radical scholars is Robin Baker who considers that Moldavia after the Mongol invasion had become a wasteland with sparse settlement of marauding groups of Tartars. Robin Baker, "Magyars, Mongols," 69. However, the archaeological evidence contradicts his thesis.



Marian Coman

considered. First, probably only a small number of people inhabited the Moldavian and Wallachian regions before the invasions. Second, the Mongol rulership did not have only negative demographic consequences, but also had a positive impact. Among other factors, the temporary presence of the Alans in the future Moldavia is attested both by written and cartographic sources.⁷³

To my mind, the Mongol invasion had two main demographic consequences over Moldavia and Wallachia. First, a shift took place in the population distribution. A comparative view of the archaeological maps, especially those of Moldavia,⁷⁴ shows a major change between the tenth and eleventh centuries and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During these three centuries numerous settlements disappeared from the unforested plains zones, and the density of settlements increased in the hilly, forested areas. This shift was caused, at least partially, by the Mongols.⁷⁵ It is not clear whether there is truly a connection between the demographic shift of the two regions and the distinction between the regions directly ruled by the Mongols and those that kept their own political structures, although submitting to Mongol dominance. For the eastern Carpathian regions, Victor Spinei tried to separate the two zones on the basis of the differences in the material culture reflected by archaeological remains. Ceramics made of reddish-yellow clay, specific to the centres of production under the Horde's control, were discovered in southern Moldavia bordered by the Dniester to the east, Siret to the west, and the lower basin of the Răut and Bahlui to the north.⁷⁶ Second, the impact of the Mongol invasion

⁷³ See Victor Spinei, "Coexistența populației locale din Moldova cu grupurile etnice alogene în secolele XII–XIV" (The coexistence of the local population from Moldavia with the foreign ethnic groups in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis* 2 (1986): 157–176, here 164 (hereafter Spinei, "Coexistența").

⁷⁴ For such maps see Zaharia, et al. *Așezările*, or, more recently Dan Gh. Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice și numismatice la Est de Carpați în secolele V–XI* (Archaeological and numismatic findings east of the Carpathians from the fifth to the eleventh century) (Bucharest: Muzeul Național de Istorie, 1997).

⁷⁵ Spinei suggested that this shift began as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and was also caused by the Turanic migrations; see Victor Spinei, "Restructurări etnice la nordul gurilor Dunării în secolele XIII–XIV" (Ethnic reshaping at the north of the mouth of the Danube in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), *Carpica* 24 (1993): 37–65, here 39.

⁷⁶ Spinei, *Moldavia*, 137.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

in 1241 was not a massive depopulation, but rather a delay in the demographic growth of a sparsely inhabited area.⁷⁷

The end of Mongol domination over the future Moldavian-Wallachian frontier areas marked the beginning of the political expansion of the two medieval states into these regions. Three dates have been proposed as marking the end of the Golden Horde's domination over the region between the Carpathians and the Danube: 1345, 1362/1363, and 1368/1369. The first date is related to the Hungarian expedition in 1345. Another date proposed for the elimination of the Mongols' control over south-eastern Moldavia was that of the Lithuanian victory at Sinie Vody in 1362/1363.⁷⁸ Based mainly on archaeological evidence, Victor Spinei argued that the Mongols' retreat from south-eastern Moldavia took place in 1368/1369. These are the years when the prosperous urban centres of Orheiul Vechi and Costești were abandoned and the last Mongol coins in the region were minted.⁷⁹ Southern Moldavia and the north-eastern Wallachian regions,⁸⁰ subjected to prolonged Mongol control, remained outside the two Romanian medieval states at the time of their emergence. It is difficult to draw a demarcation line between the Tartar controlled area and that outside their control. This probably followed different features of the landscape dividing forested areas from steppe zones.⁸¹

⁷⁷ In this sense the attempts at installing the Teutonic Order and the missionary bishopric of the Cumans illustrate early thirteenth-century attempts of the Hungarian kingdom to extend, and to some degree, to colonise the regions beyond the Carpathians.

⁷⁸ Constantin Cihodaru, "Observații cu privire la procesul de formare și de consolidare a statului feudal Moldova în secolele XI–XIV," (Remarks on the foundation and consolidation process of the medieval state of Moldavia, between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A.D. Xenopol"* 17 (1980): 131.

⁷⁹ Spinei, "Coexistența," 163.

⁸⁰ The image of Wallachia projected by the Hungarian chronicles is that of a state, the core of which, if not its entire extent, was located in northern and western areas, at the foot of the Carpathians, in the hilly regions, and eastwards as far as the Dâmbovița River.

⁸¹ To support this hypothesis I would like to quote a passage from an early Moldavian chronicle, the so-called Moldo-Russian chronicle. In the chronicle it is mentioned that Dragoș and his followers stopped at the boundaries of the region where "the Tartars were wandering," between the Prut and Moldova rivers. *Âî êðàè òàòàðüñêüiö êî-ââîèü;* see Ioan Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci pana la Urechia* (The old Moldavian chronicles until Ureche) (Bucharest: Tipografia Carol Göbl, 1891), 237. Virgil Ciocâltan proposed identifying this steppe area with south-western Moldavia, the Bugeac



Marian Coman

The principality of Moldavia incorporated the south-eastern regions, including Cetatea Albă, probably in the 1390s, although the circumstances in which this expansion took place are unclear, either directly succeeding Tartar control or taking over from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania⁸² or from a temporary local political structure.⁸³ As for the expansion of the Moldavian principality towards the southwest, up to Oituz in the Trotuș region, the year 1395 constitutes a *terminus ante quem*. This is the year of Sigismund's campaign against Moldavia, which is known from the account by Thuróczy and from several charters issued by the king to reward the participants of the expedition. From Sigismund's itinerary, reconstructed on the basis of the charters he issued, it seems almost certain that he entered Moldavia through the Oituz pass in south-western Moldavia.⁸⁴ The strong resistance Hungarians met while crossing the pass, vividly described by Thuróczy, suggests that the principality of Moldavia already had the rule over that region, especially because the voivode himself took part in the battle.⁸⁵

In a similar evolution, the medieval state of Wallachia extended towards the north-east, controlling the region between the Ialomița and Buzău rivers as early as 1368, according to the privilege given by Voivode Vladislav to the

region. See Virgil Ciocâltan, "Alanii și începuturile statelor românești" (The Alans and the beginnings of the Romanian Principalities), *Revista de istorie* 6 (1995): 935–955.

⁸² The thesis of a Lithuanian domination over the region around Cetatea Albă was supported by C. Racoviță, (see C. Racoviță, "Începuturile suzeranității polone asupra Moldovei" (The beginnings of Polish suzerainty over Moldavia), *Revista istorică română* 10 (1940): 237–332, here 317) and Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei. Probleme controversate* (The foundation of the Moldavia: disputed problems) (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 1997), 207–209.

⁸³ Șerban Papacostea, "La începuturile statului moldovenesc. Considerații pe marginea unui izvor necunoscut" (The beginnings of the Moldavian state. Remarks on an unknown source), 104–121, in Șerban Papacostea, *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc* (The genesis of the state in the Romanian Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Corint, 1999), 111.

⁸⁴ The places from which Sigismund issued charters from December 1394 to January 1395 are Turda (Torda)—25 December; Cristuru Secuiesc (Kerestwr/Keresztúr)—3 and 4 January; Odorheiul-Secuiesc (Zekeloduarhel/Székelyudvarhely)—9 January; Piatra Neamț (Piatra lui Crăciun, Karachonkw/Karácsonkő)—30 January; Neamț (Nempch)—3 February; Brașov (Brassó)—12 Feb. See *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Chartulary of the Sigismund-period), vol. 1 (1387–1399), ed. Elemér Mályusz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951), 409–416. This itinerary was also suggested by Radu Manolescu in "Campania lui Sigismund de Luxemburg în Moldova" (Sigismund of Luxemburg's campaign in Moldavia), *Analele Universității București, Seria Științe Sociale-Istorie* 15 (1966): 59–75.

⁸⁵ Thuróczy, *Chronica*, vol. 1, 209.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

Braşov merchants.⁸⁶ Moreover, it is probable that in this period Wallachia extended even further eastwards, although the exact territorial limits are heavily disputed because a new element, *confinia Tartariae*,⁸⁷ was introduced in the *intitulatio* of Mircea the Old. Four main interpretations of *confinia Tartariae* have been proposed by scholars: the region between the mouths of the Dniester and Prut rivers (so-called Bessarabia), southern Moldavia including the town of Chilia, the area around the mouth of the Siret River, and northern Dobrudja.⁸⁸

To conclude, it can be inferred that in the last decades of the fourteenth century the two new-founded medieval states, Wallachia and Moldavia, expanded their territories towards the north-east and south-west, respectively.

The question is whether a demographic expansion corresponds to this political one. Although the population movements in this region in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century cannot be followed in detail, due to the scarcity of both archaeological⁸⁹ and written sources, I will to analyse the few

⁸⁶ For an edition of this document see DRH-D, vol. 1, 86–87.

⁸⁷ In a document of contested authenticity issued by Mircea in 1391, the Voievod has the title: "Nos Joannes Mircsa, Dei gratia princeps et vajvoda totius regni Vallachie incipendo ab Alpibus usque ad confinia Tartariae." The charter is a donation in the Făgăraş domain, and was preserved only in a nineteenth-century Latin translation. The last editors of the document considered it authentic (DRH-B, vol. 1, 36–39), but in the previous edition (D.I.R.-B, vol.1, 276–277) the document was considered a fake. I am using the most recent edition (DRH edition) of the document. The new element introduced now in the *intitulatio*, "confinia Tartariae," was regularly used in the Slavonic acts issued by Mircea only from 1404 onwards. Oàòàðñèùì ñòðàìàì. DRH-B, vol. 1: 63,66,70,73,75,80,90.

⁸⁸ For the hypothesis of Bessarabia see Panaitescu, *Mircea*, 367. For the hypothesis of northern Dobrudja see Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun* (Alexander the Kind). (Iaşi: Editura Junimea, 1984), 230–231. For the identification of the Tartarian areas with the region around the mouth of the Siret River see Ciocâltan, "Către *pârțile tătarăști* din titlul voievodal al lui Mircea cel Bătrân" (Towards the 'Tartarian parts' in the voivodal title of Mircea the Old), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A.D. Xenopol"* 24 (1987): 349–355.

⁸⁹ Few scholars have attempted to use archaeological evidence in order to identify the population movements from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A notable exception is the study of Maria Comşa on Wallachian types of dwellings, in which, by analysing the evolution of rural habitations, she identifies two major stages of population movements: from plains areas towards the hilly and mountainous regions in the middle of the thirteenth century, and a reverse movement from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Maria Comşa, "Types d'habitations de caractère rural de la région comprise entre les Carpates Méridionales et le Danube aux XIIIe–XVIIe siècles," *Dacia* 21 (1977): 299–317.



Marian Coman

existing elements in order to propose a possible answer to this question. The direct written evidence is rather unclear, and refers only to isolated population movements. There are two terms which appear in Wallachian and Moldavian charters that suggest such population movements: *siliște* (abandoned village) and *slobozie* (freedom). Such *siliști* are mentioned in Wallachian documents in the years: 1374, 1385, 1387. The word *slobozie* designates the special statute of a village, which reveals the conditions of its colonisation. Ion Donat, in a study covering a much longer period (until the nineteenth century) emphasised the fact that the villages named from the word *slobozie* are numerous towards the frontier with Moldavia, but they probably date from the seventeenth century.⁹⁰

It is generally accepted that an impetus to migration in the Middle Ages was from the inner to the outer Carpathian arc, affecting Romanian, Hungarian, and German ethnic groups. Geographically, there was a significant difference between the population movements from the kingdom of Hungary into the eastern Carpathian region in the thirteenth century, before the Mongol invasion, and those in the fourteenth century. The first were mainly oriented toward the southwestern region, the area of the bishopric of Milcovia; the second were toward the northwestern region.⁹¹ South-western Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia seem to have been peripheral regions for population movements in the fourteenth century, although some toponyms suggest that they were also affected by them. Some names of villages from the region, attested before 1450, suggest colonisation:⁹² Borodiceni, Săseni, Spineni, Stănigeni.⁹³ The toponyms with 'eni' suffix show the provenance of the people who settled in the new villages.⁹⁴ One of them, Săs, shows that these settlers were Germans, who probably came from Transylvania. However, these mentions are too rare to allow us to reconstruct a general image of the main directions of these movements.

⁹⁰ For the meaning of the word 'siliște' see Iorgu Iordan, *Toponimie românească* (Romanian toponymy) (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1963), 257–258 (hereafter Iordan, *Toponimie*). About 'slobozie,' see Ion Donat, "Câteva aspecte geografice ale toponimiei din Tara Românească" (Some geographical aspects of Wallachian toponymy), *Fonetica și dialectologie* 4 (1962): 101–131.

⁹¹ As shown by Spinei, "Coexistența," 168.

⁹² By using the word 'colonisation' I do not automatically imply the existence of a coherent policy of population settlement by a political authority.

⁹³ DRH-A, 233 (1437), 402 (1448), 143 (1430) and 176 (1437), respectively.

⁹⁴ For the relationship of subordination expressed by the suffix *-eni* or *-ani* see Iordan, *Toponimie*, 404 and Gh. Bolocan, "Structura numelor de sate românești" (The structure of Romanian names of villages), *Limba Română* 25 (1976): 593–609.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

There are two population movements, long discussed in the historiography, that could suggest a chronology for the colonisation of the Wallachian-Moldavian borderland and, therefore, a possible connection with the political expansion of the two principalities: the *csángós* (ethnic Hungarian migrants) and the *olteni* (migrants from the Olt region) cases. According to a recent study on the Moldavian *csángós*,⁹⁵ their settlement took place in the fourteenth century, in the first part of the reign of Louis the Great, as a response to the retreat of the Mongols from the territory.⁹⁶ If this hypothesis is accepted, it would explain why the *csángós* did not settle in the southern Moldavian regions, since these regions were outside the young Moldavian state, and probably still controlled by the Tartars.

The case of the *olteni* is completely different; they settled in the borderland region. The only source that attests to their settlement is a toponym, this time referring to a region, 'Olteni'. The name implies a colonisation with people from around the river Olt, either from western Wallachia⁹⁷ or south-eastern Transylvania.⁹⁸ First mentioned in a charter from 1435, issued by Iliáš, the voivode of Moldavia,⁹⁹ the dimensions of the region Olteni are unclear. Nevertheless, the appearance of the region on the oldest maps of Moldavia,

⁹⁵ Robin Baker, "On the Origin of the Moldavian Csángós," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 75 (1997): 658–680.

⁹⁶ Baker supported his hypothesis with two arguments. The political aspect emphasises the decline of the Tartar rulership over Moldova during the reign of Louis I. The linguistic argument notes that the Moldavian villages with Hungarian names contain the suffix element *-falva* or *-vására* (village or market) and therefore were probably founded not earlier than in the fourteenth century, see also Baker, "Magyars, Mongols," 72–73.

⁹⁷ C. C. Giurescu assumed that the name of the region came from the Wallachian colonists from Oltenia settled here by the Wallachian voivode; C. C. Giurescu, "Oltenii și Basarabia. Colonizări muntene în sudul Moldovei în veacurile XIV–XV" (Olteni and Basarabia. Wallachian colonisation in southern Moldavia in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) *Revista istorică română* 10 (1940): 130–140, here 138 (hereafter Giurescu, "Oltenii"). Some other names of villages, such as Muntenii-Pușeni and Muntenii, could also be interpreted as proof of Wallachian colonisation in southern Moldavia. Giurescu, "Oltenii," 136.

⁹⁸ The first to suggest that the name of the regions could come from Transylvanian settlers is Gh. Brătianu; see "În jurul întemeierii statelor românești" (Concerning the foundation of the Romanian states), *Revista Istorică* 4 (1993): 372.

⁹⁹ Wëöhíû, see Mihai Costăchescu, ed., *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare* (Moldavian charters before Stephen the Great) (Iași: Viața Românească, 1931), vol. 2, 682.



Marian Coman

those of Reichersdorf,¹⁰⁰ Jacob Castaldo,¹⁰¹ and Mercator,¹⁰² shows that it was an important region of southern Moldavia. Practically, it is impossible to date the precise moment of the settlement of the *olteni* into the southern Moldavian region, albeit their movement probably took place in the last decades of the fourteenth century or in first years of the fifteenth. For this approximate dating I use two elements. One, also stressed by Giurescu, is that there must have been a difference of several generations, therefore a few decades, between the time of settlement and the first attestation of the 'Olteni' region. The end of Mongol rulership was chosen as the *terminus post quem*, since this had been the main reason hindering previous settlers from moving into the region.

It is tempting to correlate the settlement of the *olteni* in the southern Moldavian region with the political evolution of this territory, although there is no direct evidence supporting a connection between the two.¹⁰³ At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Wallachian principality seems to have included the borderland regions of southern Moldavia. A short note referring to the Moldavian-Wallachian frontier from the reconciliation act concluded in 1475 between Stephen the Great,¹⁰⁴ voivode of Moldavia, and Matthias, king of Hungary, supports the hypothesis of an earlier agreement between Mircea, voivode of Wallachia (1386–1418), and Alexander, voivode of Moldavia (1400–1432). This settlement was probably in favour of Wallachia. This royal charter of 15 August 1475 contains the conditions that the Hungarian king imposed on Stephen and follows an earlier charter issued by the Moldavian voivode on 12 July 1475. All the other conditions accepted by Stephen—to remain faithful to the Hungarian crown, to take part in the fight against the Ottomans, to give military support to the king against any enemy except Poland, to expel all the

¹⁰⁰ M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în istoria cartografiei până la 1600* (Romania in the history of cartography until 1600), vol. 2 (Bucharest: Imprimeria Națională, 1938), map no. 43.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, map no. 46.

¹⁰² The map is reproduced in *Atlas Hungaricus: Magyarország nyomtatott térképei, 1528–1850* (Printed maps of Hungary 1528–1850), ed. Szántai Lajos, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1996), 384–385.

¹⁰³ Giurescu assumed that the colonisation of the 'olteni' was a political act of the voivodes who wanted to populate the southern Moldavian region in order to create a corridor between Wallachia and the supposed rulership of the voivodes over Bessarabia. Giurescu, "Oltenii," 30–40.

¹⁰⁴ "Super metis etiam provinciae Moldaviae cum provincia Transalpina secundum antiquos terminos et consuetudines per praedecessores vayvodas possessos et tentos utrumque vayvodam, tam scilicet Stephanum Moldaviensem quam Vlad Transalpinum, secundum privilegia Alexandri et Mirczae utriusque partis vayvodarum concordamus." Bogdan, *Documentele*, vol. 2, 334–336.



The Wallachian–Moldavian Frontier from c. 1350 to c. 1450

enemies of the king from Moldavia—are contained both in the voivodal charter and in the royal one. Since the Moldavian charter contains no reference to the frontier problem, although the content of the two documents is almost identical, it can be inferred that the agreement was unfavourable to the Moldavian voivodeship. This hypothesis is strongly supported by the nature of the relationship between the two voivodes at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Alexander was the protégé of Mircea, and he obtained the Moldavian voivodeship through an armed intervention by Mircea, which removed Alexander's rival, Iuga, from the throne, as an internal chronicle narrates simply: "in that year Mircea Voivode came and took Iuga with him."¹⁰⁵

Summarising, the Mongol direct rule over the future Moldavian–Wallachian borderland promoted a delay in the demographic growth of the area; population movements from the middle of the fourteenth century, especially settlers coming from Transylvania, did not affect this region. Once the two principalities extended their territory towards this region, the demographic evolution also seems to have changed. Evidence points to a simultaneous demographic and political Wallachian expansion into the southern Moldavian regions in the last decades of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, due to the scarcity of the sources it is impossible to determine the nature of the relationship between the two expansions.

Conclusions

In this study I have argued for a new perspective on the medieval Wallachian and Moldavian frontiers, regarding them as moving frontiers rather than as immobile borders. Although some of the borders were settled from an early period at natural barriers, such as the Dniester and the Danube rivers, still they were moving frontiers from a demographic perspective. By comparing the conclusions drawn from three different, independent, types of sources, I suggest that, contrary to the generally accepted image, for the period analysed, c. 1350 to c. 1450, the population distribution was markedly unbalanced between different regions of the two principalities. North-eastern Wallachia and south-western Moldavia were sparsely inhabited in comparison to western Wallachia and northern Moldavia, where the cores of the two emerging medieval states actually were. However, in the second part of the period, concomitantly with the end of the Mongol domination, both the Wallachian and Moldavian societies were demographically and politically expanding into this region. As a result of the meeting of these two expansions, the frontier between the two principalities was

¹⁰⁵ Bogdan, *Documentele*, vol. 2, 330–333.



Marian Coman

settled for the first time, in favour of the Wallchian voivodes. This first settlement was soon contested by the Moldavian voivodes and this prolonged dispute over the borderland region represented one of the main causes of Moldavian-Wallachian animosity during the fifteenth century.



THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ÁKOS: AN ARCHITECTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF A 'KINDRED MONASTERY' CHURCH

Péter Levente Szűcs 

The Abbey Church of Ákos is among the best preserved Romanesque monuments in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Its historical connections and the architecture place this monument among the so-called 'kindred monasteries'. An architectural and functional analysis of such a well-preserved abbey church of this type is most appropriate for Ákos, and confers a special role to it in the general debate on the issue of kindred monasteries. The present study attempts to use the advantages offered by the abbey of Ákos for comparison with other kindred monastery churches.

Only the abbey church is preserved from the medieval monastery of Ákos, now transformed into the Calvinist church of Ákos village (Acâș, Romania). This situation determined the use of combined methodology. In 1998, an archaeological excavation was undertaken in order to identify the parts of the monastic complex that have disappeared (*Fig. 1*).¹ An architectural survey was later completed on the standing building and archival research was carried out on the building's history. This archival research revealed a large set of written documents and sketches created between 1896 and 1902, during the restoration of the church. This set of data permitted the establishment of the medieval layout of the church by making it possible to eliminate the newly added and restored parts. In addition, the inquiry on the architecture of the church was combined with the history of the noble kindred—the Ákos family—which founded and later patronized the church.² The combination of multiple sources and research methods allowed the analysis of the architectural arrangement of the church and its functional scheme. The goal of this analysis was to establish the ground-plan and spatial arrangement of the church, and to link certain

¹ The archaeological excavations at the church of Ákos were started in 1998 and continued in 1999 and 2000. They were financed by the County Museum of Satu Mare, and directed by myself. In April, 2002, a new test excavation was made inside the church, financed partially by the Tănășa Fund of the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University.

² The results of this combined research were incorporated into my MA thesis, entitled "The Problems of Kindred Monasteries: A Case Study of Ákos Monastery" (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2002). The present study is an improved and extended version of a chapter from the thesis.



The Abbey Church of Ákos

noted the unity of ground-plan arrangements and the high architectural and artistic quality of these churches. Tibor Gerevich was the first to use the term 'kindred monastery type' or 'kindred church type' in his synthesis of Hungarian Romanesque architecture.⁴ He defined this category typologically and stylistically. The typological criterion was the ground-plan arrangement: a triple-aisled basilica, without a transept, three apses or one main apse and two western (or in some cases eastern) towers. According to Gerevich, a particular, but essential, detail of these ground-plans is that the first level of the tower is in common with the aisles (or in other words the aisles are recessed under the towers).⁵ The stylistic criterion of this type for Gerevich was the so-called 'portal-style,' defined on the common features of the thirteenth-century portals of these abbey churches.⁶ The term 'kindred' used as an attribute was meant to explain the social and economic background of the appearance and prosperity of this new type of church: they were founded and patronized by noble families or kindreds. In fact, Gerevich, by creating the term 'kindred monastery,' created a conceptual construction linking together two elements: architectural definitions and their historical explanation.

The link between the typological and stylistic elements and their social and economic background characterized the whole later evolution of the art historical debate on this issue.⁷ Recently, however, due to the growing numbers

Romanesque, and transitional style), (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1876); Kornél Divald, "Árpádkori családi monostorok" (Family monasteries of the Árpadian age), *Művészet* 12 (1913): 346–351.

⁴ Tibor Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori emlékei* (Romanesque monuments in Hungary), (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1938) (hereafter Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori emlékei*).

⁵ The abbey churches of Somogyvár, Garamszentbenedek (Hronsky Benadík), Kapornak, Lébény, Deáki (Diakovce), Aracs (Vranjevo), Kaplony (Čapljeni), and Ják are included in this category, Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori emlékei*, 103–115.

⁶ The abbey churches of Felsőörs, Pannonhalma, Lébény, Deákmonostor, Karcsa and Ják, are mentioned in this regard. It is worth noting the incoherence of the two lists and the presence of Pannonhalma—a royal foundation—and of Felsőörs—not an abbey church.

⁷ To illustrate this debate it is worth mentioning the case studies of Tamás Bogyay: "A kapornaki egykori bencés apátság XII. századi bazilikája" (The twelfth-century basilica of the former Benedictine Abbey of Kapornak), *Történetírás* 2 (1938): 153–161; Tamás Bogyay, "Az ákosi református templom" (The Calvinist church of Ákos), *Magyar Építőművészet* 43 (1944): 67–70 (hereafter Bogyay, "Az ákosi református templom"); Tamás Bogyay, *A jáki apátsági templom és Szent Jakab kápolna* (The abbey church of Ják and the St James chapel), (Szombathely: Minerva, 1943). Furthermore, the synthesis of Dezső Dercsényi can be cited here among general art historical works: Dezső Dercsényi, "A



Péter Levente Szócs

of new data provided by field research, the typological and stylistic similarities among the monuments belonging to this group have become less evident. Moreover, new studies on the history of the noble kindreds have questioned the former explanation of the social and the economic background.⁸ The revision of the conceptual framework established by Gerevich was gradual and focused separately on certain questions of this issue: the problem of the western arrangement,⁹ the typology based on the ground-plan arrangement¹⁰ and stylistic

román kor művészete" (Romanesque art), in *A magyarországi művészet története a honfoglalástól a XIX-ik századig* (The history of Hungarian art from the age of conquest to the nineteenth century), vol. 1. (Budapest: Corvina, 1955), 67–75 (hereafter Dercsényi, "A román kor művészete"). For the debate on the western arrangement of this church type, see: Thomas v. Bogay, "Normannische Invasion – Wiener Bauhütte – Ungarische Romanik," in *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 of *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie* (Baden-Baden, 1953), 273–304; Géza Entz, "Westemporen in der ungarischen Romanik," *Acta Historiae Artium* 6 (1959): 1–19 (hereafter Entz, "Westemporen"); Géza Entz, "Nyugati karzatok románkori építészetünkben" (Western galleries in Hungarian Romanesque architecture), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 8 (1959): 130–142 (hereafter Entz, "Nyugati karzatok"); Andrzej Tomaszewski, *Romanskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi: Polski, Czechi i Węgier* (Romanesque churches with western galleries: Poland, Bohemia and Hungary), (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974) (hereafter Tomaszewski, *Romanskie kościoły*); Géza Entz, "Még egyszer a nyugati karzatokról" (Once again on western galleries), *Építés-Építészettudomány* 12 (1980): 133–141 (hereafter Entz, "Még egyszer a nyugati karzatokról"); Géza Entz, "Zur Frage der Westemporen in der mittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur Ungarns," in *Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius (Weimar, 1984), 240–245 (hereafter Entz, "Zur Frage der Westemporen").

⁸ István Petrovics, "Nemzetségi monostoraink problematikája" (The problems of kindred monasteries), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Iuvenum, Sectio Historica* 1 (1978): 9–24; Erik Fügedi, "Sepelieunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio: A nemzetségi monostor" (*Sepelieunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio*: kindred monasteries), *Századok* 125, no. 3 (1991): 35–66 (hereafter Fügedi, "Sepelieunt corpus eius").

⁹ Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Zur Typologie der Westemporen," in *Mitteleuropa. Kunst. Regionen. Beziehungen*, ed. Stefan Oriško (Bratislava, 1993), 4–13 (hereafter Szakács, "Zur Typologie der Westemporen"); Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Ambivalent Spaces in Western Complexes of Medieval Hungarian Conventual Churches," in *Czas i przestrzeń w kulturze średniowiecza. Materiały XIV seminarium mediewistycznego* (Space and time in medieval culture: Materials of the 14th medievist seminar), (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1994), 30–32 (hereafter Szakács, "Ambivalent Spaces in Western Complexes"); Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Western Complexes of Hungarian Churches of the Early XI. Century," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 149–163.

¹⁰ Ernő Marosi, "Bencés építészet az Árpád-kori Magyarországon: A 'rendi építőiskolák' problémája" (Benedictine Architecture in Árpadian-age Hungary: The problem of 'monastic lodges'), in *Mons Sacer 996–1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve* (Mons Sacer 996–1996:



The Abbey Church of Ákos

connections.¹¹ These critiques disintegrated the former theoretical scheme, but scholars are far from creating another coherent conceptual system in replacement.

The critique of typology has demonstrated that the general ground-plan arrangement regarded as characteristic for kindred monasteries is not at all specific for this group. Some collegiate churches have similar ground-plans; meanwhile, some abbey churches have simpler ground-plans and spatial arrangements. In consequence, it has become obvious that the purist typology, based on the ground-plan and spatial arrangement, must be combined with a functional analysis.¹² Church categories that are closer to medieval reality can be created only through this combined approach. This means that further architectural and spatial details, which might have liturgical, juridical or even economic implications, must be considered for a typology. Such elements are the existence of a crypt, the number and the position of towers (western or eastern), the entrances (western or/and southern/northern), and the existence of additional liturgical spaces (annexed or independent chapels, and so on).¹³ In

One thousand years of Pannonhalma), ed. Imre Takács, vol. 1 (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996), 131–142 (hereafter Marosi, “Bencés építészet az Árpád-kori Magyarországon”).

¹¹ Two of the most recent studies in this field, with the previous literature, are: Sándor Tóth, “A 11–12. századi magyarországi benedek-rendi templomaink maradványai” (Remains of eleventh to twelfth-century Hungarian Benedictine churches), in *Paradisum Plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Imre Takács, (Pannonhalma: Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 2001) (hereafter *Paradisum Plantavit*), 229–266 (hereafter Tóth, “11–12. századi”); and Ernő Marosi, “Bencés építkezések a 13. században” (Thirteenth-century Benedictine building activities) in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 275–288 (hereafter Marosi, “Bencés építkezések a 13. században”).

¹² Marosi, “Bencés építészet az Árpád-kori Magyarországon,” 134.

¹³ The presence or absence of the crypt—related to the *ius sepulture*—raised the economic value (recorded in the *aestimaciones*) of a church. The situation is same with the number and position of towers; see for the text of *aestimaciones* and their historical interpretation: Fügedi, “*Sepelierunt corpus eius*,” 50–53 and 59–60; for the architectural interpretation of this source, see: Ernő Marosi, “Megjegyzések a magyarországi romanika épülettípológiájához” (Remarks on the Typology of Hungarian Romanesque Architecture) in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, ed. Imola Kiss and Péter Levente Szócs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1999), 10–32. The question of entrances determines the axial or transversal arrangement of the church, and through this, its liturgical function; see Ernő Marosi, “Megjegyzések a középkori magyarországi művészet liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz” (Remarks on the liturgical implications of medieval Hungarian art) in “*Mert ezt Isten hagyta ...*”. *Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* (“Because God bequeathed this ...” Studies on popular piety), ed. Gábor Tuskés (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 88–116 (hereafter Marosi,



Péter Levente Szócs

addition, some other elements—such as the enclosure of sanctuaries—must be credited with less importance, because a variety of such arrangements can satisfy the same liturgical demand.

Previous Research on Ákos

The church appeared relatively early in the art historical literature; in 1864, in a short field trip report signed by Flóris Rómer.¹⁴ Since then, all major syntheses on Hungarian Romanesque architecture mention the abbey of Ákos,¹⁵ although the chronology of the monument was ambiguous for these scholars.¹⁶ Due to its ground-plan arrangement, this church was cited among the best examples of the kindred monastery type churches. Despite this ‘popularity’—which otherwise underlines its important role in medieval Hungarian architecture—only Tamás Bogyay has dedicated a short article entirely to the study of the church.¹⁷ No monograph has yet been written about the Ákos church, for several reasons. Written sources from the first period of the church are lacking, along with artistic details that might serve as a basis for stylistic considerations.

The uncertainty of dating is due to the fact that there have been no significant architectural and archaeological surveys of the church since the restoration work of 1896 to 1902, led by Frigyes Schulek. All remarks in scholarly literature regarding Ákos have been based on the ground-plans,

“Liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz”). The question of chapels was touched upon by Sándor Tóth in a footnote, see: Tóth, “11–12. századi,” 263, note 89.

¹⁴ Flóris Rómer, “Magyar régészeti krónika” (The chronicle of Hungarian archaeology), *Archaeológiai Közlemények* 4 (1868): 158 (hereafter Rómer, “Magyar régészeti krónika”).

¹⁵ Gerevich, *Magyarország románkori emlékei*, 30; Dercsényi, “A román kor művészete,” 69; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* (The history of feudal art in the Romanian Principalities), vol. 1. (București: Editura Academiei RPR, 1959), 33; Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 11–13. században* (The architecture of Transylvania from the eleventh to thirteenth century), (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 1994), 27 (hereafter Entz, *Erdély építészete*). Recently Sándor Tóth mentioned it in his synthesis on eleventh- and twelfth-century architecture: Tóth, “A 11–12. századi,” 255–258.

¹⁶ Rómer dated the construction of the church to the turn of the twelfth century; Gerevich modified this chronology to the first half of the thirteenth century; Bogyay dated the construction of the church to the middle of the twelfth century; Dercsényi modified this date to the end of the twelfth century, while Vătășianu returned to the thirteenth-century dating (the second quarter of the thirteenth century); Entz adopted the chronology established by Bogyay and dated the construction to the middle of the twelfth century; Tóth finally put this event in the second half of the twelfth century.

¹⁷ Bogyay, “Az ákosi református templom,” 67–70.



The Abbey Church of Ákos

sketches, and photos that reflect the situation of the church after Schulek's restoration. Therefore, it was even not clear which architectural elements were original and which were added by Schulek. In general, scholars have regarded this purist restoration as having changed too much in the architecture of the church in order to obtain a 'classical' Romanesque basilica. Due to these uncertainties, the first task of the present inquiry was to establish the original medieval layout of the church, by eliminating later interventions. The best way to carry out this task was to examine the early modern history of the church and the documentation of Schulek's restoration. The large set of written reports and sketches made during the restoration are kept in the archives of the Department of Cultural Heritage in Budapest, and fortunately, among them are some sketches which record the layout of the church before the restoration. The exact extent of the interventions, however, could not be established by reference only to the archival sources. Therefore, archaeological excavation and an evaluation of the masonry were used to provide additional information.

The History of the Building and the 1896–1902 Restoration

Data referring to the early modern history of the church were kept in the account books of the Calvinist Congregation in Ákos. Unfortunately, today these sources are not available, but Flóris Rómer was still able to use them in 1864.¹⁸ According to him, the roof was renewed several times during the eighteenth century, and in addition, some smaller repairs were made. In addition, Rómer, on his field trip to Ákos together with Henszlmann, made a number of sketches of the church (*Fig. 2*).¹⁹ Serious problems occurred in the 1880s, when an earthquake damaged the steeple of the towers and the roof of the naves. This was the reason why the newly established National Committee for Monuments in Hungary started to deal with the church. In 1889 István Möller was sent to inspect the church and to make draft plans for the restoration.²⁰ The project, however, was not started until 1896 because of financial problems. Frigyes Schulek was sent to Ákos at this time.²¹ He made a

¹⁸ Rómer, "Magyar régészeti krónika," 158–159.

¹⁹ The set of sketches and ground-plans made at this time are at the Kulturális Örökség Hivatala (Department of Cultural Heritage, hereafter DCH), Tervtár (Draft Archive, hereafter DA), 13197 and 13198.

²⁰ DCH, DA: K 512, K 878, K 884, K 885. Unfortunately, the written reports made at this inspection were not accessible.

²¹ István Möller left his position of assistant architect at the National Committee for Monuments (hereafter NCM) on 17 February 1893, due to the overwhelming obligations that stopped him from starting new projects (DCH, Proceedings of NCM vol. 22



Péter Levente Szócs

new restoration plan, and in the autumn of the same year, the first phase of the work was started and finished. Due to additional financial problems, the second—and last—phase of the restoration was not begun until the summer of 1901, and it was finished in the next year.²² During the twentieth century, apart from a few minor repairs, no significant changes were made to the architecture of the church.

The written reports,²³ sketches,²⁴ and photographic documentation²⁵ allowed me to determine the restored portions of the church. The steeples of the western towers and the western porch were newly built during the restoration. In addition, the gable between them was completed, and the roof of the western part was unified with the roof system of the main body of the church (*Fig. 3*). Inside, the vaults of the western gallery were rebuilt and the lower masonry of the western pillars was replaced. Documents on the second phase of the restoration are incomplete; therefore some additional observations were necessary on the masonry. Since the bricks used in the restoration are different from the medieval bricks,²⁶ the new interventions can be observed on the outer wall. In the second phase of restoration, the upper parts of the clerestory, the side naves and the main apse were renewed, together with their blind-arched decoration. Inside, the foundations of the pillars were replaced, the sanctuary was vaulted again, and a new triumphal arch was built with a triple-niche. The diaries of the restoration work recorded that the level of the floor was lowered and a new brick floor was laid.²⁷ Archaeological excavation was necessary to check how deep this intervention was, and whether it affected the

(1893): 12). He resumed only the restoration of the castle of Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara) after that time.

²² The restoration was financed entirely by the NCM. The whole process can be reconstructed with the help of the Proceedings of the NCM (henceforth Proc.), kept in the archive of DCH, Budapest. See Proc. vol. 25 (1896)/48, 114, 125, 139, 145, 206, 224, 235, 244/10; vol. 26 (1897)/40, 116, 168, 206; vol. 27 (1898)/10, 170, 209; vol. 28 (1899)/252; vol. 29 (1900)/113; vol. 30 (1901)/96, 108, 202, 223, 235, 249, 266, 287, 310, 350, 388, 396, 401, 414, 436, 441, 445, 481, 491, 495; vol. 31 (1902)/11, 19, 28, 51, 58, 98, 116, 149, 150, 168, 189, 217, 221, 227, 242, 329, 370, 403, 466, 561.

²³ Kept in the archive of DCH, fasciculus no. 700.

²⁴ Draft archive of DCH, drafts no. K 512, K 868–900.

²⁵ Photo archive of DCH, no. 145055–145065, 128135–128141, 128246–128272, 130970–130971.

²⁶ An original Árpadian age brick measures 29x14.5x4.5/5 cm in size, and the mortar is yellow to white, with a great deal of lime. The restoration work used 30 x 15 x 6.5/7 cm-sized bricks, and a mortar that contains less lime.

²⁷ Archive of DCH, fasc. 700, no. 33–39.



Péter Levente Szócs

Fig. 3. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Western façade.

medieval floors or not. A trench opened inside the church in 2002 demonstrated that the present floor was lowered approximately 40 cm, but it still remained higher than the medieval floor. An important intervention can also be noticed in the lower zone of the masonry up to the height of 1 m. The renewal of this part is probably related to the destructive effect of humidity. In the 1950s, a plinth of concrete was added here, too. Furthermore, at that time the north-eastern part of the northern aisle was entirely rebuilt, together with its corner zone. This indicated the possible existence of a connected building, later demonstrated by the archaeological excavations in this zone.

According to the sketches and photos made before the restoration, the interventions between 1896 and 1902 did not change the architecture of the



The Abbey Church of Ákos

church too much. Most of the renewed elements are accurate copies of the original ones, and the only completely new parts are those which were not preserved in 1896. These were the steeples of the towers, the western gable, the roof of the naves, the vault of the main apse, and the triumphal arch. Overall, it must be recognized that the restoration was good quality, authentic work, which increased the value of the monument.

The building history of the church and the analysis of the restoration have shown that the former abbey church of Ákos presents one of those fortunate cases where the standing structure has preserved almost all the characteristic features of its medieval phase. At that time, a triple-aisled basilica with one apse and two western towers was built, with a gallery between the towers. Significant changes—apart from a few Baroque modifications—were made only under the general restoration of the church between 1896 and 1902. At this time, few parts of the church were entirely rebuilt, but the original ground-plan arrangement and spatial distribution were not affected. This means that the church is still a good potential source of information for architectural and art historical study, especially for the goal of the present inquiry: the functional analysis of a kindred monastery church.

Architectural and Functional Analysis of the Church

The church is a triple-aisled basilica with one apse, and two western towers—with a gallery between them (*Fig. 4*). The naves were never vaulted, except the bays under the towers. The naves are relatively long—29.31 m—compared to the width of the church—14.05 m. At the eastern end, the side-aisles have small niches; from the outside they appear rectangular. The naves are divided by five pairs of pillars, identical in shape except for the easternmost and westernmost pairs. The eastern pillars, which connect the nave and the apse, have a special shape—built seemingly on different plans, because they have different widths. The western pillars support the towers; they are shorter but wider than their inner counterparts. The three inner pairs of pillars are rectangular, with a single recess on each corner corresponding to the arcades that separate the aisles from the nave and hold the clerestory. None of the pillars has a plinth, but each of them has a simple cylindrical heading.

The analysis of the church will begin with its specific parts such as the eastern arrangement and the western complex, followed by a discussion of the general issues and conclusions. This functional analysis is based on the ground-



Péter Levente Szócs

plan arrangement and the spatial arrangement of the church, while the few decorative elements are used only for chronological purposes.²⁸

Fig. 4. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Southern view.

The Eastern Arrangement

The eastern pair of pillars are L-shaped, and the eastern bays of the side naves are open toward the sanctuary and the aisles with arcades (*Fig. 5*). These eastern bays are vaulted, forming a closed cell above them, which can be accessed from the west by a ladder. Both of them were originally open toward the sanctuary with a large arcade, which is now walled up.²⁹ In addition, the main apse—corresponding to the north-south arm of the L-shaped pillar—is wider than the nave (*Fig. 1*).³⁰

²⁸ There is no significant carved stone or painted decoration in the church, which could be used for functional analysis.

²⁹ A small investigation was made in these upper cells, which revealed that the masonry and the vaults were renewed. The walls toward the sanctuary are much narrower than the other walls of this part, which indicates that they are the results of a later walling up.

³⁰ The diameter of the main apse is 6.50 m (the inner radius being 3.25 m); the width of the eastern bays is 1.99 m. In contrast, the width of the main nave is just 4.83 m, while the aisles are 2.63 m. The length of the eastern bays (2.06 m) is significantly less than the

The Abbey Church of Ákos

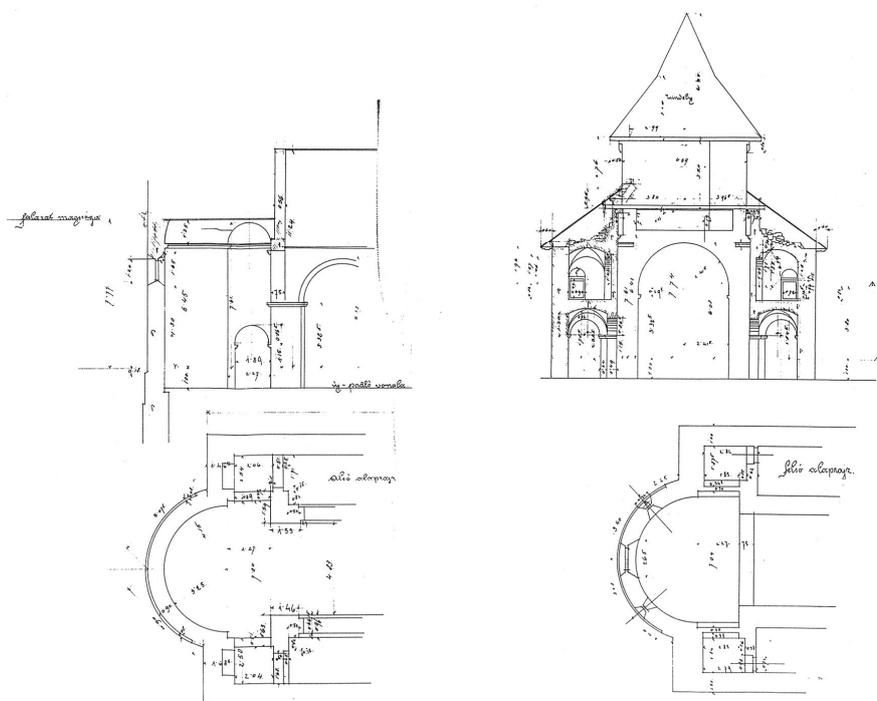


Fig. 5. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Sketch made by Schulek on the sanctuary. Department of Cultural Heritage, Budapest, Draft-Archive, 11792.

The shape of the pillars and the two-storied arrangement of the side-aisles suggested to Tamás Bogyay a change in the building project.³¹ He inferred that the first building project planned a pair of eastern towers, a wider main apse, and narrower aisles. The change occurred—according to his hypothesis—when the apse and the easternmost side bays, together with the first two levels of the supposed towers, were already finished. A narrower main nave was adopted at that point. Tamás Bogyay argued that this change must have been related to the western gallery: the builder dropped the original concept, which emphasized the eastern part, and adopted a new plan that put the accent on the western part. He explained this shift of building concept with the emergence of the new fashion

western bays, varying between 2.83 and 4.10 m. It must also be noted that the church is not perfectly symmetrical: the northern aisle is slightly narrower, by 3 to 5 cm, than the southern one, and there are minor differences in the lengths of the northern and southern bays.

³¹ Bogyay, "Az ákosi református templom," 69.

Péter Levente Szócs

of western galleries—to display the social status of the founding noble family. In fact, this shift between the two building plans gave him a basis for dating the church to the middle of the twelfth century.

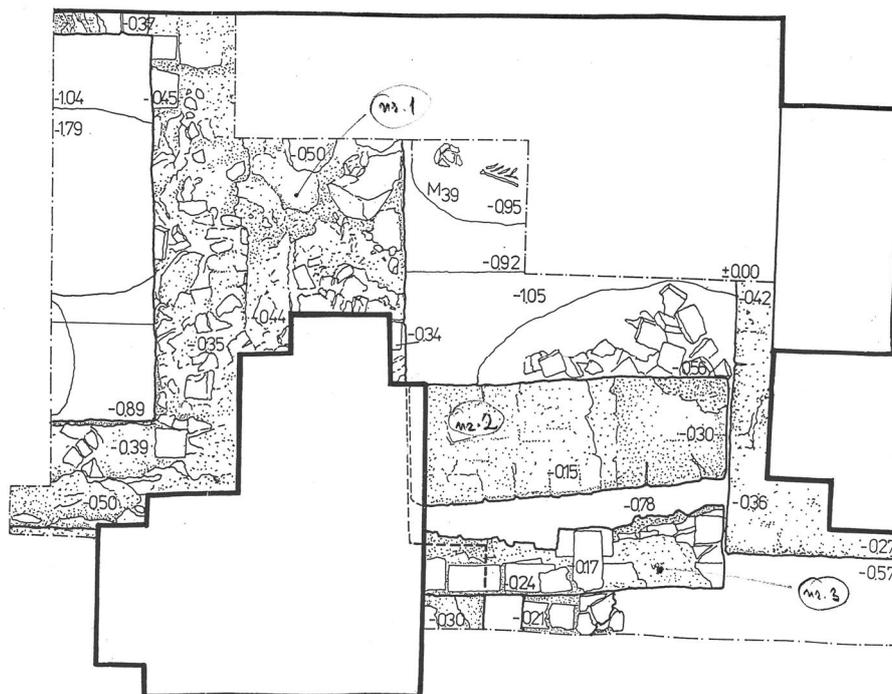


Fig. 6. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Ground-plan of Sondage I, inside the church.

This theory of the change in the building concept explains the strange shape of the first pillars and the difference between the widths of the apse and nave. Two contradictory elements remain, however. As was mentioned in the section on building history, no change in the masonry can be observed on the outer wall. In consequence, the church seems to have been built in a single phase. Therefore, if a change occurred in the building project, it could have happened only after the outer walls were built (including the western towers). In addition, no positive data exist to prove the existence of eastern towers: their bodies cannot be observed from outside, the walls of the eastern bays are not higher than the entablature of the aisles or the nave. Inside, the archaeological excavation to investigate the north-eastern side-bay on the southern side (toward the sanctuary) found no foundation which was contemporary with the



The Abbey Church of Ákos

northern and eastern sides of the hypothetical tower (*Figs. 6 and 7*).³² On the western side, a massive, wide foundation was found, but it extends much further toward south than the opening of the apse (foundation no. 1 in *Fig. 6*). It is not easy to imagine any project that builds foundations for a tower only on three sides. Therefore, the two-storied structure of the eastern bays is not part of unfinished towers but of upper oratories which were probably intended to stand above the vaulted side bays.

Fig. 7. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Excavation unit 1.

Extensive archeological research inside the church was not possible, therefore, neither the existence of a *lettner* (altar screen) nor the extent of the choir zone toward the west could be determined. Moreover, wall no. 1, excavated in the north-eastern bay, proved to be earlier than the present pillars. The limited character of the archaeological research could not determine whether it continues toward the south or not. Overall, the break in the pillars could be explained in several ways; it could have been intentionally created to delimit the choir zone, or it may have been determined by the necessity of reusing an earlier foundation. The question remains open; this, however, does not affect the functional interpretation.

³² Foundations no. 2 and 3 on the southern side of this bay are later than the walls of the aisle.



Péter Levente Szócs

Fig. 8. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Northern façade, detail.

*Fig. 9. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Trench IV/A.
The foundations of the church and the side-chapel.*



The Abbey Church of Ákos

From outside, the eastern part of the church does not reflect the inner complexity and it looks uniform, except for the north-eastern corner. Here the masonry was completely renewed, the different size and color of bricks marks the limit of the renovation (*Fig. 8*). A sketch made by István Möller shows the traces of a small rectangular building with an apsidial end. The northern door is near this zone as well, so it has always been an open problem for scholars whether buildings stood here or not. Moreover, on Schulek's sketch an additional opening is shown in this zone of the northern wall. Archaeological excavations (the area of which is marked on the ground-plan of the church) in 1998 revealed here the foundations of the small building present on the sketch of Möller. (*Fig. 1*). This was in fact a chapel, built together with the main church. It had a rectangular ground-plan, enlarged with an apse towards the east, and a door connected to the main church. The foundations of both buildings have identical technical features, reinforcing again the interpretation that the chapel was built at the same time as the church (*Fig. 9*). The renewed masonry on the north-eastern corner of the church shows that the elevation of this side chapel was as high as the northern aisle of the main church.

Upper oratories above the side sanctuaries (*empora*) appeared in Hungary as early as the twelfth century. Some scholars infer that this type of arrangement appeared first in the cathedrals of Esztergom, Győr and later Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, in the transept), although the data in this sense are not very conclusive. In addition, towers above the eastern ends of the aisles were inferred for the first cathedral of Eger.³³ This type of arrangement is preserved at the abbey church of Boldva, in which the inner arrangement of the eastern part is almost identical with Ákos.³⁴ Here the upper rooms of the aisles open toward the sanctuary with wide arches and these rooms can be accessed from the west, through a staircase inside the southern wall. At Ákos, this sophisticated access system is not present; probably the upper levels were accessed by wooden ladders. Other examples among monastery churches are less evident. At Harina (Herina), only the two-storied windows on the eastern wall of the aisles and the trace of a stair on the northern wall indicate the possible existence of an upper oratory.³⁵ In the case of Bátmonostor (and perhaps Kemecsemonostor), foundations of columns between

³³ Marosi, "Liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz," 100–103.

³⁴ Ilona Valter, *Boldva, Református templom* (Boldva, Calvinist church), *Tájak Korok Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára 399*, (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 1998) revised edition.

³⁵ Eastern towers were inferred here, as at Ákos, but no further evidence exists for the construction of any upper level. Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 28–29.



Péter Levente Szócs

the eastern pillars indicate the possible existence of an upper oratory.³⁶ The example of Kaplony is often cited in this context;³⁷ stairs placed inside the pillars between the apses are inferred to have led to upper levels. Recently published drawings, dating from the 1840s, show that no upper level existed.³⁸ Instead, a crypt, placed under the main apse, seems to be a credible explanation of the stairs.

In the case of the chapel annex there are numerous similar arrangements at other monastic complexes. According to the position and the relation of the chapel to the abbey church, three main types of arrangement can be identified. Chapels in the first group stand unincorporated in the monastic complex, at a short distance from it. This kind of chapel is present at Zselicszentjakab, Ják, Bény (Bíňa),³⁹ and Boldva. At great royal monasteries—at Somogyvár and Zalavár—this type is also present, usually together with other chapels with stronger connections to the monastic complex.⁴⁰ Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that extensive cemeteries lie around the chapels of this group, used by the surrounding rural population. Therefore, scholars unanimously accepted that these chapels functioned as parish churches.

Sándor Tóth called attention to the fact that those chapels that are parts of the monastery should be differentiated from the first group and from those that are linked to the abbey church. Indeed, the chapels at the abbeys of Széplak, Sárvarmonostor, Csoltmonostor, and Esztergom-sziget present a special situation. They are incorporated in the cloister or they are in its courtyard.⁴¹ The parish church-function is less evident in these cases; the chapels served the monastic community. Chapels connected directly to the abbey church form the third group. Such

³⁶ Piroska Biczó, "A bátmonostori ásátások" (Excavations at Bátmonostor), in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszerű feladatai*, ed. István Fodor (Budapest: Művelődésügyi Minisztérium, 1985): 363–369 (hereafter Biczó, "A bátmonostori ásátások"); Piroska Biczó, "Román kori táltörredék Bátmonostorról" (A Romanesque basin fragment from Bátmonostor), *Cumania* 13 (1992): 87–111; Nicolae Săcară, "Mănăstirea Kemenche[!]" (The monastery of Kemenche), *Tibiscus* 3 (1974): 165–171 (hereafter Săcară, "Mănăstirea Kemenche").

³⁷ Marosi, "Liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz," 100.

³⁸ Imre Takács, "A kaplonyi apátsági templom keresztmetszete" (The cross-section of the Kaplony abbey church), in: *Paradisum Plantavit*, 447.

³⁹ For the most recent contributions, with the previous literature for Zselicszentjakab, see: Sándor Tóth, "Zselicszentjakab," in: *Paradisum Plantavit*, 342–345; for Ják: Alice D. Mezey, "Ják" in: *Paradisum Plantavit*, 400–405; and for Bény, Tóth, "11–12. századi," 259, note 12.

⁴⁰ For Somogyvár see: Szilárd Papp and Tibor Koppány, "Somogyvár" in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 350–358; for Zalavár: Ágnes Ritoók, "Zalavár" in: *Paradisum Plantavit*, 322–327; both articles with the previous literature.

⁴¹ Tóth, "11–12. századi," 263, note 89, with the previous literature.



The Abbey Church of Ákos

examples show a heterogeneous arrangement; the ground-plan of the chapel can be rectangular (Herpály,⁴² Bátmonostor, and Móríchida) or apsidial (Ákos, Deáki/Diakovce,⁴³ and Ellésmonostor),⁴⁴ or have a rectangular sanctuary, as at Lébény⁴⁵). They can be placed on the northern or on the southern side, and in some cases, the side chapel even has the same length as the abbey church (Kána)⁴⁶. A variety of interpretations has been offered for the function of this type of chapel, but in the absence of any positive evidence, none of them can be accepted uncritically. In some cases the simple arrangement (Herpály,⁴⁷ Bátmonostor, or Móríchida) suggests a relatively simple purpose: depository or sacristy. The arrangements in other cases are more complex, moreover, at Deáki and Kána the dimensions and the positions of the chapels indicate a special function: processual churches (Deáki), or funeral chapels (Kána). At Ákos, the archaeological excavation did not find any burials inside the chapel so far; therefore, the former function seems the more probable in this case. This interpretation is reinforced if the whole eastern part of the church is considered: the southern side altar, the main apse, the northern side altar, and the annexed chapel form a 'chain' of altars—the stations of a procession.

The presence of a relatively developed eastern choir at Ákos, with a main apse, a rectangular space before it, connected to side spaces with two levels, and an annexed chapel on the northern side, show a deliberate intention to accentuate this zone of the church. The appearance and spread of this type of arrangement in Hungary is supposed to have been an effect of the eleventh and twelfth-century monastic reforms.⁴⁸ More precisely, this emphasis on the eastern

⁴² Károly Kozák, "A herpályi apátsági templomrom építéstörténete" (The architectural history of the ruined abbey church of Herpály), in: *Berettyóújfalu története* (History of Berettyóújfalu), ed. Gyula Varga (Berettyóújfalu: Bihari Múzeum, 1981), 121–139 (hereafter Kozák, "A herpályi apátsági templomrom").

⁴³ Tóth, "11–12. századi," 245–249, with the previous literature.

⁴⁴ Éva Pávai, "Ellésmonostor kutatása" (The research on the Abbey of Ellés), in: *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* (The southern part of the Great Plain and Szer during the Middle Ages), ed. Tibor Kollár (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000) (hereafter *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*), 219–232; Lajos Bozóki, "Ellésmonostor faragott kőtöredékeinek stíluskapcsolatai" (The stylistic connections of the carved stone fragments from the Abbey of Ellés), in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 233–256.

⁴⁵ For the most recent contribution on the Abbey of Lébény, with the previous literature, see: Marosi, "Bencés építkezések a 13. században," 275–278

⁴⁶ Katalin H. Gyürky, *A Buda melletti kánai apátság feltárása* (The excavation of the Kána Abbey, near Buda), (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1996)

⁴⁷ Kozák, "A herpályi apátsági templomrom," 121–139.

⁴⁸ Marosi, "Liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz," 99–102.



Péter Levente Szócs

part of the church—oratories, towers, and side chapels created around the main sanctuary—is regarded as the result of southern German influences.⁴⁹ The upper oratory—as the chosen name shows—was used for the choir and for the participants in the *responsorium* during the mass. In the case of monastic churches, the presence of the side chapels and oratories added to the main sanctuary show the intention to create a *chorus minor*. This enlargement of the choir-zone was probably designed for those members of the community who were not directly celebrating the holy mass, but took part in it in an active way.⁵⁰ This intermediary zone (between the nave and the *chorus maior*—the sanctuary itself) could also have served for the daily hour prayer routine for the whole community.

Overall, the theory of Bogyay on the change of the building projects of the abbey church of Ákos can be accepted, but two modifications must be added. The supposed eastern towers cannot be proved, therefore, the eastern ends of the aisles were planned to be built as two-level structures: an upper oratory and beneath it a side sanctuary or chapel. The break of the pillars probably did not result from a chronological delay in the building process, but they show (together with the unity of the outer masonry) a shift in plans during the construction process itself, probably due to the discovery of an earlier foundation. As a functional consequence, this break of pillars accentuates the choir zone: the north-south arms of the L-shaped pillar separate the choir zone from the nave, although at the same time it connects with the nave through the triumphal arch. The rectangular space before the main apse, with the upper oratories above the side sanctuaries, and the annexed side chapel on the northern side form together a *chorus minor*, while the main apse serves as a sanctuary, or *chorus maior*. This 'chain' of spaces and altars indicate the presence of a large community and suggests a preference for processional liturgies.

The Western Gallery

The western towers, with the gallery between them, form the other pole of the abbey church of Ákos. The westernmost bays of the aisles extend under the tower. They are vaulted; each of them is connected to the other, and they open

⁴⁹ The example of Hirsau is accentuated in this aspect. Marosi, "Liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz," 99–102.

⁵⁰ Not all members of the monastic community reached the ecclesiastical rank of *presbyter*, who was allowed to celebrate the mass. The greater majority had lower ranks, such as *diaconus*, *exorcista*, or *acolitus*, and they participated in the mass with the responses, songs, and so on.

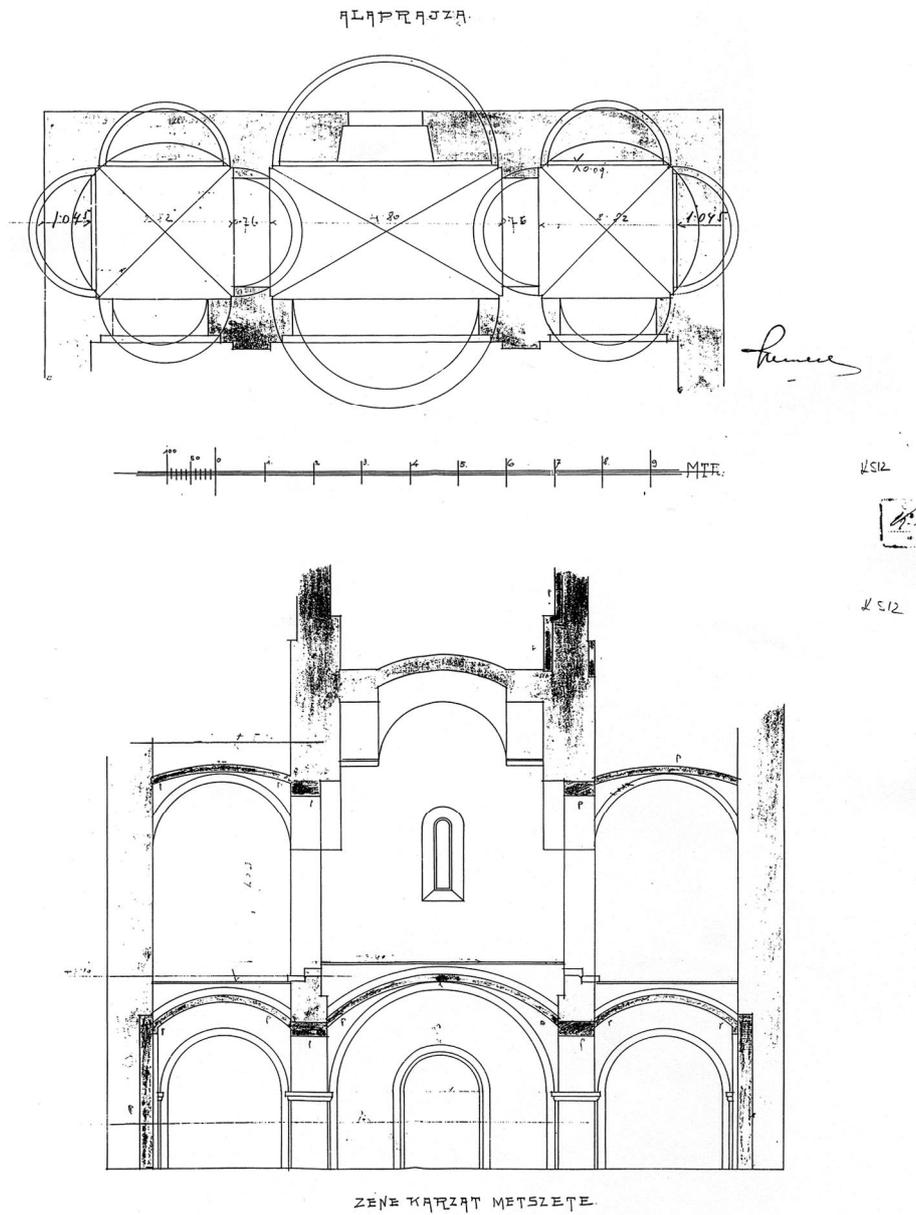


Fig. 10. Ákos, Calvinist Church. Sketch made by Schulek, ground-plan and cross section of the western gallery. Department of Cultural Heritage, Budapest, Draft-Archive, K512, 11792.



Péter Levente Szócs

towards the east with arcades. The first floor can be accessed from the northern aisle via a straight staircase—originally probably made of wood, now, after the restoration, made of brick. The arrangement of the ground floor is repeated on the second level: the spaces are open to each other and towards the east by wide arcades. On both levels the central arcades are more pronounced than the side ones, being higher (*Fig. 10*).

The towers do not protrude outward to the west, south, or north, so the western façade of the church is a single plane (*Fig. 3*). Only the small porch built by Schulek breaks this unity. The restoration completed the gable on the western façade and unified the roof of this part with the main body of the church. Now the gable has a new window, its shape was copied from the fifth level of the towers. Otherwise, the façade has kept the original impressive and monumental character given by its monolithic structure. There is only a single round-arched window in the central part, corresponding to the first floor of the gallery. There is also a round-shaped zone in the central part of the third level, built exclusively with modern brick. It is hard to say whether there was an opening of any kind (maybe a rose window, or two twin windows in the style of the tower-windows?) bricked-up later, or whether it is just a massive renewal of masonry with an intriguing shape.

The towers have six levels, and above them are the entirely renewed steeples, built of brick. From the fourth level upwards, the wall-façade of the towers is pushed inward a little, creating offsets—allettes—that are decorated on the upper side by rounded arches. The third and fourth levels have a narrow window, placed in the center. On the fifth and sixth levels there are twin windows, divided by tapering columns with cubic capitals. Regarding the decorations and the window arrangement, the other façades of the towers are the same, with one exception: on the eastern façade of the southern tower the window of the third level is not centered, but is placed significantly towards the south. No explanation can be found for this particular case. The masonry shows that the fifth and sixth levels of the southern tower and the sixth level of the northern one were almost entirely rebuilt. Pictures made before the restoration show that these levels existed before and the restoration preserved their decoration and window arrangement.

The problem of western arrangement, with gallery and towers, and especially their functional interpretation, has generated an intense debate in scholarship. In general, this part of the church was regarded as the best place where the requirements of the founder could be reflected in the architecture of the church. Therefore, it was considered the most suitable part of the church in which to study the social background of group of churches called kindred monasteries. Initially, two western towers with a gallery between them were



The Abbey Church of Ákos

regarded as a later derivation of Carolingian *Westwerks*, and an expression of social prestige and display. Géza Entz brought in a new term in order to demarcate this arrangement: "the patron's gallery." According to him, the founder and later the patron of the church had his place here during the mass. The complex structure with two impressive towers and a gallery, where the secular lords sat, offered the perfect opportunity to express high social status. Géza Entz demonstrated that this spatial arrangement also appeared, in a reduced form, in smaller abbey churches (with one nave) and even more frequently at parish churches. Furthermore, he argued that this type of western arrangement is a special Hungarian feature because—at that time—he was not able to find any parallels outside Hungary.⁵¹

This point especially was contradicted by the general survey of Andrzej Tomaszewski.⁵² He widened the problem to Central Europe, referring to numerous examples from medieval Hungary, the Bohemian Kingdom, and Poland. Moreover, he explained the function of these spaces by special liturgical needs linked mostly to the funeral and memorial cult. This interpretation was allowed by the presence of niches for the *sacramentarium*, frescoes, and *stallums* in one or both of the side-spaces at the second level of the gallery. These features indicated that chapels were installed here. The presence of high-status burials under the towers (as in the case of Zsámbék), or the iconography of the frescoes (as at Ják), allowed scholars to connect these spaces with the funeral and memorial cult. Géza Entz himself has accepted this new functional explanation; he called attention, however, to some elements of the social function that cannot be excluded.⁵³

Recently, the analysis of western galleries has demonstrated that their similarity at first sight disappears when a closer inquiry is carried out.⁵⁴ No typological and chronological development can be reconstructed among them; each reflects an individual and unique situation. Some common patterns, however, cannot be denied regarding their general arrangement and purpose. The arrangement of Ákos is different from the pattern at Ják and Zsámbék, where the side spaces are more isolated from the central space, and chapels functioned there. At Ákos, the rooms of the gallery form a common space, and they are integrated into the nave. To a certain extent, however, the arcades

⁵¹ Entz, "Westemporen," 1–19, and Entz, "Nyugati karzatok," 130–142.

⁵² Tomaszewski, *Romanskie kościoły*

⁵³ Entz, "Még egyszer a nyugati karzatokról," 133–141; and Entz, "Zur Frage des Westemporen," 240–245.

⁵⁴ Szakács, "Zur Typologie der Westemporen," 4–13; Szakács, "Ambivalent Spaces in Western Complexes," 30–32.



Péter Levente Szócs

separate these spaces from the main body of the church. This type of arrangement also appears at Harina, and in a slightly modified form at Lébény and Árpás.⁵⁵ From a functional viewpoint, however, the absence of these elements at Ákos that can demonstrate the existence of a chapel in the western gallery show that the liturgical function of the western part was weaker. It is hard to establish other functions for these spaces. A few written sources indicate a possible defensive function for the towers of abbey churches; the documents and the treasure of the patron family were deposited there. In consequence, some scholars inferred that the towers with the gallery could substitute for stone-built castles in this period.⁵⁶ In addition, according to the suggestion of Géza Entz, the function of towers as a place for social display cannot be excluded. Overall, in the case of Ákos the function of these spaces remains somewhat unclear. The liturgical function, however, seems less plausible than the secular one.

Conclusions: The General Ground-plan Arrangement and Functions

At present, the church can be accessed from two directions: from the west, through the new porch by a round arched door with no stone frame, and from the south, in the second bay of the aisle. This southern door is also round-arched, and it has a simple triple-layered stone frame with a pair of columns. Originally there was also a northern entrance, but it was walled up at some time. It had a simple stone frame, which was discovered during the restoration. On the sketch of the northern façade made during the restoration, another walled up entrance was recorded on the east. This niche is not observable today on the masonry of the church, but it seems that it connected the side aisle with the northern side chapel. The stone frames of the southern and the northern doors are built together with the masonry of the nave, therefore both of them were created at the time of the construction of the church. The north-eastern entrance also seems to have been created in the first period, because the northern side chapel was built together with the church. A written report by Frigyes Schulek⁵⁷ records that the western entrance had snagged margins, which demonstrates that this niche was broken into the western wall of the church after finishing the construction.

⁵⁵ Szakács, "Zur Typologie der Westemporen," 4–13.

⁵⁶ Fügedi, "*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio*," 53.

⁵⁷ Written instructions by Frigyes Schulek to Vilmos Blachó, the leader of the builder's team, on 7 September, 1896. Archive of DCH, fasc. 700, no. 20, page 1.



The Abbey Church of Ákos

The main nave has seven windows on the southern wall of the clerestory. The southern aisle also has seven windows, but the northern aisles have only one, near the walled up entrance. All the windows are round-arched; they widen towards the outside, and they have no frames. At the center of the apse is a round (rose) window and two side windows with round arches.

The decoration of the church is simple. Apart from the doorframes, no carved-stone material exists. Only the outer walls are decorated in some places. The most generally used decoration is a pair of alletes linked on the top with a row of blind arches. This system was also applied to the façades of the towers and to the façade of the sanctuary. In addition, the cornice of the clerestory is decorated with blind arches. These few decorative elements are not able to support a precise chronology, which is one of the reasons why scholars were ambiguous about dating and established wide time intervals for the foundation period.

There are no perfect similarities to the general ground-plan arrangement of the church of Ákos, however, some elements can be detected in common with other abbey churches. The prolonged nave and the main apse in the third phase of Csoltmonostor are similar to Ákos.⁵⁸ Apart from the ends of the side aisles, the abbey of Kapornak has outer decoration and a ground-plan similar to Ákos.⁵⁹ Noble kindreds founded all of these monasteries during the second half of the twelfth century. In the case of Kapornak the presence of rectangular pillars with simple rectangular headings is also common to Ákos. In addition, the church of Harina has a similar decorative system and ground-plan.⁶⁰ The side-aisles at Harina, however, are terminated inside with apses, the pillars are also somewhat different, and the alletes are more protruding and more densely used. Two more churches—Bátmonostor⁶¹ and Kemecsemonostor⁶²—have similar ground-plans. Both of them are known only from archaeological excavations so no additional data exist on possible decoration. The similarity is weakened in both cases by the inner apsidal end of the side-apses. The inner or/and outer end of the side-aisles, despite the fact that in the previous literature this feature was credited with great significance, seems less important in functional sense. The rectangular eastern end—with a small niche in case of Ákos—and the inner apse, as a transitional layout toward fully developed side

⁵⁸ Tóth, "11–12. századi," 242–243.

⁵⁹ Tóth, "11–12. századi," 247–249., with the previous literature.

⁶⁰ Entz, *Erdély építészete*, 28–29.

⁶¹ Biczó, "A bátmonostori ásatások," 363–369.

⁶² Săcară, "Mănăstirea Kemenche," 165–171.



Péter Levente Szócs

apses, could have satisfied the same liturgical demand: to create space for side altars (quasi side-chapels).

The lack of any further similar elements eliminates the possibility of affirming that a single lodge built these monuments. The existing common patterns, however, allow some functional conclusions. There are two elements in the ground-plan arrangement that delimit these abbey churches from others: the pronounced length in relation to the width and the lack of a western entrance. This latter feature creates a more or less centralized ground-plan in a functional sense: the nave accessed from south and/or north is just a linking space between the sacral poles, such as the eastern sanctuary and the possible chapels or altars placed along the entire body of the church. This arrangement needs a shorter nave and indicates the preference for a processional liturgy. In the case of Ákos, this liturgical preference is already shown by the arrangement of the eastern part with a 'chain' of altars. The presence of the western entrance creates an axial arrangement from the west toward the east—the main sanctuary. In this case, a much longer nave could be built and, in addition, the liturgical accents shifted toward the eastern part.⁶³ The two types of arrangements—the axial and the centralized—existed simultaneously,⁶⁴ and the example of the abbey churches mentioned above shows that the mixture of these arrangements was even possible. At Ákos, the relatively long nave, accessed through the southern and northern entrances, links two poles: the western gallery—with the vaulted bays under it—and the sanctuary with the side chapels and oratories. These two zones represent at the same time the most important parts of the church, but the axial arrangement is not completed with a western entrance. Therefore, this ground-plan seems to be a compromise between centralized and axial arrangements. The opening of the western entrance at Ákos shows that at some later point the community preferred to complete the axial arrangement: a western entrance was opened, and furthermore, the northern one was walled up. This shift, indicating also a possible change of the liturgical preferences, could not have happened too much later than the building of the church. The beginning of the thirteenth century marks the appearance of the new fashion of the highly decorated portals on the western façade, as in the case of Lébény, and Ják. From this point onwards, the western entrance and the prolonged nave became generally accepted.

⁶³ Marosi, "Liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz," 108.

⁶⁴ See the examples given by Tóth "11–12. századi," 229–266.



WESTERN AND EASTERN THEMES
IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SANCTUARY
OF THE CHURCH OF STREI
(HUNEDOARA COUNTY, ROMANIA)

Elena-Dana Prioteasa 

Transylvania was a fertile region on the map of medieval interactions between Western and Eastern Christianity. These interactions are reflected in medieval mural paintings, especially in the Orthodox churches, where Western influences on Orthodox paintings are manifested in both style and iconography. Changes in the Byzantine iconographic program invite interpretation, although the partial preservation of these paintings and the scarcity of data regarding their historical context present some difficulties. Nevertheless, these murals can be better understood through a closer examination of the iconographic details and expansion of the comparative material. This is the approach of the present article, which studies a sample of the mural paintings of the church of Strei (Zeykfalva) (Fig. 1).¹

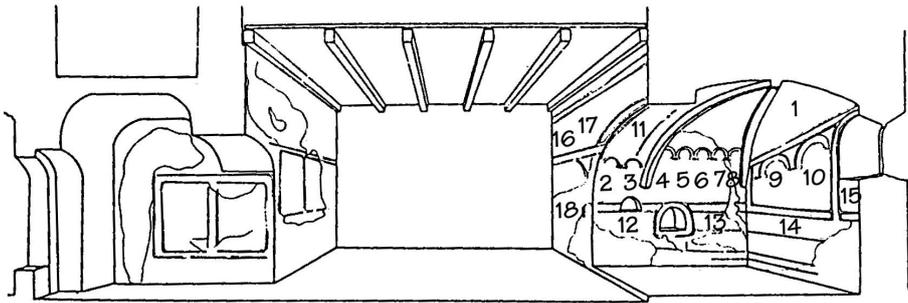
This church is among the few Orthodox churches in Transylvania that preserve a large part of their medieval mural paintings. These paintings were restored in 1970 through 1972 and the most important scholarly studies were done after the restoration.² The paintings were fully described, evaluated from a stylistic point of view, and a dating was proposed. The iconography has also been analyzed and Western influence noted for particular subjects. The present article deals only with the sanctuary, which is an architectural and liturgical spatial unit in itself, and in Byzantine tradition has a particular and well-defined iconographic program. The aim of this study is a more thorough account of the

¹ This article is a part of my MA thesis in Medieval Studies, "Western Influences on the Iconography of Medieval Orthodox Painting in Transylvania. Murals in the Sanctuaries," (Budapest: Central European University, 2002).

² These studies are: Vasile Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei" (More about the paintings of the church of Strei), *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* 42, no. 2 (1973) (henceforth Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei"), 19–26; Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Portretele constructorilor și pictorilor din Strei" (The Portraits of the Builders and Painters of Strei), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 22 (1975) (henceforth Cincheza-Buculei, "Portretele constructorilor"), 53–71; and Maria Irina Popescu and Liana Tugearu, "Biserica ortodoxă din satul Strei" (The Orthodox Church in Strei), in *Pagini de veche artă românească* (Pages of Old Romanian Art) 5, no. 1, ed. Vasile Drăguț (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1985) (henceforth Popescu, "Biserica din Strei"), 235–283.

Elena-Dana Prioteasa

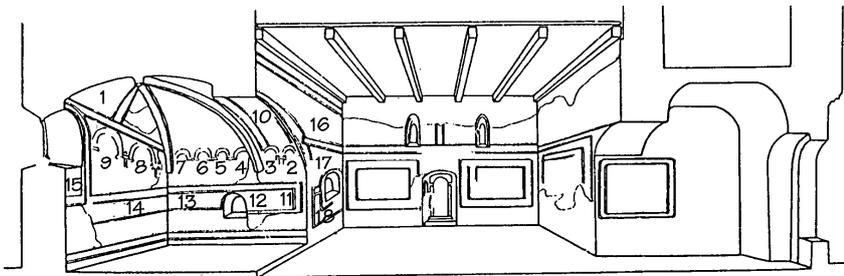
process through which the Western iconographic language was adapted to an Orthodox sanctuary. To this aim, the paintings of Strei are compared with the requirements of an Orthodox sanctuary, and also paralleled to new examples from Catholic and Orthodox churches in Transylvania or elsewhere.



*Fig. 1. The iconographic scheme of the sanctuary of the church at Strei.
Based on the drawing in Popescu, Biserica din Strei, fig. 11, and I p. 261–262.*

a. Longitudinal section showing the north half of the church

1. Christ in Glory, 2–3. Female saints, 4–6. Apostles, 7. Apostle Philip (?)
8. The Virgin type *Eleousa*, 9. Apostle Jacob, 10. Apostle Paul,
11. Prophets in medallions, 12. Bishop, 13. Bishop Kalinik, 14. Saint John,
15. Vir Dolorum, 16. Archangel Michael with a lay figure at his feet,
17. Archangel Gabriel, 18. The Virgin of Mercy.



b. Longitudinal section showing the south half of the church

1. Maiestas Domini, 2. Doctor Saint, 3. Doctor Saint Kosmas, 4. Apostle Luke,
5. Apostle Thomas, 6. Apostle Matthew, 7. Apostle Bartholomew,
8. Apostle John, 9. Apostle Peter, 10. Prophets in medallions,
11. The painter Grozie, 12. Saint Nicholas, 13. Saint Peter, 14. Saint Cyril,
15. Vir Dolorum, 16. The Virgin with two saint women,
17. Saint Catherine (?) and Wednesday, 18. Lay figure (stoneworker?).



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

The church of Strei was probably the private chapel of a family of knezes.³ The building has been dated to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century from the architectural details.⁴ The church is composed of a rectangular nave with a wooden ceiling, a rectangular apse with a ribbed vault, and a tower joined to the west wall of the nave. The painting in the church is partially preserved and has been attributed to masters of different schools. In the apse and upper tier of the nave it combines Romanesque and Gothic features, and in the lower tier of the nave it shows features of Trecento painting. Scholars have differently dated the painting, but most of the opinions converge to the fourteenth century.⁵ The inscriptions in the church are in Old Church Slavonic, the Serbian version.⁶ An inscription is preserved on the south wall of the sanctuary next to the portrait of a layman, who is probably the main painter of the church: *ǪǪĪÇĀĹ ĘĹĹĹǪǪŔ ĀǪĪĀĀŔŔ...Ĺ ĀĀŔŔĘŪ ŐǪǪĘǪǪŔ ǪǪŔ...ĘĪ.* The proposed translation is: "Grozie [the son?] of the master Ivanish painted the church...[of Saint Nicholas?]."⁷ The title of the church is now the Dormition of the Virgin, but the proposed translation of this inscription, together with some iconographic arguments, suggest that originally the title was Saint Nicholas.⁸

The style of the painting in the apse of Strei demonstrates that the painter was trained in a workshop of Western tradition, thus he was familiar primarily with the iconography of the Catholic Church. At Strei he adapted his iconographic knowledge to the requirements of an Orthodox church. On the vault of the apse, divided by ribs into four spandrels, a fragment of painting is preserved only on the eastern spandrel. It represents Christ in Glory, sitting on a rainbow, giving a blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left hand (*Fig. 2*). On the right and left sides an angel supports the mandorla. On the

³ See Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 234, and Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei," 19, footnote 3.

⁴ See Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 235.

⁵ See the most complex stylistic evaluation and the dating of the painting, mentioning also previous scholarly opinions, in Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 256–260.

⁶ Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 260.

⁷ Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 241.

⁸ The iconographic arguments are the depiction of Saint Nicholas twice in the church and also his position there (in the sanctuary, as intercessor of the painter, and on the south wall of the nave, close to the sanctuary). The same opinion appears in Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 241, 252–254. Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei has another opinion. She has argued that the actual title of the church is also the original title. As iconographic argument she uses a poorly preserved painting on the ground floor of the tower, in which she identified the Virgin blessing the founder of the church. See Cincheza-Buculei, "Portretele constructorilor," 63–66.



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

upper part of the apse walls the apostles are represented, standing (*Fig. 3*), and among them, at the eastern extremity of the north wall, the Virgin *Eleousa*, Tender Mother, is depicted (*Fig. 4*). In the same tier, an image of the *Vir Dolorum* is under the eastern window (*Fig. 5*). The lower tier of the apse walls was given over to bishops, two on each wall. The intrados of the triumphal arch was decorated with four images of prophets represented in medallions. On the base parts of the triumphal arch, to the north, two female saints with crowns are depicted, and to the south two doctor saints.

Fig. 2. Christ in Glory. Strei.

Fig. 3. Apostles Bartholomew and Matthew. Strei.

The iconography of the sanctuary at Strei is different from the scheme that was common at that time in Constantinople and the Balkans. After the iconoclastic period, in the Greek and Slavic part of Byzantium the main idea of the program of the sanctuary was the Incarnation and Redemption.⁹ Also, starting

⁹ Tania Velmans, Vojislav Korać, and Maria Šuput, *Rayonnement de Byzance* (Paris: Zodiaque, Desclée de Brouwer, 1999) (henceforth Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*), 97.



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

Fig. 4. Apostle and the Virgin Eleousa. Strei.

in the eleventh century, the liturgical service itself became a source of inspiration for the iconography of the sanctuary.¹⁰ Soon after, the typical iconographic program for an Orthodox sanctuary became the following: the Virgin Mary with the Child in the conch of the apse, the Communion of the Apostles on the upper part of the apse walls, and the celebrating bishops on the lower part of the apse walls. When the sanctuary was larger and also had a barrel vault, this was frequently decorated with the Ascension of Christ.¹¹

Fig. 5. Vir Dolorum. Strei.

In the church of Strei, instead of the Virgin with the Child on the conch and the Communion of the Apostles on the upper tier, Christ in Glory and the Apostles with the Virgin were represented.¹² Similar examples of this iconography in the

¹⁰ See Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London: Variorum, 1982) (henceforth Walter, *Art and Ritual*), 184–225.

¹¹ However, deviations from the “official” iconography appeared in thirteenth and fourteenth-century village churches in the Peloponnese, Cyprus, Crete, and other Greek islands. Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*, 294.

¹² That the painter did not intend to represent a simple Ascension can be ascertained from the following details: the apostles show no interest in what is happening above them, but they converse among themselves; the Virgin is not in a central position, but



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

Byzantine world are primarily on the oriental periphery, starting in the pre-iconoclastic period,¹³ and continuing in use up to the eleventh century in Cappadocia.¹⁴

Christ in Majesty on the conch, generally accompanied by the four apocalyptic beings and different classes of angels, and the Virgin with the Apostles on the apse wall below was a theme inspired by prophetic visions (Isaiah 6:1–4; Ezekiel 1:4–28), Revelation (Revelations 4:2–9) and the Ascension (Acts 1:9–11). This iconographic scheme that stresses the divinity of Christ and his triumph has been deemed peculiar to the pre-iconoclastic period, and consequently called “archaic” by scholars dealing with Byzantine painting.¹⁵ As there are no hints that relate the Transylvanian Orthodox painting to such an archaic tradition, it might be more reasonable to suppose that in the church of Strei the painter introduced his own models. Indeed, Christ in Majesty and the echelon of the apostles below—sometimes with the Virgin in the middle—was a frequent scheme in Romanesque painting¹⁶ that was also perpetuated in Gothic murals throughout Europe.¹⁷ Such examples in the territory of medieval Hungary are found in the churches of Feldebrő (twelfth century), Hidegség (thirteenth century),¹⁸ Kraskovó (Karaszókó, fourteenth century),¹⁹ Homorod

on the north wall, and she is not represented as Orant, but with the child. One might also infer that on the rest of the vault the symbols of the apostles were represented.

¹³ Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*, 43–57.

¹⁴ Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale: images et spiritualité* (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 2001) (henceforth Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale*), 93–99. However, in the European part of the empire only a single similar example is also preserved from the early Byzantine period: the mosaic in the apse of Hosios David in Thessaloniki, dating from the fifth century. The mosaic in the conch depicts Christ in Glory in an apocalyptic vision, and may suggest that this iconography was also the pattern used in Constantinople. See Thomas Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: a Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 116.

¹⁵ Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*, 72.

¹⁶ Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970), 479, 511–512.

¹⁷ See a short overview in Vasile Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania” (The Iconography of Gothic Mural Paintings in Transylvania), *Pagini de veche artă românească* 2 (1972) (henceforth Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor murale gotice”), where the author notes the presence of this iconographic scheme in Gothic paintings in France, South Tyrol, Carinthia, Slovenia, Istria, Bohemia, Slovakia, Hungary, and Transylvania, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

¹⁸ Dénes Radocsay, *Wandgemälde in mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest: Corvina, 1977) (henceforth Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*), 9–11



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

(Homoród, circa 1300), Valea Crișului (Sepsiköröspatak), Nima (Néma), Șișterea (Siter, end of the fourteenth century), Sânvășai (Nyárádszentlászló, end of the fifteenth century),²⁰ and probably also at Ócsa and Csempeszkopács (thirteenth century).²¹

It is difficult, however, to draw a final conclusion about how Christ in Glory came to be represented in the sanctuaries of Transylvanian Orthodox churches. The case of Strei is not unique; out of the other four Orthodox sanctuaries where the vault painting is known, two have Christ in Glory on the vault.²² One is the church of Streisângeorgiu (Sztrigyszentgyörgy), which has a rectangular sanctuary with a groined vault. The painting of the vault dates from 1313/1314. Christ in Glory is represented on the vault of the apse, accompanied by the symbols of the evangelists, thrones—the type of angels represented as winged wheels with eyes—and cherubim/seraphim. As the artistic quality is poor and the painting is also poorly preserved it is difficult to evaluate the style. Therefore, it cannot be firmly stated whether the painter was well-versed in Byzantine art or, as I would incline to say, he was of the late Romanesque school. The other example is the church of Hălmaġiu (Nagyhalmágy), which has also a rectangular sanctuary, but with a barrel vault. The vault was painted in the first half of the fifteenth century with an image of Christ in Glory supported by four angels. The painter belonged to a western school that had assimilated Trecento features.

While seeking the reason for introducing Christ in Glory into Orthodox sanctuaries, three questions should be kept in mind until new information may clarify the answers. First, was it the “archaic” tradition that the painters followed while decorating the vault of the sanctuary with Christ in Glory? Indeed, there are other “archaic” features in the painting of the Transylvanian Orthodox sanctuaries, as seen in the frontal representation of the bishops at Streisângeorgiu, Strei, and partially at Râu de Mori (Malomvíz) and Ribița (Ribice) (1417), or the Cortege of the Apostles at Strei and Sântămărie Orlea

¹⁹ Ernő Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Fine Arts in Hungary circa 1300 to 1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), vol. 1, 191.

²⁰ Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor murale gotice,” 14.

²¹ Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 12–13.

²² The painting on the sanctuary vault at Densuș (Demsus), dating from 1443, is no longer visible, but earlier accounts suggest that an image of Christ was depicted there. The church of Râu de Mori, painted in late Palaeologan style at the end of the fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century, had the Virgin represented on the vault. For both churches see the article of Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, “Le programme iconographique des absides des églises à Râu de Mori et Densuș,” *Révue Roumaine d’Histoire de l’Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 13 (1976): 82, 93.



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

(Óraljaboldogfa) (mid-fifteenth century). Second, was Christ in Glory represented on the vault as a replacement for the Pantokrator, for which there was no other appropriate place because the churches had no domes?²³ If so, probably contact with the tradition of Western painting was the reason why Christ in Glory was used instead of the iconographic type of Pantokrator specific to Byzantine painting. Third, was this iconography of the vault simply taken over from Western painting? As one can see, painters of the Western school worked in Orthodox churches, for the decoration of which they selected particular subjects. The iconography was in agreement with the liturgical interpretation of the sanctuary, according to which the sanctuary is the place where Christ is enthroned with the twelve apostles and also the throne of Christ at his Second Coming.²⁴

The representation of the apostles as a cortege and not in the Communion of the Apostles is no less a debatable problem. Except for Strei, only one other example has been preserved among the Orthodox churches in Transylvania: the church of Sântămărie Orlea, from the period when the church belonged to the Romanian family Cânde. This painting, dated to the middle of the fifteenth century,²⁵ is situated on the eastern wall of the sanctuary on both sides of the central window and represents six apostles standing, slightly turned towards the window and holding books. Nothing else has been preserved from the painting of the sanctuary. The style of the painting has strong Byzantine features and is rustic; the painter was probably local.²⁶ Whether displaying vestiges of the “archaic” tradition or influence coming from Western iconography,²⁷ the case of

²³ One could accept this hypothesis, although the church of Streișangeorgiu has a barrel vault in the nave, so there would have been a place for Pantokrator.

²⁴ According to Germanus of Constantinople. Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), 72.

²⁵ Anca Bratu, “Biserica reformată Sfânta Fecioară din comuna Sântămărie Orlea (jud. Hunedoara)” (The Protestant Church of the Holy Virgin in Sântămărie Orlea [Hunedoara County]), *Pagini de veche artă românească* (Pages of Old Romanian Art) 5, no. 1, ed. Vasile Drăguț (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1985), 211.

²⁶ See Vasile Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania* (Mural Painting in Transylvania) (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1970), 40–41.

²⁷ Corina Nicolescu argued that the Corteges of the Apostles that she identified in several Transylvanian churches, including Strei and Sântămărie Orlea, were an iconographic relic of Cappadocian origin; see Corina Nicolescu, “Considérations sur l’ancienneté des monuments roumains de Transylvanie,” *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 1(1962), no. 2, 411–426. However, Vasile Drăguț argued that the Cortege of the Apostles was not a Cappadocian heritage, but a widespread iconographic subject in the Middle Ages throughout Latin Christianity, including Transylvania; see Vasile Drăguț,



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

Sântămărie Orlea demonstrates that the cortege of the apostles had been assimilated into the local tradition of the Orthodox painting by the middle of the fifteenth century.

The image of the Virgin gradually replaced that of Christ in Majesty on the conch after the Council of Ephesus (431), and it became the general custom in Byzantine painting after the ninth century.²⁸ On the conch, she is usually represented as *Orans*, *Hodegetria* or *Platytera*, and she is primarily an allusion to the Incarnation. However, in the sanctuary of Strei the place and the iconography of the Virgin result in a slightly changed message. The Virgin is placed on the north wall, among the apostles, and she is represented as *Eleousa* (Fig. 4). This iconographic type was very popular in the Italian painting of the Dugento and Trecento, which had taken it from Byzantine painting.²⁹ The type *Eleousa*—Tender Mother—signifies the mercy of Mary toward humankind and meanwhile is a prefiguration of the Passion, because the Virgin already foresees the suffering of the Child.³⁰ Maybe this also hints at an interpretation of the gesture of the neighboring apostle.³¹ He holds a scroll in his right hand, and with the left hand shows a small flowered branch to the Holy Virgin.³² This twig could be a symbol of the Cross, as in the Middle Ages it was believed that the Cross was made from the wood of the Tree of Life or from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil that grew in Paradise.³³

In the middle of the east wall, below the window, the painter set out an image strongly related to the Eucharist in both Orthodox and Catholic Churches:³⁴ *imago pietatis*, or *Vir Dolorum* (Fig. 5). The image was used in the mural painting of Orthodox churches most often to decorate the niche of the

"Biserica din Strei" (The Church of Strei), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 12, no. 2 (1965) (henceforth Drăguț, "Biserica din Strei"), 306–310.

²⁸ Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*, 15, 22.

²⁹ Viktor Lazarev, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Studies in Byzantine Painting* (London: Pindar Press, 1995), 221.

³⁰ Mirjana Tatić-Djurić, "Eleousa. A la recherche du type iconographique," *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1976): 264–265.

³¹ The inscription indicating the name of the apostle is no longer visible and he has not yet been identified.

³² Here I rely on the description presented in Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 267. The twig is now visible, but not the flowers.

³³ *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum and Wolfgang Braunfels, eds, (Rome: Herder, 1994) (henceforth *LCI*), vol. 1, 260–261.

³⁴ *LCI*, vol. 4, 81.



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

prothesis, the place where the gifts were prepared.³⁵ This image entered Western iconography in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was widely used as a Eucharistic symbol.³⁶ In many Catholic churches of medieval Transylvania the same Eucharistic meaning was carried in representations of the Man of Sorrows, most of them situated in the sanctuary.³⁷

On the lower tier of the apse walls, the painter depicted bishop saints, but not officiating, as the Byzantine iconography of the church at that time would have required. The bishops are represented standing, frontally—with the exception of Saint John, who is kneeling. The model of the celebrating bishops started to develop around 1100 and gradually replaced a row of bishops, who had been frontally represented until then.³⁸ Therefore, representing the bishops frontally, holding books and/or blessing, has been deemed an “archaic” feature. In Transylvanian Orthodox churches one may see this feature at Strei, Streisângeorgiu and partially at Ribița (1417), Hâlmagiu, and Densuș.

The bishops represented at Strei are the following: to the north an unknown bishop and Saint Kalinik; to the east Saint John and Saint Cyril of

Fig. 6. Saint Cyril. Strei.
Alexandria (*Fig. 6*); to the south Saint Peter and Saint Nicholas (*Fig. 7*), and next to him Grozie, in all probability the main painter of the church. Grozie wears a

³⁵ It should be mentioned, however, that in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Mistra (circa 1360), *Vir Dolorum* occupies the same place as at Strei. Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*, 292–293.

³⁶ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 308–310. See also: Dóra Sally, “The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 6 (2000): 45–80.

³⁷ A list of the churches and the positioning of the iconographic subject is given in Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor murale gotice,” 74.

³⁸ Velmans, *Rayonnement de Byzance*, 141; Walter, *Art and Ritual* 200–203.



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

tunic and a hood. He is represented standing, almost as tall as Saint Nicholas, with his hands put together in prayer. The kneeling bishop is oriented towards the median line of the east wall.³⁹ He holds in his left hand an open book, from which the inscription has faded, and indicates the book with his right hand. He looks young, and his attitude and his positioning close to the Man of Sorrows

suggest a close relationship to the Eucharistic office. Thus, although the attitude is not usual in Orthodox mural painting, the bishop is most probably John Chrysostom,⁴⁰ the great theologian and author of liturgy, one of the Church Fathers who figured, as a rule, in a prominent place in the Orthodox sanctuary.⁴¹

Fig. 7. Saint Nicholas and the painter Grozie. Strei.

The bishop identified as Cyril (Fig. 6) should be Cyril of Alexandria, one of the most venerated fighters against heresy, and also usually represented in the echelon of bishops in Orthodox sanctuaries.⁴² His gray hair, long beard, and the crosses that decorate his mitre are clues to his identification.⁴³ He is represented giving a blessing and holding a book in his left

³⁹ No more painting remains on the wall between the images of the two bishops.

⁴⁰ Another bishop with the name of John, who was venerated both by the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, is John the Almoner, bishop of Alexandria († 619), but he was usually represented as an old man with a long beard. Also, he is not among the prominent figures of bishops represented in Orthodox sanctuaries. See *LCI*, vol. 7, 82–83. In considering that the bishop depicted at Strei is rather John Chrysostom, I share the opinion of Maria Irina Popescu and Liana Tugearu expressed in Popescu, “Biserica din Strei,” 239.

⁴¹ *LCI*, vol. 7, 93–99. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 177.

⁴² Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 223.

⁴³ In the Orthodox Church, seemingly until the seventeenth century, bishops wearing liturgical vestments are represented bareheaded. (Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 29–30). Sometimes, particular bishops could have a special headdress, as the case of Saint Cyril of Alexandria. See Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 104–105.



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

hand. Thus, on the east wall, close to the Man of Sorrows, an author of liturgy and a defender of orthodoxy are represented.

Two bishops are represented on both the north and south walls, and each of them is accompanied by the image of a Romanesque church. The bishops are not holding the churches, but the church is placed at their side as a sign of their dignity. Saint Nicholas of Myra was probably the patron saint of the church; he is also one of the most venerated saints in both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, and regularly present in the apses of Orthodox churches.⁴⁴ The figure wearing liturgical vestments and indicated as Saint Peter by the inscription is probably the apostle Peter, as his facial appearance also suggests.⁴⁵ The church at his side and his garments show that he is represented in his role as bishop of Rome. This is an uncommon posture for his representation in mural painting in the Byzantine tradition.

Of the two bishops depicted on the north wall, only the one in the north-eastern corner is clearly visible and retains an inscription. Above the church accompanying the bishop is written: $\text{O}\text{D}\text{E}\text{A}\text{R}\ \text{E}\text{R}\text{E}\text{C}\text{I}\text{C}\text{E}\text{R}\ \text{D}\text{C}\text{D}\text{R}$, "The church of Bishop Kalinik."⁴⁶ The other churches have not retained any inscriptions—either these faded long ago or they never existed. Kalinik is not a name easy to find among the bishops regularly represented in the sanctuary. Kallinikos, martyr and patriarch of Constantinople during the time of Justinian II, is one of the rarely depicted saints.⁴⁷ Sometimes, besides the most venerated bishops, bishops who had a special meaning for the founders of the church were also represented in the sanctuary.⁴⁸ Kalinik was apparently such a bishop. Besides his special appearance, his position in front of Saint Peter, who is on the eastern extremity of the south wall, should also bear a particular meaning, especially since the institutional position of each is underlined by the presence of model churches.

Besides mixing bishops venerated in the Orthodox Church—Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Cyril of Alexandria—with bishops venerated in the Catholic Church—Saint Peter as bishop of Rome—the painter also mixed Byzantine and Western traditions regarding liturgical vestments. Saint Cyril of Alexandria (*Fig. 6*) does not wear a cap decorated with crosses, but a mitre with crosses, and he wears tunic, stole, chasuble and pallium. Nevertheless, the chasuble is decorated with crosses, which is specific for a particular Byzantine

⁴⁴ Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 177.

⁴⁵ Short curly hair and short, rounded beard.

⁴⁶ Inscription published in Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 268.

⁴⁷ *LCI*, vol. 7, 265.

⁴⁸ Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 222–223.



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

vestment called a *polystavrion*. Wearing a polystavrion seems to have been a privilege accorded in the Byzantine Church to the heads of particular bishoprics, but in images after the twelfth century it was used almost indiscriminately, especially on the series of bishops represented in the apse.⁴⁹ Saint Peter at Strei is also wearing a chasuble decorated with crosses, which may therefore be taken for a polystavrion, since there are no differences of cut. This iconographic detail and the very presence of the head of the Roman Church in the sanctuary suggest a kind of overlap between the authorities of the two Churches. Saint Kalinik does not wear a polystavrion, but the above-mentioned Catholic garments, and he is bareheaded, as the bishops in Orthodox sanctuaries are represented. The same is true for Saint John, who, explicitly depicted in prayer, has his head uncovered. The vestments of Saint Nicholas and the unknown bishop, as far as they can be observed because of the poor state of preservation of the painting, are the usual vestments for Catholic bishops, especially the mitre. Stylistically and iconographically it is evident that the painter used Western models to represent the bishops. Nevertheless, he managed to adapt them to Byzantine iconography. It was not such a difficult task, as in a painting with little detail the difference between the main pieces of Catholic and Orthodox vestments is not striking, except for the mitre. Thus, the pallium is just narrower than the *omophorion*, the chasuble has roughly the same cut as the *phelonion*, and the stole is visible under the chasuble only on its lower ends as two strips, while the *epitrachelion* would appear as one strip.

The decoration of the intrados of the triumphal arch with medallions of prophets, as in the case of Strei, was a widespread pattern in medieval Hungary.⁵⁰ In the Byzantine iconography of the church, the intrados of the triumphal arch may be decorated with figures of prophets and kings of the Old Testament or with other images of saints, a tradition that goes back to the early Byzantine period.⁵¹ As those who announced and prepared the coming of Christ, prophets and kings naturally find their place at the entrance of the sanctuary. At Strei, on the lower part of the intrados, the decoration is completed with images of standing saints: two female saints wearing crowns to

⁴⁹ Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 14–16.

⁵⁰ Vlasta Dvoráková, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku* (Medieval Mural Painting in Slovakia) (Prague: Odeon, 1978) (henceforth *Středověká nástenná mal'ba*), 18. Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei," 20. See also in present-day Hungary the churches of Vizsoly (thirteenth century) and Szalonna (fifteenth century), in Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 181, 172.

⁵¹ Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale*, 157–158.



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

the north, and two doctor saints to the south.⁵² Their placement suggests that they might have been venerated as saints with special powers of protection and intercession.

The western side of the triumphal arch is the point of contact between the nave and the sanctuary, on which the eyes of the faithful focus during the liturgical service. It is decorated, in both Byzantine and Western traditions, with topics strongly related to the embodiment and redemptive work of God. Besides Christ and the Virgin Mary, some especially venerated saints may be depicted here. At Strei, the Annunciation is represented on the upper tier, and on the lower tier the Virgin of Mercy is to the north and two female saints are to the south. Below the panel of the female saints the bust of a lay figure is depicted.⁵³

The iconographic scheme is in close agreement with the Byzantine iconography of the triumphal arch. In Byzantine iconography of the church, the Annunciation is frequently depicted above the entrance of the sanctuary, as the moment of the Incarnation, the moment that made possible the redemptive sacrifice of Christ.⁵⁴ Western painting as well frequently represented the subject in the same place; there are many examples in medieval Hungary.⁵⁵ At Strei, two female saints, her servants, accompany the Virgin Mary, represented standing and probably spinning. On the other side of the triumphal arch the archangel Gabriel is represented, and behind him, the archangel Michael. Michael is turned slightly toward the scene of the Annunciation and he is holding a spear in his right hand; the gesture of his left hand is not clear.⁵⁶ At his feet, a lay male figure is depicted, his hands put together in prayer and probably kneeling. Between the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin, the blessing hand of God in a halo and a dove are represented.⁵⁷

⁵² One of the male saints was identified by the inscription as Saint Kosmas, and the other is probably Saint Damian, as the two are usually represented together. Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 241.

⁵³ The painting of the triumphal arch is severely damaged, so that in many cases the gestures or the attributes of the figures cannot be distinguished.

⁵⁴ Jean-Michel Spieser, "Liturgie et programmes iconographiques", *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), 586.

⁵⁵ Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei," 20. See also *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba*, 18.

⁵⁶ He holds his left arm flexed on his chest, but whether he held something in his hand or made a particular gesture is no longer visible.

⁵⁷ It has also been inferred that a little angel representing the Christ child would be depicted flying towards Mary, but the painting is poorly preserved, and I myself could not distinguish this detail. See Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 242–245.



The Iconography of the Sanctuary of the Church of Strei

The layman wearing a tunic and a hood depicted in prayer at the feet of the archangel Michael could be a donor⁵⁸ or a painter.⁵⁹ The other lay figure on the triumphal arch, depicted below the panel with the two female saints, is probably the portrait of one of the builders of the church.⁶⁰ Inserting praying lay figures, donors or craftsmen, in different scenes or at the feet of different saintly figures was a rare practice in Byzantine painting, but it was common in Western art.⁶¹

The archangel Michael weighing souls or fighting a dragon is a widespread subject in church painting in medieval Hungary, frequently represented on the triumphal arch.⁶² It belongs to a group of subjects with eschatological messages that were popular in Gothic mural painting, such as the Last Judgment, the Parable of the Ten Virgins, the Virgin of Mercy, Saint Christopher, and others.⁶³ The Virgin of Mercy, an image stressing the Virgin's power of protection and her special role of intermediary with God, is represented in the church of Strei, on the lower part of the triumphal arch. The Virgin of Mercy, a thirteenth-century Western iconographic creation,⁶⁴ is frequently depicted in the sanctuary or on the triumphal arch in medieval Catholic churches in the Hungarian kingdom.⁶⁵ The painting in Strei is as yet the only case known in medieval Orthodox churches in Transylvania.

Besides the Virgin and Christ, in both Byzantine and Western painting, especially venerated saints may be represented on the lower tier of the triumphal arch. This is the case of the two female saints on the southern part of the triumphal arch at Strei.⁶⁶ Their special role of mediators is also highlighted by the presence of the lay figure below their panel, presumably a master builder.

⁵⁸ Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei," 20.

⁵⁹ Cincheza-Buculei, "Portretele constructorilor," 58–62. The identity of the lay figures depicted in the church of Strei, which I do not intend to address here, has been a much-debated question. See especially Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei," 20–21; Cincheza-Buculei, "Portretele constructorilor," 58–62; and Popescu, "Biserica din Strei" 250–254.

⁶⁰ Cincheza-Buculei, "Portretele constructorilor," 57.

⁶¹ Drăguț, "Din nou despre picturile bisericii din Strei," 26.

⁶² Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor murale gotice," 25; *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba*, 18.

⁶³ Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor murale gotice," 13, 32; *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba*, 17–18.

⁶⁴ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 354–357.

⁶⁵ Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor murale gotice," 26.

⁶⁶ The inscriptions of their names are poorly preserved but the proposed reading of their names is ΑΕΞΑ[ΘΑΘΕΙΑ] and ΝΘΑΑΑ. See Popescu, "Biserica din Strei," 275.



Elena-Dana Prioteasa

In conclusion, the paintings in Strei, done by painters of a Western school, have many iconographic similarities with roughly contemporary paintings in Catholic churches in Hungary, and elsewhere. At the same time, the program of the sanctuary may be interpreted as having "archaic" Byzantine features which can also be found in other medieval Orthodox churches in Transylvania. The problems of interpretation that followed call for a more extensive comparative approach, and the collection of more historical data regarding the church of Strei and the Orthodox churches in Transylvania in general. The present study has tried to establish a basis for such further investigations.



FOREWORD



Mission and monasticism are inseparable fetures of medieval religious history. The dispersion of the idea of monastic life and communities in itself represents mission towards areas which were not incorporated into the Christian world before. Later, with the emergence of new monastic ideas and with the formation of monastic reform movements, missionary attempts played a different role in the life of the new monastic branches and orders. Geography was another important factor in this respect. After the turn of the first millenium, with the creation of medieval Christian monarchies in Scandinavia and East Central Europe, only small regions or groups of people were not incorporated in Christian civilization. Monasteries in large parts of Europe were no longer involved in the daily problems of missionary activities, although the idea remained present in these communities, at least in the hagiographic texts that served as examples for the monks in different monasteries.

Normally, medieval monasticism and monastic culture are seen as having two major directions, as did European Christianity in general. Eastern monastic communities with their Bazilite tradition were very different from the many Western monastic orders with Benedictine or Augustinian roots. However, the monastic map of Europe in the Middle Ages shows a third territorial unit, namely East Central Europe. This third "historical region" of European monasticism can be identified through different characteristic features. This is the area where the borderline between Latin and Orthodox can be drawn, but it would be better to speak of a border zone or a border region. In the monastic context, this statement is even more realistic. Orthodox monasteries in the Latin Christian Kingdom of Hungary are signs of this particular regional aspect, just as the presence of mendicant communities were in the Orthodox religious life of Moldavia. Furthermore, a continous attempt to expand the frontiers of Latin Christianity with the help of monastic communities can be detected in this geographical zone. Western monastic communities and branches were mainly "latecomers" in this area, but the idea of monastic mission never ceased to exist in this "third monastic region" of Europe. It was the geographical position of these countries which provided the opportunity to continue the process of Christianisation, the missionary activity towards pagan people on the edges of Europe. Lithuanians, Cumans, Eastern Hungarians and the Tatars were targets



Foreword

of such missionary plans. However, plans to continue the Christianisation process in these areas had to deal with a very different situation and had to take into consideration the Orthodox Christianity of these areas. Competition or even conflicts between Latin and Orthodox missionary attempts were not atypical situations before, but the growing differences between the two Christianities of Europe, and particularly the situation after the Latin conquest of Byzantium in 1204, fundamentally changed the character of missionary activity in the thirteenth century.

One of the most important factors of the new phase of monastic mission was the leading role of Mendicants in this process. "From now on and for two centuries the central place will be held by the two great Orders of Friars: the Franciscans and Dominicans. Until the foundation of the Jesuit Order in the middle of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, we shall hear more of the Franciscans and Dominicans than of anyone else."¹ As a result of this process, for the first time in monasticism, East Central Europe became a zone of activity for new orders in the very first phase of their history. Expansion of the two orders in Europe can be detected in all regions, but Dominican houses, particularly, appeared in Poland and Hungary in a very early stage of this new branch of monastic movement. This can be explained by the fact that mission was one of the priorities for St. Dominic in his personal life, as well as a target for the emerging new community. East Central and Eastern Europe were seen as the starting points for missionary groups aiming for the conversion of pagan people further to the east or on the "fringes of the world." More attention has been paid to the "exotic" targets of these missions, the Tatars. Mendicant missions in the Orthodox lands of East Central Europe have not often been the focus of scholarly studies, although a long tradition of monastic historiography characterizes previous research.

Unfortunately, a number of important factors transformed or often distorted the academic research on this monastic movement. Mythical stories of the foundations of houses in this region can be found in the literature as continuous repetitions of topoi, not based on primary source material. These problems surfaced in the history of orders on the one hand, and in national or regional historiography on the other. Simon Tugwell has demonstrated in a number of important articles that the Dominican myths of early missionary attempts in the life of St. Dominic² were often creations of the second

¹ Stephen Neill, *The History of Christian Mission*, The Pelican History of the Church, 2nd ed, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1986, 99.

² Simon Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of St. Dominic," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 68 (1998): 32–110; *Idem.*, "The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II: The



Foreword

generation of the community and some of the target places of these missions cannot be proved on the basis of contemporary sources. However, the importance of the “third monastic region” of Europe has been corroborated by these studies, as he has also argued that the idea of the Cuman mission was one of the major issues for Dominic himself. This can explain the early distribution of the order in Poland and in Hungary. The other distorting factor in the research is the similar mythic history of the early foundations in Russia and in some other Eastern European areas. Here, not only has the monastic historical tradition transmitted a number of dates and foundation stories without a basis in historical sources, but more recent political changes, ideologies, and research discourses have also influenced academic studies. The area is even today can be seen as a border zone between Orthodox and Latin Christianity; moreover, medieval political powers, states (Poland, Russia, Moldavia, Hungary, etc.) also tried to dominate the area in religious matters. Early modern and modern scholarly studies were not able to separate themselves from these nationalistic religious aspects, which often became another type of distortion in historical research. The three studies presented in this volume discuss this complex situation and provide case studies for this transitional zone of monastic development. With this collection of studies we also shed more light on a region which played a crucial role in monastic movements in a historical period and which can offer interesting insights into the ecclesiastic and religious aspects of a frontier area of medieval Europe.³

József Laszlovszky

First Dominican Provinces,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 70 (2000):5–109; *Idem.*, “The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III: The Early Development of the Second Distinction of the Constitutions,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 71 (2001): 5–182.

³ Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom : Jews, Muslims, and “Pagans” in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1301*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.



THE DOMINICANS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY KIEVAN RUS': HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv 

This article developed from research on a history of Gothic architecture in Lviv (Lwów, Lemberg) that included the local Dominican convent and the associated church of Corpus Christi (no longer preserved in its original state), which are among the most significant examples of this style.¹ The foundation date of the convent is not known. The problem of dating required the application of data from related disciplines, in particular religious history and a history of the Dominican order in Rus'. What emerged from this research was that by the end of the twentieth century a detailed but contradictory "historical picture" of the Dominican presence in Kievan Rus' had been created in the historiography.

The earliest period of the Dominican presence was usually dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth-century. It was often connected to the missionary activity of the Polish Dominican St Hyacinth (St Jacek, Jacek Odrowąż, d. 1257) or, in some cases, to the religious piety of the Princess Konstancia.² In contrast to a rich historiography, source materials for the history of the Dominican order in thirteenth-century Rus' are limited; thus, scarce information in primary sources often contradicts the plethora of details in the secondary literature. By repeating similar information, existing historiographic material both created and perpetuated a certain set of information called "tradition." Medieval monuments, including the Dominican church of Corpus Christi in Lviv, are often dated "according to tradition."

Attempts to understand this "tradition" and to see how it was created and rooted in the historiography evolved into the research presented here. This problem can be formulated as follows: How were "traditions" created? Furthermore, can these "traditions" be confirmed by existing primary sources? The subject of this paper was further broadened by summarizing the present state of knowledge on the earliest traces of the Dominicans in Rus' and by investigating

¹ The impetus for this paper began during the research for my MA thesis, "Gothic Churches of Lviv" (MA Thesis, Budapest: Central European University, 1997) and continued in "Zakhidno-yevropeys'ka techiya v serednivichnii architekturi Lvova" (Western European developments in the medieval architecture of Lviv) (Ph.D. dissertation, Lviv: National University Ivan Franko, Ukraine, in preparation).

² Often represented as a patron of the Dominican convent in Lviv, Konstancia was a daughter of King Béla IV of Hungary (1235–1270), married to Leo I (d. 1301) a son of Prince Daniel (d.1264), ruler of the Galicia-Volhynian Principality.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

how information presented in the secondary literature corresponds to existing primary sources. The aim is not to create a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, but to demonstrate a general tendency in how the current understanding of the early Dominican history in Rus' was established. Therefore, some works (especially those repeating information already known) are omitted.

The First Mention of St Hyacinth in Rus'

The narrative *De vita et miraculis sancti Iacchonis*³ from the mid-fourteenth century is the earliest among the sources to mention St Hyacinth's mission to Kievan Rus'. First published for secular scholarly circulation in 1884, it represents the earliest known example of the *Vitae* of St Hyacinth, which was written a century after the death of the saint. It connected the first Dominican mission to this region with the name of St Hyacinth.⁴ According to the text, the Dominican saint received the existing convent of St Mary in Kiev, where he stayed for four years and accepted a number of clergy into the Order. His presence in the town is reported to have lasted from 1222 until 1226 or 1227, when he left and Friar Godino took over care of the convent.

A century later, *Historia Poloniae* by Jan Długosz (1415–1480) also referred to the Polish Dominicans in Kievan Rus', not mentioning, however, the name of Jacek Odrowąż in this context and giving a different date—1233.⁵ From this text it is clear that the missionaries came from the convent of Sandomierz,

³ *De vita et miraculis sancti Iacchonis (Hyacinthi) ordinis fratrum praedicatorum auctore Stanislao lectore Cracoviensi eiusdem ordinis*, ed. L. Cwikliński (henceforth *De vita et miraculis*), *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (henceforth MPH), vol. 4, ed. A. Bielowski (Lviv: Nakładem własnym, 1884), 818–903.

⁴ "A.D. MCCXXII. Venit s. Iazecho cum sua societate, videlicet fratre Godino et fratre Floriano, et fratre Benedicto in Kyiow, ubi verbum vite disseminando et multis prodigijs et miraculis corruscando in eadem civitate conventum in honorem Virginis gloriose fratrum predicatorum recepit ibique quatuor annis moram fecit, et numerosam multitudinem sacerdotum ac clericorum ad ordinem recepit. Quinto vero anno inchoante iter versus Cracoviam arripuit, dimissoque fratre Godino in Kyiow," *De vita et miraculis*, 857–859.

⁵ "Sub a. d. 1233. Wladimirus Kyoviensium Dux, veritus ritum suum Graecorum per fratres Praedicatores, videlicet Martinum de Sandomiria priorem Kyoviensem et alios fratres eius, utpote viros religiosos et exemplares pessumdari et confundi, praefatos fratres de ecclesia S. Mariae in Kyow ordini praefato consignata, et circa quam habebant conventum, expellit, redeundi facultate eis interminata." Joannis Dlugosii, *Historiae Poloniae libri XII*, in Jan Długosz, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Przewdziecki, vol. 11 (Cracow: "Czas", 1873), 240 (hereafter Długosz, *Historia*).



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

situated near the Polish-Ruthenian border. They were expelled from Kiev in 1233 and that probably terminated the presence of the Order in the town. In addition, Długosz gave information about the foundation of a Dominican house in Halych in 1238, also attributing it to friars from Poland.⁶ St Hyacinth was mentioned under the date of his death as someone who “worked a great deal for the spread of the sacred faith in Poland and Rus’.” Praising the saint’s accomplishments, Długosz nevertheless does not refer to any particular mission to Rus’ undertaken by this Dominican.

The work of Długosz was used in the sixteenth century by Martin Kromer in his chronicle *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (1555).⁷ Kromer described the arrival of St Hyacinth in Cracow and the foundation of the first Dominican convent there, adding that many convents were built for the Order later, even as far away as Kiev and Halych. There is no direct statement here that houses in Kiev and Halych were founded by St Hyacinth himself. In fact, Kromer did not add anything new to what had been written by Długosz.

Historiography of the Seventeenth Century: The Creation of the Tradition?

The sixteenth century witnessed the beatification (1526) and canonisation (1594) of St Hyacinth. After the beatification he was venerated in the Dominican convent of Lviv—the main house of the Order in Galician Rus’ territories. His name (*In die S. Jacinti*) appeared in the convent’s calendar under the years 1551 and 1554.⁸ Most likely at the same time the altar of St Hyacinth was built in the Lviv Dominican church of Corpus Christi.⁹ This altar was indicated on a plan of the Lviv convent made by Martin Grünweg, a friar, in the early sixteenth

⁶ “Sub a.d. 1238. Fundatio monasterii fratrum Praedicatorum in Halicz. Apud haliciensem civitatem monasterium fratrum Praedicatorum fundatur, et fratres provinciae Polonicae domum illic accipiunt,” Długosz, *Historia*, 229.

⁷ Martini Cromerii *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1589). Polish translation: Marcin Kromer, *Kronika Polska ksiąg XXX* (Sanok, 1857), 384 (hereafter Kromer, *De origine*).

⁸ Archiwum O. O. Dominikanów w Krakowie (hereafter ADK), sygn. Lw. 18, p. 244, 299. All references to this archive are taken from Robert Świętochowski, “Na marginesie artykułu F. Markowskiego “Gotycki klasztor dominikański we Lwowie w świetle rękopisu z XVI wieku” (Comments on the article by F. Markowski “The Gothic Dominican friary in Lviv in the light of a sixteenth-century manuscript”) (henceforth Świętochowski, “Na marginesie”), *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 14, no. 2 (1969): 89–104.

⁹ Świętochowski, “Na marginesie,” 96.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

century.¹⁰ Commenting on the plan, Grüneweg also remarked upon the early history of the convent, seemingly as it was understood by the Dominicans themselves. According to this version, the site of the order had been occupied previously by a Ruthenian church, which was given to the Dominicans by a local duke for building a convent.¹¹ This appears to be one of the earliest statements that a local ruler was the founder of the Lviv Dominicans. Moreover, Grüneweg mentions the existence of some written confirmations (“de/n priwilegien”) of this fact. Apparently, local Dominicans from the sixteenth century did not trace their origin from a foundation by St Hyacinth, as would sometimes be stated later in historiography, but from a nobleman, “Der Fuerste,” who was later interpreted as one of the princes of the Galicia-Volhynian Principality, usually Leo I of Galicia.

How the Dominicans of Lviv saw their history can also be understood from legal materials of long-term territorial disputes that lasted from 1519 until 1762 between the Order and neighboring Armenians.¹² A reference prepared by the Order for a court of law in the late sixteenth century states that Konstancia of Hungary built a chapel on the left side of the Dominican church of Corpus Christi, where she was later buried.¹³ Another reference in the legal material says: *Monasterium fundatum ante annum Domini 1297. In curia principis et caenobii loco S. Basilii Monachorum...*¹⁴ Both these references signify that by the end of the sixteenth century the Lviv Dominicans dated their convent to the thirteenth-century, seeing their founders in the local rulers. In this way, Lviv became one more Dominican house of Rus’ dated to the thirteenth century, apart from Kiev

¹⁰ The plan in Grüneweg’s description of the convent in Lviv is preserved in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, rkps 1300, s. 1350–1352. It was published under the title “The description of the convent and the church of the Dominicans in Lviv prepared in the sixteenth century by Martin Grüneweg, known as Friar Wacław from Gdańsk” in Feliks Markowski, “Gotycki klasztor dominikański we Lwowie w świetle rękopisu z XVI wieku” (The Gothic Dominican friary in Lviv in the light of a sixteenth century manuscript), *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 14, no. 2 (1969): 65–88 (hereafter Markowski, “Gotycki klasztor”).

¹¹ “An dieser stelle sol vor eine Reusische kirche sein gewesen, welcher der Fuerste samt seinem Hoewe dabei den bruedern gab, das kloester daran zubawen: wie den solchs noch heutthe ist zusehen aus den priwilegien...” cited in Markowski, “Gotycki klasztor,” 84.

¹² ADK, sygn. Lw 572, in Świętochowski, “Na marginesie,” 97.

¹³ 2320/II. Primordium conventus ord. S. Dominici Leopoliensis et locationis prolixa descriptio. Pap., fol. K. 12. W. XVI. Wrocław, Ossolineum. Cited in: *Lwów dawny i dzisiejszy* (Lviv, ancient and contemporary), ed. Bogdan Janusz. (Lviv, 1928), 10.

¹⁴ ADK, sygn. Lw 572, cited in Świętochowski, “Na marginesie”



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

and Halych. However, by the sixteenth century there were already different versions regarding what endowments had been made (i.e. only an Orthodox church or the palace and the Basilian (Orthodox) monastery).

During the seventeenth century a number of works by Dominican authors propagated a history of the Dominican order of Poland and/or the life of St Hyacinth. One such work, published in Venice in 1606,¹⁵ dates Hyacinth's missionary expedition to Rus' to 1228. Typically for this literature, Bzovius presents the saint as a model of an ideal Dominican and a patron saint of the Polish province.

The story about the origin of the Lviv convent appeared in the work *Relatio status almae archidiocesis Leopoliensis* (1615) by a local canon, Tomasz Pirawski.¹⁶ According to this author, the origin of the convent was connected to the name of Konstancia of Hungary (wrongly identified by the author as *uxor Danielis* instead of the wife of Leo).¹⁷ In his work, Pirawski emphasizes Konstancia's personal involvement in the foundation of the Dominican friary in Lviv. Mentioning in this context her sister, St Kinga, the author clearly refers to the dynastic cults of the Hungarian royal court. By establishing a convent and accepting the habit, Konstancia would follow the example of her holy sisters, thus assuming the right to be called "blessed" or "saint" herself. However, we have no confirmation that there was an attempt to canonise her nor is a *Vita* extant nor was a collection of miracles created to justify the claim of Konstancia's sanctity.

In addition, Pirawski stated that the friary was built by members of *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum* (SFP) *primum ligno, deinde cum accepissent donatas villas a duce Russiae et Opoliae Ladislao seniore a.d. 1297 muro*.¹⁸ The Hungarian princes were supposed to have favored Dominicans from the SFP missionary organisation. This is a clear anachronism, since the SFP was established only circa 1300 or 1324 and the Dominicans of Rus', forming a

¹⁵ Abraham Bzovius, *Thaumaturgus Polonus Seu de vita et miraculis S. Hyacinthi confessoris ordinis ff. praedicatorum Commentarius* (Venice, 1606), 10–11.

¹⁶ Tomasz Pirawski, *Relatio status almae archidiocesis Leopoliensis*, ed. C. Heck (Leopoli: Sumptibus Soc. Hist., 1893) (hereafter Pirawski, *Relatio*).

¹⁷ "Hic primum ante conditam urbem Leopolim ingressi cum bulla Gregorii Noni obtinuerunt curiam a principe, in qua monasterium collocarunt forte impetrante b. Constantia, sorore b. Cunegundis, sive matre sive noverca Leonis fundatoris, ... quam hic Leopoli primam monialium tertii habitus ordinis s. Dominici miraculis illustrem mortuam et ignotum in qua parte ecclesiae sepultam traditum conservatum..." Pirawski, *Relatio*, 108.

¹⁸ Pirawski, *Relatio*, 109.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

separate *Contrata Russiae*, were not incorporated in it until as late as 1377/78.¹⁹ Similarly, Wladislas of Opole, who ruled Galician Rus' on behalf King Louis the Great of Hungary in 1372–1378, indeed made rich donations to the Order in Lviv during the 1370s, but could not have done it in 1297. These historiographic developments in the seventeenth century demonstrate that events of the fourteenth century were projected back into the thirteenth century. Regardless of the incorrect dating, the quotation above from Pirawski indicates that it was the donation of Wladislas (who used the title *dux Russiae*) which allowed the Order to build the convent of stone. Supplementing this information with Grüneweg's story, one may infer that the anonymous duke ("der Fuerste") could be Wladislas, the duke of Opole and Galician Rus', and not any earlier Ruthenian dukes (e.g. Leo I of Galicia). This could be an indirect answer to the question of who was the real founder or patron of the Lviv Dominicans.²⁰

Later, in 1646, the work of another Dominican historian appeared—*Russia florida rosas et liliis* by Szymon Okolski—giving similar information concerning the foundation of the Lviv convent.²¹ In his opinion, Konstancia *Regina Haliciae* founded the Third Order (whose member was *inter alia* Magdalena Armena) and finished her life as a Dominican nun, being famous for her miracles.²² This was

¹⁹ Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej w XIV–XVI wieku" (*Contrata Russiae* in the Polish Dominican province from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century), *Ukraina: kulturalna spadshchyna, nacionalna svidomist, derzhavnist* 5 (Lviv: Instytut Ukrainoznavstva im. I. Krypiakewycha, 1998), 302 (hereafter Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska").

²⁰ The Order in Lviv indeed possessed the charters confirming the donation of the villages (Krotoshyn, Zashkiv and Kostiiw near Lviv) made by Duke Wladislas of Opole in 1377. They were published at the end of the nineteenth century. See: *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polski z Archiwum tak zwanego bernardyjskiego we Lwowie* (hereafter AGZ) (Documents of the castle and lands from the so-called Bernardine Archive in Lviv), vol. 2, no 7. (Lviv: Halicky Wydzia Krajowy, 1870). Since the earliest known references to the Dominicans of Lviv are from the 1370s, it is possible to assume that the local house was founded around that time.

²¹ Simon Okolski, *Russia florida rosas et liliis. Hoc est, Sanguine, Praedicatione, Religione et Vita. Antea FF. Ordinis Praedicatorum peregrinatione inchoata, nunc conventuum in Russia stabilitate fundata. Priore Tysmienicensys luci exposita* (Leopoli: Typis Coll. Societ. Iesu, 1646) (hereafter Okolski, *Russia florida*).

²² "vidua Constantia Regina Haliciae locum a filio impetraverat Ordini, quia ratificata in fide Christi a Patribus Peregrinantibus constituerat consecrare Domino dies vitae suae. Quapropter suscepto habitu sororum Ordinis in proxima ecclesiae habitatione una cum virgine Magdalena Armena, atque caeteris Virginibus dies sacros in paenitentia et oratione finivit, et clara miraculis in eadem ecclesia sepulta fuit," Okolski, *Russia florida*, 72.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

one more attempt to project the late fourteenth-century situation on the thirteenth century: Magdalena Armena, who is regarded as a founder of the Third Order in Lviv in 1393, was not a contemporary of Konstancia.

The seventeenth century was the time when the legend about a Hungarian princess as the founder of the Lviv Dominicans was widely spread. It is difficult to clarify when it was created and what exactly caused its creation. A possible reason for the creation and spread of such a legend can be found in the history of the Polish province during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and in a conflict within the province that occurred at the end of the sixteenth century.²³ This conflict concerned the status of those Dominican houses in Rus' that had belonged to the SFP from 1378 until 1456 and thus had special rights and privileges. These privileges guaranteed a solid economic foundation (e.g. the right to possess lands and other real estate) as well as relative independence for the *contrata Russiae* within the organisation. After the dissolution of the SFP in 1456, the Dominican houses of Rus' were included in the Polish province. The growing opposition around 1580 between the Lviv house and the convent of Cracow indicates the beginning of a separation process which took final form between 1596 and 1612.²⁴

Consequently, the works of contemporary Dominican historians might have aimed at proving the right of one side or the other in the conflict. It may be that the legend of Konstancia as the founder of the friary was created to show a long-term tradition of the convent as a part of the SFP and not the Polish-Bohemian province of the Order. Okolsky appears to be one of those who supported the idea of independence from the Polish province. A later Dominican historian from the nineteenth century—Sadok Barącz—pointed out Okolsky's partisan interpretations and statements.

Another reason for the creation of "the tradition" could have been the necessity to attract more faithful to the convent and to gain new patrons, especially from among town patricians. The Dominican friary of Lviv was blocked on two sides by districts inhabited by a non-Catholic population (Armenians and Ruthenians), therefore its sphere of influence among Catholics of the town was rather insignificant. In order to raise the prestige of the convent and attract people, the Dominicans made an attempt to create a centre of pilgrimage. The legend about a miraculous burial place of a descendant from a royal saintly dynasty (in this case Konstancia of the Árpáds) would certainly have raised the prestige and attractiveness of the monastery. This, in turn, would have contributed to the financial well-being of the friars. Legends that the Order

²³ Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska," 302.

²⁴ Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska," 307.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

surrounded itself with followed typical themes: apart from the legend of Konstancia mentioned above there were stories about a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary painted by St Luke and about a miraculous sculpture of the Virgin Mary brought to the convent by St Hyacinth himself.²⁵

Józef-Bartolomej Zimorowicz, the author of the history of Lviv *Leopolis triplex* (1672), also mentioned Konstancia of Hungary, "whose confessors were Franciscans and Dominicans sent to Rus' to preach the true faith."²⁶ It is clear that for him it was not important which order she favored. Zimorowicz cited the work of Okolski and the story about the Hungarian princess being a patron of the Dominicans. At the same time, he also pointed to another version regarding the "monastic period" of her life, which connected her name with the Franciscans. He found this version in M. Kromer's chronicle, where it was written that after the death of her husband (wrongly identified as Prince Daniel) Konstancia joined her sister Kinga in the St Clare nunnery in Sącz (Poland).²⁷ However, Zimorowicz's aim was not to perpetuate Mendicant historiographic traditions. He used the legend to demonstrate a long-term (i.e. almost from the time of the town foundation) presence of a Catholic population in Lviv. Symptomatically, he contrasted the image of pious and gentle Catholic princess Konstancia with that of "wild" and aggressive Orthodox prince Leo I. Such clearly biased characteristics were most likely the result of acute tensions between the Orthodox and Catholics in early modern Lviv, and were inspired by religious polemics that tried to prove Eastern Christianity erroneous and incorrect, clearly inferior if compared to Catholicism. The work of B. Zimorowicz demonstrates another application of the legend of princess Konstancia.

²⁵ Marek Słoń, "Życie religijne we Lwowie w XV wieku," (Religious live in Lviv in the fifteenth century) (MA Thesis, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 1991).

²⁶ Józef-Bartolomej Zimorowicz, *Historia miasta Lwowa (od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1672)* (A history of Lviv from the earliest times until 1672) (Lviv: Wyd. Józef Schnayder, 1835), 81.

²⁷ Kromer, *De origine*, 578. There is nothing to confirm Kromer's statement. Daniel, who was not her husband, died in 1264, while her husband Leo I lived until 1301. At the same time, there is proof for a possible connection between the nunnery in Sącz and the family of one of the Ruthenian rulers, usually understood as Leo I. Polish chronicles reported on his daughter, the nun Swetosława: "1302. Domicella Swantoszka (Swetosława) filia magni principis de Russia ordinis sancte Clare obiit in Sendecz." See: "Rocznik Sędziwoja," *MPH* 2, 879.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

Developments in Dominican Historiography in the Eighteenth Century and Later

The eighteenth century brought an important change to the Dominican convent of Lviv: in 1745 the old Gothic church of Corpus Christi was pulled down and the building of a new Baroque edifice begun. Two memorial tablets created in 1764 and placed in the newly built church referred to the early history of the convent. The first one was dedicated to

*Corporis Xti SS. Joannis Baptistae ac Petri et Pauli Apostolorum insignatam in ducalis olim palatii loco a archiepiscopo metropolitae leopoliensi, qui antiquissimam hanc basilicam titulo S-mi Leone Danielis regis Haliciae filio praedicatoribus peregrinantibus a Gregorio IX in Russia missos a. 1234 et a S. Hyacyntho Odrowonzio 32 annis ante conditam Leopolim introductis primis istius urbis apostolis donato.*²⁸

As is evident from this inscription, the legend about Leo I and his donation to the Dominicans was combined with another one about St Hyacinth, who appeared as an actual founder of the Order in Lviv. Apparently, at that time the foundation of a Dominican house thirty-two years before Lviv emerged as a settlement did not seem impossible.

The second inscription, which contained several earlier legendary motifs, said:

*... sacellum huic basilicae contiguum ab Constantia Belae IV Regis Hungariae et Mariae Alexii Imperatoris filia Regina Haliciae Matre Leonis Ducis Russiae, Sorore 3-tii ordinis S. Dominici imagini Deiparae Virginis olim constructum coram qua cum prostrata oraret.*²⁹

The role of Konstancia was connected only to the foundation of a chapel built in the church of Corpus Christi for a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary.

This century saw further development in the history of the Dominican order in Rus'. The work of another Dominican historian, Ignacy Chodykewicz, published in 1780, was again concerned with the activity of St Hyacinth, interpreting it as wide scale apostolic missions. He offers a different picture of the history of the Lviv convent, associating the beginning only with the mission

²⁸ Władysław Żyła, *Kościół i klasztor dominikanów we Lwowie* (The church and the convent of the Dominicans in Lviv) (Lviv: Biblioteka religijna, 1923), 74.

²⁹ Żyła, *Kościół*, 75.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

of the saint. Moreover, Lviv, the most important convent of Rus' in the author's time, appeared as the first place visited by the famous Dominican.³⁰

While the interpretation of the history of the Dominicans in Lviv changed from century to century, information about houses of the Order in Kiev and Halych remained almost unaltered: they were dated to the thirteenth century and usually attributed to St Hyacinth. In later Dominican histories, such as that of Chodykiewicz, other houses (e.g. Zhytomyr, Volodymyr, and Owrućh) appeared to be dated to the thirteenth century and connected to the name of the saint. It seems that it was a question of prestige and importance to be founded by the venerated Dominican saint, therefore some later foundations (originating in the seventeenth century) were eager to create such "historical traditions."

Barącz's synoptic work on the history of the Dominicans used previous histories and documentary sources.³¹ According to this author, the Kievan mission of the saint occurred "around 1228." This information was enriched with details of clearly legendary character: "Wolodymyr Riurykowych, the Kievan duke, being moved by the piety and miracles of Jacek Odrowąz, not only donated the place for a convent, but himself also unified with the Catholic Church."³² As follows from this work, the foundation of the convent in Lviv "according to an ancient tradition" was also made by St Hyacinth, the "apostle of Rus' lands," although "the very place was forgotten because of bygone times and local turmoils."³³ He wrote that the place where the Dominicans built their convent and the church of Corpus Christi was previously occupied by the palace of Leo and the Ruthenian church, given to the Dominicans in 1270.³⁴ The Dominican convent in Halych, according to this author, was founded in 1238 by

³⁰ "Venit ergo in Russiam anno 1233... ac primo in oppido... Leopoli... sub monte parvam S. Joannis Baptistae ecclesiam a sociis aedificari curavit, ipse vero pervenit in Haliciam... ubi domum fundavit... Russia illustrata progressus est in Moldaviam, Bulgariam, Cumaniam usque ad confinia maris nigri seu Euxini... ubi fundavit monasterium in Capha... inde per Constantinopolim, ubi fundavit caenobium... aedificavit caenobium in Chio... Inde divertit in Russiam magnam et visitavit Volodimiriam Volhyniae, Zytomiriam, Owrućium ac Cherniechoviam...pervenit Kijoviam." Ignacy Chodykiewicz, *De rebus gestis in provincia Russiae Ordinis Praedicatorum Commentarius libris XI* (Berdyczoviae, 1780), 10.

³¹ Sadok Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce* (A history of the Dominican order in Poland), 2 vol. (Lviv: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1861) (hereafter Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*).

³² Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 434.

³³ Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 443.

³⁴ Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 443.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

St Hyacinth, and he justified the absence of its remains with a reference to its destruction by Tartar attacks between 1260 and 1300.³⁵ Similarly, another place—Chernihiv near Kiev—was supposed to have been the location of a Dominican convent from St Hyacinth's times, but Barącz declared that "enemies' attacks eliminated all traces of its existence."³⁶ This work mixed and merged different versions of earlier Dominican histories. Although the author, like his predecessors, used some documentary sources, there did not influence his main ideas concerning the presence of the Dominicans in Rus' and did not reduce the number of legendary motifs and unsubstantiated versions.

Another contribution to Dominican historiography—*Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*—was published in 1930. This work deals with the history of the Order in general, and contains a short reference to Lviv as a place "*ubi Dominicani Hungari prope Constantiam filiam Belae IV et uxorem Leonis de Halicz capellani erant...*"³⁷ Here, Konstancia reappears connected to Hungarian Dominicans.

In summary, the cited works give quite different information about the Dominicans in thirteenth-century Rus': their presence in Kiev is dated variously to 1222, 1228, and 1233; in Halych to 1233, "after 1233," 1238; and in Lviv to 1234, 1270, "ante 1297," and "A.D. 1297." The writings of Dominican authors were of the same genre; it was characteristic for them to depict a glorious history for the Order and/or to propagate the Christian virtues of St Hyacinth. The function of these writings influenced the style, the interpretation of facts, and the presentation of information. The authors followed a similar method, moving data from one work to another, either enriching with additional details or transforming motifs according to contemporary needs. They created a vivid historiographic tradition, rich in details, often with contradictory schemes and clearly partisan interpretations, with mistakes in dates and other facts.

Scholarly Studies in the Twentieth Century

The work of Ivan Malyshevsky can serve to open a group of modern studies.³⁸ He investigated sources for the history of St Hyacinth's missions to Rus' using

³⁵ Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 419.

³⁶ Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 1, 311.

³⁷ Angelus Maria Walz, *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, (Rome, 1930), 171 (hereafter Walz, *Compendium*).

³⁸ Ivan Malyshevskiy, "Dominikanets Jatsek Odrovonzh, mnimiy apostol zemli russkoi" (The Dominican Jacek Odrowąz, a pretended apostle of the Russian land) *Trudy Kijevskoi dukhovnoy akademii* 1 (Kiev, 1867): 25–80, 421–481.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

mostly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, since the earliest *Vita* of the fourteenth century was not published until after his work. Despite his very critical approach to the idea of the saint's "apostolic activity" (as is already evident from the title *The Dominican Jacek, a Pretended Apostle of Rus' Land*), he accepted the fact of the Dominican mission to Kiev as trustworthy and dated it to 1228.³⁹

Another historian, Mykola Dashkevych, took up this question while writing about sources for the history of Kievan Rus' in the fourth volume of *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, where the fourteenth-century *Vita* was published.⁴⁰ He called the *Vitae* of St Hyacinth "scant information," which, however, allowed him the following conclusions: the mission of the Dominican saint aimed first of all at expanding the Order and the sphere of its activity was limited to the Catholic community of Kiev. The author also emphasised that the information from the *Vita* should not be taken for granted and must be verified through comparison to papal bulls from the 1230s.

The famous Polish scholar Władysław Abraham paid a great deal of attention to the history of the Dominicans. His work on the emergence of the Catholic Church in Kievan Rus' represents a basic study in the religious history of this region.⁴¹ Based on papal bulls from 1233 and 1234 he reached a conclusion similar to Dashkevych's, seeing the main purpose of the Dominican missions to this region as necessary to provide religious care for local Catholics.⁴² The author accepted as true the information provided by Długosz concerning Polish Dominicans expelled from Kiev in 1233 and the report of the foundation of a Dominican house in Halych in 1238.⁴³ Since Długosz did not mention the participation of St Hyacinth in the mission, Abraham also questioned this fact (i.e. the presence of the saint in Kievan Rus'). Moreover, he had a low estimation of the *Vita* as a historical source: "From this only two or three dates can be verified in documents, the rest is a legend since his earliest

³⁹ He was followed by E. Golubinskiy who also dated the mission to 1228. See: E. Golubinskiy, *Istoriya russkoy cerkvi* (A history of Russian church) vol. 1, part 2 (Moscow, 1904), 808.

⁴⁰ Nikolai Dashkevich, *Dannye dlia drevnerusskoi istorii v Monumenta Poloniae Historica* t. IV. (Data on the history of Old Rus' from *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* volume 4) (Kiev: Tipografiya Universiteta im Sv. Vladimira, 1885), 9.

⁴¹ Władysław Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* (The emergence of the organisation of the Latin Church in Rus') (Lviv: Towarzystwo dlia popierania nauki polskiej, 1904) (hereafter Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*).

⁴² Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 165.

⁴³ Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 111–112.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

Vita... was based on oral accounts and represents rather a list of miracles...[rather] than facts of his life."⁴⁴ This scholar pointed out that later authors (meaning those who worked after Długosz) did not have any trustworthy new material. According to Abraham, the second half of the thirteenth-century demonstrated the influence of Hungarian rather than Polish Dominicans due to the marriage between Leo I and Konstancia of Hungary.⁴⁵ However, this assumption cannot be established from the primary sources and became one more repetition of the popular legend.

An academic publication from the mid-twentieth century, the *Polish Biographic Dictionary*, reviewed the life of Jacek Odrowąż and its "Kievan period."⁴⁶ The entry opens with a statement that the course of the saint's life is "covered by a legend" recorded by the fourteenth century hagiographer and therefore raises many doubts while continuing to assume, however, that his mission to Rus' was real.⁴⁷ According to the *Dictionary*, the only problem with Hyacinth's mission is the dating; it suggests that the mission took place after 1223 and not in 1228, due to the fact of Jacek's participation in the foundation of a convent in Wrocław as early as 1226.⁴⁸

Mykola Chubaty is one of few Ukrainian scholars who have treated the question of the Dominican presence in Kievan Rus' in the twentieth century.⁴⁹ However, this was not the main subject of his study, therefore he did it rather in passing using some previous studies, especially that of Abraham. In contrast to the Polish historian, Chubaty accepted the version of St Hyacinth as the founder of the Dominican house in Kiev. Moreover, unlike Abraham and Dashkevych, he speaks of a twofold task for the Polish Dominicans in Rus': first, "to support Catholics and to separate them from Eastern Christians;" and second, "to conduct a mission for the conversion of Ruthenians to Catholicism."⁵⁰ The first statement was confirmed with the papal bull against mixed marriages between

⁴⁴ Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 72–73.

⁴⁵ Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 169.

⁴⁶ *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Polish Bibliographic Dictionary), vol. 10, no. 2, (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1963), 263–264.

⁴⁷ *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 263.

⁴⁸ *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 264.

⁴⁹ Mykola Chubaty, *Istoriya khrystianstva na Rusi-Ukraini* (A history of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine) vol. 1 (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1976).

⁵⁰ Chubaty, *Istoriya*, 590.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

Catholics and Orthodox,⁵¹ but the second statement was left without documentary support.

The history of Polish Dominicans has been the subject of research by the well-known Polish scholar Jerzy Kłoczowski. One of his studies refers to Dominican activities in thirteenth-century Rus' seen in the general context of the history of the Order in Poland. He indicates that the results of this activity "were doubtlessly modest"⁵² As the author states, "Dominicans created a range of small stations there in the thirteenth-century. One of them, in the capital Kiev, must have been founded by Jacek Odrowąż himself." This scholar expresses his position more clearly elsewhere, writing: "the presence of Jacek in Rus' is confirmed by sources." Unfortunately, he does not provide a reference to these sources. However, Kłoczowski was quite critical of "later legends, which linked many convents in Rus' with St Hyacinth," because this is not evident from source materials.⁵³

Two studies dealing with the Dominican presence in Kievan Rus' were written and published almost simultaneously in 1982 and 1983. The first one, an article written by the Russian scholar N. Shchaveleva, focuses on the "foundation of the Order's house in Kiev in the twenties and thirties of the thirteenth-century."⁵⁴ The author rightly points out the low value of the fourteenth-century St Hyacinth's *Vita* as a historical source. Still, she suggests that it is possible that "Jacek with friends could depart for Kiev at the end of 1222 or beginning of 1223, where he established the first foundations of the future house..., as well as in other places."⁵⁵ Regrettably, no explanation follows as to what exactly should be understood by "other places." Contradicting her

⁵¹ Chubaty, *Istoriya*, 593. As M. Chubaty interpreted it, the bull was a reaction of the pope to mandatory re-baptism introduced by Kievan Metropolitan Cyril (1224–1233) for those Catholics who wanted to marry Orthodox spouses. Most likely it was an anti-Latin campaign of the Metropolitan (himself of Greek origin) that resulted in the banishment of the Dominicans from Kiev. Moreover, this scholar assumes that local Latin clergy, who led far from a virtuous Christian life, might also have contributed to the expulsion of the Order.

⁵² Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Zakon braci kaznodziejów w Polsce 1222–1972. Zarys dziejów" (The Dominican Order in Poland 1222–1972: An outline of their history) in *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce* (Studies on the history of the Dominicans in Poland), ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1972), 36.

⁵³ All quotations from: Kłoczowski, "Zakon braci kaznodziejów", 37.

⁵⁴ Nadezhda Shchaveleva, "Kievskaya missia pol'skikh dominikantsev" (The Kievan mission of the Polish Dominicans) in *Drevneyshie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniya 1982 g.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 139–151.

⁵⁵ Shchaveleva, "Kievskaya missia," 146.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

own evaluation of the *Vita*, Shchhaveleva uses the information supplied by this hagiographic work to date the Kievan mission of the Dominicans and to attribute it to St Hyacinth.

The second work touches upon the same problem in the context of the Catholic Church in Rus' lands.⁵⁶ Its author, the Polish scholar Tadeusz Trajdos, had no doubt of the presence of St Hyacinth in Kiev, writing after Bzovius that "already in 1228 St Jacek along with a group of numerous brothers departed to Rus'."⁵⁷ Interestingly, three members of the Order mentioned in the *Vitae* (*fratre Godino et fratre Floriano, et fratre Benedicto*) grew in later centuries to "a group of numerous brothers" who followed the saint. Referring to "numerous missionary stations in Przemyśl, Halych and in Podolia" founded in the course of such an expedition, the author probably did not take into consideration the remark of Kłoczowski about the unjustified attributions of many of convents in Rus' to St Hyacinth. Trajdos used the works of Dominican historians extensively, who, in turn, borrowed their ideas from "notes and copies in the Dominican archive in Lviv." These "notes and copies," as is usual in such cases, were "unfortunately burnt, partially stolen."⁵⁸ Dominican hagiographic literature seems to influence the style and terminology of Trajdos' study, his interpretation of sources and treatment of events.⁵⁹ It is not surprising to find the following idea about the

⁵⁶ Tadeusz Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434)* (The Catholic Church in the Ruthenian territories of the Crown and in Lithuania during the reign of Władysław II Jagiełło [1386–1434]), (Wrocław, 1983) (hereafter Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*).

⁵⁷ Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 45.

⁵⁸ Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 48. Documents supposedly confirming speculative ideas have a strong likelihood of disappearing, getting lost or burnt. In the case of Lviv religious institutions, the Dominicans were no exception: a similar situation can be observed among the Franciscans. "According to the tradition [sic] the Franciscans ... were settled in Lviv in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. This should be proven by a foundation document issued in 1235, which was in the possession of the convent in 1633." See: Józef-T. Frazik, "Andrzej Koszyc, Włoch; mieszczanin przemyski" (Andrzej Koszyc, an Italian; a citizen of Peremyshl'), *Biuletyn Historiji Sztuki*, 1(1969), 214. One has to stress that Lviv, founded as a stronghold against Tartars (i.e. no earlier than the 1240s) was first mentioned in a chronicle under the year 1256. In 1261 Leo I was forced by Khan Burundai to destroy the stronghold, which, however, was later rebuilt. It is not realistic to suppose that a Catholic order would have been established there as early as the mid-thirteenth century. It seems that the growing importance of Lviv during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries motivated the invention of dates older than the town itself for some institutions.

⁵⁹ It is rather disappointing to read in a modern academic study about the "apostolic mission of St Jacek" in Rus' or about the saint's "friendly reception by the Kievan duke



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

convent in Lviv: "the Dominicans in Lviv were settled by St Jacek Odrowąż in 1234."⁶⁰

The information from the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (LexMA) sums up the present state of knowledge regarding the Dominican presence in thirteenth-century Rus'. It says: "Im russ.-ostslaw. Bereich entstanden zwei Häuser in Galič (zw. 1228–38) und Kiev (um 1228), von wo die D. aber bald vertrieben werden."⁶¹ Supplementing this information with another entry entitled "Hyazinth," the LexMA states that, "In russ. Ostslaw. Bereich gründete er die Dominikanerkl. in Kiev (1228) und Galič (zw. 1228? 1238?),"⁶² leading to the conclusion that "traditions" from Dominican historiographic and hagiographic sources have been admitted to contemporary scholarship as reliable. It follows from the LexMA that immediately before Kiev, Jacek may have founded houses in Gdansk (1227) and Wrocław (1226). Although his founding activities are depicted as very intense, this is hardly realistic. Moreover, while the convents in Polish territory: Cracow (1222), Wrocław, and Gdansk were recognized as only linked to his name ("wird mit H.s. Namen verbunden"), the fact of his personal involvement in the foundation in Kiev seems unquestionable to the authors. At the same time, the example of the LexMA indicates a certain revision of the early history of the Dominicans in Kievan Rus' by the end of the twentieth century: Lviv disappears from the list of the thirteenth-century foundations.⁶³ Only Kiev (1228) and Halych (1228–38) remain.

Developed through the centuries, historiography has not created a clear picture of the first steps of the Dominicans in this region. The subject has been further complicated by modern historical scholarship, which, with few exceptions, was more willing to follow Dominican historiography instead of conducting independent research to solve contradictions and inconsistencies. All this indicated a necessity to return to existing primary sources in order to see what exactly can be verified about the Dominicans in thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'.

who allowed him to establish a convent in Kiev." Certainly, no source for this information was indicated. See: Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 45.

⁶⁰ Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 172.

⁶¹ *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1999), 1215.

⁶² *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, 242.

⁶³ However, this does not mean that the idea of dating the Mendicants' presence in Lviv to the thirteenth century and associating their presence with the oldest Latin churches in Lviv has been completely abandoned. See, for instance, Jan-Kazimierz Ostrowski, *Lwów. Dzieje i sztuka* (Lviv. Its history and art) (Cracow: Universitas, 1997), 16.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

Primary Sources Reconsidered

The earliest collection of documentary sources consists of papal bulls from the 1230s. The first, from 1232, was addressed to *Dilectis filiis Priori provinciali, Jacobo et Domaslao, fratribus Ordinis Praedicatorum in Polonia commorantibus*.⁶⁴ Pope Gregory IX turned to the Polish Provincial, asking him to investigate the condition of Catholic clerics in Kievan Rus' and the possibility of establishing a Latin bishopric there.⁶⁵ This message confirms the idea that in the early stages of their activity the Dominicans sent to Rus' were more concerned with the local Catholics than with the Orthodox population.

The next year brought two more bulls. Among the recipients of the first message was again the Polish provincial; this time the Pope prohibited mixed marriages between Catholics and *Ruthenis schismaticis*.⁶⁶ The second bull, from 15 March 1233, was directed to *Priori provinciali Poloniae et fratribus Ordinis praedicatorum commorantibus in Russia* and listed rights granted to the Dominicans staying in Rus'.⁶⁷ This is the first direct evidence for the presence of the Order in these lands, making it possible to suggest that by 1233 the Dominicans had reached Kiev. However, the text of the bull does not imply that there was a previously founded house of the Order in the town or a previous mission, such as that of St Hyacinth.

It is difficult to confirm the presence of the Order in Kiev in the 1220s and equally difficult to establish the presence of St Hyacinth there. The only source mentioning the saint and the Dominicans in the town during the 1220s is the fourteenth-century narrative *De vita et miraculis sancti Iacchonis*. A characterisation of this source is given in the book *Ancient Polish Historiography* by Jan Dąbrowski, who states explicitly that this *Vita* of St Hyacinth, written a hundred years after his death, was a legend establishing the cult.⁶⁸ Indeed, the text mostly

⁶⁴ AGZ, vol. 7, no 1.

⁶⁵ "...de conditione et statu cleri latini in Russia, ad erigendam eparchiam pro hac regione..." *Documenta pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainiae illustrantia*, ed. A. Welykyi, vol. 1 (1075–1700), (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1953), no 6, (hereafter *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*).

⁶⁶ *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 7.

⁶⁷ *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 8.

⁶⁸ Jan Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie do r. 1480* (Ancient Polish historiography until 1480), (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1964), 98 (hereafter: Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo*)



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

lists and describes miracles that were themselves based on oral traditions.⁶⁹ Dąbrowski lists reliable facts of the saint's biography: in 1228 he was mentioned as a friar of the Dominican convent in Cracow; in 1236 he was present in Kwidzyn; in 1238 he preached a crusade against Prussians in Gniezno; in 1257 he died.⁷⁰ Thus the *Vita* is weak grounds for the history of the Dominicans in Kievan Rus' and cannot verify the tradition concerning the saint's visit to Kiev or any other place there. Even less reliable is the information from the hagiographic literature, "traditions" which were often transformed according to ideological trends and needs of the Order. This undermines the idea of a Dominican house being established somewhere in the 1220s, as has been assumed in many publications, including the LexMA.

The presence of the Order in Kiev in 1233 or 1234 is confirmed by another papal message from 1234 with information about religious conflicts in the town that resulted in the banishment of the Dominicans.⁷¹ Therefore one can believe in the information supplied by Długosz in his work regarding the Kievan mission of the Polish Dominicans. As is written there, the Dominicans obtained *ecclesiam S. Mariae* in Kiev, which was *ordini praefato consignata*. This implies that the Order received an existing church *circa quam habebat conventum*.⁷²

⁶⁹ Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo*, 99. Recently, a detailed study of the texts of St Hyacinth's miracles revealed traces of the intentional promotion of his cult. The lists of witnesses showed that clerics (mostly Dominican friars) and well-off noblemen (notably the saint's relatives) were interested in St Hyacinth's canonization. See: Nelya Koteyko, "The Cult of St Hyacinth and Polish Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Cracow" (MA Thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 2001).

⁷⁰ Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo*, 99.

⁷¹ *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*, no 9. Pope Gregory IX issued another bull in the same year for "dilectis filiis fratribus ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum in terras Ruthenorum et Paganorum proficientibus" with further authorisations for the Dominicans. See: AGZ, vol. 7, no 1.

⁷² Recent archaeological investigations have confirmed the existence of a rotunda on Starokyivska hill in Kiev. It has been dated to 961/962 and attributed to the mission of Bishop Adalbert. See: Yuriy Duba, "Rotonda 961–962 rr. u mezhach naydavnishoho horodyshcha na Starokyivs'kiy hori" (The rotunda from 961–962 on the territory of the oldest fortified settlement on the Starokyivska hill) *Zapysky NTSh*, vol. 235 (Lviv: Naukove Towarystwo im. T. Shevchenka, 1998), 524–558. It was suggested that this rotunda was the Latin church of St Mary to which the monastery of Irish Benedictines in Kiev was attached at the turn of the twelfth century. Perhaps the Polish Dominicans arrived at the same monastery. See: Vasyliy Putsko, "Kammenyi relief iz kievs'kikh nakhodok" (A stone relief from Kievan finds) *Novoye v archeologii Kieva* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1981), 189–192.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

However, none of the documents indicate the personal involvement of St Hyacinth in the Dominican mission or his presence in Kiev. Similarly, it is difficult to find solid proof for the foundation of the Dominican house in Halych in either 1228 or 1238. References to such a house are absent in the report on the mission of the Hungarian Dominicans to *Hungaria Magna* between 1235 and 1238.⁷³ J. del Plano Carpini, who visited Rus' in 1246, also did not mention Dominican convents in these lands. Thus one cannot agree with Barącz that the house in Halych reportedly founded by St Hyacinth was devastated by the Tartars' between 1260 and 1300. The same is true for the rest of the houses supposedly founded in the thirteenth century, but later destroyed "with no traces left" (such as St Catherine's convent in Chernihiv). Moreover, no chronicles of Kievan Rus' refer to any Mendicant convent(s) there.

Papal correspondence from the mid-thirteenth century concerning the religious union with Prince Daniel of Galicia contains a hint at the possible presence of the Dominicans in Galicia-Volhynian Rus' at that time. The text of one papal letter points to the prince's own will to have Dominican friars with him.⁷⁴ The friars invited by Pope Innocent IV to stay with Daniel (*ut perpetuo apud regem maneant*) were summoned from Bohemia in 1246.⁷⁵ This suggests the absence of a constant seat of the Dominicans in Rus' at that time. Almost nothing is known about these two friars. Still, their planned arrival and the fact that Daniel himself asked the Pope to send him friars from the Order could have given rise to legends about a foundation for the Dominicans made by this ruler. Nevertheless, it is impossible to prove with existing sources the fact that Prince Daniel or anybody else initiated the foundation of a house in either Halych or Lviv.

Similarly, there is no evidence for relationships between Konstancia of Hungary and the Mendicants in Rus'. In general, little is known about her life

⁷³ *De facto Ungarie Magne a fratre Ricardo invento tempore domini Gregorii pape noni* in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938), 535–542.

⁷⁴ "Cupientes tuis votis annuere et volentes in omnibus quantum cum Deo possumus tue satisfacere voluntati, dilectos filios fr. Alexium et... socium ejus, qui cum ipse fuit in Bohemia, O.P., tibi ad morandum tecum duximus concedendos...": *Historia Russiae Monumenta, ex antiquis exterarum gentium archivis et bibliothecis deprompta ab A. Turgenevio* (hereafter *HRM*) (Petropoli: Typis E. Prtzi, 1848), vol. 1, no. 63. This fact was also mentioned in *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum* and interpreted as follows: "Conatibus unionis ecclesiasticae anni 1246 habendae inter curiam Romanam et Danielem de Halicz vasallum Tatarorum fratres Praedicatores, e quibus uni Alexii nomen, intervenerunt," Walz, *Compendium*, 171.

⁷⁵ *HRM*, vol. 1, no. 63–64.



Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv

afterher marriage. The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle contains a laconic entry dated to 1247: "Daniel took his son Leo and the Metropolitan and went to the king [Béla] in Izvolyn [presently Zvolen in Slovakia] and took his [Béla's] daughter for his son for a wife."⁷⁶ More information about the princess is to be found in the 1302 *Vita et miracula s. Kungae*: "*Constantia tradita est Leoni duci Russiae quae corruscat miraculis in civitate Lwowensi.*"⁷⁷ Kinga, another daughter of King Béla, entered the St Clare nunnery in Sačz after the death of her husband, the Polish King Boleslaw. She died in the nunnery in 1292 and was later venerated as a saint. Her *Vita* is the first source to mention miracles of Konstancia in Lviv, yet nothing is said about her contacts with the Dominicans. The strong support that the Mendicants received at the royal court in Hungary and the rapid development of their provinces there during the thirteenth century⁷⁸ suggest that Konstancia could possibly have favored the Order. This possibility was mentioned in the literature, although left without proof it became a further continuation of the "tradition."⁷⁹ Taking into account the circumstances that seem to have motivated the creation of the "tradition," it is possible that there might be no proof for it at all. Apparently, for monastic communities as well as for royal courts "the cult of divine rulers ... was always the fruit of a conscious investment, ... an invention of tradition."⁸⁰

⁷⁶ *Ipatiyevskaya Letopis'* (Hipatian Chronicle) ed. A. Shakhmatov in *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, vol. 2 (Sankt-Peterburg: Archeograficheskaya Komissiya, 1908), 542. This chronicle does not mention the presence of the two friars who might have already arrived in Rus' by that time.

⁷⁷ *Vita et miracula s. Kungae*, MPH, vol. 4, 684.

⁷⁸ Beatrix Romhányi, "The Settling Features of the Orders in Medieval Hungary," (MA thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 1994), 31–43.

⁷⁹ Despite the fact that there is no proof for relationships between the Dominican order and the princess, her legend has not been abandoned in contemporary times. Recent decades have seen a development in Dominican hagiography and the incorporation of Konstancia's legend in it. See Mary J. Dorcy, *St Dominic's Family*, (Washington, D.C.: TAN Books, 1983). An even more prominent example of the "tradition's" revival is to be found in a popular religious periodical. Here an article about Konstancia's holy and pious life is written in the style of a *Vita*: Piotr Stefaniak, "Konstancia Arpadówna, księżna halicka, zapomniana dominikanka ze Lwowa" (Konstancia of the Árpáds, a forgotten Dominican from Lviv). *Semper Fidelis* 1–2 (Wrocław, 2001): 48–51, 26–30.

⁸⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 396.



The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

Conclusion

Existing primary sources allow the following conclusions concerning the history of the Dominican order in Kievan Rus' in the thirteenth century. Kiev appears to be the only place where the presence of the Dominican order can be proven. Their presence was followed by the foundation of a convent, most likely near the existing Latin church of St Mary. The Kievan mission was very short and can be dated to 1233/1234 according to papal bulls, but not to 1222, 1223 or 1228 according to the hagiographic literature. It was concerned mainly with the local Catholic population. After the expulsion of the Order, there is no trace of renewal of the Dominican presence in the town during the thirteenth century.

It is impossible to verify the foundation of a Dominican house in Halych in either 1228 or in 1238 with existing primary sources. Similarly, there is no confirmation for the presence of the Order in Lviv in the thirteenth century: the Dominican house here was first mentioned only in the 1370s. The versions of the story about Prince Daniel, Leo I or Konstancia of Hungary as possible founders of the Dominicans in Galician Rus' remain without solid documentary support.

There is no reliable evidence for the presence of St Hyacinth in Rus' either. All existing information concerning his missions in this territory is taken from hagiographic literature and requires further verification. One cannot reasonably speak of any convent in Rus' founded by this saint when his presence there is hypothetical.

Much additional information taken from Dominican historiography and hagiography can be qualified as mostly legendary, or, in better cases, as hypothetical. Regrettably, this information has not been completely revised in modern scholarship. This paper aimed at attracting attention to the fact that contemporary studies, consciously or not, cultivate certain old and weakly grounded postulates concerning the Dominicans in Kievan Rus' during the thirteenth century. The example of an early history of the Order in this territory reveals a tendency to borrow "traditions" created in hagiography and post-medieval historiography to form an unquestioned basis for much later studies. This method of rewriting and repeating that dominates these studies represents, in this way, a continuation of Dominican "traditions." Consequently, it has become customary to refer to "tradition," legitimised by constant repetition, as to a primary source, without the necessity to verify it. Such verification on the grounds of existing primary sources is essential since it can provide a different view, rather than a "historical picture" smoothly polished through the centuries.



THE MENDICANTS' MISSION IN AN ORTHODOX LAND: A CASE STUDY OF MOLDAVIA IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Claudia Dobre 

And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come. (Matthew 24:14)

This quotation from Matthew summarizes one of the purposes of the Mendicants' mission inside and outside Christendom; it was one of the goals of their presence in Moldavia, where they tried to put it into practice. This study will show how the Mendicants developed their mission in Moldavia, what their activities and strategies were, and what their role was in the life of the country from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. The study will focus on the fourteenth century, the period when the influence of the Mendicants in Moldavia was growing.

Moldavia during the Middle Ages was a region situated at the borderlands of Latin Christendom, inhabited by Orthodox, pagan, and "heretical" populations. The mission in this frontier space, where the majority of the population belonged to Orthodoxy, was different from, and more complex than, missions either in a pagan space or within Western Christendom. The Mendicants had to adapt themselves to this reality.

The popes, who had a special policy towards the region, supported the Mendicants' mission. Papal policy regarding the mission changed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century the mission was an apostolic one, supported by privileges granted by the popes. Bishoprics were organized under papal jurisdiction in the newly converted region: this was the basis for new missions launched towards new peoples and regions. It was a policy of expanding Western Christendom's frontier.¹ In the fourteenth century the mission tended to be organized by the local provinces of the orders and through the creation of missionary bishoprics, organized hierarchically and endowed with great privileges. This program was supported by the popes in Avignon, but failed because of the very situation of the papacy and the new political realities.²

¹ C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050–1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) (hereafter cited as C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*), 56.

² At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the papacy was confronted with the Great Schism (1378–1418); Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 219–230. It also had to face the threat



Claudia Dobre

Moldavia was considered a country of mission by the papacy and, therefore, great privileges were granted to both Franciscans and Dominicans. The bull that defined the basic statement of the church's missionary function and numbered these privileges was *Cum hora undecima*, issued in 1235 by Pope Gregory IX and reissued in an extended form by Pope Innocent IV in 1245. According to Pope Gregory IX, the task of the missionaries was to fulfill Christ's injunction to preach the gospel to all men so that the process of salvation might be completed. In order to accomplish this task, the missionaries received the right to hear confessions, to absolve excommunicates, to baptize, to administer the sacraments, to appoint priests, to celebrate the mass, to build churches, and to grant indulgences.³

Furthermore, the Mendicants in Moldavia not only enjoyed the privileges granted by the papacy but also had the support of the Polish and Hungarian kings, who were interested in keeping Moldavia under their influence. Whether obeying the papal policy and the interests of the Hungarian and Polish kings, or applying their desire for mission, the Mendicants went into Moldavia and tried to gain it for Catholicism, or at least tried to provide pastoral care for the Catholics living there. Nevertheless, they always had to take into account the attitude of the Moldavian rulers, be they Cumans, Tartars or Orthodox princes.

The Reasons for the Mendicants' Presence in Moldavia

Conversion of the Cumans

The earliest Mendicant presence in the Moldavian region, in the thirteenth century, was related to the Dominican interest in the conversion of the nomadic Cumans. The Cumans were divided into two tribal groupings, Eastern and Western Cumania. The tribes of Eastern Cumania controlled a large area, from the Dnieper to the Volga region all the way to the Black Sea.⁴ Moldavia was part

represented by the Ottomans, who had succeeded in conquering and in imposing their sovereignty over all of southern Europe and Asia. See H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600* (London: Phoenix, 1994). James Muldoon, *The Church and the non-Christian World 1250–1550. Popes, Lawyers and Infidels* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979) (hereafter Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*), 54–70.

³ G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica delle Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franceseano* (Florence: Tipografia. Del Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1906–1927) (hereafter G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*), 414–415.

⁴ András Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians* (Budapest: Corvina kiadó, 1989), 44–46.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

of Western Cumania and its territory was under Cuman rulership until the Mongol invasion.⁵

The Dominicans started their mission in the early 1220s, and enjoyed support from both the ecclesiastical and lay authorities of Hungary.⁶ The missions in Cumania combined a missionary impulse with the interests of the Hungarian church and king.⁷ The conversion of the Cumans would not only stop the raids and establish peace on the eastern borders, but would also lead to the expansion of Hungary's territory. To achieve these objectives, Hungary collaborated closely with the pope, at the same time taking advantage of the activity of the Dominican order.

After a period of intensive preaching to the Cumans, the Dominicans succeeded in gaining an important number of Cumans for Catholicism. Therefore, in order to convert more Cumans to Catholicism, Pope Gregory IX appointed Archbishop Robert to the role of apostolic legate in Cumania and in the Brodniks'⁸ land, and granted him important prerogatives among which was the right to preach, to baptize, to build churches, and to appoint priests and even bishops:

*...legationis officium tibi committere dignaremur, per quod habeas potestatem in eisdem terris vice nostra predicandi, baptizandi, edificandi ecclesias, ordinandi clericos, nec non et creandi episcopos...*⁹

⁵ Victor Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*, tr. Liliana Teodoreanu and Ioana Sturza (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1986) (hereafter Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*), 96–97.

⁶ Guilielmus Schmidt argued that the archbishop of Esztergom, Robert, sent Dominicans to Cumania in 1224 after the settlement of the Teutonic Knights and they convinced the Cumans to ask for conversion. G. Schmidt, *Romano-Catholici per Moldaviam Episcopatus et rei Romano-Catholicae Res Gestae* (Budapest: Typis Societatis Typographicae "Athenaeum," 1887), 13.

⁷ The region was important for the Hungarian kingdom, which could thereby gain access to the Black Sea. See Răzvan Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident. La începuturile culturii medievale românești (secolele X–XIV)* (Byzantium, the Balkans, the Occident. At the beginning of Romanian medieval culture from the tenth to the fourteenth century) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1974), 164.

⁸ According to Spinei, the Brodniks were nomadic people like the Cumans, of Turanian origin, who settled in southern Moldavia in the thirteenth century; Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*, 108.

⁹ A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Rome, 1860) doc. 154, 87.



Claudia Dobre

The presence of the papal legate and the continuing missionary activities of the Dominicans determined the conversions of a large number of Cumans. As a consequence of these large-scale acts of conversion and of the consolidation of Hungary's position in the outer Carpathian region, the archbishop created a bishopric of the Cumans. Reconstructing the exact territory of the bishopric poses some problems.¹⁰ A delimitation of the borders was made in 1231, as can be inferred from a papal letter from 1234 sent to Theodoric, bishop of the Cumans. Robert, the archbishop of Esztergom, went to the region ... *tuam diocesim limitans*.¹¹ Nevertheless, the exact borders remain a problem under discussion. It has been argued that they included the sub-Carpathian zone in south-western Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia, as well as a part of south-eastern Transylvania.¹² From the information given by Rogerius in *Carmen miserabile* it can be inferred that the eastern border was the Siret River. He wrote that the Tartar Bochetor, after having crossed this river in 1241, entered the land of the bishop of the Cumans ... *cum aliis regibus, fluvium qui Zerech dicitur transeuntes pervenerunt ad terram episcopi Comanorum*...¹³

The bishopric of the Cumans only had a short life due to the Mongols' attack in 1241. They destroyed the bishopric and its cathedral, and many

¹⁰ Nevertheless, the bishopric did not encompass the whole territory under Cuman rulership. Only a small part of the territory inhabited and controlled by Cumans was part of the bishopric.

¹¹ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Densusianu, ed. *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* (Documents pertaining to the history of the Romanians), vol. 1, part 1 (Bucharest: Socec, 1887) (hereafter Hurmuzaki), vol. 1, part 1, doc. 103, 130.

¹² Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*, 52. I. Ferenc argued that the bishop of the Cumans never had jurisdiction in southern Transylvania, Ioan Ferenc, *Cumanii și episcopia lor* (The Cumans and their bishopric) (Blaj: Tipografia Seminarului teologic greco-catolic, 1931), 141. Ș. Papacostea argued, based on the Diploma of the Knights of Saint John, that the western border of Cumania was the Olt River. Therefore, the border of the Cumanian bishopric did not extend further west beyond the Bran Pass and Cîmpulung. In the south, the border reached the lower segment of the Danube. Ș. Papacostea, *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire*, tr. Liviu Bleoca (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1998), 106–107. Gábor Lükő argued, based on toponyms of Turkish origin, that the bishopric encompassed the territory between the Olt and Ialomița rivers. Gábor Lükő, "Havaselve és Moldva népei a X–XII században" (The people of Wallachia and Moldavia from the tenth to the twelfth century) *Ethnographia-Népélet* 3–4 (1936): 90–103.

¹³ Rogerius, "Carmen miserabile," ed. Ladislaus Juhász, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, Vol. 2, ed. Emericus Szentpétery (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938), 564, republished by Kornél Szovák and László Veszprémy in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* vol. 2 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 564.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

Dominicans were killed (according to the *Comentariolum*, 90 Dominicans were martyred there¹⁴). After the Mongol invasion, the Hungarian kings made some attempts to restore the bishopric with the help of the Franciscans, who had become influential at the royal court.¹⁵

The Mendicant interest in the Tartars

The presence of the Franciscans in the Moldavian region was related to their interest in the Mongols. The Mongols attracted the Minorites, who tried to convert them.¹⁶ Following papal policy, they believed that converting the Mongols would lead to the liberation of the Holy Land.¹⁷

In order to succeed in their attempts to convert the Mongols, but also to provide care for the Catholics dispersed in the region, the vicariate of *Tartaria Aquilonaris* was created in 1252, encompassing the region from north of the Black Sea to the Caucasus. It was divided into two custodies: Gazaria and Saray. The custody of Gazaria had under its jurisdiction two localities situated in the

¹⁴ László Makkai, *A Milkói (kun) püspökség és népei* (The Cuman bishopric of Milkovia and its people) (Debrecen: Pannonia könyvnyomda, 1936), 43.

¹⁵ Franciscan influences replaced those of the Dominicans at the royal court of Hungary after the blessed Margaret, encouraged by her Dominican confessor, refused to marry as her father wished her to in 1260. See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, tr. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 277. Nevertheless, the expansion of the Dominican Order in Hungary did not stop for a longer period, as was argued by Erik Fügedi, "La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie," in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János Bak, 966–987 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986). Beatrix Romhányi argues that immediately after the death of Béla IV the General Chapter of the Dominican Order allowed the foundation of a new friary and that the Dominicans were supported by kings Stephen V and Ladislas IV; Beatrix Romhányi, "Settling Features of the Orders in Medieval Hungary," MA Thesis (Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest), 32–35. The Franciscans took also the initiative of reestablishing the bishopric of the Cumans. On the Franciscans in Hungary see also János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* (The history of Saint Francis' order in Hungary to 1711) vols 1–2, (Budapest, 1922–24) (hereafter cited as Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc*).

¹⁶ Giovanni Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari. Un secolo di penetrazione occidentale in Asia* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1930).

¹⁷ It was believed that the Tartars would help the Christians to conquer the Holy Land from the Muslims. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*, 42.



Claudia Dobre

south of Moldavia, Vicum¹⁸ and Maurocastrum,¹⁹ in which Franciscans from Italy were active.

The Tartars were the main concern of the Franciscans who were active in the territory of the future Moldavia. In 1278 Pope Nicholas III wrote in a letter to Philip de Fermo, his legate in Hungary, that many Franciscans had been living for a long time (*commorantur*) among the Tartars. "*Minister provincialis fratrum ordinis Minorum regni Ungarie, nobis significare curavit quod plures fratres eiusdem ordinis inter Tartaros commorantur.*"²⁰ Furthermore, the pope specified the territory where these brethren carried out their mission:

*Cum autem nullus sit ibi catholicus episcopus, qui eosdem fratres ad sacros ordines valeat promovere, et civitas de Multo,²¹ posita in confinibus Tartarorum, iamdudum per predictos Tartaros destructa fuerant...*²²

¹⁸ Vicum was first mentioned by the *custos* of Gazaria in a letter of 1287. G. Brătianu identified Vicum with Vicina. G. I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă. Contribution à l'histoire de la domination byzantine et tatar et du commerce génois sur le littoral roumain de la Mer Noire* (Bucharest, 1935), 58–60. The location of Vicina is debated; it has not yet been identified on the ground but it was probably somewhere between Chilia and Cetatea Albă. A *Ludovicus Vicinensis, de ordine Minorum* was present in Cracow in 1371 when the bishop of Siret was consecrated. See N. Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii românești* (The history of the Romanian Church) second ed., vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Ministerului de Culte, 1928), 34. Constantin Andreescu considered that Vicina might be in the present-day Dobrogea. C. Andreescu, "Așezări franciscane la Dunăre și Marea Neagră" (Franciscan houses on the Danube and the Black Sea), *Cercetări istorice* 8–9, no. 2 (1932–1933): 163; Malciuc Petru Herkulan situated Vicina in the south of Moldavia. Herkulan Malciuc Petru, *Presenza minoritica nei territori della Moldavia nell' epoca medievale (secc. XII–XV)* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1999) (hereafter Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*), 57.

¹⁹ Maurocastrum or Albi Castrum is Cetatea Albă, also called Akkerman by the Ottomans.

²⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, D. Relații între Țările Române*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1977) (hereafter DRH. D), doc. 12, 29.

²¹ N. Iorga interpreted "civitas de Multo" as "civitas de Mylco" and identified the bishopric of Milkovia with the former bishopric of the Cumans. N. Iorga, *Studii și documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, vol. 2, *Acte relative la istoria cultului catolic în principate* (Studies and documents regarding the history of the Romanians, vol. 2, Papers related to the history of the Catholic faith in the Romanian principalities) (Bucharest: Socec, 1901) (hereafter cited as Iorga, *Studii și Documente*), xix, footnote 2. Nevertheless, there is another explanation of "civitas de Multo." Bolșacov-Ghimpu interpreted "Multo" as "Multa" or "Mulda," which means Moldavia. He argued that "Mulda" is Baia. See A. A. Bolșacov-Ghimpu, "Episcopi ortodocși din Țările Române în secolul al XIII-lea"



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

It has been argued that the Franciscans were preaching in the territories of the former bishopric of the Cumans. This papal letter implies that the Franciscans not only preached among Tartars, but also lived and traveled together with them. They tried to accomplish their task of administering the sacraments and thereby to win more people over to Catholicism.

*Inter istos tartaros pastores gregum, fratres minores Sanctae Francisci habent quinque loca mobilia in papilionibus filtro coopertis, et cum Tartaris moventur de loco ad locum, in curribus portantes loca et libros et utensilia, qui Tartaris predicant et baptizant et administrant credentibus sacramenta.*²³

The Franciscans seemed to enjoy a warm welcome from the Tartars, as can be inferred from the letter quoted above. However, they sometimes had to face the Tartars' displeasure; living and preaching among the Tartars exposed them to the possibility of martyrdom. In 1314 Angelo da Spoleto was killed by Tartars in Maurocastro: *item in Maurocastro Frater Angelus de Spoleto, tunc custos fratrum, interemptus est per bulgaros*²⁴ and the Franciscan Pietro da Unghera was killed by *saraceni della Tartaria Aquilonare, limitrofa alla Transilvania*.²⁵

The Dominicans were also active in the conversion of the Tartars at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In February 1327, the pope asked Basarab, the voivode of Wallachia, to allow Dominicans from Hungary to cross his country en route to preach to the Tartars: *hostes crucis de remotis partibus Alamannie et polonie circumpositis regionibus...*²⁶ Nevertheless, the Mendicants failed in their attempts to convert a large number of Tartars.²⁷

(Orthodox bishops from the Romanian Countries in the thirteenth century), *Glasul Bisericii* 30, no. 1–2 (1971): 118–119.

²² DRH. D, doc. 12, 29.

²³ Furthermore the Franciscans "...quia bellare nolunt, nec arma portare, et quia terras et venias nollunt possidere, sed solum loca humilia, ubi possint hospitari, cum omnes alii habeant possessiones..." J. Eremosina, *Chronicon*, ed. G. Golubovich in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 2, 125–126. This situation reflected the mission of the Franciscans from *Tartaria Aquilonaris*, but the situation might have been similar in the Moldavian region.

²⁴ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, (Rome: Typis Rochi Bernabo, 1733), vol. 7, 712–714.

²⁵ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 182.

²⁶ DRH. D, doc. 17, 39.

²⁷ The Tartars were the masters of the region and therefore they were less receptive to conversion to Catholicism. Furthermore, they converted to Islam, which made the mission of the Mendicants impossible. Virgil Ciocâltan, "Hegemonia hoardei de Aur la Dunărea de Jos (1301–1341)" (The Golden Horde's hegemony on the Lower Danube (1301–1341), *Revista Istorică* 5, no. 1–2 (1994): 1100–1111. See also Virgil Ciocâltan,



Claudia Dobre

Following the Merchants

The presence of Catholic merchants in the northern part of the Black Sea was another reason for the Mendicants' activities into the region. It has been argued that the Mendicants followed the merchants on their routes. An important commercial route crossed Moldavia and therefore Mendicants could be found in Moldavia as well.

In the first half of the fourteenth century the most important commercial route in the region was known by the name of *via tartarica*; it stretched from the Baltic Sea to Caffa. The insecurity of the Tartar route, which crossed the lands under Tartar domination, and the importance of Lviv, which gained the right of emporium, led to the development of another commercial route in the second half of the fourteenth century, the so-called *via moldava*, which ended in Chilia and Cetatea Albă.²⁸ Therefore both the Hungarian and Polish kings, and later the Moldavian prince, were interested in these two towns.²⁹

The commercial importance of Chilia and Cetatea Albă, situated in southern Moldavia, determined their incorporation in an organized bishopric run by Mendicants. Beginning in 1318, or perhaps 1317, when the Catholic bishopric of Caffa was founded (under the archbishopric of Genoa), southern Moldavia was under its jurisdiction. The first bishop was a Franciscan,

Mongolii și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV (The Mongols and the Black Sea from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century) (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998).

²⁸ D. Deletant, "Moldavia between Hungary and Poland, 1347–1412," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 64, no. 2 (1986): 203–204. Chilia was the destination of another commercial route that crossed the Hungarian kingdom. See in this respect Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Le commerce du Levant et la Hongrie au Moyen Age," *Annales. E.S.C.* 31, no. 6 (1976): 1176–1194. Ștefan Andreescu argued that *via moldava* gained predominance only in the beginning of the fifteenth century. See Ștefan Andreescu, "Note despre Cetatea Albă" (A Few Notes on Cetatea Albă), *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 18 (2000): 57–77.

²⁹ In the fourteenth century both cities were under Genoese jurisdiction and were important places for commerce and also for Mendicant activities; the two cities belonged to Moldavia between 1410 and 1420. The interest of the Hungarian king, Sigismund of Luxemburg, and the Polish king in these two commercial towns was manifested in 1412 when they signed the Treaty of Lublau. They agreed to share sovereignty over Moldavia should it refuse to help them in a war against the Ottoman Empire, and to take control over the two cities: Hungary would take Chilia, and Poland would take Cetatea Albă. See on this topic Florin Constantiniu and Șerban Papacostea, "Tratatul de la Lublau (15 martie 1412) și situația internațională a Moldovei la începutul veacului al XV-lea" (The Lublau Treaty and the international situation of Moldavia in the beginning of the fourteenth century), *Studii. Revista de Istorie* 17, no. 5 (1964): 1138–1140.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

Hieronymus, who was succeeded by a Dominican, Matthew.³⁰ The Mendicants were interested not only in pagans and Catholics living in the territory of Moldavia, but also in the Orthodox population.

The Conversion of the Orthodox

The Mendicants did not have a special strategy for converting the Orthodox. They had to deal with the Orthodox Romanian population in the bishopric of the Cumans as early as the 1220s. In 1234, Pope Gregory IX wrote to King Béla of Hungary about the Orthodox people, and recommended to him that he support the bishop of the Cumans in applying the canon of the Fourth Lateran Council regarding the Orthodox.³¹ After the Second Council of Lyon (1274), where the union of the Churches was accomplished, the Mendicants also turned their attention to the Orthodox.

Although neither the popes nor the Mendicants had a coherent policy regarding the conversion of the Orthodox, this was foreseen—and the Orthodox were targeted—by the Mendicants in Moldavia.³² A Franciscan, Antonius de Spoleto, *qui linguam dicte nationis scire asseritur, baptizasse et magnum fructum sua predicatione animabus eorum dicitur attulisse*³³ converted Romanians to Catholicism using the method of preaching in their language, a method envisaged by the Mendicants from the very beginning of their foundation. The popes also considered this method a good solution for conversions.³⁴

Despite their attempts to convert the Orthodox, the Mendicants were not successful in this activity and their strategies failed. Furthermore, their activities in Moldavia were hindered because they could not count on the support of the population, the majority of whom were Orthodox. Therefore they organized themselves in small houses with few members, and not the twelve people

³⁰ Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*, 171.

³¹ A papal letter, in DRH. D, doc. 9, 21. The bishop of the Cumans had to appoint a vicar for the Orthodox. The Fourth Crusade meant the end of the schism in the view of the pope, therefore the Orthodox as part of the Catholic Church did not need to be converted to Catholicism. Radu Constantinescu, "Note privind istoria bisericii române în secolele XIII–XV" (Notes on the history of the Romanian church from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century), *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 6 (1973), 188.

³² Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997), 43 (hereafter Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*).

³³ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, 216–217.

³⁴ See in this regard the papal letter published in Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, 216–217.



Claudia Dobre

minimum in a house which was required by the statutes of the orders. Moreover, they sought properties and privileges.³⁵

The Reestablishment of the Bishopric of the Cumans

The interest of the Hungarian kings in reestablishing the bishopric of the Cumans coincided at the end of the thirteenth century with the papacy's interest in applying the decisions taken at the Council of Lyon II (1274). The union of the two Churches, settled in Lyon, was an important decision that had to be put into practice. The instruments of the papal policy in this respect were the Mendicants, especially the Franciscans. Franciscan interest in the former bishopric of the Cumans (called in the fourteenth century the bishopric of Milkovia³⁶) coincided with the anti-Mongol operations undertaken by King Charles I of Anjou (1301–1342). His actions might be also regarded as an example of the expansionist policy of Hungary towards the Carpathian region.

The papacy supported both the Franciscans and the Hungarian king, and granted privileges to those who were fighting against the Mongols. In 1314, Pope Clement V absolved the sins of those who would die fighting against the Tartars and schismatics.³⁷ In 1332, Pope John XXII, at the request of Charles I, renounced in favor of the king one third of the revenue of the Pontifical Seat from the Kingdom of Hungary, which derived from a three-year vacancy of the church benefices, to use in the campaign against the Ruthenes, schismatics, and pagans.³⁸ Moreover, the pope agreed to remit to the king within six years a third of the tithes to which he was entitled in Hungary, to be used toward the same end.³⁹

Furthermore, the popes appointed a number of Mendicant friars as bishops of Milkovia. In 1327, Pope John XXII appointed Luca de Castello

³⁵ J. Kloczowsky, "Dominicans of the Polish Provinces," in *La Pologne dans l'Eglise médiévale* (Norfolk: Variorum, 1993) (hereafter cited as J. Kloczowsky, "Dominicans of the Polish Provinces"), 93. See also the case mentioned above regarding the Dominican privileges to gather the income of the custom duties in Siret.

³⁶ It was called Milkovia after the name of the town where the cathedral stood. In the documents it appears with the name Milkovia in the papal letter of 1332 when Vitus de Monteferro was appointed as its bishop. Nevertheless, as noted above, according to Iorga the name Mylco appeared in the papal letter sent to Philip de Fermo in 1278. See DRH. D, doc. 22, 45–46.

³⁷ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 1, 575.

³⁸ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 1, 618

³⁹ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 1, 623.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

administratori ecclesiae cumane, in spiritualibus et temporalibus auctoritate apostolica deputato. The same papal letter mentioned Leon, a former bishop of the Cumans.⁴⁰ In 1332, at the request of the Hungarian king, Pope John XXII asked the archbishop of Esztergom to take care of the bishopric and to appoint Vitus de Monteferre, the chaplain of the Hungarian king, as bishop. In 1347 another bishop of Milkovia was appointed, in the person of Thomas of Nympti, who was also the chaplain of the Hungarian king.⁴¹ The appointed bishops of Milkovia never went to their bishopric; they were mentioned as suffragans of other bishoprics or as carrying out missions for the Hungarian king. This was the case with Thomas of Nympti, who some months after his appointment was in Venice as the envoy of the Hungarian king.⁴² It may be assumed that all the Hungarian and papal attempts failed to make the bishopric functional.⁴³ Șerban Papacostea has argued, however, that the bishopric functioned during the rulership of Louis I of Anjou, whose military campaigns in the region coincided at the ecclesiastical level with the reestablishment of the bishopric of Milkovia.⁴⁴ A letter of Pope Clement VI from 1348 implies that conversions were made in the region of Cumania,⁴⁵ therefore he wrote to the provincial minister of the Dominicans in Hungary about the necessity for friars to go there to support the *novella plantacio*, and to convert the others:

*Attendemus igitur, quod in partibus Cumanie, ... multis ex infidelis ipsis ad ipsius agnitionem fidei iam conversis, nos desiderantes attente, ut huiusmodi novella plantacio, ... aliquos ex fratribus ordinis vestri, ad dictas partes destinare curetis...*⁴⁶

Moreover, in subsequent years new bishops were appointed to the bishopric. The Polish Dominican Bernard of Mazovia was promoted as bishop

⁴⁰ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 1, doc. 478, 602.

⁴¹ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 4, 4

⁴² Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 5, 6.

⁴³ C. Auner considered that the bishopric could not have been reestablished because the independent voivode of Wallachia could not agree to a Catholic bishopric in his territories. See Carol Auner, "Episcopia Milcoviei în veacul al XIV-lea. Încercări de restaurare" (The Bishopric of Milkovia in the fourteenth century. The attempts at restoration), *Revista Catolică* 3 (1914): 63–65.

⁴⁴ Șerban Papacostea, *Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc* (The genesis of the state in the Romanian Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Corint, 1999) (hereafter cited as Ș. Papacostea, *Geneza statului*), 42–43.

⁴⁵ It should be mentioned that even in the fourteenth century the popes referred to the region as Cumania.

⁴⁶ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 8, 7.



Claudia Dobre

of Milkovia on 12 February 1353. As no revenues were obtainable, two months after his appointment Innocent VI exempted him temporarily from paying taxes. Bernard lived in Germany and Bohemia until 1357, when he was transferred to Plock in Poland.⁴⁷ In 1364, Albert de Usk was appointed the bishop of Milkovia; he was also absolved from paying taxes.⁴⁸

The Hungarian king's interest in Milkovia was even greater when the bishopric of Siret⁴⁹ was founded under the influence of Poland. In order to counteract this influence in Moldavia, a new bishop, Nicholas of Buda, was appointed to the seat of Milkovia.⁵⁰ The pope wrote to the Hungarian king to help the new bishop recover the possessions of the bishopric: ... *in recuperandis bonis et iuribus dicte sue ecclesie*.⁵¹ Another solution to make the bishopric functional was to appoint a bishop who could speak the language of the majority of the population there. In 1374 the pope mentioned Antonio de Spoleto, who was preaching in the bishopric of Milkovia and had converted many people, especially Romanians, because he knew their language:

*Antonius de Spoleto ordinis fratrum Minorum professor, qui linguam dicte nationis scire asseritur et qui tempore dicte conversionis multos ex dictis Vlachis convertisse, baptizasse, et magnum fructum sua predicatione animabus eorum dicitur attulisse, ...*⁵²

⁴⁷ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 36, 45–46.

⁴⁸ The bishops *in partibus* of Milkovia never went to their bishopric because, as the papal letter stated, there were no incomes, and its properties had been taken by powerful people of the region. DRH. D, 63.

⁴⁹ The bishopric of Siret was founded in 1370 and encompassed the whole territory of the country of Moldavia. The southern part of the country belonged to the bishopric of Milkovia. More details about the Siret bishopric are given below.

⁵⁰ Gheorghe I. Moisescu, *Catholicismul în Moldova până la sfârșitul veacului XIV* (Catholicism in Moldavia until the end of the fourteenth century) (Bucharest: Tipografia Cărilor bisericești, 1942) (hereafter cited as Moisescu, *Catholicismul în Moldova*), 45.

⁵¹ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 134, 175. The properties and rights of the bishopric were occupied by the former archbishop of Esztergom, as can be inferred from a papal letter in the same year sent to the archbishop of Esztergom. Hurmuzaki, I/2, doc. 135, 176. In a letter sent to the Hungarian king, the pope also mentioned some lay persons who had taken over the properties of the bishopric; see the letter in Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 1, doc. 496, 622.

⁵² Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 133, 174–175. In this respect see also Donato Fabianich, *Storia dei frati minori dai primordi della loro istituzione in Dalmazia e Bossina fino ai giorni nostri*, vol. 1, (Zadar: Tip. Fratelli Battara, 1863), 137–138.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

Nevertheless, he was not appointed bishop and we have no information about other bishops for 50 years. The last mention of the bishopric of Milkovia was in 1511, when Pope Julius II subordinated it to the archbishop of Ezergom.⁵³

Papal bulls hinted at the boundaries of the bishopric of Milkovia in 1332 and 1347 when they specified that *Episcopatus Milkoviensis in regno Hungariae, in finibus videlicet Tartarorum*.⁵⁴ New information about the boundaries of the bishopric appeared in the letter of Pope Eugenius IV when, in October 1431, he appointed the archdeacon of Satu Mare as bishop of Milkovia and mentioned that the bishopric was situated in Wallachia and belonging to the province of Kalocsa: "*ecclesie Milcoviensi in Valachia provincie Colocensis etc. de persona domini Emerici Zechel presbiteri archidiaconi de Zathmarensi*"⁵⁵ Another mention of the bishopric's limits dates from 1453, when the bishop of Milkovia informed Pope Nicholas V that parts of Transylvania had belonged to his diocese in the past. The bishop succeeded in persuading the pope to move the seat to Braşov, under the pretext that Milkovia had suffered a great deal from Turkish invasions and that its inhabitants were Orthodox. Protests by the bishop of Ezergom led the pope to revoke the previous decisions.⁵⁶ Despite the absence of the bishops of Milkovia from their bishopric, the mission of conversion was carried on by the Mendicants, who still considered Moldavia a country of mission, *Terra Peregrinantium*.⁵⁷

⁵³ Hurmuzaki, vol. 2, part 1, doc. 28, 25–27. The pope was motivated in his decision by the fact that the bishopric had previously belonged to this archbishopric. Karácsonyi argued that the Franciscans of the observant province of Hungary asked the pope to revoke the privileges granted to the bishop of Milkovia to appoint priests in Moldavia and to give to them this right instead. The pope did even more, abolishing the bishopric by merging it with the archbishopric of Ezergom. See Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc*, vol. 2, 13.

⁵⁴ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 4, 4.

⁵⁵ I. C. Filitti, ed, *Din Arhivele Vaticanului*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Tipografia Dim. C. Ionescu, 1914), (hereafter cited as Filitti, 1), 42.

⁵⁶ Hurmuzaki, vol. 2, part 2, 16–18.

⁵⁷ Moldavia was considered *Terra Peregrinantium* even in the fifteenth century, when the general minister of the Dominican Order wrote that "frater Nicolaus Iordanis de conventu Cassoviensi et frater Michael de Buda fuerunt deputati predicatoris nationis Moldaviensis sive Terre Peregrinantium." See P. Loenertz "Les missions dominicaines en Orient au XIV^e siècle et la Société des Frères Pérégrinants pour le Christ," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 4 (1934) (hereafter cited as Loenertz "Les missions dominicaines en Orient"), 45.



Claudia Dobre

The Mendicants' Activities and Strategies in the Fourteenth Century

It has been argued that at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Franciscans were present in other parts of Moldavia besides the territories of the former bishopric of the Cumans. Paulinus of Venice, in his work dated to 1343 by C. Eubel,⁵⁸ mentioned five Franciscan houses situated in the territory of Moldavia belonging to the vicariate of Russia: *Cereth*, *Modalvie*, *Cotham*, *Licostomo*, and *Albi Castri*.⁵⁹ The first three, identified with Siret, Baia, and Hotin, were situated in the northern part of the country; the other two, identified with Chilia and Cetatea Albă were in the south.⁶⁰

The sources show that missionary activities in Moldavia in the first half of the fourteenth century were carried on by the Polish Franciscans supported by the Polish kingdom, which became interested in the mouth of the Danube after conquering Red Rus' in 1340. Nevertheless, Hungarian Franciscans were also present in Moldavia. In 1348, Pope Clement VI asked the provincial of Minorites in Hungary to send missionaries to Moldavia *in partibus Cumanie... infra fines*

⁵⁸ The dating of Paulinus of Venice's work is debated. Its editor, C. Eubel, proposed the year 1343. K. Kantak argued that the list of the Franciscan houses dated from the end of the fourteenth century and it is identical with the one of Bartholomeus Pisanus. See in this respect Kamil Kantak *Franciszki polscy* (The Polish Franciscans) vol. 1 (Cracow, 1937), 274.

⁵⁹ The list encompassed 13 houses: Lemburg, Grodech, Colomia, Galciff, Nostin, Caminix, Scotorix, Cusminen, Cereth, Modaluie, Cotham, Licostoni, Albi Castri. Herkulan identified Cereth with Siret, Cotham with Hotin, Moldavie with Moldovitzam, Licostoni with Chilia and Albi Castri with Cetatea Albă, Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*, 67–69. The same identification is proposed by J. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (New York: The Franciscan Institute. St. Bonaventure University, 1983), 7, 307, 448. Gh. Moiescu identified Moldauie with Baia. See Moiescu, *Catolicismul în Moldova*, 84. See also C. Giurescu. *Tirguri sau orașe și cetăți moldovene din secolul X pînă la mijlocul secolului XVI* (Boroughs or towns and Moldavian fortresses from the tenth to the middle of the sixteenth century) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1967), 86.

⁶⁰ There is no clear evidence for the presence of all these five Franciscan houses on the territory of Moldavia around 1340. The presence of the Franciscans in Siret in 1340 might be possible as Wadding mentioned martyrdom in Siret. In 1340 Blasius and Marcus were killed in Moldavia: *...quando in Valachia et civitate Seret frater Blasius, una cum fratre Marco martyrii coronam fortiter adipiscebatur...* Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a San Francisco institutorum* (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1931) (hereafter Wadding, *Annales Minorum*), 287. A Franciscan house in Cetatea Albă is mentioned in a list from 1330. See C. Andreescu, *Așezări franciscane*, 4–7. Chilia and Cetatea Albă were incorporated in the bishopric of Caffa in 1318 and previously were part of the custody of Gazaria.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

regni Hungarie in order to reinforce the Catholicism of the *novella plantatio*.⁶¹ Despite the presence of the Franciscans from Hungary, the Polish Franciscans were more active; they succeeded in converting Lațcu, the Orthodox voivode, and in establishing a bishopric in Siret.

The Franciscans and Lațcu's Conversion

In 1370, as a result of Franciscan preaching activities, but also for other reasons, Voivode Lațcu manifested his desire for conversion to Catholicism. Discussions regarding the union of the two Christian Churches and Lațcu's interest in being recognized as an independent ruler were two of the reasons which determined the conversion of the voivode.⁶²

Franciscans of the Polish province (the two envoys of the Moldavian prince to the pope were two Franciscans from this province, Nicholas de Mehlsack⁶³ and Paul de Schweidnitz⁶⁴), who carried on missions in Moldavia, prepared the conversion of Lațcu, his recognition as a ruler by the pope, and the establishment of the bishopric of Siret. The pope himself presented the desire of

⁶¹ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, 8.

⁶² There are many opinions on the conversion of Lațcu; therefore I will cite only the best-known ones; C. Auner considered that Lațcu converted because he wanted to integrate Moldavia into Western culture and religion. Carol Auner, "Episcopia de Seret" (The bishopric of Siret), *Revista Catolică* 2 (1913) (hereafter cited as Auner, "Episcopia de Seret"), 233; Gh. Moisescu argued that the conversion was mainly for political reasons, Lațcu wanted to be recognized as an independent ruler and to have an independent church, Moisescu, *Catolicismul în Moldova*, 69–70. Regarding the papal interest in the conversion of Lațcu, Ș. Papacostea argues that the papal policy towards Moldavia contradicted the Hungarian policy because giving an independent bishopric meant the recognition of the independence of the state. See Papacostea, *Geneza statului*, 279. According to A. A. Vasiliev, the papal policy was related to its attempts to unite the churches, after the conversion of the Emperor of Constantinople to Catholicism in 1369, A. A. Vasiliev, "Il viaggio di Giovanni V Paleologo in Italia e l'unione di Roma," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 3 (1931): 151–193.

⁶³ Nicolaus Mehlsack has been identified as Nicolaus Melsak de Krosno, the vicar of the vicariate of Russia. This explains why he was chosen by Lațcu as his personal envoy to the pope, Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*, 118. N. Iorga stated that he was the chaplain of Queen Hedwiga, Iorga, *Studii și Documente*, XXIX. Gh. Moisescu considered that he was the confessor of Queen Elisabeth of Hungary and in 1387 *custos Moldaviensis*. Moisescu, *Catolicismul în Moldova*, 72.

⁶⁴ Paul de Schweidnitz was a German from Silesia who was a missionary in Moldavia. See Herkulan, *Presenza minoritica*, 118.



Claudia Dobre

the Moldavian prince for conversion as a consequence of the preaching activities of the Minorites:

*Laczko Dux Moldaviensis ac populus sui ducatus, qui licet christianitatis nomine gloriarentur, tamen scismatici fuerant et adhuc erant, quorundam fratrum ordinis Minorum predicationibus inducti abnegare volebant omne scisma et profiteri sanctam fidem, quam apostolica et Catholica tenet ecclesia...*⁶⁵

He received the news with great interest, especially because he was working for the union of the Orthodox with the Catholic Church. An Orthodox prince converted to Catholicism would have supported his ideas for the union. Therefore Urban V, interested in accomplishing this conversion as soon as possible, wrote to the bishops of Cracow and Prague⁶⁶ about the Moldavian voivode's desire for conversion and charged them with the task of finding out whether the situation was as the two Franciscans described it. The pope also responded favorably to the request of the voivode for an independent bishopric in Siret, which was previously dependent on Halicz:

*ipsius Ducis nobis humiliter supplicato, ut oppidum suum Ceretense Halecensis diocesis in civitatem erigere et civitatis vocabulo insignire, ac ipsi episcoporum Catholicum, qui ipsos ducem et populum in dicta fide instrueret et nutriret...*⁶⁷

The preparation undertaken by the Franciscans for this conversion is also shown by Lațcu's desire that the first bishop to be appointed in the newly constituted bishopric be the Minorite Andreas Wasilio of Cracow.⁶⁸ The pope responded favorably to this demand and "... *dilectius filius Andreas de Cracovia dicti ordinis fratrum Minorum professor, in sacerdotio constitutus, utilis et idoneus essent ad regimen dicte ecclesie,*"⁶⁹ was appointed and confirmed by the bishop of Cracow in March, 1371. Nevertheless, he was not eager to go to his bishopric. In

⁶⁵ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 125, 162.

⁶⁶ The Franciscan missionaries in Siret belonged to the province of Poland-Bohemia, as the papal letter shows. See J. Sýkora, "Poziția internațională a Moldovei în timpul lui Lațcu: lupta pentru independență și afirmare pe plan extern" (The international position of Moldavia during the reign of Lațcu: the struggle for the independence and affirmation on the external front), *Revista de Istorie* 29, no. 2 (1976) (hereafter cited as Sýkora, "Poziția internațională a Moldovei în timpul lui Lațcu"): 1144.

⁶⁷ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 125, 162. The Moldavian ecclesiastical hierarchy was dependent on Halicz: the separation of Halicz and their rulers could have been a reason for Lațcu's request. See Papacostea, *Geneza statului*, 279.

⁶⁸ Andreas Wasilio of Cracow was born in Poland in 1320 into the noble family of Jastrzebiec; in 1388 he was appointed bishop of Vilna. Herkulan, *Prezenza minoritica*, 120.

⁶⁹ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 125, 162.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

December 1371 he was still in Lviv.⁷⁰ His bishopric did not encompass all of Moldavia; the southern part of the country belonged to the bishopric of Milkovia.⁷¹

The pope must have considered that the conversion of the prince and the establishment of an organized ecclesiastical hierarchy would be a useful instrument for the conversion of the people.⁷² Encouraged by the conversion of Lațcu, he found it necessary that new friars be sent to the region in order to win over the people to Catholicism. In 1370 he asked Nicholas de Mehlsack to send twenty-five friars to Russia, Lithuania, and Moldavia:

*viginti quinque fratres ordinis minorum, cuius professor existis, quos vita, discretione et literatura idoneos ad hoc fore putaveris..., de quibuscunque nationibus et conventibus assumendi et recipiendi ac ducendi seu mittendi ad easdem partes, ... in eisdem morandi pro propagatione et conservatione Catholice fidei fideliter laborando...*⁷³

However, the conversion of Lațcu did not mean the conversion of the population; his wife was still Orthodox and therefore in 1372 Lațcu asked the pope for advice. In his answer, the pope congratulated Lațcu on his conversion and advised him to try to convert his wife to Catholicism, but he did not pronounce a divorce, and declared the children legitimate:

Litteras tue nobilitatis gratanter recepimus ad quarum contenta praesentibus respondemus, quod si ut de tua conversione ad catholicam fidem et obedienciam sacrosancte Romane ecclesie, ... et tua bona perseverantia in domino gratulamur, ita de tue uxoris, que in prioribus erroribus permanet, pertinacia condolemus, sperantes quod tu salutaribus et sedulis monitis, tueque preclare ac sincere

⁷⁰ The pope asked him to arrest the priest John of Lviv, who although Catholic, preached the Orthodox religion. See the letter in Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc 136, 176–178.

⁷¹ The Bishopric of Siret encompassed all of Moldavia that was under Lațcu's rulership, as the pope stated in his letter: "...ac totam dictam Terram seu Ducatum Moldaviensem in quantum ad praefatum ducem pertinet," Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 124, 161. It is argued that southern Moldavia did not belong at that time to the country of Moldavia. Sýkora, "Poziția internațională a Moldovei în timpul lui Lațcu," 1148.

⁷² In the same years a similar process took place in Lithuania. See P. Rabikauskas, "La cristianizzazione della Lituania (XIII e XIV secolo)," in *L'église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1990), 3–10.

⁷³ Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, part 2, doc. 126, 163.



Claudia Dobre

*fidelitatis exemplis ad prefatam fidem et obedienciam convertas eandem, te non intendimus cogere ad eam quocumque tempore dimittendam.*⁷⁴

Lațcu's conversion and the creation of the bishopric might have been seen as a step forwards in the work of the union of the churches, but the bishopric did not accomplish its task because most of the bishops appointed to Siret did not go to their bishopric. In subsequent years the bishopric of Siret became only a nominal function; the last known bishop, Ioannes Petrus, was appointed in 1434, but he never went to his bishopric.⁷⁵

*The Congregation of Friars Pilgrims for Christ among the Gentiles*⁷⁶

Although the bishops of Siret did not carry out their duties, the mission was carried on by the Mendicants, especially by Dominicans, members of the Congregation of Friars Pilgrims or *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium per Christum inter gentes*, founded around 1300. The most important convents, the basis of the Society, were the convent of Pera created in 1299, and the convents of Caffa (1298) and Trebizond (1315). The Congregation was a network of convents and small houses, which enjoyed many papal privileges, situated along the routes of the Genoese commercial empire. The Congregation was abolished for the first time in 1363, but it was restored in 1376 and became even more active, enjoying great prestige. The final act was played out in 1456 when, after the fall of Constantinople, the Congregation was abolished for the second time.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁴ The letter is quoted in Auner, "Episcopia de Seret," 242.

⁷⁵ C. Auner, "Cei din urmă episcopi de Seret" (The last bishops of Siret), *Revista Catolică* 2 (1914): 567.

⁷⁶ The origins of *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* have been debated. Based on Wadding's information, it was considered to have been created in 1252 and to have included both Franciscans and Dominicans. See Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 328. R. Loenertz considered that *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* was created around 1300 and was formed only by Dominicans. In 1398 a bull of Boniface IX mentioned that *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* encompassed Franciscans as well: "Fratres predicatorum et minorum ordinum Societatis Fratrum Peregrinantium nuncupati." H. Sbaralea ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 7 (Rome, 1764), no. 257. Marcelino da Civezza considered that *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* was formed both by Franciscans and Dominicans. Marcelino da Civezza, *Storia universale delle missioni francescane* (Rome: Tipografia Tiberina, 1857–1895). L. Lemmens considered that the Dominicans and Franciscans each had its own *Societas*, and that they were completely separated. L. Lemmens, "Die Heidenmissionen des Spätmittelalters," *Franziskanische Studien* 5 (1919): 3–5.

⁷⁷ See Loenertz "Les missions dominicaines en Orient," 1–15, and Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*, 10–12.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

Dominicans of the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* were more than missionaries; they were appointed inquisitors in the Orient beginning in 1351. Pope Urban V divided the region where they conducted their inquisitorial activities into three parts: Romania-Gazaria, Ruthenia-Moldavia-Wallachia, and Armenia-Georgia.⁷⁸ Elie Petit, the vicar of the Congregation, obtained from Pope Gregory IX the privileges of "*pro Christo peregrinantibus in terris infidelium misericorditer sit indultum quod bona mobilia et immobilia possint obtinere.*"⁷⁹ The Congregation became influential in Moldavia after 1377, when the Dominican convent of Siret came under its jurisdiction, together with several convents in Galicia and Podolia.⁸⁰ The convent of Siret was on the trade route from Lviv to Cetatea Albă and it has been argued that it was formerly a part of the Polish Dominican province together with the Ruthenian houses.⁸¹ They formed a separate *contrata* until the end of the Congregation in 1453. After this date the Moldavian convents reverted to the Hungarian province of the Dominican order.⁸²

Voivode Petru I and the Dominicans

The favorable Dominican position in Moldavia at the end of the fourteenth century was determined not only by the expansion activity and growing influence of the Congregation of Friars Pilgrims in the region but also by the support of the Polish king.⁸³ They became more influential in Moldavia under the rulership of Petru I. John of Sultanieh in his *Libellus de notitia orbis* implied

⁷⁸ Thomas Ripoll, ed. *Bullarium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum* (Rome, 1729–1740), vol. 2, 299.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Loenertz "Les missions dominicaines en Orient," 10. They obtained the privileges to have properties and therefore Ladislaus of Opole made large donations to the convent of Lviv.

⁸⁰ Elie Raymond decreed in 1377 that the convents of Lviv, Lancut, and Przemysl in Galicia, Kamenec and Smotric in Podolia and Siret in Moldavia were included in the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium*. The pope approved this in his bull *Fidei Orthodoxae* from January 1378. Loenertz "Les missions dominicaines en Orient," 2.

⁸¹ Loenertz, "Les missions dominicaines en Orient," 7. Abraham Bzowski, who wrote *Propago D. Hyacinthi* and published it in Venice in 1606, considered that Siret belonged to the Hungarian province: "Gregorio IX Pontif. Max. et Magistro Ordinis Helia disponen-tibus, decem conventus, a tribus provinciis..., a provincia Hungariae Cereten," quoted in R. Loenertz, "Les missions dominicaines en Orient," 25.

⁸² Kloczowsky, "Dominicans of the Polish Provinces," 94.

⁸³ Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque*, 30–31. Petru I Mușat became the vassal of the Polish king in 1387.



Claudia Dobre

that their influence was due to their success in converting the ruler and his mother:

*Dominus ipsorum aliquando conversus fuit ad fidem nostram Catholicam et specialiter mater sua domina Margarita per unum fratrem Predicatorem vicarium generalem illarum partium.*⁸⁴

Attempts to convert the prince and his mother or wife was one of the strategies that the Mendicants applied in Central and Eastern Europe. They applied the same strategy in Moldavia, which was an Orthodox country and therefore the support of the ruler and its court was very important for the Mendicants' activities. They succeeded with Voivode Petru I's mother, Margaret,⁸⁵ who had a Dominican confessor. She supported the friars, for whom she built a church in Siret, which she chose as her burial place.

*Margarita, mater nostra dilecta et honorabilis, in civitate Cerethensi...matris eius, ac beati Iohannis Baptistae ecclesiam et locum religiosorum fratrum Predicatorum construi et hedificare fecit, pro salute animae sue et nostrae ac parentum nostrorum, in qua ecclesia predicta domina, mater nostra, suam sepulturam elegit.*⁸⁶

Furthermore, they also gained the favor of the voivode, Petru I, who in 1384 gave them the privilege of collecting the income from the customs duties of the town of Siret:

*Quantenus libram seu pensatorium quod est in civitate nostra predicta Cerethensi, praedictis fratribus praedicatoribus, dictae ecclesiae deservientibus, simpliciter dare et concedere dignaremur.*⁸⁷

The Dominicans enjoyed a favorable position at the court of the voivode in the next few years. The links between the court and the Dominicans are also demonstrated by documents related to a miracle which happened at the Dominican convent in Siret. In 1390, John Janitor Strenue, the vicar of the

⁸⁴ John of Sultanieh, "Libellus de notitia orbis," ed. A. Kern, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938) (hereafter Sultanieh, "Libellus de notitia orbis"), 104.

⁸⁵ There is little information about Margareta Mușat. C. C. Giurescu assumed that she was the sister of Lațcu and the wife of Costea Mușat. It is certain that she was the mother of Petru I and Roman I. See C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor* (The History of the Romanians) vol. 1 (Bucharest: Fundația pentru literatură și artă "Regele Carol II", 1935), 425–426.

⁸⁶ C. Cihodaru, I. Caproșu, L. Șimanschi ed. *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1956–1967) (henceforth DRH. A), doc. 1, 1.

⁸⁷ DRH. A, doc. 1, 1.



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

Congregation of Friars Pilgrims for the province of Ruthenia-Wallachia, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He brought back a relic, a veil, which he divided into three parts: one part to a convent in Lviv, one to Kameniec, and one to Siret.

In January 1391, blood appeared on the relic of Siret. The inquisitor, Nicolas Goldberg, who was present in Moldavia at that time, started to interrogate the witnesses regarding this miracle. A notary wrote down a declaration of the inquisitor which related the process of authenticating the miracles.

*...cum sudario importavit... et eiusdem ordinis Nicolao dicto Goldberg inquisitore hereticorum protunc presente indicavit. ...michi infrascripto publico notario in memmorato claustro ordinis predicatorum... a consulibus iuratis senioribus dicteque Czeretensis civitatis civibus conscienciose ac in animas ipsorum protestantes narraverunt coram me notario publico a testibus infrascriptis...*⁸⁸

After the inquisitor had declared that the miracle of the blood was real, a procession took place in which both Catholics and Orthodox took part. In subsequent months, many people came to the relic, especially the sick, who were cured.⁸⁹ Another miracle occurred when the chancellor of the country, who was condemned to death, survived and was set free by the voivode after praying to the relic. He converted to Catholicism and was baptized in the Dominican convent: *...et in eadem ecclesia baptizatus fidem accepit.*⁹⁰

This miracle story shows that Dominicans not only enjoyed a good situation at court, but were also allowed to convert people, including those from the court, and to have processions; furthermore, it shows that Siret was an important town for the Congregation, as a relic was brought there. The presence of John of Strenue and an inquisitor witnessed a growth in the mission activities, which might also have included a school.⁹¹

⁸⁸ A document of the notary Conrad, narrating the miracles in Siret and signed by Nicholas Goldberg. A. Czolowski edited this document in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 5 (1891): 594–598. "...de diversis diocesibus homines... recursum habuerunt. Qui miraculose sunt curati et adhuc diebus singulis curantur tam surdi quam ceci ac paralitici nec non leprosi disenteriamque passionem perpessi una cum plurimorum mortuorum resuscitatione ac vite restauratione..." Czolowski, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 596. The list of miracles is a topos and is reminiscent of miracles in the Bible.

⁹⁰ Czolowski, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 596.

⁹¹ There is no direct evidence of such an activity in Moldavia; however, knowing their interest in organizing schools, it can be inferred that this was possible in Moldavia as well. The Mendicant orders organized conventual schools from the second half of the thirteenth century in the provinces of their orders. The general chapter of the



Claudia Dobre

This was a period that saw a growing Mendicant influence in Moldavia due to the fact that the voivode and his mother were Catholics and Moldavia was a vassal of Poland, which strengthened the position of the friars in the country. Although the bishops of Siret did not reside in their bishopric, the missionaries provided a functional substitute for them. The Mendicants were keen to have good relations with rulers, which is also shown by the settlement of their convents in Moldavia. They followed the court, remaining close to it so that they could maintain good relations with the ruler and gain privileges. The Franciscans had a monastery in Baia as early as 1340, when Baia was probably the residence of a knezat, and later of the march of Dragoș.⁹² Siret, which was the residence of the Moldavian voivodes until the end of the fourteenth century, had both Franciscan and Dominican monasteries.⁹³ Furthermore, when the court moved to Suceava around 1388, they might have followed the court, as archaeological research has revealed a Catholic church near the court of the voivode.⁹⁴

Dominicans imposed in 1261 the necessity for young brethren to study *artes*. Therefore, conventual schools called *studia particularia*, headed by lectors, were established in the provinces of the order. Every *contrata* was supposed to have a school for the friars and sometimes there were circuit schools, which went from convent to convent in a region. Nevertheless, their activities are not well documented even for the provinces of the orders in Hungary or Poland. At the end of the fourteenth century Moldavia was a *contrata* of the Dominican order and the residence of the vicar of the Congregation of Friars Pilgrims, John Janitor Strenue. J. Kloczowsky, "Panorama degli studia degli ordini mendicanti," in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII–XIV)* (Todi: Presso L'Accademia Tudertina, 1978), 130–131; Pahomi argues that there might have been a Dominican conventual school in Siret, although his arguments cannot be confirmed by a reading of the documents. M. Pahomi, "Biserici și minăstiri catolice din Siret, secolele XIV–XVI. Învățămînt catolic la episcopia din Siret" (Churches and Catholic monasteries in Siret from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. A Catholic school at the bishopric of Siret), *Codrul Cosminului*. Series noua 3–4 (1997–1998): 175–180.

⁹² Vasile Neamțu, Eugenia Neamțu, and Stela Cheptea, "Contribuții la problema urbanizării așezării de la Baia în secolul al XIV-lea" (Contributions on the problem of the urbanisation of the settlement of Baia in the fourteenth century), *Anuarul institutului de istorie și arheologie "A. D. Xenopol"* 16 (1979): 299–230.

⁹³ C. Auner, "Episcopia de Siret," 240.

⁹⁴ Archaeological research revealed a church with an unusual shape near the court of the voivode. The excavators consider this church to have been Romanesque, but very simple and rather strange for this style. Mircea D. Matei, *Civilizație urbană medievală românească. Contribuții. (Suceava pînă la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea)* (Romanian medieval



The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land

Conclusion

Missions in a frontier space, in a region where the majority of the population belonged to Orthodoxy, was different from, and more complex than, missions either in a pagan space or within Western Christendom. This was the challenge that the Mendicants had to face in Moldavia. They were provided with all the necessary resources which would enable them to meet this challenge. The popes, interested in the expansion of the Western Christendom and/or in the union of the Churches, endowed them with privileges. The Orders held provinces in Central Europe, which were used as bases whence they launched their missions; they had the support of the Hungarian and Polish kings; their strategies gave them the tools for their actions. Therefore, they succeeded in their task of carrying out missions and in maintaining themselves in Moldavia for centuries.

Mendicants were a constantly present in Moldavia from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards. Nevertheless, there were periods when they were more active and periods when their activities were less important or less well documented. Their presence in Moldavia was closely related to the Moldavian rulers' interest, and support.

The first mission was related to the Cumans and was carried out by the Dominicans. The Franciscans appeared later, and first focussed their activities on the Tartars. The great period of Mendicant activities in Moldavia was between 1370 and 1390. At that time the bishopric of Siret was founded (1371), Prince Lațcu converted to Catholicism (1370), and they gained, especially the Dominicans, privileges from Voivode Petru I Mușat.

After the examination of all the published sources and using the results of archaeological research, I have argued that the activities and the strategies of the Mendicants in Moldavia were adapted to the realities of a frontier region. Furthermore, I have shown that the Mendicants considered Moldavia a country of mission even when bishoprics were founded. I have, I hope, demonstrated that during their activities in Moldavia in these centuries the Mendicants had to face the challenge of converting the Cumans, the Tartars, and most important, the challenge of Orthodoxy.

Although Hussitism and later the Reformation struck at them, the Mendicants managed to maintain themselves in Moldavia until the twenty-first century. They played an important role in Moldavia in the second half of the fourteenth century when the country swung between Catholicism and

urban civilisation. Suceava until the middle of the sixteenth century) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1989), 60–61.



Claudia Dobre

Orthodoxy. They lost their influence, however, in the first half of the fifteenth century, when the Hussites succeeded in converting the Catholics and in gaining the support of the rulers and were thus able to hinder Mendicant activities. Nevertheless, they were a constant presence in Moldavia, especially the Franciscans, who at the end of the nineteenth century organized the Franciscan province of Moldavia.



THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY OF TÂRGU MUREȘ (MAROSVÁSÁRHELY) AND THE FRANCISCAN PRESENCE IN MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA

Zoltán Soós 

The Stages of Franciscan Settlement in Transylvania¹

The activity of the Franciscan Order in the Hungarian kingdom started around 1228 through the mediation of German Franciscans.² In 1234, a Franciscan province was created in Hungary.³ The Franciscans first appeared in Hungary in urban areas inhabited mainly by Germans, but they quickly extended their field of activity over the Hungarian population.⁴ They received serious support from the papacy as well as from the Hungarian kings. Transylvania became a field of activity for the Franciscans only after the Mongol invasion in the 1250s, when the Franciscans together with the Dominicans were assigned the duty of converting the Cumans to Christianity. Transylvania was enumerated among the eight Franciscan provinces of the Hungarian kingdom only in 1332,⁵ which is also the first mention of the province (*Map 1*).

The appearance of the Franciscan Order in Transylvania was also partly related to Saxon colonisation. The first Franciscan friary founded in Transylvania was in Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz). The date of the foundation is unclear, but it occurred at one point between 1250 and 1268.⁶ Two other friaries were founded in Saxon settlements, namely in Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt)

¹ The results regarding the stages of the Franciscan settlement in Transylvania and the conclusion are based on the results of my MA thesis. "The History of the Târgu Mureș Franciscan Friary: A Comparative Study of Transylvanian Franciscan Architecture." (MA Thesis in Medieval Studies, Budapest: CEU, 2000).

² Fortunát Boros, *Az erdélyi Ferencrendiek* (The Franciscans in Transylvania) (Kolozsvár: Szent Bonaventura, 1927), 28.

³ J. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*. (Oxford: Calendar Press, 1988).

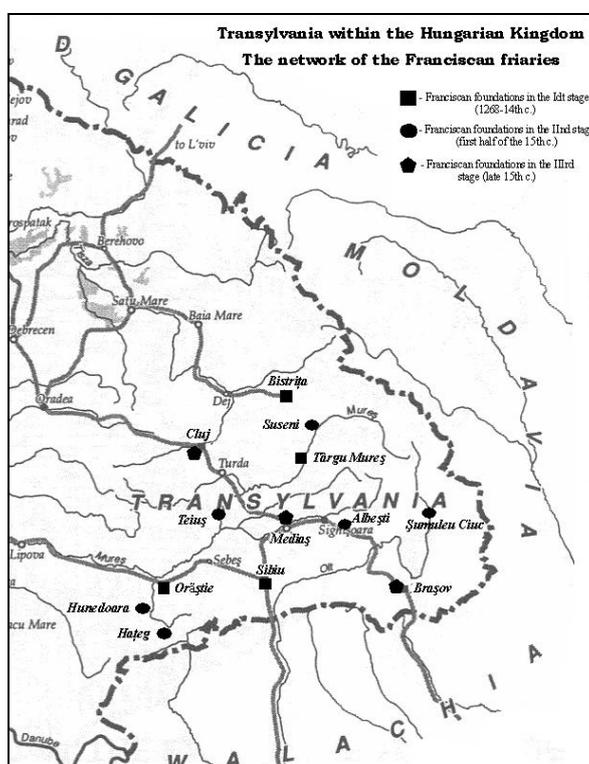
⁴ Fortunát Boros, *Az erdélyi Ferencrendiek*, 34–38.

⁵ János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* (The History of the Order of Saint Francis in Hungary until 1711), Vol. 1 (Budapest: MTA, 1922), 33. (henceforth: Karácsonyi).

⁶ Franz Zimmerman, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* vol. I. (Hermannstadt: Franz Michaelis, 1892), 100. (henceforth: Zimmerman, *Urkundenbuch*)

Zoltán Soós

around the year 1300,⁷ and Orăștie (Szászváros, Broos), which is mentioned in 1302 as the centre of the Transylvanian *provincia* founded at the end of the thirteenth century.⁸ The first two foundations were clearly made through the German connection, but the third foundation, at Orăștie, represents a significant change in the Franciscan policy. The town of Orăștie had a mixed German and Hungarian population, which meant that the Franciscans opened their field of activity towards the Hungarian population in Transylvania. This is shown by the foundation of their next friary.



Map 1.

The next foundation was made in Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt), a territory inhabited by Székelys. This friary was the first founded in non-Saxon territories and probably had a missionary role, as it is mentioned in a

⁷ Zimmerman, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, 215.

⁸ Zimmerman, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, 221.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş

document as *In metis Tatariae*.⁹ The foundation of this friary, as it will be discussed below, preceded urban development in Târgu Mureş, because when the foundation took place the settlement was not yet a market centre, but its placement had good chances for later development.

The appearance and activity of the Observants represented the second large wave of the Franciscan foundations in Transylvania, starting from the 1420s. Most of the new foundations were rather small friaries, except Teiuş (Tövis) and Şumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó), which were of medium size. These last two foundations were partly related to missionary activity. The friary of Şumuleu Ciuc may have had a role in the missionary activity in Moldova. The case of Teiuş is different; it is situated in the Mureş river valley near Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). Based on the information provided by the first prior John Geszti, from the Bodrog area (today northern Hungary), he was amazed by the large size of the Orthodox population in the area. He planned to convert this population with the help of John Capistran, but he died in the meantime.¹⁰

All the friaries of this stage, were founded by the nobility or by the king, whose origin lay in one of these aristocratic families. The Hunyadi family founded three friaries out of six; John Hunyadi had an important role in these foundations. Hunyadi's relations with the Observant Franciscan John Capistran¹¹ may have influenced the Transylvanian Observant foundations. In conclusion, the second wave was characterized by foundations of friaries in small market towns, or near noble residences and they were strongly supported by the members of the Hungarian nobility.

The third wave of foundations occurred at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. These foundations were adapted mostly to the needs of the increased urban population of the Transylvanian towns. The largest friary of Transylvania was founded in 1486 at Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), with strong royal support. The second most important friary was founded in a Saxon town, Mediaş (Medgyes, Mediasch), while the third friary was a small one founded in another Saxon town, Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt). This was the last Franciscan foundation before Protestantism started in the first half of the sixteenth century. There were no more foundations until 1637.

⁹ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 203.

¹⁰ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 558.

¹¹ Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of Saint John Capistran* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000).



Zoltán Soós

The Târgu Mureș Friary

The Franciscan friary of Târgu Mureș, the second largest in Transylvania after Cluj, had a peculiar history and evolution among the Transylvanian Franciscan friaries. It was the first Franciscan foundation in Transylvania that targeted a Hungarian-speaking population, namely the Székelys. Their region is situated in eastern Transylvania and was colonised with Székelys by the Hungarian kings, starting from the twelfth century.¹²

The first archaeological research at the friary was conducted in 1906/7, when the church was renovated by the Institute of Monuments (OMV) from Budapest.¹³ In 1966 Alexandru Bogdan carried out new excavations, searching primarily for the fortifications of the friary.¹⁴ Several articles containing general information about the building of the friary¹⁵ appeared in a 1990 book about the history of the town.¹⁶ All these works omitted any mention of the architectural history of the Franciscan friary itself, as well as the importance of this site in Transylvanian Franciscan activity and its role in the urban development of Târgu Mureș. Therefore, despite these previous studies, this important site has attracted little research attention.

The aim of this article is to present the results of recent archaeological excavations and to give a new architectural and historical description of the friary. Furthermore, this site needs to be put into the context of Transylvanian Franciscan history, taking into account the ethnic character of the friary, the effect of the Franciscan presence on urban development, and missionary activity.

Sources on the History of the Friary

For many years the first documentary mention of the friary was considered to be from 1316,¹⁷ in a document containing a list of the Franciscan friaries in

¹² László Makkai and András Mócsy, eds. *Erdély története* (The History of Transylvania), vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1986), 290–295.

¹³ István Biás, *Ásatások a marosvásárhelyi Vártemplomban* (Excavations in the Fortified Church of Târgu Mureș) (Marosvásárhely: Adi, 1907).

¹⁴ Alexandru Bogdan, "Date noi privind ansamblul cetății din Târgu Mureș" (New Data about the History of Târgu Mureș Castle). *Studii și Materiale*, vol. 2. (Târgu Mureș: Muzeul Tg. Mureș, 1967), 75–88.

¹⁵ Sándor Tonk, *Marosvásárhely Vártemplom* (Fortified Church, Târgu Mureș). (Sepsiszentgyörgy: Castrum, 1994).

¹⁶ Endre Medvigy, ed. *Marosvásárhely és Vártemploma* (Târgu Mureș and its Fortified Church). Budapest: Ráday Kollégium, 1990.

¹⁷ Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 203.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

Hungary. In 1999, however, new research has shown that the dating of the document was mistaken and the correct dating is 1332.¹⁸

For quite a long time there are no more documentary data about the friary of Târgu Mureș, until a charter from 1400 mentions the guardian of the friary, Anton Székely.¹⁹ This document mentions the fact that the main altar consecrated to Virgin Mary was finished and authorized the Franciscans of Târgu Mureș to hold pilgrimages in order to develop new income sources for the friary. During pilgrimages the guardian of the friary received the right to name six priests to hear the confessions of the masses.²⁰ In 1444, the friary was taken from the Conventuals by Julian Caesarini, with the help of John Hunyadi, and passed to the Observant branch of the Franciscans.²¹

A document from 1471 mentions the Franciscan friary on the occasion of a donation. The donor was the nobleman Andrew Toldalagi, who made his testament in the presence of two Franciscan friars, Osvát Szondi and Michael Székely. He donated a fishpond to the order of Saint Paul from a neighbouring village, Szentkirály, so that the order was supposed to provide fish for the Franciscan friaries of Târgu Mureș and Suseni.²² In 1492 Pope Alexander VI confirmed the Observant status of the Târgu Mureș Franciscan friary.²³

In 1487 the moat of a fortification in the town of Târgu Mureș (*Wararokya*) is mentioned.²⁴ The moat was part of the fortification built around the friary and church as protection from Turkish raids. Only two towers remain from the late fifteenth-century fortification, and probably at this time the chapter house was also fortified and became part of the defensive system.²⁵

In 1503 the Beguine house is first mentioned. The first data about the existence of a *scriptorium* in the friary is from 1522. We know that in this year a friar called Coloman Hunyadi copied a breviary.²⁶ More documentary references

¹⁸ Beatrix F. Romhányi, A Ferencrendiek Marosvásárhelyen (The Franciscans in Târgu Mureș), in *Marosvásárhely történetéből* (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1999), 36–38.

¹⁹ Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 203.

²⁰ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 115.

²¹ Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 203.

²² Károly Szabó and Lajos Szádeczky, eds. *Székely Oklevéltár* (Székely Chartulary), vol. 3 (Kolozsvár: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1890), 92–93.

²³ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 114.

²⁴ Székely Oklevéltár, vol. 5, 29.

²⁵ Zoltán Soós, "A marosvásárhelyi vár építéstörténete" (The Construction History of the Castle of Târgu Mureș), in *Marosvásárhely történetéből*. (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1999), 84–112.

²⁶ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 115.



Zoltán Soós

have survived from the sixteenth century mentioning the friary, which by that time was well known and popular in Transylvania. Some data describe the donors of the friary. The 1525 testament of Leonard Héderfájai Barlabássy, vice-voievod of Transylvania, requests a burial place in the friary of Târgu Mureş, and, following the old custom, left to the friary his “Fryzaak” weapon, and 100 forints.²⁷ In 1549 John Lázár Szentannai donated half of the income from his water mill to the Franciscan friars and nuns.²⁸ The widow of George Kőfaragó, Magdalen (a Franciscan confratrissa), from Cluj donated 11 forints for the friary of Târgu Mureş.²⁹ Although there are few references reflecting the origins of the donors to the friary, it was possible to establish that most of them belonged to the middle or lesser Hungarian nobility. Besides these, donors were also burghers of Transylvanian towns such as Cluj, or members of the increasing population of the market town of Târgu Mureş.³⁰

Until the 1490s, when the Franciscan friary of Cluj was built, the Târgu Mureş friary was one of the most important and largest in Transylvania. It probably became a cultural centre and remained a place of pilgrimage until the Reformation. In 1525 the community in the Franciscan friary of Târgu Mureş was flourishing, having 24 brothers, which made it the third largest community in Transylvania after Mediaş (Medgyes, Mediasch), which had 25 brothers in 1535, and Cluj with 34 brothers in the same year.³¹ Teaching activity in the friary can be inferred partly through analogies (to Ozora or Szeged),³² and partly through events that happened after the friary became a Calvinist church. It is likely that a school existed in the Târgu Mureş friary, if we take it into account that one of the first Protestant schools in Transylvania started its activity in the building of the former friary in 1556, just two years after its dissolution. The buildings of the friary were donated to noblemen and the Protestant school, the *Schola Latina*, functioned in the sacristy and on the first floor over the sacristy.

²⁷ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 114., Mária Lupescu Makó, “‘Item Lego...’ Gifts for the Soul in Late Medieval Transylvania” in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 7 (2001), 169.

²⁸ Székely Oklevéltár, vol. 2, 84.

²⁹ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 114.

³⁰ This is supported from the documents quoted from the works of János Karácsonyi and Mária Lupescu Makó.

³¹ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 115.

³² Emese Nagy, “Az ozorai obszerváns ferences kolostor” (The observant Franciscan friary of Ozora), in: *Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon* (Mendicant architecture in medieval Hungary), (Művészettörténet–Műemlékvédelem 7) (Budapest: OMVH, 1994), 257–269., (henceforth: *Koldulórendi építészet*) Zsuzsa Lukács, “Előzetes beszámoló a Szeged-alsóvárosi ferences kolostor kutatásáról” (Preliminary report on the research of the Szeged Franciscan Friary), in: *Koldulórendi építészet*, 437–491.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

The Franciscan community was dissolved in 1556, when two noblemen, Balthasar Székelyfalvi Polyák and Thomas Koronkai Mihályfi, attacked the friary and expelled the friars, bringing with them Balázs Káli, a Lutheran priest.³³ Under Protestantism only a small part of the friary was maintained; many of the buildings slowly deteriorated. The event that definitively changed the fate of the buildings of the monastic complex was the siege of the town led by the general of the Habsburg army, Giorgio Basta, in 1601. At this time the friary was heavily damaged and parts of the former friary burned down.³⁴

Description of the Friary

The Franciscan friary of Târgu Mureș is set on the south-western edge of a terrace (part of Somos Hill) above the Mureș (Maros) river. The extent of medieval Târgu Mureș and its urban topography is still unclear; it seems, however, that the friary was located in the northern part of the town.

The medieval name of the town of Târgu Mureș, *Novum Forum Siculorum* (Székelyvásárhely), meaning “the New Market of the Székelys,” demonstrates that the Franciscans came into a relatively recent settlement. The name of the place was first mentioned in a fourteenth-century document, which attests that in 1332 Târgu Mureș was the richest settlement in Marosköz.³⁵ This information shows that the settlement was well located for later growth and development. It seems that when the Franciscans chose Târgu Mureș for a new foundation they realized the possibility of future economic growth and the potential importance of this market town.

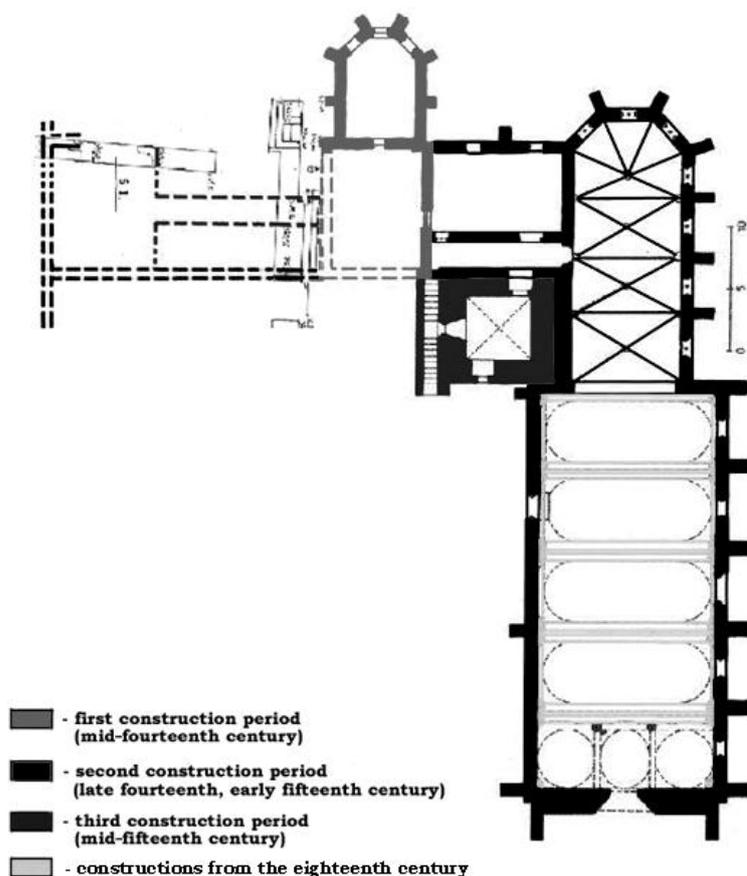
From the building of the former friary, the church, tower, sacristy, and part of the chapter house have been preserved (*Fig. 1*). The buildings of the friary were grouped around a square-shaped garth. The church was located on the southern side of the friary and the claustral buildings formed the other wings.

³³ Székely Oklevéltár, vol. 2. 138.

³⁴ Imre Mikó, *Nagy Szabó Ferenc emlékéje* (Memories of Ferenc Nagy Szabó), Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok 1 (Kolozsvár: Református Főtanoda nyomdája, 1855–1862), 47.

³⁵ *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia* I/1, (Budapest: 1887–1889), 96–97. There is no English term for *szék*, which is an administrative unit in medieval Transylvania in the case of the privileged Székelys and Saxons. In Latin it is called *sedes*, in Hungarian *szék* and in German *Stuhl*.

Zoltán Soós



*Fig. 1. The ground-plan of the friary
(the walls marked with intermittent lines were identified during archaeological excavations).*

The church is a hall-type building, consisting of a nave and a sanctuary. The nave is 31.5 m long, 14.2 m wide. There are portals on the nave on the southern, northern and western sides. The interior of the nave is decorated in baroque style (*Fig. 3*). In the eighteenth century a gallery for the organ was built on the western side of the nave. The nave had no vaulting, just a simple plain ceiling.

The sanctuary is 21.20 m long and 8.60 m wide. It ends on the eastern side with three sides of an octagon. There are four Gothic windows on the southern side of the sanctuary and another three on the eastern side of the polygon of the sanctuary. All the windows still have their original frames and tracery (*Fig. 2*). The Gothic cross-vaulting system of the sanctuary was changed in 1906 during



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

restoration work. The ribs of the vaulting have a pear-shaped moulding commonly used in the fourteenth century. Four keystones bear the following symbols: the first has a rose with eight petals (a symbol of the Virgin Mary), the second has a coat of arms with parallel stripes (an element of the Hungarian coat of arms), the third has vegetal ornamentation, and the fourth is divided into two fields. In the first field there are three stars and in the second field the sun. This keystone might be related to the Székely coat of arms, which consists of a half moon and a sun symbol. An entrance on the northern wall of the sanctuary opens onto a corridor that leads toward the sacristy and the ground floor of the tower.

Fig. 2. The Sanctuary from south.

Fig. 3. The interior of the church.



Zoltán Soós

The sacristy is on the northern side of the sanctuary. The building has two levels, the sacristy itself is on the ground floor and the first floor has two rooms. It has two arched windows; the original tracery, if there was any, is missing. The cross-vaulting in the sacristy was reconstructed in the 1970s following the traces of the original.

The chapter house is north of the sacristy (*Fig. 4*). It has a sanctuary and a nave, and we can probably identify the building as the first church of the friary. When the new church was built at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the much smaller previous church was transformed into the chapter house. Only the sanctuary part of the chapter house (the former church) has been preserved. The sanctuary part with Gothic windows and original fragments of tracery allowed a reconstruction in the 1970s. On the first floor there are square Gothic window frames, which, like the window tracery from the ground floor, were used in the second half of the fourteenth century. A second floor was added to the original structure in the sixteenth century as part of the fortification, having loopholes instead of windows.

Fig. 4. The chapter house from the north.

Fig. 5. The tower and the chapter house from the west.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

The tower stands on the northern side of the church, between the point where the sanctuary meets the nave and the corridor from the sanctuary to the chapter house. The tower has an approximately square ground plan, 8 x 9 m, with walls 1.80 m thick. It is 50 m high, and has four levels (*Fig. 5*). The ground floor of the tower is entered from the corridor. There is no connection between the ground floor and the upper levels of the tower, which can only be reached from the first floor of the sacristy. On the uppermost, fourth, floor, there are four huge windows on each side. Over the fourth level is the roof structure of the tower, having four small towers on the corners. This was taken as a model for the religious architecture in the region; several churches from the area followed this pattern (among them Băra/Berekeresztúr, Gornești/Gernyeszeg, Fântânele/Gyulakuta, and so on).

Archaeological Investigation

In addition to the visible remains, other parts of the additional monastic buildings discovered during archaeological excavations, which were carried out in September 1999, identify the extent of the territory of the friary.

It was discovered that the northern wall of the friary was built of stone. The foundation of the main walls, which had to bear heavy structures, was made also of stone. In this way they were more resistant to bear the weight of upper structures and offered a protection against ground water.

Among the monastic buildings that came to light during the archaeological excavations were the remains of a structure that was identified for the first time in Transylvania. Analysis of these walls has revealed something new, heretofore unknown to scholarship. The western wall of the chapter house was found to be an extension of the western wall of the eastern wing of the friary buildings. Parallel with this wall are two other walls 1.85 m apart and 3.4 m from the western wall, seemingly connected to the chapter house. Probably these walls represent an arrangement specific to the Observant branch of the Franciscans, namely that they usually placed a central corridor in the building with cells lining both sides (*Fig. 1*).³⁶ A square shaped brick construction was excavated on the northern side of the chapter house. This was filled, in part, with human bones. It is possible that this place could have served as an ossuary.

Stone Carvings

The analysis of stone carvings is an important source for establishing the relative and absolute chronology of the constructions. The most relevant forms in the

³⁶ *Koldulórendi építészet*, 257–269, 409–491.



Zoltán Soós

case of the Târgu Mureş friary are the portals and the window tracery. Portals are decorative parts of buildings and played a role in representation. There are three portals at the Târgu Mureş friary, all of them on the nave of the church and all made of limestone.

The richest decoration is on the western portal, which is on the central axis of the church and has a pointed archivolt and richly profiled jambs. The profile on the western portal is formed by four pear-shaped mouldings ending in an edge mixed with four round mouldings; the mouldings also had capitals (*Fig. 6–7*). The capitals have grape ornamentation; the forms used for the ornamentation are provincial.

Fig. 6. The western portal of the nave.

Fig. 7. Capitals from the western portal.

The southern portal is simpler and seems to preserve more archaic elements than the western portal. It has a less decorated profile, formed from the combination of a pear-shaped moulding ending in an edge, a second pear-shaped moulding ending in a point, which is a more archaic form, and a simple rounded moulding. This portal also has capitals with oak leaf decoration on the imposts. There is no decoration on the preserved risalit of the portal, but a fresco was preserved in the lunetta.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

The northern portal is the simplest, there is no risalit, no capitals, and its profile is formed by two pear-shaped mouldings ending in a point, with three half columns between them. The simplicity of the northern portal can be explained by its placement; this was the entrance from the friary into the nave of the church.

The portals of the Târgu Mureș Franciscan friary integrate well with the local architectural style mostly found in market towns, originating in Romanesque architecture. This portal type first appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century and it was used until the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, aside from the examples of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)³⁷ and Cîrța (Kerc, Kerz), we have just one example at Reghin (Szászrégen, Sächsische Regen) from the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁸ From the second half of the fourteenth until the beginning of the fifteenth century this portal type was widely used, mostly in the Mureș and Târnava (Küküllő, Kokel) river valleys, but one can find examples as far away as Sighetu Marmăției (Máramarossziget) north of Transylvania.³⁹ Portals became status symbols for communities and the execution level of a portal showed the wealth of the settlement.

Comparing the portals of the Târgu Mureș friary with the portals of other churches such as those in Ațel (Ecel, Hetzeldorf), Băgaciu (Szászbogács, Bogeschdorf), Buzd (Buzd, Bußt bei Mediasch), Curciu (Küküllőkőrös, Kirtsch), or Turda (Ó-Torda),⁴⁰ it is apparent that the portal profiles of the Târgu Mureș friary had a more provincial character and simpler decorative forms. The portals of the Târgu Mureș friary were made in a period, starting in the second half of the fourteenth century, when this portal type was undergoing a renaissance.

A fragment of a tombstone was found in the church dating from the late fifteenth century, bearing the coat of arms of the Apafi family (*Fig. 8*). This fragment makes it possible to connect the influential Apafi family with the friary, suggesting that this family was among its donors.

³⁷ Géza Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* (The Cathedral of Alba Iulia), (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1958.)

³⁸ Géza Entz, "A gótikus építészet kutatásának problémái a források alapján" (The problems of the research of Gothic architecture based on sources), *Ars Hungarica* IV/1. (1976): 22.

³⁹ Géza Entz, "Egy 13. századi kaputípus továbbélése Erdély építészetében a 14–15. században" (The survival of a thirteenth-century portal type in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Transylvanian architecture), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 31 (1982): 182–189.

⁴⁰ Géza Entz, "Egy 13. századi kaputípus továbbélése," 186.

Zoltán Soós

Fig. 8. Fragment of a late fifteenth-century tombstone.

The rest of the fragments were parts of different vaulting systems. One of them is a keystone, with a simple profile of a cavetto, on the rib joining the keystone. The keystone could have been either in the sacristy, where the vaulting was reconstructed in the 1970s, or in the cloister. A symbol is visible on the stone, a half-moon with a T-letter form on it. The letter T (Tau, from the Greek alphabet) is the symbol of the Franciscans, while the meaning of the half-moon is not clear but might be related to the Székely coat of arms or could be a symbol meaning the victory over the evil.

The Furnishing and Decoration of the Friary

There is almost nothing left of the furnishing of the friary and we have no description of it either. Judging from the wealth of the friary, however, the furnishings may have been of high quality. The furnishing of the Târgu Mureş friary probably consisted of a main winged altar (finished in 1400), several side altars, benches, a pulpit, organ, crucifix, stained glass windows and frescoes.⁴¹ Information suggests the existence of an organ⁴² and a piece of the original furnishings of the friary of Târgu Mureş was preserved in the parish church of Eremitu (Nyárádremente). This crucifix, made in Renaissance style, was donated to the friary by Michael Apafi before 1537 (*Fig. 9*).⁴³

⁴¹ Imre Mikó, *Nagy Szabó Ferenc memoriáléja*, 47.

⁴² Imre Mikó, *Nagy Szabó Ferenc memoriáléja*, 46.

⁴³ Kelemen Lajos, "A nyárádrementei feszület" (The Crucifix from Eremitu), in *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 170–72, 257–59; Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* (The wooden statues of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1967).

Fig. 9. The crucifix from Eremitn.

Frescoes are preserved in three places in the friary. A very small fresco detail was preserved on the northern wall of the nave, but its small size does not allow an interpretation of what the topic might have been. A well-preserved fresco remains in the lunetta of the southern portal. This fresco represents Saint Leonard, and this can be related to the aforementioned donor of the church, Leonard Héderfájai Barlabássy, who was the vice-voievod of Transylvania and Székely comes at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He also used the church as a burial place (see below).

There were also frescoes in the sanctuary of the chapter house in the window niches. Vegetal ornamentation is found in the north-eastern window, coloured yellow, red and green. In the south-eastern window there are two bishop figures, surrounded by leaf designs (*Fig. 10*). One of the saints wears a Byzantine-type bishop's hat, while on the other side of this window niche a small part of a Western (Latin)-type bishop's hat is preserved. Further research on the walls of the friary might reveal other ornamentation elements and frescoes from the former friary.



Zoltán Soós

Fig. 10. Fresco in the window niche of the chapter house.

Burials in the Friary

Burials also provide information about the usage or role of the different structures of the friary. Several skeletons were found in the area identified as the nave of the chapter house; undoubtedly from the time when the friary functioned. The chapter house was an important part of the friary and could only have been used as a burial place by privileged people such as priors or important donors. The friars were usually buried in the courtyard, or in the cloister of the friary. In contrast to the chapter house, there were no burials inside the excavated buildings of the friary.

The courtyard of the friary lay west of the eastern wing and also functioned as a cemetery. The friars and perhaps some of the inhabitants of the town used the cemetery. This seems to be supported by the fact that only adults, mainly males, were found in the 32 graves in the courtyard of the friary. No children's remains were found. The absence of grave goods, however, makes it difficult to determine whether the burials were friars. Two coins from the first half of the fifteenth century show that the cemetery was in use from at least that time onwards.

Written sources mention some of the important persons who were buried here in exchange for their donation (such as Leonard Héderfájai Barlabássy or



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

Denis Farnasi Veres),⁴⁴ or the fragment of a tombstone with the coats of arms of the Apafi family (*Fig. 8*). Later, when the church was taken over by Protestants, this cemetery was closed and a new one opened outside the inhabited area of the town.

Earlier excavations also revealed a cemetery on the southern side of the church,⁴⁵ which functioned from the twelfth century. This is supported by archaeological finds, such as an earring, which has an S shaped ending, from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Probably lay people used this cemetery. In conclusion, it is important that the cemetery south of the church existed before the friary.

Chronology and Construction Phases of the Friary

An absolute chronology of the different building phases according to the present state of research can be reconstructed as follows. The first phase dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. Only the lower level of the sanctuary of the chapter house can be dated to this phase, based on the window tracery and the results of archaeological excavations.

The second phase dates from the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth century. This was the largest construction phase; most of the buildings were constructed at this time. The sacristy, the sanctuary, the nave of the church, and probably the ground floor of the tower were built during this phase.

The third phase, dated to around the middle of the fifteenth century, can be related to the Observant period of the friary. Large-scale constructions were begun after the Observants received the friary in 1444. The eastern wing of the friary was enlarged and they completed the upper part of the tower. Although there is no written evidence, archaeological excavations established that the same type of thin bricks was used in the eastern wing of the friary and in the tower.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, nothing is known about the other wings of the friary; further excavations would be necessary.

The fourth phase can be dated to the late fifteenth century. The friary was redecorated and it was perhaps in this period that the stained glass windows, the winged altar, and the crucifix (now in the parish church of Eremitu) were installed.

⁴⁴ Lupescu Makó, "Item Lego...", 165–166.

⁴⁵ Bogdan, "Date noi privind ansamblul cetății din Târgu Mureș," 75–88.

⁴⁶ In general, in the earlier constructions from the mid-fourteenth and from the late fourteenth century they used thicker and shorter brick types.



Zoltán Soós

The friary was fortified in the 1480s by the Voievod of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory,⁴⁷ although little is known about these fortifications. Only two towers were preserved, one of them reused in the town wall in 1613 (*Fig. 11*),⁴⁸ and the other reused as the staircase of a larger seventeenth-century bastion. The excavations by Alexandru Bogdan in the 1960s established the existence of the late-fifteenth-century fortifications.⁴⁹

Fig. 11. Isometrical view of the Castle and the Church.

Fig. 12. The fifteenth-century fortification tower and the Franciscan friary.

⁴⁷ Székely Oklevéltár, vol. 3, 106.

⁴⁸ Soós, "A marosvásárhelyi vár építéstörténete," 92.

⁴⁹ Bogdan, "Date noi privind ansamblul cetății din Târgu Mureș," 86–87.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

The friary burned down in 1601 during the siege of the town. The ruined parts of the cloister were reused as construction material for building the new town walls. The construction of the new town walls started in 1611 and it was finished around 1658 (*Fig. 12*).⁵⁰ As a result of development, in 1616 Târgu Mureș received royal town rights from the Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Bethlen.⁵¹

The Role and Importance of the Târgu Mureș Friary

Considering the charters, architecture, decorative elements, and location of the friary, there is no doubt that this is one of the most important Franciscan centres in medieval Transylvania. Following the strict site selection procedure of Mendicant foundations, the Târgu Mureș friary was placed in a market town that showed signs of urban development, being one of the most important among the emerging Székely markets.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the administrative centre of the Székely territories was at Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely). The reason why the Franciscans settled in another town was the presence of the Dominicans in Odorhei. Nevertheless, the Franciscan choice proved to be a good one, in the context of the later urban development of the Székely markets. Târgu Mureș was the only Székely market town that later (in the seventeenth century) gained royal town rights and became an important commercial and cultural centre.⁵² The Franciscans certainly played a role in this process.

Why a Franciscan friary was transformed into a pilgrimage place and when this idea was born will be discussed below. First of all, it is barely possible that the Franciscans would build such a huge church beside the existing small church, without planning for its use in advance. The previous church was incorporated into the new friary as a chapter house. It was not common, but some medieval construction projects ran out of money and they tried to obtain privileges from the pope, such as the right to become a pilgrimage centre, so the construction could be finished.⁵³ The case of Târgu Mureș seems to be more complex.

⁵⁰ Soós, "A marosvásárhelyi vár építéstörténete," 89.

⁵¹ Zsolt Simon, "Privilegiile inedite ale orașului Târgu Mureș" (The Privileges of the Town of Târgu Mureș). *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane "Gheorghe Șincai"* vol. 2 (1999), 252–259. (henceforth: Simon: "Privilegiile inedite")

⁵² Simon: "Privilegiile inedite," 254–256.

⁵³ Anca Gogăltan and Dóra Sallay, "The Church of Mălâncrav and the Holy Blood chapel of Nicholas Apa." In *Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, vol 2. eds.



Zoltán Soós

The first important detail is the size of the Târgu Mureş friary and church. The church is 50 m long, of which 30 m is the length of the nave. This means that around one thousand people could have been accommodated. The sanctuary, 21 m long, was separated from the lay side, the nave. This suggests that the friary had a large Franciscan community. That the community was large is also supported by the numerous graves within the courtyard of the friary. It is possible that some of the graves could have belonged to local burghers or donors, but as was noted above all the skeletons belonged to adults and with few exceptions the skeletons were males.

A document from 1400⁵⁴ mentions that the Franciscan friary gained an important privilege, namely the right to hold pilgrimages, preserving this right until the Reformation (1556). This could explain the large size of the church, which could host the double of the market town's whole population, which were around five hundred people at this time.

As the church was consecrated to the Virgin Mary, it is possible that the pilgrimage place was promoting the cult of the Holy Virgin. The high number (six) of priests who only heard the confessions of pilgrims shows the importance of the friary as a pilgrimage place.⁵⁵ Pilgrimages significantly increased the importance of the market town and could have made an important contribution to the urbanisation process of the market, increasing the number of people who visited the town and bought the products of local craftsmen. The first guilds appeared around 1480, eighty years later than the town became a pilgrimage place,⁵⁶ but due to the lack of written sources we cannot exactly define the role of the friary in the formation of the guilds and local industry. Besides pilgrimages, several other factors contributed to the development of the town. In the second half of the fifteenth century it obtained a number of privileges from King Matthias, such as tax exemption within the Hungarian kingdom, the right of exacting taxes, and so on.⁵⁷

Another important factor was that the Târgu Mureş friary was equipped with facilities like a library and scriptorium.⁵⁸ This meant that they could copy books, and probably did so for other friaries (including Moldova) as well.

Adrian Andrei Rusu and Péter Levente Szócs. (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2002), 181–210.

⁵⁴ Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 203.

⁵⁵ Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 204.

⁵⁶ Simon, "Privilegiile inedite," 252–259.

⁵⁷ Simon, "Privilegiile inedite," 252–259.

⁵⁸ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 115.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

From the first half of the sixteenth century, lists of the friars of Franciscan communities have been preserved, revealing that the friars usually came from areas neighbouring their friary and that they mostly belonged to the dominant nationality of the area. For instance, from the list of the 25 friars of the Mediaș friary at the beginning of the sixteenth century, only one had a Hungarian name; the rest of them were Saxons. The situation in Târgu Mureș was similar; out of 24 friars only one had a Saxon name and the rest had Hungarian ones.⁵⁹ As the only Hungarian Franciscan community in eastern Transylvania until the first half of the fifteenth century, this friary probably provided most of the Hungarian friars sent for the needs of the Hungarian colonists in Moldavia.

When the Mendicants settled in Transylvania, the area was still struggling with the effects of the Mongol invasion. Moreover, Tartars still dominated the eastern border of the region at the end of the thirteenth century; they attacked northern Transylvania again in 1289.⁶⁰ The first mention of the Franciscan presence in Târgu Mureș described the area as *in metis Tatariae*.⁶¹ Under these circumstances the presence of the Mendicant Orders, strengthening the Christian faith, was important.

The fourth Transylvanian Franciscan foundation, after Sibiu and Orăștie, in Târgu Mureș, focused on the Székely population and until the mid-fifteenth century was the only Franciscan friary in the Székely area. The late thirteenth-century political and social situation definitely justified the foundation of such a large and important friary in eastern Transylvania. Creating a pilgrimage place and perhaps a missionary centre in Târgu Mureș probably had a positive influence on strengthening and maintaining Catholicism and Christianity in this administrative, cultural, and religious border zone. Nevertheless we have no direct written evidence to prove that the Târgu Mureș friary was involved in missionary activity. All we have is indirect evidence. Going eastward from the above-mentioned friary we have no other Franciscan sites until Moldova. This was the only Hungarian friary near Moldavia, and among the few ones, which could provide care and help for the Hungarian Catholic population of the Principality. The location and size of the friary, as well as its ability to provide written educational, spiritual material could be a strong reason to believe that the Târgu Mureș Franciscan friary had connections with Moldavian friaries. This

⁵⁹ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 115.

⁶⁰ Géza Entz, Die Baukunst Transylvaniens im 11–13. Jahrhundert. *Acta Historiae Artium*, vol. XIV. 3–4, (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1972), 131., *Erdélyi Okmánytár*, ed. Zsigmond Jakó 1023–1300 (Register of Transylvanian Charters, 1023–1300) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1997), 276.

⁶¹ Karácsonyi, vol. 1, 203.



Zoltán Soós

is underlined by the very intense Franciscan missionary activity in Moldavia, which was supported by both the Pope and the Hungarian kings.⁶²

Due to the lack of written sources, we do not know the extension of the area where friars from Târgu Mureş could preach and gather money (the area for the *praedici* and *termini*). In the case of Dominicans it is a great help that a charter has been preserved describing the areas where friaries had the right to preach and to collect money.⁶³ Dominican friaries from Saxon towns such as Braşov, Sibiu, Bistriţa had the rights to preach and collect money, which must have created serious competition for the Dominican friary in Odorhei. The Franciscan friary of Târgu Mureş was in a much more advantageous situation than the Odorhei friary.⁶⁴ First of all, until the mid-fifteenth century it was the only Franciscan site in eastern and south-east Transylvania except for Bistriţa, which itself had to cover a large area. The first half of the fifteenth century brought significant changes, resulting in the appearance of the Observant Franciscans, in the foundation of new friaries and in the intensification of missionary activity. We have five Franciscan friaries, mentioned in documents, involved in missions. Among these five, three were dealing with the conversion of the Orthodox Romanian and Ruthenian population of Transylvania (Teiuş, Coşeiu [Kusaly] and Haţeg); another two were in connection with the Moldavian mission (Şumuleu Ciuc and Albeşti).⁶⁵

Beginning from the early fifteenth century, the Ottoman danger on the southern border of the Hungarian Kingdom became permanent.⁶⁶ Besides this, a large number of Hussites took refuge in the Szeremség, in southern Hungary.⁶⁷ Due to the instability brought by the Ottoman raid and the spread of different heresies in southern Hungary, a new branch of the Franciscan Order, the Observants, were brought in to solve the problems related to the political and religious life of the kingdom. As an aid to their activity, the Observants received

⁶² See Claudia Dobre's article in the present volume.

⁶³ Sanda Mihaela Salontai, *Mănăstiri Dominicane din Transilvania* (Dominican friaries in Transylvania) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Nereamia Napocae, 2002), 69.

⁶⁴ Although the first written evidence is from 1496, the architectural survey of the ruins of the former Dominican friary from Odorhei from the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted that the buildings are from the late thirteenth century. László Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei* (Artistic monuments in medieval Udvarhelyszék) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981), 312–316.

⁶⁵ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 558., Lupescu Makó, "Item Lego..." 161–186.

⁶⁶ Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó and András Kubinyi, eds., *Magyarország Története, 1301–1526* (The History of Hungary, 1301–1526) (Budapest: Osiris kiadó, 1998), 240–267.

⁶⁷ An area between the Drava and Sava river, today Yugoslavia.



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş

strong royal support, resulting in a large number of new friary foundations. They obtained several important former Conventual friaries and they even played an important role in the fight against the Ottomans.

Relations between John Hunyadi, governor of Hungary, and John Capistran resulted in the foundation of several new Observant Franciscan friaries in Transylvania. Among these Şumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó) and Teiuş (Tövis) were the most important. The friary of Şumuleu Ciuc is the more important from the point of view of this study. It was founded around 1441.⁶⁸ The first question to be asked is why it had become so urgent to found another Franciscan friary in the Székely territories near the Moldavian border. In 1441 the friary of Târgu Mureş had already functioned for more than a century, fulfilling its role very well, which mainly consisted of preaching and eventually supporting the Moldavian missionary activity, for southeast Transylvania, including the Székely region.

The answer lies in the new and unexpected political change that occurred in neighbouring Moldova. In order to achieve his political aims, the Moldavian leader Laţcu made an alliance with the Lithuanian Swidrigajlo against the Poles; due to this agreement he gave permission to Hussites exiled from the Hungarian kingdom to settle on his territory.⁶⁹ Moreover, they enjoyed the Prince's support and sympathy. Under these conditions they could reorganise themselves and start to spread their ideas. The Hussites first appeared in Moldavia around 1420.⁷⁰ Their presence at this date in Moldavia is mentioned in a later chronicle, *The Chronicle of Levoča*.⁷¹

Mainly German and Hungarian colonists had created the Moldavian urban settlements, but one could find Hungarians not only in urban centres but in the Siret (Szeret) and Trotuş (Tatros) river valleys as well. Most of the Hussites came from the Hungarian kingdom and probably most of them were

⁶⁸ Karácsonyi, vol. 2, 548.

⁶⁹ György Galamb, "Marchiai Jakab prédikációs és inkvizitori tevékenysége: A ferences obszervancia itáliai, boszniai és magyarországi szerepéhez" (The role of James of the March as a preacher and inquisitor: about the role of the Franciscan observant movement in Italy, Bosnia and Hungary). Ph.D. dissertation (Szeged, 2001), 235–241.

⁷⁰ Maria Crăciun, *Protestantism si ortodoxie in Moldova secolului al XVI-lea* (Protestantism and Orthodoxy in seventeenth-century Moldavia) (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1996).

⁷¹ The *Chronicle of Levoča* is an eighteenth-century chronicle of the Lutheran church of Levoča, which used some older information according to its editor. "A. 1420 sind etliche Ungaren wegen Iohann Huss Lehre in die Moldau verjagt worden." The chronicle was published by K. Pekar, "A szepesi egyház történetére vonatkozó kivonatos krónika" (Chronicle related to the history of the church in the Szepes region), *Történelmi Tár* 2 (1904): 51.



Zoltán Soós

Hungarians. Due to a common language, Hussite teaching spread first of all among the Catholic population of Moldavia, converting many of them. In a time span as short as two years the Mendicant missions in Moldavia lost almost everything that they had achieved previously.

Some of the Moldavian territories, like the Trotuş valley, had a large Hungarian population and neighboured the Székely area. This meant that it was possible for the spread of Hussitism to also have affected the Székely territories unless it was stopped.

It is likely that the friary of Şumuleu Ciuc was founded in order to support and strengthen missionary activity, to stop the spread of the Hussite movement, and eventually to diminish the effects of it. As the Hussites made extensive use of preaching in national languages, their success was understandable. Unfortunately, there are no written sources about the combating of the Hussite movement and how this happened.

Summary of the Franciscan Pattern

Examining the pattern of the activity of the founders and donors of the Franciscan friaries, as well as their locations, it is clear that the Saxon urban centres played an important role in the first and the third wave of the foundations of friaries. The support of the nobility can be seen in the second wave, but as donors they were also active in the third wave. The royal presence seems to have been constant in the foundations of all the three waves although it was limited to one or two foundations in each period.

The number of foundations of the Mendicant Orders in Hungary⁷² shows that the first and the third waves of Transylvanian foundations were similar to the tendencies one can find in the rest of Hungarian Kingdom. The second wave, which included six of the total of 14 Franciscan friaries (42%) founded in Transylvania, contrasts with trends in Hungary, where at this time there was a recession in the pace of founding Franciscan friaries. The reasons for the numerous Transylvanian foundations may have been not only the popularity and good political relations of the Observants, but also the intensification of their missionary activity.

In the fourteenth century there was only one foundation (Sibiu), which appears to have been connected to the nature of Transylvanian urban development. Transylvanian urban centres had limited economic power compared with those in Western Europe. The town of Cluj is a good example;

⁷² Beatrix Romhányi, "Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova," Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest, 1996): XXII., Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Monasteries and collegiate chapters in Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000).



The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș

there the presence of the Dominicans and the Benedictines at Cluj-Mănăștur (Kolozsmonostor),⁷³ a market town five kilometres from the town of Cluj, drew on the resources of the town, and the Franciscan foundation could only take place with the support of King Matthias Hunyadi in the late fifteenth century. In the second half of the fifteenth century, however, the development of Transylvanian towns was accompanied by a series of new Franciscan foundations (Mediaș, Brașov, Cluj). Only in this period did the most important Transylvanian towns become rich enough to host both Mendicant Orders.

Although research on the Târgu Mureș friary revealed several unknown and hidden aspects of the Transylvanian Franciscan presence, there are still many questions to answer. Among these is the clarification of the role of the Mendicants in the process of Transylvanian urbanisation, comparing this phenomenon with other regions of the Hungarian kingdom. It would also be important to create a precise database about their donors, identifying their income sources and their role in everyday life.

Another important question that should be answered by further research is related to the missionary character of the Transylvanian Franciscan province. The Transylvanian province from the very beginning was a starting point for missionary activities. This is shown by the existence of Franciscan friaries that probably belonged administratively to the Transylvanian province, but were located in Moldavia and Wallachia. Toward the east and south of Transylvania were located Bacău (Bákó) in Moldavia and Tîrgoviște in Cumania (later Wallachia).⁷⁴

Having no written evidence, the role that Transylvania played in the missions is still debated. However, taking into account the fact that the Franciscan houses from Wallachia and Moldavia were connected to the Catholic world through Transylvania and we can prove that five Transylvanian friaries

⁷³ The monastery of Cluj-Mănăștur is the only Benedictine Convent in late medieval Transylvania. It was among the most important monastic sites regarding its richness gaining several donations mainly from the nobility of the medieval Cluj (Kolozs) county, but from other parts as well and from the burghers of Cluj. The monastery functioned in the late Middle Ages as a *locus credibilis* (place of authentication). Concerning the history of the monastery and the donations see: *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei, 1289–1556* ed. Zsigmond Jakó, (The convent records from Cluj-Mănăștur, 1289–1556) *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai* II, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990); Lupescu Makó, "Item Lego..." 161–186.

⁷⁴ Viorel Achim, "Ordinul Franciscanilor în Țările Române în secolele 14–15" (The activity of the Franciscan order in the Romanian principalities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *Revista Istorică*, Vol. 7 (Bucharest: Editura Academica, 1996), 402–403.



Zoltán Soós

out of fourteen were involved in missions we have to reconsider the importance of the region in this respect.

The present research was focused on one Franciscan friary about which we knew little. One of the important details that led to this research on the Târgu Mureș friary was its size. Although we have few written sources, there was a strong need to reveal the past of this friary; and further excavations might bring to light other details that would supplement or modify the history presented here. This research demonstrated that having few written sources is not an obstacle to exploring such an important site, which throughout its history created several indirect sources that could be revealed and explained through different disciplines like archaeology, building archaeology, and art history.



REPORT OF THE YEAR

József Laszlovszky

The most important event in the life of the department, and even more, in the history of Central European University in the academic year 2001-2002, was the announcement of a \$250,000,000 endowment by George Soros. After nine years of existence this created a solid basis for the future activities of the university as a well-established institution. This brought a great deal of publicity to CEU, including an article in the *New York Times*, where our department was mentioned as an important characteristic element of CEU. "The university is known for its Nationalism Studies program, started by Ernst Gellner, and its Medieval Studies, which brings together Western, Eastern Orthodox, and Islamic cultures." We can see this as proof of our modest globalization project, discussed in detail in my Head's Report in the previous *Annual*.

The most important academic aspect of the year was a change in our doctoral program. Over the last nine years the department has developed a regular system for the MA courses, which functions smoothly after some adjustments over this period. Our doctoral program, in contrast, started later and was accredited later, and only recently produced its first academic results, defended Ph.D. dissertations. A Ph.D. program, with a much longer educational trajectory and with all the problems occurring during the individual research period, can only be evaluated after a much longer time-span. This year was the first time we had a large representative group of doctoral students, so we were able to review the entire doctoral scheme. As had also been discussed by our academic advisory board, we had to emphasize the final stage of preparing dissertations in order to have more Ph.D. dissertations defended successfully. Our faculty was alerted by the fact that there was a growing group of Ph.D. students who had finished their post-graduate studies, passed their exams, but had not yet submitted their dissertations (ABDs—All But Dissertation, as it is commonly called in the academic world). Therefore we decided to introduce several new elements and a very strict monitoring system for dissertation preparations, including regular reports from the students and a well-organized defense schedule. As a result of this restructuring, four dissertations were successfully defended (Rossina Kostova, Gábor Virágos, Zoran Ladić, and



Report of the Year

Giedrė Mickūnaitė) and the academic quality of their works was very highly praised by the external readers and their committees. It is perhaps even more important that this change did not characterize only one academic year; we have high hopes for continuing this process and having even more defenses in the next academic year. At the time of the editorial preparation of this volume, we can say that it was a successful attempt and the next academic year (to be described in the next volume of our *Annual*) will report on even more defenses.

Having discussed this important issue in the life of the department, we can now turn to the more or less regular patterns of the academic year. The MA group of 2001–2002 presented the normal colorful picture. We experienced a fairly strong application pattern from Romania and also, as usual, from Hungary, but the students who were finally accepted represented a number of other countries as well. We had MA students from Russia, Macedonia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and for the first time, from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The research topics selected also had the usual interdisciplinary character. Heraldry in the Bosnian context was a new field for us, as was criminal law in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Otherwise, a number of philosophical topics characterized the MA group of this year. These included some not-very-usual subjects such as methodological reflections on the Straussian debate in textual studies and demons and dreams in Cardano's work. At the same time, the topics also covered more or less traditional fields for the department, such as coronations and funerals, monasteries and their social status, and a group of topics on Catholic–Orthodox interaction in the region, some of them published in this volume.

The academic program of the year started with our now-standard fall academic field trip. This time we decided to visit the western part of Hungary, close to the Austrian–Slovenian border. There was a strong emphasis on medieval church buildings; some of the most important medieval monuments of this kind were visited during the field trip. Ják and Lébény, as two outstanding examples of Romanesque architecture, offered good discussion points for our art historians concerning stylistic analysis and nineteenth-century restorations. At the same time, these churches were also discussed in a monastic context, being equally good examples of Benedictine monasticism. Another branch of medieval monastic lifestyle was presented during the visit to the Szentgotthárd Cistercian abbey, which allowed us to discuss twentieth-century restoration concepts at the same time. The visit to the cathedral in the center of Győr offered us the possibility of seeing the extraordinary head reliquary of St Ladislav (now in the treasury of the bishopric). This illustrated the subject of the legend of St Ladislav, reliquaries and relics in the Middle Ages, and medieval goldsmiths' work in Central Europe. The castle of the bishop and its heraldic



Report of the Year

decoration, significant element of urban topography, was important for demonstrating dynastic prestige representation. In Kőszeg, too, the interaction of castle and town could be seen even in the present-day town space. Settlement structure of a very different kind dominated the landscape of the Órség, a very peculiar historical landscape of western Hungary. Isolated farmsteads with their archaic vernacular architecture and the very important Romanesque or Gothic parish churches were the most characteristic features of this region. The small churches of Óriszentpéter and Velemér were very atmospheric and at the same time crucial monuments for examining medieval church decoration. In contrast, the continuity of Classical and Medieval urban culture was the most important question when we visited Szombathely, with the remains of ancient Savaria (and the Amber Road), the Iseum, and discussed the classical urban center and its impact on the emergence of a medieval market center. Just as in any part of Hungary, the western region proved to be a very good field for demonstrating different medieval subjects.

At the very beginning of the academic year our department organized the annual meeting of TASC (Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults), together with their international research group. The main issue was "Reconstructing Ancient Boundaries: Church and Topography." The program covered a very wide range of topics and geographical areas, from Anglo-Saxon England to Iceland and from Karelia to Venezuela. Methodological and theoretical issues were also discussed, particularly the possibilities of electronic databases and the use of geographical information systems (GIS). The paper presentations and discussions were combined with working sessions on the database and as relaxation, a historical city tour where medieval religious boundaries were presented in the modern urban landscape. The TASC conference was also combined with the first Curriculum Resource Center workshop of that academic year, which helped to bring university teachers from East Central Europe to present their results and at the same time to develop their new educational programs.

In the first semester we offered a large number of seminars to show many different approaches to medieval studies. Studies in Renaissance Portraiture, offered by Peter Meller, (Santa Barbara) and Renaissance Philosophy, offered by Richard Blum (Pázmány Péter Catholic University) were two such courses, which, combined with the course by Marcell Sebők on Renaissance Characters in Central Europe, offered insights into the problem of the Renaissance. Such a combination of courses, focusing on a period connecting the academic interests of the Department of Medieval Studies and the History Department at CEU, was organized to introduce a public lecture series offered throughout the year by the two departments together: "Renaissance, Revival and Enlightenment:



Report of the Year

Concepts in Historical Perspective." The lecture series started with a thought-provoking paper by Carlo Ginzburg, followed by discussions of different renaissances by Giles Constable, Hans Erich Bödeker, and Peter Burke.

The changes in our academic curriculum, such as the stronger introduction of the Renaissance, were made possible by new additions to the faculty. Marcell Sebők, who has been active in the life of the department from the very beginning and received a Ten Years of Service Award in this academic year, accepted the post of Assistant Professor responsible for this period and for methods such as historical anthropology. At the same time, two other assistant professors joined the department, Judith Rasson and Katalin Szende. They cover fields of cultural anthropology, advanced research methodology, material culture and medieval written sources, archival materials, urban history, respectively. With these changes, we were able to extend the scope of our academic program and it has also helped us in the more intensive supervision of the doctoral students, so important as noted above. Guest professors this semester offered courses in a wide chronological-geographical and thematic framework, such as Gustav Bayerle's course on the Ottoman State and Society.

In December the department organized a working conference on the law book of Stephen Werbőczy. It is a part of a departmental research and publication program continuing János Bak's earlier projects to publish the entire Hungarian medieval law collection in bilingual English-Latin form. The topic of the workshop was the most important early sixteenth-century law collection and it focused on the translation problem of this text, with the participation of legal experts such as DeLloyd Guth, specialists in Central European history (among them Martin Rady, A. C. Lewis, D. Ibbetson, and A. Wolf) and the active presence of Ph.D. students from the department.

Research projects and international cooperation formed an important part of our academic program throughout the whole year. One of them was part of the so-called Russian Megaproject, which aims to transform university education in several Russian provincial universities. Our department has been working with the University Centers of Kazan, Saratov, Omsk, Voronezh, Tomsk and Petrozavodsk. The goal of the project is to create visual image and textual materials for distance learning and consultation systems. In the framework of this research project, archaeological materials of the steppic region and ethnographic research materials were made available in a digital format for educational and research purposes. Another regional research and educational program connects us with the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj, "The Shaping of Confessional Identity in Central and Eastern Europe from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century." This program consisted of research visits of faculty members from Cluj to Budapest to carry on investigations using Hungarian



Report of the Year

archival and library materials and at the same time, CEU faculty members held intensive courses on related subjects for undergraduate and post-graduate students in Cluj.

The most important result of university research activity is obviously publication. The department decided to launch a new program and to publish CEU Medievalia as a series of handbooks, collected volumes of essays, and research tools. The first volume, *The Crusades and the Military Orders*, edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and myself, was the result of an interdisciplinary workshop on the same topic in 1991. This publication of more than 500 pages of essays by leading scholars in the field was made even more useful for the international audience by including an up-to-date research bibliography almost a hundred pages long. A similar very useful research tool is *The Guide to Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe*, edited by Béla Zsolt Szakács. This volume is the final product of a research project in the department and provides a standardized, informative description and catalog of the major photographic collections on medieval monuments and sources of the region. Our publication plans were also carried on in the framework of international cooperation with a third volume, co-published with the Krems Institute of Material Culture. *Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context* is also the publication of an interdisciplinary workshop; Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter brought together an important collection of essays in a field of research much discussed recently.

The publication activity of the department also involved CEU Press, which has established a series with the title "Central European Medieval Texts." *The Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and His Legend of St. Wenceslas* is one of the most unique medieval sources of the region and the bilingual (English-Latin) publication will contribute to the better understanding of this crucial figure of the Middle Ages. The text was edited by Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, with a historical introduction by Ferdinand Seibt, a leading scholar of Czech history and a long-time director of Collegium Carolinum (Munich). With these publications we now have created a more complex system of publishing activity, including the *Annual*, the *Newsletter*, and the *Medievalia* series.

In the second semester of the academic year we offered a large number of research methods courses in order to provide a better footing for the individual research of the MA students. They included introductions to settlement and landscape problems, iconography, and judicial sources. Introduction to Cultural Anthropology was a new subject offered in the departmental curriculum by Judith Rasson, and Local History was also offered for the first time by Katalin Szende. After the emphasis on Renaissance topics, with the continuing public lecture series, the second semester also focused on another very important field of medieval studies, namely, Byzantine history and culture. Two members of the



Report of the Year

Vienna Byzantine Institute (Wolfram Hoerandner and Andreas Kuelzer) lectured on historiography and literature. The defense of an excellent Ph.D. dissertation by Rossina Kostova on Bulgarian monasticism offered us the possibility of conducting a round-table discussion on recent trends and issues in Byzantine Studies. Marlia Mango (Oxford) and Margarita Vaklinova (Sofia), members of Rossina's defense committee, participated in the roundtable discussion with Cyril Mango (Oxford), Ihor Sevchenko (Harvard), Ralph Cleminson (Portsmouth), Elissaveta Moussakova (Sofia) and other discussants. We hope that similar "state of research" roundtables on other fields of medieval studies (like Slavonic studies or Islam) can be organized at later dates.

The annual interdisciplinary workshop this year focused on the religious aspect of power, under the title "Religion and Rulership." As a result of our previously mentioned research interests, the range of topics as well as geographical spread was much broader than previous similar programs. It was co-organized with the international organization Majestas and hosted a keynote address by Aziz al-Azmeh (Beirut), opening the field to Islam and to the problem of sacral kingship. Papers discussed Byzantine, Slavic Orthodox, Syrian, and Ethiopian aspects of this complex issue and methodological discourses represented textology, iconography, architectural history, and archaeology. Alumni of the department (Dmitrij Mishin and Ildar Garipzanov) made significant contributions to the theoretical discussions, while several doctoral students presented interesting case studies. Based on our positive experience with publishing the best papers of these workshops, we plan to put together a volume on this subject in the *Medievalia* series.

The standard spring academic field trip followed the path of the fall excursion, but we travelled further to the west, crossing the Austrian border. On the way we stopped to visit the archaeological site of the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár and continued the urban topography course of our first excursion in Sopron, with a visit to the medieval town, the Franciscan friary, and the Jewish monuments. We also continued the monastic theme by visiting Heiligenkreuz, the most important Cistercian center in Austria, where the liturgy of the modern monks helped us to understand the Cistercian world, as did the visit to the Cistercian Grange at Thalern, specializing in wine production from the twelfth century onwards. We became acquainted with other branches of monastic life in Aggsbach (Carthusian) and Klosterneuburg (Austin canons) and on the way back in Pannonhalma (Benedictine). Urban subjects were also on our list in Austria, visiting the Stephansdom and a medieval urban house with well-preserved secular frescos (the so-called Neidhart-frescos) in the center of Vienna. Another scholarly visit led us to the extremely well-equipped research center at the Institute of Archaeology of Vienna University. Vienna is also a city



Report of the Year

of many museums; our students had to decide which one to visit: the Kunsthistorisches, Schatzkammer, Belvedere, or others, many more than what could be visited in this short time. Then we went on to Tulln and Krems, which offered us a methodological course at the Institute of Material Culture on the subject of digital data collection and the interpretation of visual sources. The most spectacular monuments of our trip were the castles, amongst them Dürnstein, with its history with Richard the Lionheart, as well as Lockenhaus (Léka) and Forchtenstein (Fraknó). We used all possible means of transportation, including small boats to cross the Danube at the foot of Dürnstein castle.

After this exciting but very intensive program, the spring session was equally busy and academically challenging time in the life of our MA students and faculty. Three guest professors offered courses on subjects not often taught in the core of medieval studies programs. Hanna Kassis lectured on the "Interaction of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle Ages;" Maria Dobozy addressed a similar historical situation, but from a very different viewpoint, namely, "Crusader Literature Depicted;" Sylvain Piron's course title suggested a more standard topic, however, his treatment of the "Franciscans within the Western Church" discussed this more traditional topic in the framework of new research questions.

At the end of this very busy but successful year, particularly if we recall the doctoral defenses, the very last of the year by Giedrė Mickūnaitė on the Grand Duke Vytautas, nineteen MA students successfully defended their theses, as is demonstrated by the abstracts in this volume. As a part of the ceremonial events at the end of the year, we awarded two students with the Svetlana Tănăsă Fund prizes of the department: Dóra Bobory for being the most collegial student and Andrei Menchikov for academic progress during his year of study. Other students also received grants from the same fund during the year for conference participation (Krisztina Fűgedi) and for research (Péter Levente Szűcs).

Summer was also a busy period for some members of the faculty; a significant group of students, alumni and faculty participated, as usual, in the work of the Leeds International Medieval Congress. Our department initiated five important sessions; their topics covered many different aspects of medieval studies, including military orders, the problems of urbanization, daily life, the sciences, and death and funerals. A similar wide range of topics was discussed by CEU faculty and alumni at the Kalamazoo conference in May.

The topical expansion of the departmental research interests was well demonstrated in the organization of the Summer University Course on "People and Nature in Historical Perspective." Our aim was to cover many approaches, historical discourses, and research methods in this very complex and newly



Report of the Year

emerging field. Participants of the course came from Central Europe and the Caucasus as well as Central Asia (Mongolia and Tajikistan). This diversity shows that countries with a not-so-long history of research in medieval studies can also produce significant results in the field of interdisciplinary subjects, particularly if they are related to natural science. Resource persons reflected very much on this issue by discussing environmental changes and ecological systems, global warming in historical perspective, and reading the landscape. Scholars from different fields, such as physical anthropology, botany, environmental archaeology, and archaeozoology, brought new methodologies and source material into the final discussions of the individual research proposals of the participants. It turned out that basic handbooks or summaries of new research directions are very much needed in these countries and in the international market in general, therefore, following the steps of our publication project, we plan to issue a volume to cover the most important research trends in this area. This will demonstrate, as the other volumes of our publications series do, that the department represents a complex educational program with a research-intensive background and with openness to policy issues, which seem to be shaping up as an important theme for next year in the department.



ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS IN 2001/2002

2001

- August 27 – September 16 Pre-session courses: General English, Latin, Greek, computing, visits to libraries and museums, planning discussions on MA research topics
- September 4–6 Field trip to Western Hungary (see Academic Field Trips for details)
- September 17–23 Zero week

FALL SEMESTER (September 24 – December 14)

- October 13 Opening Ceremony
- October 15–19 Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from the universities of the region participate in the TASC (Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults) Conference
- December 2–5 Working Conference on the law book of Stephen Werbóczy *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inchoiti regni Hungariae* (1514/17)
- December 12 Departmental Christmas Party

2002

WINTER SEMESTER (January 7 – March 29)

- February 18–23 Curriculum Resource Center session. Visitors from the universities of the region participate in the workshop on *Religion and Rulership in the Middle Ages* (February 21–23)
- April 2–26 MA Research Break
- April 25–May 1 Spring Field Trip to Austria (see Academic Field Trips for details).



Activities and Events in 2001/2002

SPRING SESSION (April 29 – May 31)

May 2–5	37th International Congress on Medieval Studies at the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, USA. One session organized by the Department
May 6	Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Rossina Kostova on <i>Bulgarian Monasticism in Ninth to Tenth Centuries: Interpreting the Archaeological Evidence</i>
May 30	Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Zoran Ladić on <i>Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia with Special Attention to the Legacies 'pro remedio animae'</i>
May 31	MA theses submission deadline
June 12	Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Gábor Virágos on <i>Noble Residences and Their Social Context in Hungary in the Thirteenth through the Sixteenth Century</i>
June 13	Public defence of the Ph.D. Dissertation of Giedrė Mickūnaitė on <i>Grand Duke Vytautas – Establishing Vytautas the Great</i>
June 17–19	MA theses defences
June 20	Graduation Ceremony
July 8–11	International Medieval Congress organized by the International Medieval Institute, University of Leeds. 5 sessions organized by the Department.
July 1–12	Summer University course: <i>People and Nature in Historical Perspective</i>



ACADEMIC FIELD TRIPS

Field Trip Program

September 4–6, 2001

September 4, Tuesday

Győr: sightseeing, St. Ladislav head reliquary
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
Alsóörs: bathing (Lake Balaton)
Veszprém: Town Centre

Field Trip to Austria

April 22–28, 2002

April 22, Monday

Székesfehérvár: Royal Basilica
Sopron: Medieval Town, Franciscan Friary, Synagogues

April 23, Tuesday

Heiligenkreuz: Cistercian Monastery
Thalern: Cistercian Grange
Gumpoldskirchen



Activities and Events in 2001/2002

April 24, Wednesday

Vienna: Visit at to Institute of Archaeology of the Vienna University
St. Stephen's Cathedral
New Archaeological Excavations in Vienna
Neidhart Frescos (Tuchlauben 19)
Optional: Museum visits
Dinner in a Heuriger with some guests from Vienna

April 25, Thursday

Melk: Stift
Aggsbach: Carthusian Monastery
Dürnstein: Castle
Krems: Medieval Town, Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der
Frühen Neuzeit

April 26, Friday

Klosterneuburg: Monastery
Tulln: Town

April 27, Saturday

Lockenhaus (Léka): Castle
Forchtenstein (Fraknó): Castle
Vienna

April 28, Sunday

Pannonhalma: Benedictine Abbey



COURSES IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2001/2002

Fall Semester

September 24 – December 14, 2001

Introduction to Medieval Studies Bibliography and Research Methods
Coordinated by János Bak

Problems of Medieval Studies – lecture series
Coordinated by János Bak

History of Everyday Life
Gerhard Jaritz

The Bible in the Medieval West
Piroska Nagy

Renaissance Characters in Central Europe
Marcell Sebók and Marianna D. Birnbaum

Studies in Renaissance Portraiture
Péter Meller

Renaissance Philosophy
Paul Richard Blum

Introduction to Medieval Philosophy
György Geréby

Latin Palaeography and Diplomatics
János M. Bak and László Veszprémy

Workshop Course: "Religion and Rulership in the Middle Ages".
Coordinated by János Bak

Mendicant Orders between West and East
Gábor Klaniczay



Courses in the Academic Year 2001/2002

Winter Semester

January 7 – March 29, 2002

Local History in the Middle Ages

Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende

Introduction to Cultural Anthropology

Judith Rasson

Descriptions of Works of Art in Byzantine Literature

Wolfram Hoerandner

People, Settlement, and Landscape

József Laszlovszky

Judicial Sources and Historical Anthropology

Gábor Klaniczay and Hanna Zaremska

Signs and Symbols

János Bak

Architecture and Building Archaeology

József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács

Reading and Editing a Scholastic Text

Piroska Nagy and György Geréby

Female Power in the Middle Ages

Gerhard Jaritz

Medieval Codex Illumination

Béla Zsolt Szakács

Images and the Construction of Identities

Gerhard Jaritz

Topics in Medieval Theology

György Geréby

Family, Memory and Power in the Mediterranean

Neven Budak

Byzantine Historiography

Andreas Kuelzer

Introduction to Medieval Iconography

Tamás Sajó



Courses in the Academic Year 2001/2002

Spring Session
April 29 – May 31, 2002

Crusade Literature

Mária Dobozy

Interaction of Christians, Jews, and Muslims

Hanna Kassis

Franciscan Ecclesiology

Sylvain Piron

Thesis Writing Workshop

All Faculty

Defence of the Dissertation Prospectuses (Comprehensive Field Exam)

All Faculty

Courses throughout the Fall and Winter Semesters

Academic Field Trip – Consultation and Bibliography

József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács

Academic Writing for Medievalists

Documentation, Argumentation, and Academic Prose Style

Judith Rasson

Greek for Beginners

György Karsai

Classical Greek

György Karsai

Latin Intermediate

György Karsai

Latin Advanced

György Karsai

Latin Palaeography and Diplomatics

János Bak and László Veszprémy

M.A. Thesis Seminar

Resident Faculty



Courses in the Academic Year 2001/2002

Ph.D. Research Seminar
Resident Faculty

Ph.D. Seminar
Resident Faculty

Medieval Philosophical Latin
György Geréby

Reading Byzantine Texts
István Perczel



M.A. THESIS ABSTRACTS

Representations of the Signs of the Zodiac in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Mural Painting

Kristina Biceva (Macedonia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Elissaveta Moussakova (National Library, Sofia)

This thesis has the character of an iconographic repertoire. It compiles the mural representations of the signs of the Zodiac, as part of the iconographic programmes of Orthodox churches in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine epoch. The signs of the Zodiac are found in three different themes: as an illustration of Psalm 148, in the scene of Judgement Day and in the *Menologion*. In each case, in separate chapters representative monuments are discussed. In the case of Psalm 148, the analysis is focused on the fourteenth-century monastery of Lesnovo. In the case of the representations of the signs of the Zodiac in the Judgement Day scenes and the *Menologion*, the analysis is based on a group of Moldavian monasteries from the sixteenth century.

The analysis undertaken is an investigation of the possible iconographic solutions that might have been the origin for such depictions. It features research on the iconography of these scenes in preceding and contemporary monuments, but also takes into consideration the background political and social factors.

Being a Chosen One: Self-Consciousness and Self-Fashioning in the Works of Gerolamo Cardano

Dóra Bobory (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Marcell Sebők, Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Marianna Birnbaum (UCLA)

Although the romantic attitude of Burckhardt that viewed the Italian Renaissance as the revolt of particular individuals against the darkness of the



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

medieval heritage has been successfully criticised, there is no question that there were important participants of the intellectual sphere (and certainly that of art) who did not belong to philosophical schools or institutions. These “new intellectuals,” the third generation of Humanists, were not necessarily supported by powerful patrons; rather, they were scholars who had to make their own way through the complex network of ideologies and traditions, following their own presentiments while utilising a great variety of sources and thoughts, which were not always part of or rooted in the mainstream.

The “new intellectual” had to be a conscious, determined businessman, who knew how to sell his literary products, and shaped himself into whatever form was the most required. The matter of the ability to control one’s own identity played a decisive role in the person’s further career: if one negotiated well enough among the capricious market-forces, one was able to survive, or even to acquire fame and success, with all that those factors imply: wealth and recognition in the scholarly world.

Some of these scholars went further than simply embracing the opportunities: they really believed that they were meant to do more than fulfil the requirements of the readers, but also to lead some kind of a mission. They felt themselves initiated, chosen for knowing the secrets that others were not allowed or prepared or able to know.

Since it is always easier to approach an epoch through the life and work of a characteristic individual, this paper focuses on a very enigmatic and controversial figure of the Italian renaissance, one whose life and works reflect faithfully the problems and difficulties a scholar in sixteenth-century Italy had to face. Such a one was Gerolamo Cardano, the Milanese polymath: through the analysis of his efforts aiming at the creation of the image of himself as a chosen one with special abilities, I show how the raw market-forces challenged him and his fellow scholars to perform (or at least claim to do so) something outstanding and often astonishingly bold in the scientific world.

The sources of this research were of two different kinds: on the one hand I focused on his *De propria vita*, which I consider the non-scientific formulation of the author’s ideas and which is full of miraculous stories all accentuating Cardano’s centrality in his *microcosmos*, while on the other I tried to find the passages in the scientific corpus that testify to the argument that he consciously created an image of himself as a chosen one, using his own works as a means for that purpose.



**Stephen the Great through His Letters:
Building an Image for Europe**

Elena Cartaleanu (Moldova)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak

External Reader: Maria Crăciun (Institute of History, Cluj-Napoca)

Stephen the Great (1457–1504) was one of the most important figures of Moldavian history. During his rulership he succeeded in promoting Moldavia on the international arena, due to its position as the “shield of Christendom.” In order to establish contacts and to fulfil his strategic goals, Stephen built, through his letters and embassies to the foreign monarchs, a multi-sided image, which he used according to the circumstances.

The image was a complex one, which varied according to the status of the addressee. In his relationship with neighbours, such as the kings of Hungary and Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, Stephen showed himself to be a good diplomat, but a strict defender of his own realm. He pointed out that he protected Poland and Lithuania from the pagans, but asked them to behave honestly towards Moldavia. As a good Christian, he requested his “brethren in Christ” not to quarrel in the face of the common danger from the infidels.

In his communication with distant Western rulers, Stephen stressed his image as a crusader, that is, a good Christian and a prince. As a Christian, he showed himself ready to fight against heathen enemies, with the help of his addressees. As a prince, he insisted on being treated as an equal, who had the right to participate in royal enterprises. The image was completed by reference to his heroic deeds as a warrior, and his successful dynastic policy.

This public representation of Stephen the Great was also partially reflected in his correspondence on private affairs, such as the Venetian campaign of recruiting a doctor for the elderly and suffering voivode. In this less official correspondence Stephen allowed his image to look more personalised, but he invoked again his public deeds—the anti-Ottoman activity—as his main argument, in order to convince the Venetians to help him.

While only certain parts of Stephens’ image were shown to the Western rulers, the voivode was also building a special representation for his own subjects, and another one for the Orthodox world. Being a talented strategist, Stephen the Great succeeded in making in every case a full and attractive picture.



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

The Prince in Sixteenth Century Moldavia and Wallachia Between Renaissance and Reformation

Rafael-Dorian Chelaru (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Marcell Sebők

External Reader: Maria Crăciun (Institute of History, Cluj-Napoca)

The present research focuses on three figures of princes that ruled in sixteenth-century Moldavia and Wallachia. These rulers are the following: Petru Rareș, prince of Moldavia (1527–1538; 1541–1546), Jacob Heraclides the Despot, prince of Moldavia (1561–1563) and Petru Cercel, prince of Wallachia (1583–1585). There are two reasons why these princes are considered as case studies. The first is that their personal religious affiliation is different: Petru Rareș was Orthodox, Jacob Heraclides the Despot was Protestant (an adept of Socinian Radical Protestantism) and Petru Cercel was Catholic. The second reason is that all these princes were considered to illustrate Renaissance types of rulership by the relevant Romanian historiography.

The two reasons constituted at the same time the main two motivations and guiding points of our work. This research has based its argument on two main issues: the first is to discuss the concept of the Renaissance prince corroborated with the realities of the period, and the second is to discuss the problem of confessionalisation of the state. Consequently, this thesis aims to answer two main questions: firstly, whether one can speak about a Renaissance rulership appearing in sixteenth-century Wallachia and Moldavia, and secondly, whether one can speak about a confessionalisation of the state in this particular region and period.

The first chapter contextualises the argument, namely by providing the reader with as concise as possible an overview on the three princes studied and their foreign policy. The discussion of this aspect of rulership stresses the organic link between the diplomatic initiatives of these rulers and the international political context of the period: nevertheless, the undoubted influence of the personal ambitions and decisions is to be an important issue in our discussion.

The second chapter discusses the problem of the existence and manifestation of the Renaissance model of rulership concerning the three case studies. The discussion is based on the concept of the Renaissance prince as it was developed in the relevant Romanian scholarship, and analyses its validity in correlation with the relevant international scholarship. The argument follows the main relevant aspects of rulership liable to bear Renaissance influences: legitimacy, diplomacy, state administration and cultural initiatives.



Finally, the last chapter discusses the influence of religion on these particular rulerships. Within this frame, a special focus on a possible influence of the personal religious affiliation is put, as the three princes had different religious backgrounds. The main question this final chapter tries to answer is whether we can speak about an important influence of religion in various aspects of rulership: the relation of the ruler with the “official” Church in the state (in our case the Orthodox Church), the confessional policy of the ruler (attitudes of tolerance or intolerance towards the religious communities in the state), the “international” relations of the ruler (either “official” or particular) in order to see whether religion constituted as a criterion of selection, and the relation between religion and the cultural initiatives of the ruler.

The Building of the Moldavian–Wallachian Frontier c. 1350–c. 1450

Marian Coman (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak

External Reader: Nóra Berend (St. Catherine’s College, Cambridge)

Viewed simply as a frontier like all others in the medieval period, the Wallachian–Moldavian frontier is placed in an ambiguous position in modern times by national bias. Although it is still recognised as a historical frontier, it becomes also, from a national perspective, a pseudo-frontier, since the Wallachians and the Moldavians were regarded as part of the same nation. To solve this contradiction between medieval reality and the modern interpretative frame, most Romanian scholars either simply refused to treat the topic or emphasised the extraordinary stability of the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier, underlining its peaceful evolution. In my opinion their verdict was incorrect and ideologically determined, and my thesis is a long overdue reconsideration of the problem.

Before becoming a political issue, the settlement of a frontier is a matter of human geography; therefore, the first question to be raised is not where the frontier was, but rather what its nature was. By analysing the demographic evolution from this time frame (c. 1350–c. 1450) I argue that the borderland between Wallachia and Moldavia was, from a demographic point of view, an open frontier. The previous population movements, especially with settlers coming from Transylvania during the fourteenth century, did not affect the borderland areas. Settlers, among them certainly Wallachians, moved into this region from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. To this demographic evolution there corresponds a specific political



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

evolution. I was able to show that after the Golden Horde lost this region, south-western Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia remained under the control of local Tartar Lords for one or two decades. This persistence of Tartar control manifested itself not only politically, but also in the demographic and economic realities of the region, by delaying their development in rapport with the other Wallachian and Moldavian regions. Therefore, my argument is that as a steppe zone controlled by the Mongols for a longer period than the neighbouring areas, scarcely inhabited, not crossed by important trade routes, the region had little to offer. According to my interpretation, the end of Mongol control was followed in a first phase by the nominal extension of the two Voievods' authorities over southern Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia. At the same time the demographic growth in these regions coincided with the increasing effectiveness of their authority. And, as the result of their encounter, the frontier between the two principalities was established for the first time. I argue that Mircea was the voievod who used his position of protector of the Moldavian voievod, Alexander, for settling the Moldavian–Wallachian frontier for the first time, Wallachia taking the lion's share. The agreement was challenged by the Moldavians when internal rivalries and the Ottoman incursions destabilised Wallachia. All the subsequent Wallachian attempts to change back the frontier were unsuccessful, and this prolonged dispute was one of the main causes of the Moldavian–Wallachian animosity during the fifteenth century. This building process of the concrete Wallachian–Moldavian frontier was doubled by the building of an imaginary frontier, difficult if not impossible to reconstruct due to the nature of the sources according to which the Moldavian and the Wallachian identities were constructed.

The Mendicants' Mission in an Orthodox Land: A Case Study of Moldavia (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century)

Claudia Dobre (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Gábor Klaniczay

External Reader: Șerban Papacostea (Institute Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest)

The thesis deals with the activities and the missionary strategies of the Mendicants in Moldavia from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The first chapter reviews their presence there and focuses mainly on the foundation and refoundation of the bishopric of the Cumans. Nevertheless, it also takes into account other aspects of the presence of the Mendicants, such as their activities among the Tartars. The second chapter is concerned with the missionary



strategies and activities of the Mendicants in Moldavia in this period of time. The conversions of the rulers, the influence of the Mendicants at the court, and the relations with the Orthodox are the most important issues of this chapter. The third chapter deals with the Mendicant settlements in Moldavia. The spatial analysis used in this chapter shows that they followed some specific strategies in choosing the locations of their settlements. They had friaries in localities with some urban features, on commercial routes, and in the residence of local rulers, which were also the localities with communities of Saxons or Hungarians, who were Catholics.

The conclusion is that their activities in Moldavia were closely related to the support of the Polish and Hungarian kings, on the one hand, and with the Moldavian rulers' interest, on the other. Furthermore, the policy of the papacy had a great impact on their presence and activity in Moldavia in this period of time. Their mission in a frontier space, in a region where the majority of the population belonged to Orthodoxy, was different from, and more complex than, missions in either a pagan space or within Western Christendom.

Swords in Images: Representation, Development, and Message (Central Europe from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)

Goda Giedraityte (Lithuania)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Thomas Richardson (Royal Armouries Museum, Leeds)

Research into sword iconography, the results of which are presented in this thesis, has revealed many intriguing insights and observations. The main goal of my research was to analyze religious paintings from late medieval Central Europe that bear the representations of swords. Specifically I wanted to discover the development of these representations, and to ground it on examples and patterns represented in images. A concomitant goal was to find out what hidden messages these representations bear.

For this reason I referred to the English scholar Ewart Oakeshott's typology, and used it as an auxiliary device for understanding the whole picture of the swords' development and migration in Central Europe. Data yielded by the research have revealed that besides the correspondence of swords' representations to the "reality" of these weapons, a "repetitive" sword's image is also a common phenomenon, especially in early codex illuminations.

In spite of this formal comparative analysis, it appears that the image of the sword directly depends on the subject matter of the painting, as well as on



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

the message it proclaims. This helped to introduce such categories as sword as an attribute, sword in action, sword as a sign of everyday life, and so on. At the same time, an intriguing interaction between Eastern and Western military practice can be observed when analyzing the appearance and frequency of swords' images in particular scenes.

This research was an attempt to expand the borders of arms history while applying iconographic analysis. Therefore it is certainly a subject of revision and elaboration.

Fleur-de-lis in Medieval Bosnia

Elma Hašimbegović (Bosnia)

Thesis Supervisors: Neven Budak, László Veszprémy

External Readers: Sima Ćirković, (SANU, Belgrade), Szabolcs de Vajay (Vevey)

The present work followed the task of identifying the motif of the fleur-de-lis in two groups of primary sources from medieval Bosnia: seals and coins on the one hand and the specific tombstones—*stećci*—on the other. The appearance of the fleur-de-lis was analyzed from a political and social perspective, as the examined sources were connected with the Bosnian kings and the nobility. The time-span of research is focused mainly on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the first place, the appearance of the lily on Bosnian seals and coins was examined, which means in royal usage, and its place among the other symbols used by the Bosnian rulers; through its usage I have reflected on the political situation of the time. In the second part of the thesis the analysis focused on how often and in what way the lily was found on tombstones, and thereby, it was demonstrated why it was used on them and what its significance was.

The Coronations of the First Bohemian Kings

Demeter Malatak (Czech Republic)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak

External Reader: Josef Žemlička (Akademie věd ČR, Historický ústav, Prague)

The stock of royal ritual and presentation as part of the history of power and politics is an established concern. Monarchical rituals including, above all, inauguration were mediators of rulership ideology. Thus, the study of coronations and other rites of representation of power may reveal much about the essence of



political power, especially in times where theoretical treatises on politics were rare. The thesis also deals with the concept of coronations as rites of passage.

In medieval Bohemia, the coronations were closely connected with the representation of kingship in opposition to ducal ceremonies. In general, the coronation can be regarded especially as a ritual of the ruler's accession to governance. As a matter of fact, however, none of the Přemyslid kings was crowned at the time of his accession. It prompts the question of the significance of Přemyslid coronations, which, along with the exploration of their form, is the main concern of the thesis. The political background and the circumstances of ritual performance are taken into account, and the original ritual of the ducal enthronement as an archaic equivalent to the coronation is not neglected either.

The thesis deals with the coronations of the three first kings in Bohemian history: Vratislav, Vladislav and Ottakar I Přemysl. All these rulers had one thing in common. They were first installed as dukes and only later were they made kings. They were the representatives of a shift in concepts of monarchic power. This aspect determined the unique nature of their coronations and distinguished them from the coronations of their successors which already constituted a part of well-established royal representation.

The examination of individual coronation rituals and their background led to the conclusion that the coronations of the first Bohemian rulers differed in terms of their form and significance. Thus the concept of rites of passage can be applied only to a certain extent. But all of these rituals contributed to the establishing of the new patterns of representation of monarchic power. These royal patterns showed a deep elaboration and expressed a complex structure of power.

**The Attitude of the Latin and Orthodox Christians of the Second Half
of the Eleventh Century (“the Schism” Period) towards Each Other
in the Polemic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit
(by Peter Damian, Anselm of Canterbury, and Theophylact of Ochrid)**

Andrei Menchikov (Russia)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, György Geréby

External Reader: Ivan Christov (Wissenschaftlich – Theologisches Seminar der
Universität Heidelberg)

The relationships between different cultures always fascinate not only scholarly interest, but simple human curiosity as well. Most intriguing would be the study



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

of those cultures that have a common origin and profess the same religion, but gradually come to understanding of their peculiarities and divergences.

The so-called “Schism” between the Eastern and Western Churches has a long history: to interpret the excommunications of 1054 as a final and conclusive rupture is no longer acceptable, as the studies of Dvornik, Runciman and others have demonstrated. During this process of divorce, a minor issue (the addition of the *Filioque* to the creed) which at first deserved only rare mention among the “crimes” of the other side, became a chief point of contention. This one-word addition revealed the core of theological and cultural-historical differences of two traditions: the difference of the human approaches to the divinity, of the understanding of God, of ecclesiology and Church ruling, and so on. My purpose was to inquire how both sides came to realize this difference.

After 1054, a few treatises were written about the procession of the Holy Ghost: by Peter Damian in 1061–1062, by Anselm of Canterbury in 1098–1102, and by Theophylact of Ochrid in 1089–1091 (the last dating is the most uncertain). A few attempts at discussing this point were made, but all of them failed to settle the problem. Thus, we have only these treatises to try to investigate how the discussion developed. Only in 1112 did both sides meet each other in an open dispute in the presence of the Emperor in Constantinople, but this deserves a separate study.

In this controversy many arguments were deployed. In short, the Latins presented the following: the argument of the same essence (the Father and the Son are of the same essence; therefore, they are both the causal origin of the Spirit); that of mission (the Son sends the Spirit from the Father; the Father sends the Spirit in the Son’s name; this clearly indicates that they both are the source both of mission and of procession); that of the Spirit’s belonging to the Son (Scripture not once calls the Spirit “the Spirit of the Son,” “the Spirit of Christ,” and so on, therefore, if the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, it is clear that the Son is the “producer” of the Spirit as well as the Father is); finally, Anselm’s main argument that the Spirit proceeds not from the paternity of the Father, but from the deity of the Father, and thus, since the Father and the Son are the same deity, the Spirit proceeds from both equally, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God, and His procession has nothing to do with the relation of the Father and the Son, that is, with each one of them distinctly, apart from another.

The Greeks arrayed the following reasons against the *Filioque*: to introduce the *Filioque* means to introduce the double causation into one and the same Godhead, thereby splitting the Godhead, and bringing the Spirit to compositeness; if we attribute the procession to the Son, that means, that procession from the Father is incomplete and imperfect, which is nonsense; it is



necessary to distinguish plainly the procession (as regards the existence of the Holy Spirit, His very *esse*) from all other operations (mission, infusion, bestowal, distribution, and so on); the first may belong to the Father alone, while all the others may be shared with the Son; we should clearly discern the properties of the persons and never indulge in any contamination of each of them with the others.

Thus, we see that a very different theological sensibility lies behind these arguments, one which only gradually, slowly, did the controversialists realize.

Armenian Sources for Early Hungarian History

Kornél Nagy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, József Laszlovszky

External Readers: Giusto Traina (Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, Università di Lecce), Mihály Dobrovits (ELTE, Budapest)

The goal of this thesis was to investigate the Armenian sources for early Hungarian history. The thesis aims at presenting two Armenian sources on the appearance and presence of the 'Tetals and Sewordik' people. The 'Tetals' first appeared in Sebēos' *Chronicle* in the seventh century. The 'Sewordik' make their appearance in the middle of the ninth century and they could also occur under other names, *Sabartoi Asphaloi*, and *Serbotion* in Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' works, *De Administrando Imperio* and *De Aulæ Byzantinæ*.

The major method to be applied in this thesis is a critical analysis of Armenian sources, including the chronological and geographical data that occurred in most of them. The chapters of the thesis were primarily devoted to the 'Tetals' in Sebēos' *Chronicle*, to the presence of the 'Sewordik' in Patriarch John's *Chronicle*, to Constantine Porphyrogenitus' work, and to the name of the *Sabartoi Asphaloi*. After analysing the Armenian sources, I can say the following.

The 'Tetals' occurring in Sebēos' *Chronicle* were not connected to the Khazars, but they could have been linked with the Ethiopians revolting against the Arab caliphate. This theory has been proven by the corruption of the biblical names in Sebēos' *Chronicle*.

Emperor Constantine could have taken his information about the Savards and Sewordik from current and accepted sources. Patriarch John, who was a contemporary author of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, reported that the Sewordik' had been faithful to Christianity, and gave three martyrs (Step'anos also called Kon, Georg and Arwēs) to the Armenian Church during the ninth and the tenth centuries. It seems obvious that there could be a link



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

between the Savards in Armenia and the Hungarians (*Turkoi*) in the Carpathian basin. The Armenian geographical name *Majgarajor* in the province of Uti could be related to the district of the Sewordik'. The *Sabartoi Asphaloi* could be a Greek form of the Armenian phrase *Aspetek' Sewordik'*, which could also indicate to us that the Sewordik' had already begun to assimilate with the Armenians in the middle of the tenth century.

With regard to the large number of the known and unknown Armenian sources, the present thesis is not sufficient to solve completely the problems of early Hungarian history. This thesis must be primarily regarded as an initial stage of a very large work; therefore, this topic needs very thorough investigation in years to come.

**Fighting Wycliff: Encoded Messages
in Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ***

Zsuzsanna Nagy (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Readers: Lesley Smith (Harris Manchester College, Oxford), Michael Sargent
(Department of English, Queen's College), Sylvain Pyron (Centre de Recherches
Historiques, EHESS)

I have investigated two illuminated manuscripts: the National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 18.1.7 and the Pierpont Morgan Library MS m 648. Both contain the text of Nicholas Love's translation into Middle English of the Latin *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, attributed to Bonaventura. The translation of Nicholas Love was approved by Archbishop Arundel, guaranteeing that the work was appropriate for the instruction of the believers and for the refutation of the Lollard heresy. I have attempted to demonstrate that the anti-Lollard programme was encoded into both the text of the translation and into the illumination of the two manuscripts. Although the text has already been studied from this aspect, new details could be added, resulting in a deeper understanding of how Nicholas Love succeeded in creating the instructional and refutational message on various levels of the text. In parallel, the illuminations of both manuscripts, although they have a different character as regards the quality of production, style, as well as certain iconographic preferences, attest the existence of the same anti-Lollard message.

The comparative analysis of the two manuscripts, investigating them in a text and images context, testifies to the same effort of the Church against the Wycliffite dissent.



Theory and Practice of Style in the Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus

Arnydas Plucas (Lithuania)

Thesis Supervisor: György Karsai

External Reader: Róbert Somos (PTE, Pécs)

The work concentrates on the theory of letter-writing presented by Gregory of Nazianzus in his letters to Nicobulus (letters 51, 52, and 54), comparing it, as well, with Gregory's practice of letter-writing. A theoretical analysis of the concepts discussed in these letters (conciseness, clarity, charm) shows that Gregory is quite close to the tradition of epistolography as seen in some treatises of Antiquity, starting from the *Peri\ e(rmhnei/aer* of Demetrius. Some deviations from the tradition are attempted to be explained by analysing Gregory's theory in the context of more general Antique theories of style. This analysis has shown that the deviations can be explained, and also that Gregory is well aware of the theories and coherent in using his main stylistic concepts. He also shows some originality in the way he is handling these theories, using one point and leaving out another.

The results obtained were complemented with a prosopographical analysis of the letters to Nicobulus, which helped connect them with Gregory's letters to a rhetorician, Eudoxius (174–180), thus establishing a more exact dating of the letters (383) and helping to define their audience.

This is complemented with a rhetorical analysis of both groups of letters, which has helped establish the connection of two of them with the treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has also proved to be very important when carrying out the analysis of the theoretical stylistic concepts of Gregory.

An analysis of Gregory's epistolary practice is also added, illustrating how these theoretical concepts are put into practice.

Western Influences on the Iconography of the Medieval Orthodox Painting in Transylvania: Murals in the Sanctuaries

Elena-Dana Prioteasa (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács

External Readers: Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei (Bucharest) András Kovács

(Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

This study deals with the murals in the sanctuaries of three medieval Orthodox churches in Transylvania. The paintings were selected among the preserved murals in medieval Orthodox churches, as they show Western influence on the



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

iconography. The painting in the church of Streisângeorgiu (Sztrigyszentsztyörgy) dates from 1313–14, the painting in the church of Strei (Zeykfalva) dates from the fourteenth century, and the painting in the church of Hălmagiu (Nagyhalmágy) dates from the first half of the fifteenth century.

Medieval Transylvania was a place of Western-Eastern interactions, which manifested themselves in art as well. This study analyzes the changes that operated in the Byzantine iconography of the Orthodox churches, how these changes fitted the liturgical symbolism of the sanctuary, and what the Western contribution to these changes was. To this aim, the iconography of the painting of the three sanctuaries is compared with the requirements of Byzantine iconography and to Western painting, mainly from medieval Hungary.

The results of this study show that the selection which operated among the Western iconographic subjects was guided by the intention to stay close, at least formally, if not in message, to the main guidelines of Byzantine iconography. Some Western iconographic subjects seem to have been a custom in the decoration of the medieval Orthodox churches, but these were also those which were used at one point in Byzantine painting. Nevertheless, there are also specific Western iconographic subjects, which might raise the question of more significant devotional interactions.

Prince Yaroslav Sangushko's Murder Case as an Example of the Criminal Investigation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1564–1565)

Serhiy Rybak (Russia)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak

External Reader: Oleksij Tolochko (Institute of History, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev)

During the night of 4–5 September, 1564, a representative of a powerful aristocratic family, Yaroslav Sangushko, was fatally wounded; in a few days he died. The event took place in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Volyn' land. The murder resulted in a criminal investigation and a trial, which lasted more than a year and finished with the final sentence of the Grand Duke.

The aim of the thesis is to analyse what procedures were used in conducting a murder trial in Lithuania in the late Middle Ages; to show which laws and customs were the bases for such an investigation; and to find out how the social status of people involved influenced this trial. The aim of the thesis is also to show how practices of customary law influenced this particular trial.



One of peculiarities of this criminal case was that while the victim and the accuser, the former's brother Roman Sangushko, were Lithuanian princes, the suspect, Valentii Zhelekh, was a Polish noble. This study shows how the conduct of a trial was influenced by the absence of distinct rules of conducting an investigation because the people involved were noblemen of different countries.

A Gnostic Doctrine in the Light of the *Tractatus Tripartitus*

Péter Sárosi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: István Perczel, György Geréby

External Readers: Ulrich Luft (ELTE, Budapest), Christoph Marksches

(Wissenschaftlich-Theologisches Seminar der Universität Heidelberg)

The thesis aims to present a Valentinian Gnostic cosmological doctrine on the triple disposition of the world and humankind. According to this doctrine, everything came to be from three substances: spiritual, psychical and material. One of these substances is planted in every being as a dominating "seed," which determines its destiny. This contribution attempts to investigate this teaching as it is expounded in a late Valentinian text, the *Tractatus Tripartitus* (NHC 1.5).

The text is subjected to a comparative analysis in order to point out the different versions of this doctrine in the light of scholarly debates. The burning question what the analysis needs to answer is a soteriological one: who and how can be redeemed, and what is the relation between body, soul and spirit in Valentinian theories versus orthodox dogmas? In one respect the Valentinian doctrine of triple disposition reflects a deterministic worldview in which there is no room for human personality and free will. This is an *extreme structural determinism*, inherited from Greek philosophy and the deterministic worldview of Greek tragedies, in which there is no room for human personality and free will. Conversely, if we consider the whole system in the light of the divine providence and redemption, a completely different optimistic picture occurs, a *flexible eschatological mysticism*, based on the Gospels.



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

**Identification and Self-Identification of the Crimean Goths and Alans:
*Gothi or Gothalani?***

Oleksiy Smirnov (Ukraine)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, János M. Bak

External Reader: Tivadar Vida (Archaeological Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

On the basis of our sources on the ethnic structure of the south-western Crimea we can assume that there is a dichotomy between the archaeological evidence and the written material. The archaeological evidence seems to attest the predominance of the Alans, although in the written sources the Goths are mentioned much more often than the Alans. In my work I tried to explain this dichotomy.

In most cases we are dealing with identification by others, and not self-identification, of the inhabitants of south-western Crimea. Their identification depended on the nature of the written sources: their origin and the purposes for which they were written, as well the religion, ethnicity and the language of their authors, should be taken into consideration. After the analysis of the Byzantine Greek, Latin, Italian, Old Church Slavonic and Arabic written material I came to the conclusion that the names “Gothia” and “Goths” in most cases are used as political terms, and refer to both Germanic and Alanic ethnic components. This is especially true for the Byzantine sources, which followed a tradition of Late Antique historical writings. The Crimean Alans as such are usually mentioned in non-Byzantine sources.

The population of Gothia was mixed, and it is hard to say to what extent. But as archaeological material and some Genoese and Arabic written sources attest, the Alan ethnic element prevailed. The ethnonym *Gothalani* mentioned by Iosafat Barbaro in the first half of the fifteenth century seems to reflect more precisely the current ethnic situation in the Crimean Gothia.

Due to the gradual hellenisation of the Crimean Goths and Alans in the sources of the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth century, they often appear under the name “Greek.” Some sources of that period attest their tartarisation. Tartar names, which some Christian inhabitants of the south-western Crimea bore, illustrate this process very well. However, in sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Gothic and Alan languages are still mentioned. At that period they seem to have been on the verge of extinction, although they could still have been preserved in some isolated villages in the mountains.



The process of the assimilation of the Crimean Goths and Alans with the Greeks and Tartars became more active after the fall of the Principality of Theodoro in 1475. After that date ethnic awareness became identical with the confession. The differences between the Goths and Alans were no longer important; some of them became Greeks by remaining Christian, while those who exchanged Christianity for Islam assimilated with the Tartars. Among the Crimean Christians, who in 1788 were deported to the northern coast of the Sea of Azov and now are called Mariupol Greeks, there are probably some descendants of the Crimean Goths and Alans.

Money, Mentality, Community (Caffa in the Fourteenth Century)

Stefan Stantchev (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz, Balázs Nagy

External Readers: Felicitas Schmieder (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main), Enrico Basso (Soprintendenza Archivistica per la Liguria, Genoa)

The main aim of this research was to examine the way economic life influenced social life in a multiethnic society. A Genoese-governed multiethnic community, at the time when Genoa was at the apogee of its economic and political strength, was selected as the study area. Analysis of the available source material, consisting mainly of notarial deeds, is followed by a comparative and integrative analysis of normative and administrative sources. This showed not only that Caffa was a society relying entirely on trade, but that its economic life deeply influenced the social life and mentality of its citizens.

Money appears to be the best explanation for the particularity of Caffa's society. The amounts of money invested in trade, ships, real estate and slaves, and playing a part in the inheritance process, show that the capital invested in trade or ships outranked any other investment. Two basic aims appear to have governed economic life in Caffa: the need for floating capital and the search for fast liquidity.

These features of economic life influenced many aspects of social life. Caffa's districts do not appear to have been organized according to the social status or the ethnic/religious affiliation of its citizens. Accumulating real estate was not the main goal of Caffa's citizens in the fourteenth century; the ownership of houses in Caffa was merely practical and not socially representative. Representatives of different ethnic and religious groups constantly interacted with each other with regard to real estate.



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

The money-oriented mind epitomized not only the Genoese, but also the representatives of other ethnic and religious groups, mainly Greeks, Armenians, and Muslims. The specific geopolitical situation of a city located far from areas where ideology, either religious or political, prevailed over economy explains Caffa's particular image in notarial deeds. More than the Italian maritime republics themselves and even more than their overseas dominions, Caffa's social life was influenced by the economy to a point where common economic interests brought about tolerance and prosperity with few parallels at that time.

But Caffa society was also a mobile society. Not only were many of its citizens constantly traveling and (some of them) regularly changing their places of residence, but it was also mobile in terms of its ethnic composition and social structure. Most of the Latins who became Caffa residents represented a qualified workforce, and were not peasants as one would expect from a comparison to Italy. Notaries, doctors, administrative officials, and craftsmen were usually also merchants. This "all-merchant" character of Caffa society as presented in notarial deeds played a crucial role in paving the way to its prosperity.

Finally, Caffa society was a specific community featuring the co-existence of different ethnic and religious groups brought closer to each other by their common economic interests. However, this common economic interest would have hardly influenced social life and mentality in Caffa without the favorable macro-economic, political, and religious context that existed in the northern Black Sea area during the fourteenth century.

The Problems of Kindred Monasteries: A Case Study of Ákos Monastery

Péter Levente Szűcs (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács, József Laszlovszky

External Readers: Miklós Takács (Archaeological Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), István Petrovics (University of Szeged)

The Abbey Church of Ákos (Acâș, Romania) is among the best preserved Romanesque monuments in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. In 1998, an archaeological excavation was started here, in order to reveal the architectural history of the abbey church. The present study proposes to combine the results of this excavation with an inquiry on the history of the Ákos kindred—the patron family of the monastery. The information that is provided by this interdisciplinary research creates the basis of a case study. The architectural similarities and the historical connections placed the abbey of Ákos among the



so-called 'kindred monasteries'. Therefore, the case study of Ákos monastery can be integrated in the general debate on this issue, offering answers to two questions. The functional analysis of the basilica—with its annexed chapel and the cemetery around it—serves as an example of the representational and devotional demands of a high status monastery-founder in the twelfth century. In addition, the late medieval evolution of the church within the history of the patron family will illustrate the decline and the secularization process of kindred monasteries.

The first chapter gives a brief historiographic presentation, divided according to the three main fields of study, and discusses the problems of kindred monasteries. The second chapter presents the results of the architectural and archaeological research on the abbey church. The history of the Ákos kindred and its estates is presented in the third chapter, while at the end the conclusions of the present inquiry are offered.

The abbey church of Ákos was built in a single phase, with changes of the architectural plan (building differently sized naves than was planned initially). The patrons created several more spaces beside the main sanctuary, which could have had liturgical functions: the side-chapel and the western galleries. The latter, however, had strong social significance, creating the possibility for social display. The accent on the eastern arrangement shows the influence of monastic reform—at least in the architecture of the church. The analysis of the cemetery, which surrounds the church, shows that a limited community—most probably the patron family—used the churchyard as a burial place during the Middle Ages.

Historical research presented a slow decay of the Ákos family, which finally caused the loss of the monastery. This entailed the dissolution of the monastery—in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the name of the village became only Ákos, without the part that referred to the monastery. Moreover, the family history shows that the monastery of Ákos was disregarded during the thirteenth century. The most influential family members, acquiring new estates and funding new family-branches, had lost their interest in the old family monastery. In contrast, they made new foundations, favoring the newly created religious orders.

The historiographical overview had a methodological conclusion: further case studies are necessary to solve the open questions on kindred monasteries. These case studies should apply an interdisciplinary approach, jointly using social historical, ecclesiastical, art historical and archaeological methods. Only in this way can that complex micro-cosmos that a monastery represented be adequately described.



M.A. Thesis Abstracts

**The Guide of the Perplexed as an Encoded Text:
Towards a New Methodology**

Tamás Vizi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: György Geréby, István Perczel

External Reader: Yossef Schwartz (Department of Philosophy, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus)

Leo Strauss, in his *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (1952), claimed that Maimonides' major philosophical work, *The Guide of the Perplexed* (circa 1190; hereafter *GP*) is an encoded text. Readers need to use special reading techniques to discover its hidden message. Consequently, Strauss proposed a methodology of decoding Maimonides' encoded message.

Strauss' thesis has been heavily criticised by traditional historians of philosophy. A leading voice from this camp, Oliver Leaman, claimed that Strauss' proposal was simply irrelevant. The history of philosophy is not concerned with the hidden or open personal views of Maimonides on this or that topic, but with the *arguments* presented by him in favour of a statement. Therefore, the interpretation of *GP* should focus on Maimonides' arguments and not on some dubious esoteric doctrines.

A solution to this debate might be to propose a new method of reading the *GP* that justifies both parties in a way. Philosophy is about arguments, not just hidden or open personal views—this concept of philosophy is shared by Maimonides as well as many other philosophers. However, the core of Leo Strauss' thesis can be saved if we propose a method based on Straussian principles for discovering the hidden doctrine of *GP*—but focusing on hidden *arguments* instead of *hidden personal views*.

In the first chapter I propose a methodology of reading Maimonides. In the rest of the thesis I try to test this methodology by interpreting Maimonides' proofs for the existence of God. The analysis shows that

- (1) Maimonides' argument fails to prove the existence of God,
- (2) Maimonides himself was aware of this fact,
- (3) he refrained from disclosing this fact, because it might be upsetting and harmful for ordinary people, and
- (4) a hidden argument about the existence of God is hinted in the text of *GP*.



PH.D. DEFENCES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2001/2002

Dissertation Summaries

Monasticism in Bulgaria, Ninth to Tenth Centuries: Interpreting the Archaeological Evidence

Rossina Kostova (Bulgaria)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on May 6, 2002 consisted of László Kontler (Dept. of History), chair; József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Marlia Mango (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford); Margarita Vaklinova (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences); the external reader was Giles Constable (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton).

Archaeological excavations throughout the twentieth century, and more precisely, the extensive campaigns conducted between the 1970s and 1990s in the heartland of the First Bulgarian kingdom, namely present-day north-eastern Bulgaria, and particularly in the early medieval administrative centers of Pliska and Preslav, revealed a considerable number of building complexes, most of which have been identified as monasteries. Since there is no written evidence for any of these complexes, it becomes necessary to work out reliable criteria for their identification as monasteries.

Therefore, the need, not to fill but to bridge the gap between the scarcity of written evidence and the considerable number of unearthed complexes identified as monasteries because they looked like monasteries, became the main reason to formulate the following goals of my Ph.D. thesis:

- Putting together all the available evidence, both written and archaeological, in a critical and comprehensive discourse on monasticism in Bulgaria in the ninth to tenth centuries, a task that scholars have not yet attempted.
- Exploring the applicability of archaeology in the study of medieval monasticism in Bulgaria by setting up and testing criteria for the



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

identification of monasteries in cases where there is an almost total absence of relevant literary sources.

- Outlining the characteristics of monasticism in Bulgaria in the ninth to tenth centuries, primarily on the basis of archaeological data both as a reflection of the Byzantine variant of Eastern Orthodox monasticism and a phenomenon born from particular historical and cultural circumstances.

The approach to these goals can be generally defined as **interdisciplinary** since the study is based on hagiographic, archaeological, and epigraphic sources and **comparative** since a guiding line throughout the analysis of all sorts of data is the comparison with Byzantine monasticism, the model for the spiritual and physical appearance of monasticism in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, since the study is focused exclusively on the archaeological evidence, **analysis of the archaeological context and the architecture** is the method most extensively applied here. The empirical basis and impartiality of the analysis is provided by a **catalogue** of all complexes interpreted by scholars as monasteries as well as of lay complexes, more or less, excavated and published. Entries are arranged in accordance to a territorial principal: “from the center to the periphery.” Thus, the first to be presented are the complexes, both monastic and lay, in the centers of Pliska and Preslav and those in the countryside of the heartland of the Kingdom, north-eastern Bulgaria, and then come the monasteries in Ohrid in the south-western lands of the state. The arrangement of the complexes in the administrative centers follows the same scheme, namely the complexes within the walls of the towns, Inner and Outer town respectively, are presented first, followed by those situated in their vicinity outside the walls. Catalogue entries include the following data: location of the site, state of excavation, state of preservation, state of publication, previous function of the site, written evidence, patron saint, founder, date, architectural components (plan, building technique, interior and exterior decoration, finds, function), burial structures, inscriptions and graffiti, and finally, bibliographical references.

Since my aim is to look at the phenomenon of monasticism in Bulgaria in all its complexity, I found it proper to structure the present study in accordance to the three basic characteristics of the monastic movement that make it recognizable in medieval culture:

- The monastic founders and the kinds of monasticism they promoted.
- Monasteries as an architectural reflection of these modes of monasticism.
- Monks as element in medieval society.

These tasks are set within **chronological limits** defined by two major political events, the start of the conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity in AD 864/865 and the beginning of the fall of the First Bulgarian Kingdom under Byzantine power between AD 971 and AD 1000 when the former heartland of



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

the Kingdom, in north-eastern Bulgaria, was finally occupied by the Byzantines. This period is marked by the rule of khan and later knjaz, Boris-Michael (AD 842–889; + 907), his son tsar Symeon (AD 893–927), his son tsar Peter (AD 927–969), his son Boris II (AD 969–971), and the *kometopoulos* and late, tsar Samuel of Bulgaria (AD 996/7–1014). With respect to the institutional establishment of the Church in the newly converted Bulgarian state, the period is notable for the constitution of the Bulgarian Church headed by an archbishop as decided by the Eighth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in AD 869/870. Later, the most important event was the constitution of the independent Bulgarian Patriarchy which, according to some scholars, was drawn up in AD 915–917, and according to others, in AD 934–944. The **geographical framework** for the work conforms to the political borders of the First Bulgarian Kingdom from AD 864/65 until AD 1000 which has been clearly summarized in a recent study on the northern Balkans as borders that ran “...along the Danube to the north, in the south-west within miles of the great Byzantine cities of Thessalonica and Dyrrachium, and in the south stopped at the Great Fence of Thrace.”

While trying to summarize the main findings of my research I faced a question that never appeared directly in the previous pages but wove in and out through the whole thesis: Can one speak about a “Bulgarian monasticism of the ninth to tenth century” or should the only correct expression be “monasticism in ninth to tenth-century Bulgaria”?

The fact that I stuck consistently to the latter expression already implies the answer. Indeed, the literary evidence in all the forms it has survived (translations of works from the ideological heritage of Eastern monasticism and original hagiographic and other types of works) clearly demonstrates that Byzantine monasticism was the main source of influence for the spiritual and the institutional establishment of monasticism in Bulgaria. The diversity in monastic practices and the interaction between different modes of monasticism presented by the written sources, in fact, reflected contemporary trends in the monastic movement in Byzantium. The picture of the spirituality of the only known monastic founders of that period, Kliment of Ohrid, Naum of Ohrid, and John of Rila, provided by the textual evidence of their Lives and some other works, however, is not adequately reflected in their surviving monasteries because of the serious alterations they underwent in their thousand years of existence. Therefore, the archaeology of texts related to ninth to tenth-century monasticism in Bulgaria seemed to be rather useless for bridging the gap between the paucity of the written evidence and the reliable identification of



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

monasteries from the great number of complexes which have become known only through archaeological excavations.

Setting up the criteria for identification and interpretation on broad base of the solid characteristics of monastic sites, provided a more relevant approach to the problem. Perhaps the archaeologically established similarity between the layout of a regular walled enclosure between complexes identified as monasteries and others identified as lay households focused the formulation of the criteria in accordance with the distinctive features of cenobitic monasteries. These features are applied as criteria of identification to 17 building complexes otherwise designated by scholars as monasteries. As a result, 11 of them have been firmly identified as monasteries founded and active in the ninth to tenth-century, five are reconsidered as lay households, some of which functioned as centers of production for polychrome ceramics, and for one complex, the monastic attribution has been confirmed but re-dated to the eleventh to fourteenth century.

The approximate archaeological dating of the securely identified monasteries shows no difference in the frequency of monastic foundations in the late ninth and the tenth century. However, the chronology of the monasteries from the point of view of the mode of monastic practice has shown that the earliest monasteries were cenobitic while the two *lavra*-type rock-cut monasteries, which are discussed in the present study and which provide the most secure evidence for dating such monasteries in ninth to tenth-century Bulgaria, were established in the tenth century.

Though the layout of cenobitic monasteries did not differ in its basic characteristics from the well-known regular, walled enclosure of the Middle Byzantine monasteries in Greece, a number of more specific features were defined in the course of the architectural analysis. The most apparent is that in general, buildings and utilities were not particularly designed with an idea to create the physical appearance of a monastery. Thus, the most common church type in the late ninth-century monasteries was the basilica, while in the tenth century monasteries it was the cross-in-square plan which can be explained with trends current in church architecture in the two respective periods. The exceptions, such as the appearance of the trefoils as part of an explicitly monastic church type (i.e. St Michael the Archangel and St Panteleemon in Ohrid and the monastery of Karaačteke), the distinctive shape of a *trapeza* as a single-nave apsed building in Čerešeto, the defense wall and concentric layout of the Ravna monastery, and the arrangement of the monastic cells after the example of Late Byzantine monastic *doxata* in Karaačteke, in fact, additionally emphasizes the absence of a clear trend in the development of a specific monastic architecture in ninth to tenth-century Bulgaria. All of these exceptions



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

were either the result of local architectural traditions, or were borrowed as, more or less, recognized solutions found in contemporary secular and religious architecture in the Byzantine world.

Thus, it follows that it was not the architectural components themselves but rather the way they were set, used, and related to each other which produced the “monastic” characteristics of a complex. In this respect, the dominance of the churches from the point of view of position, size, and complex planning as well as building technique and decoration must first be noted. In addition, the high frequency of the appearance of the exonarthex and moreover, the use of both exo- and esonartheces for multiple, secondary burials correspond to the ritual importance of their space for burial and commemorative services in monasteries recorded by Byzantine *typika*. These two aspects therefore define the two components of church planning as distinctively important for monastic churches in Bulgaria too.

Namely, the more specific functions of some of the monasteries produced buildings with special functions such as scriptoria and hostels. These structures, however, were not distinctive from an architectural point of view but rather from the point of view of their archaeological context, reflected in finds and graffiti material. Similarly, the baths in the Great Basilica and Ravna monasteries and the latrines in the latter cannot be viewed as directly derived from the monastic lifestyle since they were not related to any kind of charitable institutions like old age houses and infirmaries as was usual in Byzantine monasteries. Rather these utilities must be considered as evidence either for high ranking, lay or ecclesiastical, patronage, or the presence of more distinguished members of the community. These are circumstances, which among other things, can be found in Byzantine monastic practice too (e.g. the *Typikon* of the monastery of Theotokos *Kosmosoteira* by Isaak Komnenos).

That is, the functional and contextual analysis of the buildings in order to reveal the way they were actually used and the exploration of the space of a monastery reveals the common point in the architectural interpretation of the building and rock-cut monastic complexes. Namely, despite the simplicity in the execution of the latter, both types of complexes employed a hierarchical structuring of their space.

While the archaeology of monasteries in the present study presents us with the described physical definition of monastic world as a walled enclosure with a hierarchical arrangement of the structures inside, the archaeology of monasticism provided opportunities for a social insight into that phenomenon. Thus, starting with the motives that led the people to enter the monastic world, their apparently different social positions and personal experience produced different motives for taking monastic vows, such as strong religious striving for



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

spiritual self-perfection, a need for a proper place to retire, and forcible withdrawal. It is not a surprise that people motivated for one reason or another to become monks came from all social strata. What surviving written sources and epigraphic evidence reveal, nevertheless, is the considerable number of monk-members of the ruling dynasty, monk-intellectuals and monks holding ecclesiastical office in contrast to those who come from the nobility and high dignitaries. The size of the cenobitic communities ranged approximately from between ten and twenty souls, while the number of the monks in the lavriotic rock-cut monasteries usually did not exceed ten. It is mainly the epigraphic evidence found at particular monasteries (Ravna, Krpeča, and Basarabi) upon which the conclusion is based that the organization and daily routine in the two main types of communities, cenobitic and lavriotic, did not differ from what has been well-established for Eastern monasticism and particularly, for Byzantine monastic practice. Unfortunately, the insufficient written and archaeological data on the monks' diet and dress does not permit more than general statements to be made here.

The contacts of monks with the lay world are a good way of seeing the monastic world from the outside through the eyes of laymen. Written and epigraphic evidence again provides witness that those contacts were not only the result of respect and worship but also of conflicts. Nevertheless, the image which appears from self-definitions in the inscriptions is that of the humble "unworthy," "useless," and sinful monk.

What the place and function of monastic institutions in medieval society was forms the last question that aims at revealing the characteristics of monasticism in ninth to tenth-century Bulgaria. Even if one takes the term "place" literally, the spatial distribution of the monasteries leads to important conclusions. Thus, in light of the available data, monasteries were concentrated in north-eastern Bulgaria while Ohrid and the Rila Mountain were the only places south of *Haemus* where monasteries were founded. Furthermore, most of the monasteries in the late ninth century were rural while those founded in the tenth century were mainly urban and suburban. While the attempt to interpret the established monastic geography from the point of view of ecclesiastical organization and the relation of the Church to the foundation and the control of monasteries is mostly speculative, the lay patronage and the function of the monasteries appears more suggestive. Thus, the geography of the patronage shows that the patrons could either be people with local connections like Mostič in Preslav and Toupai in Basarabi, or they could invest in the countryside from the administrative center as in the case of the foundations in Ohrid supported by knjaz Boris-Michael and tsar Symeon. Furthermore, the social heterogeneity of the lay patronage and the lack of preference of both the royal and the low-



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

ranking patronage toward any particular style of monasticism produced monastic sites with specific functions. Thus, the predominance of monasteries in the countryside in the late ninth century can be explained by the missionary functions with which those foundations might have been charged. Indeed, the location of these monasteries in densely inhabited regions or along important communication routes, as well as the outstanding architectural appearance of some of them which must have been a result of considerable investments and frequent contacts with the ruler and other members of the royal family as indicated by the seals found during excavations, support such a statement. At the same time, the main guideline in the cultural policy of the ruling dynasty in the ninth and the tenth century, the adoption and establishment of Slavic literacy, functionally bonded urban and rural monasteries (e.g. the urban monastery of St Panteleemon in Ohrid and the rural monastery of Ravna). Despite the, more or less, explicit royal patronage of these foundations, none of them can be defined as “royal” in the sense of a royal family monastery. Private monasteries of a family character, however, did appear throughout the tenth century, when the trend in monasticism changed as the state initiative was reduced, giving rise to foundations where the main purpose was to provide proper space for retirement and burial of the founders and their family. Finally, the patron-saints of the monasteries, the holy relics they kept, and function of some of them as pilgrimage sites outlines the contribution of the monastic movement to the process of Christianizing the mentality of the Bulgarians in the ninth to tenth centuries.

**Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia
with Special Attention to the Legacies *pro remedio animae***

Zoran Ladić (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on May 30, 2002 consisted of István György Tóth (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Lovorka Čoralić (Institute for Croatian History, Zagreb); Katalin Szende (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external reader was John Klassen (Trinity Western University).

The thesis is divided in three main parts. The first part consists of four separate chapters. In the first chapter *Introduction: The legacies pro remedio animae* I present general remarks on the problems I will discuss in the thesis as well as the reasons for my decision to focus on this problem. The problem of piety of the inhabitants of late medieval Dalmatian communes has previously been relatively



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

poorly researched in Croatian historiography. At the same time there are a great number of published and unpublished sources giving numerous possibilities for analysis of this problem. Besides this, my decision was influenced by the great number of European and American studies and articles written on this topic giving, among other things, a good methodological basis for the analysis of similar problems in the region of medieval Dalmatia. Four cities are discussed in my thesis: Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik, and Kotor. The choice of these cities was primarily influenced by the great number of extant late medieval wills (close to two thousand). Regarding methodology, I applied a quantitative approach based on the analysis of serial data from the wills. A qualitative approach was also used in order to explain data and results acquired by quantitative analysis of the whole sample. Finally, I also made comparative analyses of the data and results among the cities in the study. In some cases I compared my results with those of other European researchers. In the second chapter *The study of medieval wills* I present a survey of the main methodological approaches in research on late medieval wills and information about the most important and most influential studies written on this topic. In the same chapter I discuss some of the central problems of the research into bequests given *pro remedio animae*. Two central issues I tried to examine in my thesis are the process of “democratization” in the recording of wills and so-called “social Christianity.” The analysis of the social position and professions of Dalmatian testators in the late Middle Ages demonstrates the spread of the practice of recording wills among people from all social strata in Dalmatian cities. The spread of the custom of recording wills among testators of different social backgrounds reflects both the changes in the types of legacies and the choices of recipients. In the third chapter *Zadar and Dalmatia from the end of the thirteenth until the beginning of the fifteenth century* I give a brief survey of the late medieval history of the four cities in my research. Regarding Zadar’s importance in the late Middle Ages, the main part of this chapter deals with the political, economic, social, demographic, ecclesiastical, and cultural circumstances there. I also present short histories of the other three cities in my sample. In *Sources*, the last chapter of this section, I give basic information about the types of sources that I used in my analysis. The main group of sources I used are the last wills from the four cities covering the period from the second half of the thirteenth until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Most of these wills are unpublished and kept in archives in Croatia. I referred to the statute laws of the same cities as auxiliary sources. Many decrees, and even whole books in the statute laws of Dalmatian communes, are related either to the legal or the pious aspect of wills. Finally, some of the narrative sources (chronicles and diaries) from the contemporary or later period were used when they contained information relevant for my work.



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

The second part of my thesis, *Wills and Testators*, consists of three chapters. In the first chapter, *The distribution of wills*, I calculated the annual and monthly distribution of wills, because this helps in explaining the process of “democratization” in the composing of wills in late medieval Dalmatia. Calculating the annual and monthly frequencies of will-making also illuminated the influence of some exceptional events (plague, Jubilee years, and crusades) on the increase of interest in composing wills. Because the extant material for all four cities belongs to two periods, earlier and later, I analyzed the distribution of wills (and all other problems discussed in my thesis) for each of the cities in two separate periods. The first period is the second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the second period is from the middle of the fourteenth until the beginning of the fifteenth century. In sum, the growth in the number of wills in Dalmatian cities towards the end of the Middle Ages is explained by the process which led to the spread of the practice among the members of all communal classes. In the second chapter of this part, *The testators*, I discuss the following questions: gender, origin, social position, and profession of testators. The choice of these four elements was greatly influenced by the fact that Dalmatian notaries were concerned, although not equally in all four cities, to record only these data about the testators. In Dalmatian statute laws the right to compose a will was given to all inhabitants of the communes and their districts, regardless of their gender or social position and was conditioned only by the mature age of the testators. Comparison of the gender structure of the testators through the entire study period shows a prevailing number of male testators in all Dalmatian cities save Dubrovnik, where the female testators outnumbered their male contemporaries. Dubrovnik was primarily a center of commerce, playing the role of mediator between the Balkan hinterland and the Mediterranean. Its inhabitants were therefore much more mobile than those of Zadar and Trogir, and it is possible that this was reflected in the gender structure of the population. The second reason might be that the commune of Dubrovnik was not interested in allowing immigration from the hinterland, partly because of confessional differences between the Catholic population of the city and the heterodox (Orthodox and Dualist) population of its hinterland. In this respect Dubrovnik was in a different position than Zadar and Trogir, which were surrounded by populations belonging to the same confession.

In the third chapter I discuss *The origin of testators*. The notaries did not usually record these data and their recording depended on their personal habit. However, if we compare the results of the analysis of the origin of testators in Dalmatian cities, there are some common features. In a great number of wills, particularly in Dubrovnik and Kotor, the testators’ places of origin were not



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

recorded. Dalmatian notaries were much more accurate when writing wills of those testators whose origin was other than that of their own cities. In such cases they almost regularly recorded the places of origin. As may be expected, the greatest community of foreign testators is to be found in the Zaratín sample, which speaks of the economic prosperity and political importance of Zadar during the reign of the Angevins. The other three communes appear as less attractive cities and the number of foreign testators is rather insignificant. As may be expected, most of non-resident testators came from the districts, followed by those from other Dalmatian cities, the Croatian hinterland, Italian communes, and only occasionally from more distant regions like Germany, Hungary, and Greece.

In the same chapter I also examine the *Social position of testators*. The last wills of Dalmatian urban inhabitants, particularly those from Zadar, clearly reflected the social structure of medieval Dalmatian communes. Three basic communal social group names—patricians or noble citizens, citizens, and *habitatores*—were most frequently employed for describing the social position of the testators. This supports the idea that the custom of recording of wills had already become a usual practice for members of all social layers in Dalmatian communes from the end of the thirteenth century.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the *Professions of testators*. The professions of some groups of testators were rarely or never recorded. For the female testators belonging to the groups of *cives*, *habitatores*, and foreigners, data concerning their profession were recorded in very few cases, since the greatest number of female testators were economically dependent on their husbands, fathers, brothers, or other relatives. Most regularly, data on professions were recorded for the male testators belonging to the groups of *cives*, *habitatores*, and foreigners. A wide range of professions typical for medieval Dalmatian communes also demonstrates the spread of the practice of recording wills among people from all social strata. The following chapter deals with *Reasons for composing the wills*. The wills of Dalmatian testators indicate various reasons why testators decided to compose these. Among them, physical illness was the main reason. The custom of composing wills in the last days or weeks of life is confirmed in several Zaratín, Ragusin, and Catarin wills. Some of the other reasons occasionally mentioned were voyages for the purpose of business, pilgrimage, and joining the army. They were recorded because of possible perils that would be encountered during the trip or war.

The third part of my thesis is entitled "*Pro remedio animae*": *recipients, legacies, and actions for the salvation of the soul*. In the first chapter, *Recipients of legacies*, I analyze the structure of the recipients of pious donations. In contrast to wills from previous centuries, in which pious legacies were bequeathed to a rather



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

narrow group of recipients (ecclesiastical institutions, that is monasteries and churches), in the period I examined the list of recipients widened significantly (ecclesiastical institutions—particularly mendicants, members of clergy, confraternities, hospitals, and lay persons—the poor, orphans, illegitimate children, slaves, servants, and so on). This was certainly the consequence of so-called “social Christianity.” Yet, each of the cities studied here appears to display certain specific features. Exactly the same groups of recipients cannot be found in any of these cities.

In the second chapter I discuss *The types of legacies*. Theoretically, testators may have bequeathed everything that they considered as necessary for the recipients, but in practice the types of donated pious bequests were influenced by the testators’ choice of recipients and the specific needs of each particular individual recipient or group of recipients. Regarding the great variety of recipients of pious bequests, their needs also varied and therefore there was also great diversity in the types of pious legacies. The types of legacies bequeathed depended on two main factors: the capabilities of each particular testator, the testator’s choice of recipients and the specific needs of each particular recipient. The increased variability of individuals as recipients and in the groups of recipients with their own specific needs also resulted in diversification in the types of bequeathed legacies. In the period before the middle of the thirteenth century only two types of pious legacies (monetary and landed estates) appeared in wills, but in the following period, several types of pious legacies can be found: money, landed properties, food and natural products, garments, liturgical objects, paintings, and books. However, monetary bequests were the most common donations *pro remedio animae* in all four cities during the entire period examined in this work. Monetary bequests comprised more than four-fifths of all pious legacies. The greatest amounts of money given for pious purposes were donated by patricians as the financially most capable testators. The other types of legacies bequeathed depended greatly on the social position of testators. Thus, most of the testators donating landed estates were patricians, while the testators from the other social groups never appeared as donators of this type of legacy. Similarly to the donations of landed properties, donations of books, paintings, and altars lay primarily in the domain of testators from the upper strata of communal society.

The third chapter deals with *The actions for the salvation of the soul*. When considering the actions Dalmatian testators undertook for the salvation of their souls, I distinguished four main types of bequests: bequests for masses for the soul, bequests for burial, bequests for pilgrimages, and bequests for crusades. While the bequests for masses and burial were donated continuously by Dalmatian testators during the entire study period, legacies donated for



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

pilgrimages and especially for crusades depended greatly on particular historical events.

The analysis of urban Dalmatian last wills from the late Middle Ages shows great similarity to the results previously reached by European scholars dealing with this subject in other regions. As in other parts of the Mediterranean, and also to a certain extent in continental Europe, the process of change in the expression and sensibility of religiosity started in the second half of the thirteenth century. Changes in some aspects of religious practice were related mainly to changes within the church (primarily the appearance of the mendicant orders) and urban society (economic development and population increase in the cities). Changes in religiosity may be followed clearly through such research into last wills, which underwent a process of “democratization in the late Middle Ages.” Thus, all members of urban communities were given an opportunity to compose their wills. As has been demonstrated for other European cities from the same period, Dalmatian wills also show the influence of this process of “democratization” within the development of “social Christianity.”

Noble Residences and Their Social Context in Hungary in the Thirteenth through the Sixteenth Century

Gábor Virágos (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on June 12, 2002 consisted of András Gerő (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; János M. Bak (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); John M. Steane (Oxford), external reader; the other reader was Tibor Koppány (Institute of Cultural Heritage, Budapest).

The task I undertook for this research was the investigation of the problem of noble residences in medieval Hungary. I began to conduct research on medieval noble residences some seven years ago, beginning with investigating an excavated site in Pomáz, close to Budapest. The principal aim of this particular project was to discover new sources that might help to solve the problem of Hungarian medieval noble residences, that is, what kind of *curia*, *castellum*, or *castrum* (terms known from the written evidence) belonged to certain levels of noble society and what these building types looked like. Thanks to this site—and with an archaeological education in my background—I started investigating the co-existence of various settlement types from the point of view of non-fortified manorial buildings and the living conditions of the lower nobility in general. Reading some of the relevant literature I came to realise that there have



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

been only a few systematic attempts to investigate non-fortified residences and Hungarian medieval noble society in general using complex archaeological methods. The collection of relevant sites, the complex analysis of at least one example, and a survey of investigation methods are all lacking. The creation of a site catalogue requires the work of several researchers, but single case studies and the methodological background are worth producing. This Ph.D. dissertation, therefore, reveals new perspectives on studying noble sites in their social context. It also surveys the possibilities of using archaeology to study noble society from the point of view of living standards and the functions of residences.

This dissertation includes a summary of the complete investigation of three archaeological sites and a historical study of the owner families (with a genealogy) of these noble residences. Pomáz, Kislána, and Nyírbátor, which I consciously selected as having material for residential studies, cover the period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and despite their various shortcomings provide an opportunity to follow the changes in residential planning and noble society. Each site includes a noble residence, church(es), cemetery, village, and fields. In all cases the local people have always known the archaeological site. Still, the first investigations started only in the mid-twentieth century and the results remained basically unpublished. A control excavation, a systematic survey of the known documentation, and a study of the written evidence were all prerequisites to understanding and reformulating the phases, chronology, structure, and social context of these sites. The owners of the residential complex at Pomáz belonged to the courtly knights and had a direct connection to the royal court. The site was a residential centre with more domestic and economic roles than mere representation. It was built in the early 1300s and abandoned in the early 1500s. The owners of the residential site at Kislána also belonged to the courtly knights, with connections to the royal court and the aristocracy. The site was a residential centre with less administrative and more domestic and representative roles. Finally, the evidence in Nyírbátor refers to an extremely rich and influential noble owner of the highest social position. As seen from the evidence, this residential site was almost solely for representation.

Considering their purpose, one would assume that such building complexes were richly ornamented and were full of high-value imported artefacts and pieces of knightly equipment. Interestingly enough, the case studies demonstrated that there is no direct relationship between the quality of the finds and the social position of the owners. As expected, written evidence in itself proved to be insufficient to study the social context of residential sites; therefore, an interdisciplinary investigation (including a history of the owner



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

families) was necessary. Since scholars often do not know how to use archaeological evidence for non-archaeological subjects, one goal of this dissertation was to clarify these methods. The aim of selecting the case studies was to show alternatives in Hungary to the investigation of terms related to residences. The question is what we can learn methodologically from the selected cases; therefore, the task was to set up a new system based on archaeology, architecture, and architectural functions to survey how the complexity in residential sites can be investigated. One point was to reveal and to collect new aspects for studying noble residences; the other point was to study their social background and environment: to analyse the methods that archaeology can add to social studies in general.

Various ways of interpreting residential sites were collected and described in six major groups under titles as listed here:

- **Typology** is a typical method used in Hungary, but mainly without success. The majority of architectural typologies proved to be rather speculations. Only three original types and a number of tendencies have been established.
- **Functional analysis** is a major technique in England and France for studying residential sites. Very recently, it has also been explored in Hungary: the royal palace at Visegrád is one of the few examples that provide sufficient evidence for a well-based study.
- **Structural symbolism** is the most advanced practice in England and France. It is also applicable in Central Europe especially for distinguishing security and defence and for reconsidering of the military and linear evolution formerly established in Hungary. The proper balance between military, symbolic, dwelling, and other functions of a noble residence is the task of further investigations, and should be analysed separately in each case.
- **Spatial analysis**, that is, internal relations in a site, is favoured in England. It also makes sites comparable that seem too different to be compared. This approach proved to be promising, especially in the case of the relationship between church and residence. Based on the location and relationship of buildings connected with the necessary functions of a residential site, the nucleation process was examined. Having the dwelling, the church or chapel, the farm buildings, etc. separated from each other creates a dispersed residential complex. Inside of a site, the distance between single elements can be a few hundred meters, or more, while the same structure is also possible covering a region with kilometres in between (at Kiszána, for example). The process in time usually goes from the dispersed to the nucleated version (around a yard or yards). The other aspect is to distinguish patterns according to family members or the families in a kindred. The ownership and usage of a residence and the network of such sites owned by people who were relatives created a pattern in



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

space. Relatives might have preferred their residences close or far from each other, resulting in dispersed or nucleated site structures.

– **Location and relation**, that is, outside relations between sites, is recently favoured also in Hungary, but applied predominantly to castles. The creation of a site catalogue (of all residences) is really a prerequisite for such a study.

– **Small finds/Material culture** is a major subject of Central European scholarship and also one of the most fruitful research areas. The social status of the owners and the functions of rooms are established in three steps: deduced from single objects (like tournament lance-heads, a brass spur, “dragon” bones, or certain stove tiles), the constellation of object groups, and also from the whole find material as complex evidence. Contradictions between the pictures in the results gained from the material culture and the written or architectural evidence are considerable (especially in the case of Pomáz and Nyírbátor), but explanations are given.

Residence was defined by a group of criteria when scholars failed to explain the term with a simple definition. Also, an architectural form was constantly sought to fit these criteria. Residence and the owners’ community, however, seemingly lacked legal definition and geographical stability; residence was not connected to building types and fixed locations, but to the person. Therefore, residence is an object constantly changing in time and space, resulting in a notion that can only be explained socially. This also helps to explain the peculiarity called secondary or additional residence. The title “secondary” is a self-contradiction anyhow, for residence means only one central place, which was, however, always changing. Any of the several manorial centres of a nobleman could be considered his residential site for a while if the owner was present. Giving up an itinerant life caused permanent seating in one place, and a more or less continuous and regular occupation of a number of other places. Major and additional residences are only modern notions to name these features. Therefore, residence—in addition to a solely legal understanding, meaning approximately the present-day permanent address—was a social term. It will be hard to find one sole architectural characteristic for residences. Any kind of a house owned by a person of noble rank should be considered as a residence, because the so-called permanent residence depended on his person and his social environment.

Also in the case of *curia*, *castellum*, and *castrum*, differentiated architectural shapes were sought to conform to terms known from charters. Legal definitions and linear evolution were inferred. The archaeological evidence, however, shows that no building typology existed, and these terms were not so much legal as social ones. Structural symbolism may be the solution; moreover, I distinguished a *de iure* and a *de facto* symbolism. Building a castle



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

fulfilled the apparent or real needs for symbolic representation, while obtaining an official licence to crenellate showed a legal or theoretical symbol of the petitioner's power and political influence. The two could be separated—dependent on the actual interests—but in optimal cases both were present in a site. A building-complex itself was considered a simple house (*domus*) even if it was huge and richly decorated to enhance status. Therefore, a *domus* or *curia* could have had the dimensions of a castle, while a house could be called *castellum* or *castrum* in the documents in order to enhance status. On the one hand, the king would not have considered a huge and decorative house without fortifications to be important. On the other hand, licencing was not required if it was beyond the abilities or not in the interest of the owner. Royal licencing was more of a symbolic and political act than a legal or administrative one. The position of the owner or petitioner was more important than his real financial situation or the real architectural picture of the site. Terminology must be reconsidered from this perspective. This is the reason why the classification connecting aristocrats to *castrum*, great landowners to *castellum*, and other nobles to the *curia* is misleading; this is just an ideal correlation of buildings and social status. Instead of building type I would say “category used in official documents to represent status,” which, however, was often influenced by various factors (mainly the tendency to show off). Moreover, because of the Ottoman wars in Hungary, these buildings either became real fortifications (that is, castles), or were destroyed. Following the recovery of the country after the Ottoman occupation, the *kastély* of the late-seventeenth century onwards seemed a new building type, designed for a comfortable and prestigious life with only symbolic indications of a formerly fortified residential site. It was a real surprise for historiographers to realise that *castellum* had a medieval predecessor. Because of the post-medieval stereotype of the “true” castle and the function-oriented research, the symbolic significance of *castellum* was not incorporated into the Hungarian scholarship. Instead, research for signs of real fortifications was forced. The same story is applicable to castles (*castrum*), too.

In investigating noble residences a study on living standards is preferable to concentrating further on terminology. The living standard of a person is perhaps the most indicative of his social status. Based on the example of residential studies I would question the direct search for the picture historians have drawn of medieval nobility. Instead of looking for the categories created on the basis of (predominantly legal) documents, let archaeology develop its own system with its own methods to create a picture that is comparable with the already existing one. Archaeology can investigate not so much the legal aspect, but more the material culture and lifestyle of the nobles. The three case studies of this dissertation show that there were many layers in noble society, and



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

transitions between the layers were smooth and not necessarily coordinated in time with the change in status and position. Structural changes in nobility (such as social, generational, or family-kindred) are represented in the archaeological evidence. To get a complete picture, however, pre-fourteenth century cases must also be examined.

The aim of this dissertation was not to answer all the questions, but to collect them and to collect the methods that can help to answer them. The task for the future is to create a complete catalogue of residential sites that will serve as the basis for a more structured study. My suggested research agenda for the future includes:

- The use of small finds to research building function, topography, and society
- The use of castle symbolism to reconsider fortifications
- The functional study of the excavated sites
- A thorough collection of references to early (that is, tenth- to thirteenth-century) residences
- An examination of the relationship between church and residence.

At the moment, these were applied to the three case studies. The typological, functional, and spatial study together with an evaluation of the structural symbolism and material culture in Pomáz resulted in the establishment of a social standard for the Cyko, which was, however, influenced by other factors, causing an archaeological over-representation. The same is true for Nyírbátor, with an opposite conclusion showing archaeological under-representation. The reasons for these deviations can only be estimated as yet.

To sum up, the aim was to outline the major areas of research and to set up a research agenda for residential sites to show that archaeology can contribute to an interdisciplinary study of society in the later Middle Ages. New perspectives on residential studies were also collected in order that a new generation of archaeologists can study old and new sites with a wider vision.



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

Grand Duke Vytautas: Establishing Vytautas the Great

Giedrė Mickūnaitė (Lithuania)

The Examination Committee at the public defence on June 13, 2002 consisted of László Kontler (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; János M. Bak (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Leonardas V. Gerulaitis (Oakland University); and Marianna D. Birnbaum (UCLA); the external reader was Rasa Mažeika (Director, Lithuanian Museum-Archive of Canada).

In 1492, Lithuanian nobility gathered in Vilnius Cathedral to elevate Alexander the Jagiellonian to the grand ducal seat. Little is known about the staging of this inauguration. However, contemporary sources perpetuated the words pronounced by or ascribed to the marshal of the grand duchy. This acclamation warned the future grand duke not to follow foreign customs, but stick to the Lithuanian way of life and adhere to the example of Grand Duke Vytautas. These words became a motto for the research that I have started trying to answer two questions: How did it happen that Vytautas was recognised the exemplary Lithuanian ruler? And: why was Vytautas selected to be that exemplary ruler?

At first glance the answer seemed apparent: because Vytautas was Vytautas the Great. This simple response led to a broader inquiry of how one becomes “the Great.” My hypothesis was that it was Vytautas who built his image of a great ruler and later was perceived as such. Hence, the two initial questions were expanded into a study on the making and functioning of the image of Grand Duke Vytautas.

This dissertation begins with the earliest records mentioning the future grand duke on his path to the throne. Then, I considered Vytautas’ exercise of the grand ducal office and propaganda of his authority. In the light of “image-building,” it can be shown that Vytautas did indeed endeavour to build up his image while his courtiers helped to shape and spread the grand duke’s glory. The development of the image began with the declaration of Vytautas’ birthrights, proceeded through international appeals presenting him as a Christian prince, and culminated with the panegyric to “the most glorious sovereign.” While the grand ducal court was building up the heroic image, Vytautas’ opposition worked on a counter-image of a perfidious neophyte or even of a Saracen thirsty of Christian blood. The Teutonic Knights commissioned a pamphlet arguing that Vytautas would not stop the bloodshed until he waters his horses in the Rhine. Then again, on the other end of the scale, a Bavarian prophecy identified Vytautas as nothing less but that the Son of Man. The grand duke’s initiatives to become king of Lithuania mark the final phase in rhetoric surrounding his



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

image. Vytautas' death aborted his coronation plans. However, his image was established firmly, entering the memories of his contemporaries.

The next part of the dissertation discusses the immediate reminiscences of Vytautas' government. During the subsequent phase of the formation of the image, its selected features found their place within historical memory while others sunk into oblivion. The second half of the fifteenth century was a period when important historiographic texts appeared in Poland and Western Europe. Jan Długosz wrote his famous *Annales Poloniae*, thus perpetuating the image of Vytautas as a skilful statesman and desirable ruler. In contrast, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini represented the grand duke as a tyrant. These two opposites in the perception of rulership formed the framework for the early modern transformations of Vytautas' image.

The sixteenth century was the most productive in generating and most inventive in applying the grand duke's image. The Renaissance minds picked up the figure of Vytautas as a ruler corresponding to Humanist ideals and, simultaneously, shaped his image to better reflect these ideals. Furthermore, this was the time when the image became detached from the personality of the ruler and started being used as a tool of political rhetoric.

The research of medieval and early modern sources has demonstrated that despite various manifestations of the image and the circumstances, in which the name of Vytautas was evoked, the grand duke's image gradually fell within the framework of traditional patterns of rulership. The paradox of Vytautas' image is that it included both polarities of kingship: the Christian government and tyranny. Most importantly, the study revealed that the same features were interpreted in opposite ways. As a rule, these oppositions are related to the position of the interpreter. Hence, what for a Lithuanian author appeared as a testimony of desirable government, a westerner regarded despotism. These contradictions in understanding of supreme authority lead to a broader inquiry into early modern mentality.

Returning to the initial and principal questions of the thesis, the dissertation concludes that Vytautas did engineer a perception of himself as a just prince and did his best to perpetuate this image. It is quite clear that these steps were undertaken in a plan to take and to hold authority over the grand duchy. The flow of history as well as personal qualities of the grand duke resulted in nearly constant making and re-making of the image. Gradual Christianisation of Lithuania, conflict with the Teutonic Knights, Vytautas' involvement into the Hussite wars, and his striving for the royal diadem conditioned that the grand duke's name earned international renown. While it remains unknown to which extent medieval Lithuanians were familiar with traditional western models of kingship, undoubtedly many features of a good



Ph.D. Defences during the Academic Year 2001/2002

prince could be considered universal knowledge. Thus, even though Vytautas' international propaganda did not follow some established examples, the outsiders judged the Lithuanian ruler according to prevailing values and models. Hence, the image intended for western audiences finally shaped up according to western patterns. However, the image as projected within the grand duchy was cast according to local understanding of authority. Although, Russian patterns are quite apparent, it is possible to indicate unique features of the image. The decoration of Vytautas' residence in Trakai and the panegyric to the late grand duke suggest that Byzantine models of glorifying imperial power served as inspirations to these undertakings. Nevertheless, territorial distance as well as lack of skill and training resulted in quite original interpretations of grand ducal authority.

The inquiry into the past reveals the motives and paradoxes behind the image of Vytautas the Great. Its development and application goes in parallel with the intensification of political feelings and the formation of national consciousness of peoples that once formed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The dissertation does not investigate how Vytautas became the Lithuanian national hero. However, it reveals a surprising continuity of the image as well as its ability to adjust with changing values and "truths" of history, be that a battle with Muscovites or an issue of regaining Vilnius. In the sixteenth century, Vytautas appeared in soldiers' dreams to guide them to victory. In the 1930s, he trampled a Polish usurper of the Lithuanian capital making the desirable look real.



RESEARCH PROJECT REPORT

CONFLICTS, CONTROL AND CONCESSIONS Report of the Pilot Project on the Archives of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary.¹ Hungarian Records in East Central European Context

Piroska Nagy and Katalin Szende

With the generous support of a grant received from the Research Fund of Central European University and with the not less generous authorization of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary, a team from the Department of Medieval Studies² has started to work this year on a research project aiming to explore the records of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary preserved in the Vatican Archives relating to East Central Europe, first and foremost to the Kingdom of Hungary, which included dioceses situated in today's Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia and Romania (Transylvania) during the period of our research, the fifteenth century. The aim of this report is to briefly present the material to be studied, together with the outline of our project and a short overview of the first results.³ We would also like to draw the readers' attention to the further phases of our work as well as to the plans and possibilities for future co-operation in this field of study.

¹ The Archives of the Penitentiary contain material that is not connected to the sacrament of penance, as the material pertaining to the secret of confession was not registered. The consultation of this archival material is reserved to a few, qualified researchers whose request in this sense is evaluated by the Penitentiary as well as by the Vatican Secret Archives. This prudent limitation is due to the nature of the information contained in these archives, as well as to the actual, material and logistic difficulties to consult them at the ASV.

² The team is directed by Prof. Gerhard Jaritz, with Piroska Nagy, visiting professor and Katalin Szende, assistant professor as coordinators as well as Lucie Doležalová, Ana Marinković, and Tamás Pálosfalvi, PhD students. We would like to express our thanks to the Hungarian Academy in Rome for providing us accommodation during the research period.

³ As of 28 February 2003, when this report was submitted for publication.



Piroska Nagy and Katalin Szende

The Holy Apostolic Penitentiary and its Medieval Archives

If the Church has always sought to handle conflicts and crimes through the force of legislation, it has also been ready to grant exceptions and treat special cases in a permissive way within the same administrative framework. The Holy Apostolic Penitentiary was *par excellence* the instrument by which the Pope bestowed grace. Its birth and activity was connected to the development—embedded in the general evolution of the institutions of the Church, of the powers of the Pope, and of canon law—of the reservations, by the Curia, of the absolution of certain determined censures, of the dispensations of certain canonical irregularities and obstacles, of the commutation of votes and of the concession of different indulgences and graces.

The office of the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica* (SPA) emerged in the twelfth century, and its competence grew gradually. The institution of a cardinal “Poenitentiarius Maior”, who *vice Papae confessiones recipiebat*, and of the office of his immediate collaborators, the “Minores Poenitentiarii”, which is then called “Sacra Poenitentiaria”, was related to the new spiritual and disciplinary necessities of the Church. The task of the SPA was, beyond adjudicating petitions of those who had in any way transgressed religious-canonic norms, to concede various kinds of graces and dispensations, like the authorization to leave the monastery in order to help poor parents, or to sell the properties of a monastery in special cases, etc. The cases that the SPA dealt with did not necessarily result from a sin, but constituted an obstacle, a “status” or a “condicio” in the life of the applicant wishing to enter or preserve clerical status. Many applications resulted from canonic irregularities or obstacles: people applied to the SPA when seeking to amend some irregularity (illegitimate birth, physical defects, etc.), or to atone for a crime, or to receive a benefice or a special right excepting them of a rule (alleviation of fasting, permission to change monastic order, etc). The Office of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary became an important institution of the Curia in the later Middle Ages, and its archives have been systematically preserved from the fifteenth century on.

Due to the growing extension of the competence of the Office, the Registers of the SPA contain an immense amount of material to be explored, concerning not only ecclesiastical, but social history issues in general. The SPA was open to supplicants of any social standing, was reputed to be the least onerous of the courts of the Holy See, and in the fifteenth century it dealt with various kinds of cases.

Therefore scholars consider the Registers the richest existing source for such problems of social history as the treatment of deviations of all kinds, criminal history, prosopography, family structure, norms and practices of clerical



celibacy, illegitimacy, hereditary succession, careers open to medieval men, the history of canon law, canonical norms and papal practice, the norms and practices of the Inquisition, trials of witches and heretics, the institutional history of the curial offices, the growth of legal regulations in response to social needs, and so forth.

The SPA began systematic registration of in-coming petitions and resolutions in 1409. Part of the registers was destroyed after the Napoleonic wars. Presently, the Penitentiary Register embraces the period from the mid-fifteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries and consists of approximately 745 volumes. The Roman Curia has only recently allowed historians to begin restricted research into the holdings of the SPA archives: the registers of the SPA were deposited in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* in 1982. Fortunately for medievalists, the only part of the Register presently available for research is the archive of the Major SPA until 1569, that is, the late medieval material *stricto sensu*, for the period when the SPA exercised its most extensive competence.

The Registers of the SPA contain, for the period concerned, descriptions of the cases when the office granted absolution or dispensation. These descriptions record the name of the applicant, his diocese of origin and frequently the place where he lived, a short (e.g. in stereotypical cases like matrimonial obstacles) or detailed (e.g. for crimes) description of the case as well as the decision of the Penitentiary and the date of handling the case and its registration. Since the entries are conspicuously marked in the margins as belonging to one or another diocese, it is relatively easy to track relevant material.

Research in International Cooperation

In the later Middle Ages the Major SPA was responsible for the entirety of Latin Christendom. For this reason, the newly opened archive contains materials not only for Western, but also East Central Europe. The value of these materials cannot be overestimated, for in many cases they shed light on matters of medieval history for which we have no other extant evidence. As cases from very different areas were handled in the same way, it is a good source for regional comparisons. Scholars from various countries have already begun serious research into the Penitentiary Registers. So far, scholars from the medieval Empire (Germany and its medieval dependencies) have done systematic research on these registers and published their results in several volumes. Parallel to them, historians from the Nordic countries are presently scrutinizing the registers for material concerning Scandinavia and Finland. Central Europe has been touched only partially, insofar as the German team



Piroska Nagy and Katalin Szende

included cases of supposedly “German” persons (petitioners with German-sounding names) from Bohemia, Prussia/Livonia and some western Polish dioceses. Thus the thorough exploration and study of the Hungarian and related evidence could be started now, in the framework of a comparative project on East Central Europe. This can lead us, in cooperation with the researchers of the other countries of the region,⁴ to a coordinated edition and comparative analysis of the Penitentiary Archives for the whole region. This in turn can help us to better integrate historical knowledge about East Central Europe into the framework of the history of medieval Europe as a whole. The exploration of the SPA and study and publication of its data can contribute substantially to the advancement of knowledge about the everyday life and customs of clergy and laymen in late medieval Hungary, and in a wider context in East Central Europe.

Our project members have been aware from the beginning of the advantages of cooperating with and utilizing the experiences of the advanced research project already initiated by Ludwig Schmugge, Professor of Medieval History in Zürich, and by Christian Kroetzl, Senior Researcher at the Department of History of the Academy of Finland and Director of the Finnish Institute in Rome, who also works at the Vatican Library. First, our team studied the methods and experiences of these colleagues, who have already worked on this material. The coordinators of the CEU project have already begun this while participating in the international workshops held on 30 November–1 December 2001 and 6–7 September 2002 at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, entitled “*In partibus*. Penitentiary, Curia and Local Context in the Later Middle Ages.”

Methods and Expected Results

The actual work in Rome has begun with surveying the material from a sample period of 20 years. During a 6-week stay in Rome (between 4 November and 15 December 2002), the three PhD students participating in the project worked at the Archives, headed by Piroska Nagy in the beginning, then helped by Christian Kroetzl and Kirsi Salonen, a scholar specializing in the penitentiary material and engaged to work at the Vatican Archives. Our team consulted volumes 14–32 of the Penitentiary Registers relating to the pontificates of Paul II (1464–71) and of

⁴ During the preparatory stage of our work and while our team was working in Rome, several scholars have expressed their intention to co-operate with us in the future, including Jadranka Neralić (Zagreb), Nenad Vekarić (Dubrovnik), Ales Porizka (Prague), Etleva Lala (Albania).



Sixtus IV (1471–1484) and copied or transcribed the cases corresponding to our field of interest.

The choice of the period for this sample study was quite difficult. We wanted to start the research with the first systematized volumes of the Registers, those relating to the years between 1431 and 1455, i.e. the papacies of Eugene IV and Nicholas V, which seemed to be eminently suitable for testing the potential of the material concerning East Central Europe. This was the time when the Papacy passed through its last great crisis before the Reformation. It was marked by recurrent struggles with conciliarism and by a transition to a Renaissance papacy characterized by the support of scholars and artists. In our region, the ongoing fights with the followers of Hussitism in various countries and the imminent danger from the Ottoman Empire at the southeastern borders of Christianity directed the attention of the papal court more intensively towards this area than earlier. A further reason for selecting this period for the first stage of the project was that these decades have already been covered extensively by the publications of the German research team (volumes 1 and 2 of the *Repertorium Poenitentiarum Germanicum*, published in 1998 and 1999). The possibilities for comparisons and for receiving advice from the participants of the German project were also a strong argument in favour of choosing this period.

Finally, however, different reasons prevented us from working on this period. First of all, the poor state of preservation of the first volumes made them unavailable in the last months of 2002. Second, our experienced colleagues suggested starting at a time when the methods of registration were already stabilized—which happened during the pontificate of Pius II (1458–1464). From this period on, the registered cases, recorded in separate booklets according to the kind of the case and marked by the name of the diocese on the margin, are systematically grouped in a great volume by year, which makes them easy to consult by date, type of case and diocese of origin. Furthermore, the Penitentiary material of the pontificates of Paul II and of Sixtus IV (1464–1484) has not yet been studied in its entirety, as, for example that of Pius II has by Kirsi Salonen, with whom we hope to cooperate in an exchange of data in the future. Apart from the technical reasons, some of the arguments listed above also apply to these two decades. On the one hand, with the growing demand for independence by the various “national” churches in the major countries of Western Europe, East Central Europe, and especially the Balkan Peninsula and the Carpathian Basin gained greater importance in the external policy of the papacy, not least because of the persistent threat and expansion of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, systematic research on a regional basis can reveal how the local population related to the papacy, since the petitioner or his/her local bishop always took the initiative of referring a case to the SPA.



Piroska Nagy and Katalin Szende

The result of this pilot project will be a detailed survey of the different types of petitions, the names of petitioners and of papal officers involved, and several other types of information for the selected period and region. We are still processing the data in order to constitute a database, which will facilitate the analysis of the data by composite historical questions containing different criteria of research.

During the Winter Semester, Piroska Nagy and Katalin Szende organized a research seminar, in the framework of which we are reading the copies of manuscripts, entering them in a database and discussing various background issues such as the diplomatics of the Penitentiary material, the relation of the Holy See to the various countries in different periods and the reasons for this, the canon law implications of the recorded cases as well as hypotheses to explain regularities or irregularities in the data. This seminar helps teach students the palaeography of late medieval archival material from the Vatican, and can involve them in further research. At the same time, we are beginning to study the data by thematic research fields: Ana Marinković is working on Dalmatian matrimonial cases; Lucie Doležalová on cases related to Upper Hungary and the adjoining Bohemian territories; Tamás Pálófalvi on Slavonian material and certain Hungarian families involved in the petitions; and Piroska Nagy plans to deal with the criminal cases of the *De declaratoriis* and *De diversis formis* rubrics. The students participating in the research seminar plan to study, among other things, the cases from Transylvania; the spatial distribution of the *De defectu natalium* cases; the appearance of the adherents of Hussitism in the study period; and stylistic considerations in the argumentation of the *De declaratoriis* cases. In the course of this work, we have already experienced how useful it is to rely on the local knowledge of our international body of students, in deciphering both personal names and place names and by putting the individual cases into the context of local events or processes.

Since the registers of the SPA form only a small segment of the material of the Vatican Archives relating to the study region of our research, we also find it necessary to develop co-operation with other scholars from Hungary and the neighbouring countries who are working on related documents. First and foremost, we have made contact with Gabriella Erdélyi, alumna of our department and presently a research fellow of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who is currently doing research on the Hungarian material of the SPA in the pre-reformation period. We have already received intellectual and practical support from Péter E. Kovács, also a research fellow of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and an expert on the relations between Hungary and the Holy See. We are planning a small workshop towards the end of the semester to present the collected



material to a team of scholars (Enikő Csukovits, György Rácz, and Kornél Szovák) currently working on the supplication records from Hungary. We hope that the database and further studies will allow us to make a proposal for a major research project that would lead to coordinated international edition and analysis of the records of the East Central European region in cooperation with the involved scholars of the neighbouring countries.

Description of the Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

Among the holdings of the National Széchényi Library (OSZK) are fifty-four Slavonic cyrillic manuscripts, as we must call them to distinguish them from Slavonic manuscripts written in Latin script as well as from a number of cyrillic manuscripts that are not Slavonic (since cyrillic was used in the past to write Romanian also). Apart from a very brief survey by Benjo Conev in 1925,¹ the collection has never been described as a whole, and few of the manuscripts have been the subject of any scholarly attention. The library itself possesses a brief and not entirely accurate manuscript handlist, which is kept in the Department of Manuscripts; outside the library there is no comprehensive guide to the collection at all.² At the same time, this is, together with the Library of the Serbian Diocese of Buda at Szentendre,³ the most significant collection of such material in Hungary, and it is regrettable that it should be outside the purview of scholarship. For this reason it has been decided to produce and publish a full descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts which will appear this year under the auspices of the Department of Medieval Studies in the series *CEU Medievalia*. Work is being done by Dr Elissaveta Moussakova (CEU and National Library of Bulgaria), Dr Nina Voutova (National Library of Bulgaria), Dr Orsolya Karsay (OSZK) and Professor Ralph Cleminson (CEU and University of

¹ B. Conev, "Из една научна обиколка в чужбина" (On a scholarly trip abroad), *Юбилеен годишник на Народната библиотека в Пловдив, год 1925*. (Sofia, 1927), 343–347.

² The three fascicles which have so far appeared of the survey *Magyarországi szláv kéziratok* (Slavonic manuscripts in Hungary) (Budapest, 1990–) include extremely brief descriptions of only five of the manuscripts with which we are here concerned.

³ Recently described by N. R. Sindik, M. Grozdanović-Pajić, K. Mano-Zisi, *Opis rukopisa i starih štampanih knjiga Biblioteke Srpske pravoslavne eparhije budimske u Sentandreji* (A description of manuscripts and early printed books in the library of the Serbian orthodox Buda eparchy in Szentendre), (Belgrade, 1991).



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

Portsmouth), with financial support from both the CEU and the Arts and Humanities Research Board in Great Britain.

Since manuscripts of this kind are not the sort of material that the OSZK has had a special interest in acquiring, the collection is somewhat disparate and the result of incidental donations and purchases over the years, but for that very reason highly illustrative of the Cyrillic manuscript culture of the Kingdom of Hungary. Almost all the manuscripts were originally produced within the historical territories of the Hungarian crown, principally in the north-eastern arc of land stretching from Szepes to Máramaros (nowadays Spiš and Maramureş), or occasionally in regions a little beyond its borders. They are also unified by religion, having been produced and used in Orthodox or (after 1646) Greek Catholic communities in these areas. They can thus largely be defined as Ruthenian, or, in a small minority of cases, Moldavian, although the dividing line between these two is not altogether clear: not only are the two traditions very similar from a palaeographical and decorative point of view, but the Romanian church used Slavonic as its language of liturgy until comparatively recently, and it is clear from later additions and inscriptions that some manuscripts of Ruthenian origin have been used in Romanian communities and *vice versa*. A second distinct group of “native” manuscripts are those produced by the Serbian community in Hungary in the eighteenth century. Although these too are mostly religious in content, they do not contain the Scriptural and liturgical texts of medieval tradition, but instead the sermons, songs and theological treatises (a number, significantly, of Russian origin, reflecting the Russian Empire’s leading rôle in the Orthodox world at that period) that were being produced and copied in that community. It is possible that Serbian immigrants to Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century also brought with them two of the three medieval Serbian manuscripts in the collection; the third, Q^o Eccl. Slav. 15, a sixteenth-century Hieratikon, had reached Máramaros even earlier. There is no record of how the two Bulgarian manuscripts in the collection came into the possession of the persons from whom the library acquired them.

The manuscripts date from the very end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, though almost half are from the sixteenth; this is not an unusual distribution for a collection of this kind. It appears that the founding gift of Count Ferenc Széchenyi contained no Slavonic Cyrillic manuscripts; the first of them entered the library as part of the vast collections of Miklós Jankovich which were sold to the Hungarian state in 1836 and are now divided between the National Library, National Museum, Museum of



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

Applied Art and National Gallery.⁴ Of the nine items so acquired, two have an even older provenance, having belonged to the scholar and collector Juraj Ribay (1754–1812), whose collection had been acquired by Jankovich in 1807.⁵ The first of these, F^o Eccl. Slav. 19, is the most extensively studied manuscript in the collection.⁶ It is an *Apostol* of Bulgarian origin, written in the fifteenth century. It was evidently acquired by Ribay in 1787, at which time he was pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Cinkota, and is the subject of a certain amount of correspondence between him and the founding father of Slavonic studies, Josef Dobrovský, some of which is preserved with the manuscript. Dobrovský was chiefly interested in the manuscript from the point of view of the textual criticism of the Slavonic New Testament; although nowadays it would not be regarded as a particularly important witness, it must be remembered that in the eighteenth century the subject was altogether in its infancy, and the number of manuscripts known to scholarship was very much less. Ribay's other manuscript, a seventeenth-century Russian text of services to Our Lord Jesus Christ and to the Mother of God, is chiefly interesting for its provenance, having been given to him at the time of his theological studies in Jena by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), who was professor of theology there and one of the founders of the Higher Criticism.

Jankovich also owned F^o Eccl. Slav. 17, a fifteenth-century Moldavian Gospel book and one of only two manuscripts (excluding fragments) written entirely on parchment, the other being Q^o Eccl. Slav. 7. (F^o Eccl. Slav. 3, though

⁴ For Jankovich and his collecting activity, see the catalogue of the recent exhibition of items from his collections, *Jankovich Miklós (1772–1846) gyűjteményei: kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2002. november 28 – 2003. február 16.* (The collections of M. Jankovich: exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery) (Budapest Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002). Two Slavonic manuscripts were included in the exhibition, but the descriptions in the catalogue are so inaccurate that if it were not for the accompanying illustrations one might think that they referred to different books. For the Jankovich material in the National Library, see also Jenő Berlász, “Jankovich Miklós könyvtári gyűjteményeinek kialakulása és sorsa” (The origin and faith of the library collections of M. Jankovich), *OSZK Értesítő 1970–1971.* (Budapest, 1973), 109–173.

⁵ For Ribay and his various activities, see *Slovenský biografický slovník.* (Slovak biographical dictionary) (Martin, 1986–94), vol. 5, 83–84.

⁶ See in particular Mária Szarvas, “Среднеболгарский апостол конца XV – начала XVI вв. (о деятельности Иозефа [sic!] Добровского и его связях с венгерскими личностями),” (A Central Bulgarian apostle from the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century [on the activity of Joseph Dobovski and his connections with Hungarian personages]) in *Szlávok – Protobolgárok – Bizánc*, szerk. H. Tóth Imre, (Szeged, 1986), 207–216 (*Hungaro-Bulgarica*, 2).



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

a paper manuscript, includes six parchment leaves.) The other six manuscripts from Jankovich's collection are "modern," that is to say eighteenth-century, and were written by the Serbian Orthodox community in Hungary. They are mostly religious in content, but not entirely: a number of secular songs and even a tragicomedy illustrating Serbian history are to be found amongst them. A quantity of similar material can be found at Szentendre, and the OSZK itself has acquired three other such manuscripts on subsequent occasions since. For most of the nineteenth century the manuscripts from Jankovich's collection were the only Slavonic cyrillic manuscripts in the library. Kočubinskij, visiting in 1875, was bitterly disappointed not to find the Ruthenian material he was hoping for, and his account of the library's collections is little more than a diatribe against its acquisitions policy.⁷

There were two cyrillic manuscripts in a quantity of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century material bought from the antiquarian bookseller Dániel Kún in 1891 and 1893, but the most important contributor to the library's collections was the historian Antal Hodinka (1864–1946).⁸ Hodinka's donation of fourteen manuscripts in 1904 more than doubled the library's holdings of this type of material. To this should be added two more manuscripts which he gave the library in 1907 and 1909, and two which he had sold to it in 1890, making a total of eighteen manuscripts, in other words a third of the whole collection now in the library. All date from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Half of them are Gospel books, and all the rest, with the single exception of a Nomocanon, are also for use in church services (Menaia, Euchologia, etc.). All but one are Ruthenian, and even the exception, F^o Eccl. Slav. 10, a Moldavian Festal Menaion, contains additions which show that it had migrated to the Ruthenian area no later than the eighteenth century. There seems no doubt that all these manuscripts were acquired from rural parishes in the Ruthenian areas of the Kingdom of Hungary, as the OSZK accessions register puts it in respect of the 1890 purchase, "magyarországi felvidéki ruthén egyházakból" (from Upper-Hungarian Ruthenian churches), but unfortunately Hodinka's collecting activities do not appear to have been documented with any greater precision. In 1890 he was employed in the library of the National Museum in Budapest, from

⁷ Aleksandr Kočubinskij, *Славянские рукописи Петитского музея*. (Slavic manuscript in the Museum of Pest) (Warsaw, 1882). This is despite his awareness of the medieval codices mentioned above, which he dismisses as "uninteresting."

⁸ For a short but comprehensive account of Hodinka's life and work see István Udvari, "Антоній Годинка – дослідник історії русинів (Anthony Hodinka – scholar of Russian history) (1864–1946)," in: *Hodinka Antal válogatott kézíratai*, szerk. I. Udvari, (Nyíregyháza, 1992), 3–14 (*Vasvári Pál Társaság Füzetei*, 11).



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

1899 until 1905 he lived in Vienna, and from then until 1920 in Bratislava (Pozsony). However, it is more than likely that he was able to acquire manuscripts through personal collections in the areas in which they were to be found: his father and both his grandfathers were Greek Catholic priests, and his native village of Lodomírová still retains a small amount of manuscript and early-printed material.⁹ His collection of manuscripts was probably connected with this background, and with his professional interest in the history of the Greek Catholic church, for, although he amassed several collections of books during his lifetime, his collecting interests do not seem to have been primarily antiquarian.¹⁰

By the time of Hodinka's last gift in 1909 a little over half the present collection was already in the library. Since then acquisitions have been more sporadic: no single individual has provided more than two manuscripts. These later additions have been somewhat more varied (only five Gospel books), but the general character of the collection remains the same as Jankovich and Hodinka had made it: predominantly Ruthenian, but with some South Slavonic and Moldavian material, and predominantly liturgical (including the codices of the Gospels and Acts and Epistles in this category, as they were also intended for use during church services), but with a variety of other books, of which the more recent manuscripts produced by the Serbs of the Kingdom of Hungary form the most distinctive category. The manuscripts acquired after Hodinka's gifts were not, as a rule, the property of major collectors. The exception to this is the jewel of the collection, 8° Illyr. Serb. 1, which came to the library in 1922 as the only Slavonic manuscript in the extensive collection of the bibliophile Gyula Todorescu.

⁹ See R. M. Cleminson, comp., *Cyrillic Manuscripts in Slovakia*. (Martin: Matica slovensky 1996), 59–61; idem, "Knihy niektorých slovenských zbierok v cirkevnej slovančine," (Books of some Slovak collections in Church Slavonic) *Slavica Slovaca* 33 (1998): 44–48.

¹⁰ For Hodinka's books, see Róbert Szabó, "Hodinka Antal könyvgyűjtés az MTA Történettudományi Intézetében" (Hodinka's books in the Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) *Hodinka Antal Emlékkönyv: Tanulmányok Hodinka Antal tiszteletére*. Szerk. I. Udvari, (Nyíregyháza, 1993), 363–370. Szabó is, however, quite mistaken in believing that Hodinka's earlier collection had been bought by the University Library in Bratislava. He did indeed offer it to them, but they declined to purchase it, considering that the price he demanded was exorbitant. (The relevant correspondence is preserved in Box 12 of the Archive of the University Library in Bratislava.) These books were eventually purchased by the Múzejná spoločnosť in Martin. They included one seventeenth-century Ruthenian manuscript, which is now in Russia; see Cleminson, *Cyrillic Manuscripts*, 116–7.



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

An interesting aspect of these later acquisitions is that a number of them have connexions with the Romanian areas of the Kingdom of Hungary. While only one of them is actually Moldavian in origin (F^o Eccl. Slav. 3, a rather attractive Gospel codex with an inscription possibly linking it to the monastery of Putna),¹¹ seven others were acquired from persons with this part of the world: Vazul Damján (1855–1919), member of the Hungarian parliament for Kőrösbánya (Baia de Criș, Romania), László Réthy (1851–1914), numismatist, Szilárd Sulica (1884–1948?),¹² professor of Romanian literature, and Mariu Nicora, whose name suggests a Romanian origin, though in 1925, when he sold two Slavonic and one Romanian manuscript to the library, he was living in Cinkota. Almost all these manuscripts have Romanian inscriptions, some quite extensive, as does F^o Eccl. Slav. 16, which was acquired together with two Romanian manuscripts in 1912 from an unknown source. One of Nicora's manuscripts, Q^o Eccl. Slav. 7, is of particular interest. It is a Bulgarian Gospel codex which has been dated by Professor Imre Tóth on palaeographic ground to the end of the thirteenth century.¹³ This would make it the oldest manuscript in the collection. It is also notable as being one of the two manuscripts written entirely on parchment and also for its Bulgarian origin, which it also shares with only one other manuscript. More recently the collection has been more or less stable; in fact there has been only one new accession during the last forty years, the sixteenth-century Serbian Panegyricon (Q^o Eccl. Slav. 19) bought in 1973, which formerly belonged to the Serbian church in Töttös (in Baranya county, no longer in existence), and is a rich source of Serbian hagiographic texts.

The collection taken as a whole is thus a valuable indication of both of the production of Slavonic cyrillic texts in the Kingdom of Hungary, and of scholarly and antiquarian interest in them in more recent times. It can also provide a useful contribution to the wider study of the book. Since all but two of the manuscripts are on paper, analysis of the watermarks is one of the most important aspects of our forthcoming edition. The manuscripts were written on a wide variety of paper produced between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even though it is not always possible to identify precisely where the paper was

¹¹ This inscription is illustrative of the cultural crosscurrents that these manuscripts embody. Written in a Subcarpathian dialect of Ukrainian, it records that in 1676 the manuscript was given by Avram Ormenin (i.e. Abraham the Armenian) to the Church of the Dormition.

¹² The date of his death is uncertain. According to the *Hungarian Biographical Lexicon*, Sulica died in 1945; however, the Almanach of the University of Szeged records him as teaching Romanian there in 1948.

¹³ Imre Tóth, “Болгарское четвероевангелие в Будапеште,” (The Bulgarian Gospels in Budapest) *Palaeobulgarica* 7 (1983,2): 3–13.



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

made, it is clear that papers from Central and Western Europe predominate. Twenty-eight classes of watermarks have been registered, a surprisingly big number from only forty-five paper manuscripts.¹⁴ The various Coats of Arms form the most numerous class, represented by 56 marks, followed by the Boar with 35 marks. None of the rest is represented by more than ten marks each, and nine of them are represented by only one. Taken as a whole, the paper is not of particularly high quality, ordinary material for ordinary manuscripts intended for ordinary use. It is to be regretted that for this reason, and also as a result of physical damage, the watermarks are often fragmentary, visible only with difficulty, and hard to identify. Nevertheless, total excerption of the material has allowed us to assign most of the undated manuscripts to relatively narrow chronological limits and to give at least an approximate date even in those cases for which no reliable data exists.

The album contained in the catalogue consists of full-scale copies of all watermarks found in the codices. We have applied the method of “leaf-by-leaf” excerption, which ensures a minimum of omissions. In order to achieve a complete picture the watermarks on additional leaves – pastedowns, mending papers, etc., are also included as well as partly preserved watermarks. The marks have been copied by hand in the classical manner, the only one possible in our case, not to mention the only way to proceed when the marks are partly hidden by the sewing of the quires. Despite our best efforts, some watermarks have had to be left unidentified due to the lack of comparative material in the reference literature. However, they are included into the album in the hope that further investigation will lead to their recognition.

In its aesthetic aspect, the collection as a whole does not offer the viewer opulently illuminated codices but rather modestly decorated ones. Several volumes do not even come within the latter category, having nothing but red titles and majuscule letters at the beginning of the various sections of text. It would be completely wrong, though, to think that the palaeographer or the art historian will find nothing of interest in this still obscure collection.

A great number of the manuscripts reveal the diffusion of what is fundamentally known as “Balkan interlaced style,” which, to avoid the vagueness of the term, we prefer instead to call “ornament of Balkan interlaced type” or “Balkan interlaced ornament” in our catalogue. This kind of decoration can be seen in various examples, of which the earliest one, typical of South Slavonic manuscripts, is represented in its “monastic” version by the Moldavian or Wallachian *Apostol* of the fifteenth century (F^o Eccl. Slav. 19). By contrast,

¹⁴ This number excludes not only those written on parchment, but also the fragments and those without any visible watermark.



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

one of the most refined artistic expressions of late Balkan ornament, executed by a masterly hand, is the Serbian miscellany of 1679, the above mentioned 8° Illyr. Serb. 1, a manuscript which has no rival in the collection for its calligraphic quality. Equally remarkable are its gold and multi-colored decoration of interlaced, floral and anthropomorphic motifs, the several astronomical tables and the miniature zodiac images which accompany the twelve tables of the Calendar. It was not difficult to ascribe the work to hieromonk Hristofor Račanin, a scribe and decorator outstanding not only in the Rača School but for his whole generation. Altogether thirteen manuscripts signed by him or attributable to him are known. In the course of the work on the catalogue, however, we became aware of a monograph on the same codex, published in 1999, whose author anticipated our conclusion several years ago. Hristofor worked in the hermitage of St George in Banja that belonged to the Serbian Rača Monastery, on the Drina River, in a region (Bajina Bašta) bordering Bosnia. The Calendar tables in his codex show a close resemblance to those drawn by his predecessor, another distinguished scribe, Gavriilo Trojičanin from the Trinity monastery near Plevlja (Montenegro), thus providing evidence of the interrelations between these most important scribal centres in the Balkans in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, Hristofor's other partner and follower, Kiprijan of Rača, became a prominent figure at the Szentendre scriptorium in the early eighteenth century.

Many of the manuscripts generally belong to the Moldavian trend of Balkan ornament. Two Gospels of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (F° Eccl. Slav. 17 and 3) demonstrate some of its best examples, even if the decoration of the latter was left unfinished. The quality of the earlier codex was the obvious reason for the losses it has suffered, as only one of its original four headpieces has survived. As for the rest of the manuscripts, they show various local transformations of Balkan ornament. Two other manuscripts represent a pattern in which borders around the text on the opening page distinguish them from the standard South-Slavonic decoration, but are very common in Ukrainian manuscripts of the sixteenth century. Archaic patterns, inherited from the Slavonic tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are also represented by the ornament, as is the teratological headpiece in 4° Eccl. Slav. 4, known from South-Slavonic and Russian prototypes.

Though left to the end of this brief survey, the only illustrated Gospel must be given attention too. In F° Eccl. Slav. 6, from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the four whole-page portraits of the Evangelists with red haloes on yellow background are preserved intact, set before each of the Gospels. Their bright coloring, simple tempera technique and rather naïve stylistic features point to a local replica of a more representative model, though



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

different from the late Palaeologian versions of the Evangelists as reflected by numerous Russian and Moldavian copies of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The location of the workshop that produced the illumination is still uncertain but a later inscription recording the gift of the manuscript to St Michael's Church до села Черна (Čierna nad Tisou?) could be taken into consideration.

A few words should finally be said about the art of binding applied to many of the codices. It is not out of place to remark here that a great number of the bindings have been restored by preserving the original boards with new leather added to supply the missing parts, onto which the original leather has been pasted. One could speak in this respect of a Hungarian school of binding restoration since the 1950s, whose merits are confirmed once more by the work done in the laboratory of Széchényi library. Once again the Serbian miscellany should be mentioned in first place because its binding is a product of Oriental craftsmanship. Examples of Balkan Christian books set in Turkish bindings are not unknown, but still they are very rare, which makes our witness even more valuable. As Ágnes Kacziba has pointed out, the greatest number of Muslim "mücellits" (bookbinders) worked in Sarajevo, but whether the codex was given to them is hard to say without more evidence.¹⁵

Two other manuscripts, F^o Eccl. Slav. 1 and 3, with stamps arranged on the leather in typologically similar compositions, represent another stylistic group characterized by the dense arrangement of medallions practically leaving no free space on either cover. Rich decorations of such a kind, for which golden tooling is used, are known from South Russian books of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Manuscripts bound in this fashion might have been intended as special donations to a church or a person but unfortunately there are no colophons or inscriptions to support such an assumption. Most of the tooling implements used reveal the cohesion of Western and Eastern patterns, so typical for the late "alla greca" bindings, but in these cases the eclectic design is a direct result of the communication between people in a mixed Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic milieu.

Although the catalogue is being first published in book form, the text of the book is generated from the electronic records which are the primary form of the catalogue, and may form the basis for subsequent work. This is particularly important when dealing with a collection of manuscripts which is small (whether in comparison with the rest of the holdings of the OSZK or with

¹⁵ Ágnes Kacziba, *Budimpeštanski rukopis Hristofora Račanina (Sadržaj, paleografski opis i pravopis)* (The Budapest manuscript of Christopher Račanin [Contents, a paleographic description and spelling]), (Szeged, 1999).



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

collections of Slavonic cyrillic manuscripts held elsewhere), and the study of which must therefore be integrated into wider researches. To ensure permanence, platform-independence and portability, the records are created in XML format. In terms of the structure of the descriptions, we have endeavored to adhere to the best practice in current manuscript studies, in which there have been considerable advances in recent years. Since the discipline of computer-assisted manuscript studies is yet in its infancy, there is still no standard for the construction of electronic descriptions. Attempts were made to devise one in the form of the EU-funded MASTER project (1999–2001), but the resulting DTD has proved quite unsuitable for our purposes: it is impossible, using it, to produce a description which would answer to the *de facto* standards of manuscript description which currently exist. Extensive modifications have therefore been made to create a new DTD, drawing largely on experience gained in the *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature*¹⁶ and the description of early-printed cyrillic books in the British Isles. We may therefore hope that in addition to making the Slavonic cyrillic holdings of the OSZK finally available to the scholarly community, the cataloguing work will also represent a small advance in the application of new technology to manuscript studies in general.

¹⁶ See Anisava Miltenova – Andrej Bojadžiev, “An Electronic Repertory of Medieval Slavic Literature and Letters: a Suite of Guidelines,” *Medieval Slavic Manuscripts and SGML: Problems and Perspectives*, (Sofia, 2000), 44–68.



Description of the Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

Among the holdings of the National Széchényi Library (OSZK) are fifty-four Slavonic cyrillic manuscripts, as we must call them to distinguish them from Slavonic manuscripts written in Latin script as well as from a number of cyrillic manuscripts that are not Slavonic (since cyrillic was used in the past to write Romanian also). Apart from a very brief survey by Benjo Conev in 1925,¹ the collection has never been described as a whole, and few of the manuscripts have been the subject of any scholarly attention. The library itself possesses a brief and not entirely accurate manuscript handlist, which is kept in the Department of Manuscripts; outside the library there is no comprehensive guide to the collection at all.² At the same time, this is, together with the Library of the Serbian Diocese of Buda at Szentendre,³ the most significant collection of such material in Hungary, and it is regrettable that it should be outside the purview of scholarship. For this reason it has been decided to produce and publish a full descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts which will appear this year under the auspices of the Department of Medieval Studies in the series *CEU Medievalia*. Work is being done by Dr Elissaveta Moussakova (CEU and National Library of Bulgaria), Dr Nina Voutova (National Library of Bulgaria), Dr Orsolya Karsay (OSZK) and Professor Ralph Cleminson (CEU and University of Portsmouth), with financial support from both the CEU and the Arts and Humanities Research Board in Great Britain.

Since manuscripts of this kind are not the sort of material that the OSZK has had a special interest in acquiring, the collection is somewhat disparate and the result of incidental donations and purchases over the years, but for that very reason highly illustrative of the cyrillic manuscript culture of the Kingdom of

¹ B. Conev, "Из една научна обиколка в чужбина" (On a scholarly trip abroad), *Юбилеен годишник на Народната библиотека в Пловдив, год 1925*. (Sofia, 1927), 343–347.

² The three fascicles which have so far appeared of the survey *Magyarországi szláv kéziratok* (Slavonic manuscripts in Hungary) (Budapest, 1990–) include extremely brief descriptions of only five of the manuscripts with which we are here concerned.

³ Recently described by N. R. Sindik, M. Grozdanović-Pajić, K. Mano-Zisi, *Opis rukopisa i starih štampanih knjiga Biblioteke Srpske pravoslavne eparhije budimske u Sentandreji* (A description of manuscripts and early printed books in the library of the Serbian orthodox Buda eparchy in Szentendre), (Belgrade, 1991).



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

Hungary. Almost all the manuscripts were originally produced within the historical territories of the Hungarian crown, principally in the north-eastern arc of land stretching from Szepes to Máramaros (nowadays Spiš and Maramureş), or occasionally in regions a little beyond its borders. They are also unified by religion, having been produced and used in Orthodox or (after 1646) Greek Catholic communities in these areas. They can thus largely be defined as Ruthenian, or, in a small minority of cases, Moldavian, although the dividing line between these two is not altogether clear: not only are the two traditions very similar from a palæographical and decorative point of view, but the Romanian church used Slavonic as its language of liturgy until comparatively recently, and it is clear from later additions and inscriptions that some manuscripts of Ruthenian origin have been used in Romanian communities and *vice versa*. A second distinct group of “native” manuscripts are those produced by the Serbian community in Hungary in the eighteenth century. Although these too are mostly religious in content, they do not contain the Scriptural and liturgical texts of medieval tradition, but instead the sermons, songs and theological treatises (a number, significantly, of Russian origin, reflecting the Russian Empire’s leading rôle in the Orthodox world at that period) that were being produced and copied in that community. It is possible that Serbian immigrants to Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century also brought with them two of the three medieval Serbian manuscripts in the collection; the third, Q^o Eccl. Slav. 15, a sixteenth-century Hieraticon, had reached Máramaros even earlier. There is no record of how the two Bulgarian manuscripts in the collection came into the possession of the persons from whom the library acquired them.

The manuscripts date from the very end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, though almost half are from the sixteenth; this is not an unusual distribution for a collection of this kind. It appears that the founding gift of Count Ferenc Széchényi contained no Slavonic cyrillic manuscripts; the first of them entered the library as part of the vast collections of Miklós Jankovich which were sold to the Hungarian state in 1836 and are now divided between the National Library, National Museum, Museum of Applied Art and National Gallery.⁴ Of the nine items so acquired, two have an

⁴ For Jankovich and his collecting activity, see the catalogue of the recent exhibition of items from his collections, *Jankovich Miklós (1772–1846) gyűjteményei: kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2002. november 28 – 2003. február 16.* (The collections of M. Jankovich: exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery) (Budapest Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002). Two Slavonic manuscripts were included in the exhibition, but the descriptions in the catalogue are so inaccurate that if it were not for the accompanying illustrations one might think that they referred to different books. For the Jankovich material in the National Library, see also Jenő Berlász, “Jankovich Miklós könyvtári gyűjteményeinek



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

even older provenance, having belonged to the scholar and collector Juraj Ribay (1754–1812), whose collection had been acquired by Jankovich in 1807.⁵ The first of these, F^o Eccl. Slav. 19, is the most extensively studied manuscript in the collection.⁶ It is an *Apostol* of Bulgarian origin, written in the fifteenth century. It was evidently acquired by Ribay in 1787, at which time he was pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Cinkota, and is the subject of a certain amount of correspondence between him and the founding father of Slavonic studies, Josef Dobrovský, some of which is preserved with the manuscript. Dobrovský was chiefly interested in the manuscript from the point of view of the textual criticism of the Slavonic New Testament; although nowadays it would not be regarded as a particularly important witness, it must be remembered that in the eighteenth century the subject was altogether in its infancy, and the number of manuscripts known to scholarship was very much less. Ribay's other manuscript, a seventeenth-century Russian text of services to Our Lord Jesus Christ and to the Mother of God, is chiefly interesting for its provenance, having been given to him at the time of his theological studies in Jena by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), who was professor of theology there and one of the founders of the Higher Criticism.

Jankovich also owned F^o Eccl. Slav. 17, a fifteenth-century Moldavian Gospel book and one of only two manuscripts (excluding fragments) written entirely on parchment, the other being Q^o Eccl. Slav. 7. (F^o Eccl. Slav. 3, though a paper manuscript, includes six parchment leaves.) The other six manuscripts from Jankovich's collection are "modern," that is to say eighteenth-century, and were written by the Serbian Orthodox community in Hungary. They are mostly religious in content, but not entirely: a number of secular songs and even a tragicomedy illustrating Serbian history are to be found amongst them. A quantity of similar material can be found at Szentendre, and the OSZK itself has acquired three other such manuscripts on subsequent occasions since. For most of the nineteenth century the manuscripts from Jankovich's collection were the only Slavonic Cyrillic manuscripts in the library. Kočubinskij, visiting in 1875,

kialakulása és sorsa" (The origin and faith of the library collections of M. Jankovich), *OSZK Értésítő 1970–1971*. (Budapest, 1973), 109–173.

⁵ For Ribay and his various activities, see *Slovenský biografický slovník*. (Slovak biographical dictionary) (Martin, 1986–94), vol. 5, 83–84.

⁶ See in particular Mária Szarvas, "Среднеболгарский апостол конца XV – начала XVI вв. (о деятельности Иозефа [sic!] Добровского и его связях с венгерскими личностями)," (A Central Bulgarian apostle from the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century [on the activity of Joseph Dobovski and his connections with Hungarian personages]) in *Szlávok – Protobolgárok – Bizánc*, szerk. H. Tóth Imre, (Szeged, 1986), 207–216 (*Hungaro-Bulgarica*, 2).



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

was bitterly disappointed not to find the Ruthenian material he was hoping for, and his account of the library's collections is little more than a diatribe against its acquisitions policy.⁷

There were two cyrillic manuscripts in a quantity of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century material bought from the antiquarian bookseller Dániel Kún in 1891 and 1893, but the most important contributor to the library's collections was the historian Antal Hodinka (1864–1946).⁸ Hodinka's donation of fourteen manuscripts in 1904 more than doubled the library's holdings of this type of material. To this should be added two more manuscripts which he gave the library in 1907 and 1909, and two which he had sold to it in 1890, making a total of eighteen manuscripts, in other words a third of the whole collection now in the library. All date from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Half of them are Gospel books, and all the rest, with the single exception of a Nomocanon, are also for use in church services (Menaia, Euchologia, etc.). All but one are Ruthenian, and even the exception, F^o Eccl. Slav. 10, a Moldavian Festal Menaion, contains additions which show that it had migrated to the Ruthenian area no later than the eighteenth century. There seems no doubt that all these manuscripts were acquired from rural parishes in the Ruthenian areas of the Kingdom of Hungary, as the OSZK accessions register puts it in respect of the 1890 purchase, "magyarországi felvidéki ruthén egyházakból" (from Upper-Hungarian Ruthenian churches), but unfortunately Hodinka's collecting activities do not appear to have been documented with any greater precision. In 1890 he was employed in the library of the National Museum in Budapest, from 1899 until 1905 he lived in Vienna, and from then until 1920 in Bratislava (Pozsony). However, it is more than likely that he was able to acquire manuscripts through personal collections in the areas in which they were to be found: his father and both his grandfathers were Greek Catholic priests, and his native village of Lodomírová still retains a small amount of manuscript and early-printed material.⁹ His collection of manuscripts was probably connected with this background, and with his professional interest in the history of the

⁷ Aleksandr Kočubinskij, *Славянские рукописи Пештского музея*. (Slavic manuscript in the Museum of Pest) (Warsaw, 1882). This is despite his awareness of the medieval codices mentioned above, which he dismisses as "uninteresting."

⁸ For a short but comprehensive account of Hodinka's life and work see István Udvari, "Антоній Годинка – дослідник історії русинів (Anthony Hodinka – scholar of Russian history) (1864–1946)," in: *Hodinka Antal válogatott kézíratai*, szerk. I. Udvari, (Nyíregyháza, 1992), 3–14 (*Vasvári Pál Társaság Füzetek*, 11).

⁹ See R. M. Cleminson, comp., *Cyrillic Manuscripts in Slovakia*. (Martin: Matice slovensky 1996), 59–61; idem, "Knihy niektorých slovenských zbierok v cirkevnej slovančine," (Books of some Slovak collections in Church Slavonic) *Slavica Slovaca* 33 (1998): 44–48.



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

Greek Catholic church, for, although he amassed several collections of books during his lifetime, his collecting interests do not seem to have been primarily antiquarian.¹⁰

By the time of Hodinka's last gift in 1909 a little over half the present collection was already in the library. Since then acquisitions have been more sporadic: no single individual has provided more than two manuscripts. These later additions have been somewhat more varied (only five Gospel books), but the general character of the collection remains the same as Jankovich and Hodinka had made it: predominantly Ruthenian, but with some South Slavonic and Moldavian material, and predominantly liturgical (including the codices of the Gospels and Acts and Epistles in this category, as they were also intended for use during church services), but with a variety of other books, of which the more recent manuscripts produced by the Serbs of the Kingdom of Hungary form the most distinctive category. The manuscripts acquired after Hodinka's gifts were not, as a rule, the property of major collectors. The exception to this is the jewel of the collection, 8° Illyr. Serb. 1, which came to the library in 1922 as the only Slavonic manuscript in the extensive collection of the bibliophile Gyula Todorescu.

An interesting aspect of these later acquisitions is that a number of them have connexions with the Romanian areas of the Kingdom of Hungary. While only one of them is actually Moldavian in origin (F° Eccl. Slav. 3, a rather attractive Gospel codex with an inscription possibly linking it to the monastery of Putna),¹¹ seven others were acquired from persons with this part of the world: Vazul Damján (1855–1919), member of the Hungarian parliament for Kőrösbánya (Baia de Criș, Romania), László Réthy (1851–1914), numismatist,

¹⁰ For Hodinka's books, see Róbert Szabó, "Hodinka Antal könyvhagyatéka az MTA Történettudományi Intézetében" (Hodinka's books in the Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) *Hodinka Antal Emlékkönyv: Tanulmányok Hodinka Antal tiszteletére*. Szerk. I. Udvari, (Nyíregyháza, 1993), 363–370. Szabó is, however, quite mistaken in believing that Hodinka's earlier collection had been bought by the University Library in Bratislava. He did indeed offer it to them, but they declined to purchase it, considering that the price he demanded was exorbitant. (The relevant correspondence is preserved in Box 12 of the Archive of the University Library in Bratislava.) These books were eventually purchased by the *Múzejná spoločnosť* in Martin. They included one seventeenth-century Ruthenian manuscript, which is now in Russia; see Cleminson, *Cyrillic Manuscripts*, 116–7.

¹¹ This inscription is illustrative of the cultural crosscurrents that these manuscripts embody. Written in a Subcarpathian dialect of Ukrainian, it records that in 1676 the manuscript was given by Avram Ormenin (i.e. Abraham the Armenian) to the Church of the Dormition.



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

Szilárd Sulica (1884–1948?),¹² professor of Romanian literature, and Mariu Nicora, whose name suggests a Romanian origin, though in 1925, when he sold two Slavonic and one Romanian manuscript to the library, he was living in Cinkota. Almost all these manuscripts have Romanian inscriptions, some quite extensive, as does F^o Eccl. Slav. 16, which was acquired together with two Romanian manuscripts in 1912 from an unknown source. One of Nicora's manuscripts, Q^o Eccl. Slav. 7, is of particular interest. It is a Bulgarian Gospel codex which has been dated by Professor Imre Tóth on palaeographic ground to the end of the thirteenth century.¹³ This would make it the oldest manuscript in the collection. It is also notable as being one of the two manuscripts written entirely on parchment and also for its Bulgarian origin, which it also shares with only one other manuscript. More recently the collection has been more or less stable; in fact there has been only one new accession during the last forty years, the sixteenth-century Serbian Panegyricon (Q^o Eccl. Slav. 19) bought in 1973, which formerly belonged to the Serbian church in Töttös (in Baranya county, no longer in existence), and is a rich source of Serbian hagiographic texts.

The collection taken as a whole is thus a valuable indication of both of the production of Slavonic cyrillic texts in the Kingdom of Hungary, and of scholarly and antiquarian interest in them in more recent times. It can also provide a useful contribution to the wider study of the book. Since all but two of the manuscripts are on paper, analysis of the watermarks is one of the most important aspects of our forthcoming edition. The manuscripts were written on a wide variety of paper produced between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even though it is not always possible to identify precisely where the paper was made, it is clear that papers from Central and Western Europe predominate. Twenty-eight classes of watermarks have been registered, a surprisingly big number from only forty-five paper manuscripts.¹⁴ The various Coats of Arms form the most numerous class, represented by 56 marks, followed by the Boar with 35 marks. None of the rest is represented by more than ten marks each, and nine of them are represented by only one. Taken as a whole, the paper is not of particularly high quality, ordinary material for ordinary manuscripts intended for ordinary use. It is to be regretted that for this reason, and also as a

¹² The date of his death is uncertain. According to the *Hungarian Biographical Lexicon*, Sulica died in 1945; however, the Almanach of the University of Szeged records him as teaching Romanian there in 1948.

¹³ Imre Tóth, “Болгарское четвероевангелие в Будапеште,” (The Bulgarian Gospels in Budapest) *Palaeobulgarica* 7 (1983,2): 3–13.

¹⁴ This number excludes not only those written on parchment, but also the fragments and those without any visible watermark.



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

result of physical damage, the watermarks are often fragmentary, visible only with difficulty, and hard to identify. Nevertheless, total excerption of the material has allowed us to assign most of the undated manuscripts to relatively narrow chronological limits and to give at least an approximate date even in those cases for which no reliable data exists.

The album contained in the catalogue consists of full-scale copies of all watermarks found in the codices. We have applied the method of “leaf-by-leaf” excerption, which ensures a minimum of omissions. In order to achieve a complete picture the watermarks on additional leaves – pastedowns, mending papers, etc., are also included as well as partly preserved watermarks. The marks have been copied by hand in the classical manner, the only one possible in our case, not to mention the only way to proceed when the marks are partly hidden by the sewing of the quires. Despite our best efforts, some watermarks have had to be left unidentified due to the lack of comparative material in the reference literature. However, they are included into the album in the hope that further investigation will lead to their recognition.

In its aesthetic aspect, the collection as a whole does not offer the viewer opulently illuminated codices but rather modestly decorated ones. Several volumes do not even come within the latter category, having nothing but red titles and majuscule letters at the beginning of the various sections of text. It would be completely wrong, though, to think that the palaeographer or the art historian will find nothing of interest in this still obscure collection.

A great number of the manuscripts reveal the diffusion of what is fundamentally known as “Balkan interlaced style,” which, to avoid the vagueness of the term, we prefer instead to call “ornament of Balkan interlaced type” or “Balkan interlaced ornament” in our catalogue. This kind of decoration can be seen in various examples, of which the earliest one, typical of South Slavonic manuscripts, is represented in its “monastic” version by the Moldavian or Wallachian *Apostol* of the fifteenth century (F^o Eccl. Slav. 19). By contrast, one of the most refined artistic expressions of late Balkan ornament, executed by a masterly hand, is the Serbian miscellany of 1679, the above mentioned 8^o Illyr. Serb. 1, a manuscript which has no rival in the collection for its calligraphic quality. Equally remarkable are its gold and multi-colored decoration of interlaced, floral and anthropomorphic motifs, the several astronomical tables and the miniature zodiac images which accompany the twelve tables of the Calendar. It was not difficult to ascribe the work to hieromonk Hristofor Račanin, a scribe and decorator outstanding not only in the Rača School but for his whole generation. Altogether thirteen manuscripts signed by him or attributable to him are known. In the course of the work on the catalogue, however, we became aware of a monograph on the same codex, published in



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

1999, whose author anticipated our conclusion several years ago. Hristofor worked in the hermitage of St George in Banja that belonged to the Serbian Rača Monastery, on the Drina River, in a region (Bajina Bašta) bordering Bosnia. The Calendar tables in his codex show a close resemblance to those drawn by his predecessor, another distinguished scribe, Gavriilo Trojičanin from the Trinity monastery near Plevlja (Montenegro), thus providing evidence of the interrelations between these most important scribal centres in the Balkans in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, Hristofor's other partner and follower, Kiprijan of Rača, became a prominent figure at the Szentendre scriptorium in the early eighteenth century.

Many of the manuscripts generally belong to the Moldavian trend of Balkan ornament. Two Gospels of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (F^o Eccl. Slav. 17 and 3) demonstrate some of its best examples, even if the decoration of the latter was left unfinished. The quality of the earlier codex was the obvious reason for the losses it has suffered, as only one of its original four headpieces has survived. As for the rest of the manuscripts, they show various local transformations of Balkan ornament. Two other manuscripts represent a pattern in which borders around the text on the opening page distinguish them from the standard South-Slavonic decoration, but are very common in Ukrainian manuscripts of the sixteenth century. Archaic patterns, inherited from the Slavonic tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are also represented by the ornament, as is the teratological headpiece in 4^o Eccl. Slav. 4, known from South-Slavonic and Russian prototypes.

Though left to the end of this brief survey, the only illustrated Gospel must be given attention too. In F^o Eccl. Slav. 6, from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the four whole-page portraits of the Evangelists with red haloes on yellow background are preserved intact, set before each of the Gospels. Their bright coloring, simple tempera technique and rather naïve stylistic features point to a local replica of a more representative model, though different from the late Palæologian versions of the Evangelists as reflected by numerous Russian and Moldavian copies of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The location of the workshop that produced the illumination is still uncertain but a later inscription recording the gift of the manuscript to St Michael's Church до села Черна (Čierna nad Tisou?) could be taken into consideration.

A few words should finally be said about the art of binding applied to many of the codices. It is not out of place to remark here that a great number of the bindings have been restored by preserving the original boards with new leather added to supply the missing parts, onto which the original leather has been pasted. One could speak in this respect of a Hungarian school of binding



The Slavonic Cyrillic Codices of the National Széchényi Library

restoration since the 1950s, whose merits are confirmed once more by the work done in the laboratory of Széchényi library. Once again the Serbian miscellany should be mentioned in first place because its binding is a product of Oriental craftsmanship. Examples of Balkan Christian books set in Turkish bindings are not unknown, but still they are very rare, which makes our witness even more valuable. As Ágnes Kacziba has pointed out, the greatest number of Muslim “mücellits” (bookbinders) worked in Sarajevo, but whether the codex was given to them is hard to say without more evidence.¹⁵

Two other manuscripts, F^o Eccl. Slav. 1 and 3, with stamps arranged on the leather in typologically similar compositions, represent another stylistic group characterized by the dense arrangement of medallions practically leaving no free space on either cover. Rich decorations of such a kind, for which golden tooling is used, are known from South Russian books of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Manuscripts bound in this fashion might have been intended as special donations to a church or a person but unfortunately there are no colophons or inscriptions to support such an assumption. Most of the tooling implements used reveal the cohesion of Western and Eastern patterns, so typical for the late “*alla greca*” bindings, but in these cases the eclectic design is a direct result of the communication between people in a mixed Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic milieu.

Although the catalogue is being first published in book form, the text of the book is generated from the electronic records which are the primary form of the catalogue, and may form the basis for subsequent work. This is particularly important when dealing with a collection of manuscripts which is small (whether in comparison with the rest of the holdings of the OSZK or with collections of Slavonic Cyrillic manuscripts held elsewhere), and the study of which must therefore be integrated into wider researches. To ensure permanence, platform-independence and portability, the records are created in XML format. In terms of the structure of the descriptions, we have endeavored to adhere to the best practice in current manuscript studies, in which there have been considerable advances in recent years. Since the discipline of computer-assisted manuscript studies is yet in its infancy, there is still no standard for the construction of electronic descriptions. Attempts were made to devise one in the form of the EU-funded MASTER project (1999–2001), but the resulting DTD has proved quite unsuitable for our purposes: it is impossible, using it, to produce a description which would answer to the *de facto* standards of

¹⁵ Ágnes Kacziba, *Budimpeštanski rukopis Hristofora Račanina (Sadržaj, paleografski opis i pravopis)* (The Budapest manuscript of Christopher Račanin [Contents, a paleographic description and spelling]), (Szeged, 1999).



Ralph Cleminson, Elissaveta Moussakova, and Nina Voutova

manuscript description which currently exist. Extensive modifications have therefore been made to create a new DTD, drawing largely on experience gained in the *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature*¹⁶ and the description of early-printed cyrillic books in the British Isles. We may therefore hope that in addition to making the Slavonic cyrillic holdings of the OSZK finally available to the scholarly community, the cataloguing work will also represent a small advance in the application of new technology to manuscript studies in general.

¹⁶ See Anisava Miltenova – Andrej Bojadžiev, “An Electronic Repertory of Medieval Slavic Literature and Letters: a Suite of Guidelines,” *Medieval Slavic Manuscripts and SGML: Problems and Perspectives*, (Sofia, 2000), 44–68.



RESIDENT FACULTY AND INSTRUCTORS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, PAPERS READ AT CONFERENCES, AND ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES IN 2001/2002

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Publications

- ✂ “Schlußwort: Aufhebbare Schlagbäume zwischen Disziplinen?” *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 32 [=Unaufhebbare Pluralität der Kulturen?, M. Borgolte, Hrsg.] (2001): 61–8.
- ✂ “Probleme einer vergleichenden Betrachtung mittelalterlicher Eliten in Osteuropa,” in M. Borgolte Hg. *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs*. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 49–64.
- ✂ “Magyar királyi jelvények a középkorban (Hungarian royal insignia in the Middle Ages),” *A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értésítője. Acta Musei Militaris in Hungaria*, 4 [= “Kard és Koszorú”. Ezer év magyar uralmi és katonai jelképei] (2001): 17–25.
- ✂ “Új könyvek, új viták az ezredik év Közép-Európájáról (New debates, new books on Central Europe around 1000 A.D.),” in *Szent István és az államalapítás* (St. Stephen and the foundation of the state). ed. L. Veszprémy, (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 349–58.
- ✂ “Studien zum Kleinadel Ostmitteleuropas im Mittelalter: Proben aus der Werkstatt junger Historiker” [Preface to research dossier] “Nobility in Medieval Central Europe—A Comparative Approach” containing 10 papers edited by J.M. Bak, written by participants of a research project 1996–99, led by J.M. Bak and supported by CEU Research Grant, *East-Central Europe/l’Europe du centre-est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 29 (2002, 1–2): 131–4, resp. 135–248.
- ✂ [review of] “János Rainer M., Nagy Imre,” *Budapesti Könyvszemle* (BUKSZ) 14 (2002/3): 262–4.
- ✂ [review of] “Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*,” *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung* 51 (2002): 133–4.

Papers and lectures

- ✂ “Lage und Probleme der Mediävistik im östlichen Mitteleuropa,” round-table at the conference on *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn, October 12, 2001.
- ✂ “Reference works on paper and on the internet for medieval studies,” *Workshop of Young Historians' Association of Belarus*, Grodno, October 2001.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “Growth of literacy in Central Europe: The Hungarian example”, Lecture at the Institute of Croatian History, Zagreb, November 2001.
- ✂ “Az előző millennium ikonográfiája: a Feszty körkép (Iconography of the last millennium: the Feszty-Panorama),” *Millenniumi konferencia* (Millennium conference), Open Society Archives, Central European University, Budapest, February 22–23, 2002.
- ✂ “Medievalists and the debate on political theology,” *CEU Medieval Studies Interdisciplinary Workshop* on “Religion and Rulership,” February, 2002.
- ✂ “Images of the ‘Defeated Slavs’ in the historical iconography of nineteenth-century Hungary,” *Southern Slavic Conference*, Dayton Beach, FLA, March, 2002.
- ✂ “The privileges of the emperors vis-a-vis ‘national kingdoms’ in medieval Western Europe,” *Second International Conference on Hierarchy and Power*, St. Petersburg, July 7, 2002.
- ✂ “Symbolic and non-legal legitimization of rulership,” *Workshop on Power and Legitimization*, ESF, Madrid, September 5, 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Member, Editorial Board of the journals *Budapest Review of Books* (Budapest), *Majestas* (Münster), *Journal of Medieval History* (New York/Amsterdam), *East-Central Europe/Europe du centre-est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* (Idyllwild/Budapest)
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Publications

- ✂ [with Marija Mogorović Crljenko] *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)
- ✂ [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.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “The International Community’s Role in Education Reforms,” in *History Teaching in Southeast Europe – Present and Future*, (CD), (Athens: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2002), 1-4.
- ✂ “Habsburzi i Hrvati” (Habsburgs and Croats), *Kolo* 12 (2002, 3): 251–352.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Dean, Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb
- ✂ President, Croatian National Committee for Historical Sciences
- ✂ Member, advisory board of the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* (Vienna) and *Österreichische Osthefte* (Vienna)
- ✂ Member, editorial board of the following journals: *Croatian Studies Review* (Sidney), *Podravina* (Koprivnica) and *Hrvatski zemljopis* (Croatian Geography, Zagreb-Koprivnica)
- ✂ Chief editor, *OTIVM*, Journal of everyday history

ALICE CHOYKE

Senior Instructor, Ph.D., SUNY, Binghamton
Academic writing consultation, archaeozoology
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Publications

- ✂ [with L. Bartosiewicz] “Archaeozoology in Hungary,” in *Archaeofauna*, (October 2002): 117–129.
- ✂ [ed. together with H. Buitenhuis, H., M. Mashkour, and A.H. Al-Shiyab] *Archaeozoology of the Near East V.A.* (Groningen: ARC Publication 62, 2002)

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Cultural Identity in Middle Bronze Age Hungary: Százhalombatta-Földvár and the Vатья culture,” (presentation with M. Vretemark and S. Sten); “Archaeozoology and the Transition from Socialism to Capitalism,” both lectures at the *International Council of Archaeozoology*, 9th Conference Durham, August 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Development of webpage for Worked Bone Research Group (WBRG) with Dr. Prof. Jörg Schibler, Institute of Archaeobiology at the University of Basel, Switzerland

GYÖRGY GERÉBY

Visiting Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest
Medieval philosophy and theology, logic, Greek-Latin interactions, patristics
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Publications

- ✂ “A mentális nyelv a nagyskolasztikában. Ockham, Lawtoni Hugo és Crathorn az 1320-as években” (Mental language in high scholasticism: Ockham, Hugh of Lawton)



Resident Faculty and Instructors

and Crathorn in the 1320s), in *Érvek és kontextusok*. (Arguments and contexts), ed. M. Ujvári (Budapest: Gondolat, 2003), 58-98.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Duns Scot sur le *filioque*,” Lecture, first in Frankfurt, September 2001 (*Religiöse Apologien, philosophische Argumentation* research project-conference), and at the EHESS, Paris, January 17, 2002.
- ✂ “Le débat sur la vision béatifique,” Lecture at the EHESS, Paris, January 30, 2002.
- ✂ “The two sons of the one father: the salvation-historical interpretation of Luke 15: 11–32,” *Religiöse Apologien, philosophische Argumentation*, research project-conference, Frankfurt, July 2002.
- ✂ Three lectures at the University of Cluj (Romania) on Latin and Greek theological interactions in the 13th–14th c., May 2002.

Fellowships

- ✂ One month at the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, and two months at the Maison des Sciences de l’Homme (Paris), Spring 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Acting Ph.D. director for the Medieval Studies Dept. in the absence of I. Perczel.
- ✂ Thesis Pre-evaluation Board, Institute of Philosophy, ELTE.

GERHARD JARITZ

Professor, Dr. Phil., Graz

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

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Publications

- ✂ [ed.], *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, vols. 45 and 46.
- ✂ “Krems im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: zur sozialen Ordnung der Dinge,” in *1000 Jahre Krems – am Fluss der Zeit*, ed. Willibald Rosner (Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde, 24), (St. Pölten: Niederösterreichisches Institut für Landeskunde, 2001), 248–256.
- ✂ “*Ira Dei*, Material Culture, and Behavior in the Late Middle Ages: Evidence from German-speaking Regions,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2002): 53–66.
- ✂ “Nähe und Distanz als Gebrauchsfunktion spätmittelalterlicher religiöser Bilder,” in *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*. ed. Klaus Schreiner (Munich: Fink Verlag, 2002), 331–346.
- ✂ [with Helmut Eberhard] “Der Große Mariazeller Wunderaltar und seine Bedeutung aus kulturhistorischer Sicht.” in „... da half Maria aus aller Not“. *Der Große Mariazeller Wunderaltar aus der Zeit um 1520*. ed. Walter Brunner (Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 2002), 5–8.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “Alltag in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt: Darstellung, Norm, Ideal und Praxis,” in *Modus vivendi*, ed. Raimo Pullat (Vana Tallinn XII (XVII)) (Tallinn: Estopol, 2002), 52–62.
- ✂ “Die visuelle ‘Nähe’ des heiligen Fürbitters Wolfgang,” in *Das Mittelalter im Bild* (Historische Sozialkunde. Geschichte – Fachdidaktik – Politische Bildung, 2/2002), (Vienna: Verein für Historische Sozialkunde, 2002), 38–41.
- ✂ “Duke ndërtuar veten dhe të tjerët. Imazhet e mesjetës së vonë dhe krijimi i identiteteve. (Constructing oneself and the others. Late medieval images and the creation of identities),” *Ekskluzive* 28 (Prishtinë, August 2002): 60-63.
- ✂ “Vita materiale e spiritualità. Monachesimo e aspetti della vita quotidiana nel tardo medioevo,” in *Il Monachesimo Benedettino in Friuli in Età Patriarcale*, ed. Cesare Scaloni (Fonti e ricerche per la storia della chiesa in Friuli, 3), (Udine: Forum, 2002), 141–150.
- ✂ “Text²-Vernetzungen im Spätmittelalter,” in *Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000*, vol. 5 (Bern et al.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2002), 35–42.
- ✂ “Fear and Fascination: Late Medieval German Perceptions of the Turks Revisited.” *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 46 (2002): 40–47.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Le décor de la maison urbaine entre l’espace privé et l’espace public (Europe Centrale, XIVe–XVe siècle).” *Société d’Archéologie Médiévale, VIIIe congrès international*, Paris, October 2001.
- ✂ “Le langage du vêtement dans l’espace urbain (l’Europe Centrale, XIVe–XVe siècles),” *Le verbe et l’image. Les représentations du monde du travail et des élites dans la ville médiévale*, Colloque international, Louvain, October 2001.
- ✂ “Patterns of an Image: the Late Medieval Representation of Emotions,” *37th International Medieval Congress*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 2002.
- ✂ “Der Mariazeller Wunderaltar, oder: Zeichen der ‚Allmacht‘ der Gottesmutter,” *Alma Mater Austriae et Magna Domina Hungarorum*, International Conference Esztergom – Mariazell, Esztergom, May 2002.
- ✂ “In search of patterns and contexts. Computer-supported analysis in medieval history,” Department of History, University of Grodno, Belarus, May 2002.
- ✂ “Funerals and prestige in the late Middle Ages,” *International Medieval Congress, Leeds*, July 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Member, program committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds
- ✂ Member, editorial board of *The Medieval Review*, Kalamazoo
- ✂ Research project director, “Conflicts, control, and concessions. Project on East Central European evidence in the Vatican Archives of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary.”



Resident Faculty and Instructors

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Greek and Latin philology, history of ancient theatre
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Publications

- ✂ “La magie dans l’Odyssée,” in *La Magie dans l’Antiquité grecque tardive*. Les Mythes. I–III. ed. A. Moreau et J.-C. Turpin (Montpellier, 2000–2001), II.: 185–198.
- ✂ “Akhilleusz haragja az Íliaszban” (The anger of Achilles in the Iliad), in *Pannonbalmi Szemle* 10 (2002, 1): 63–87.

Papers and lectures

- ✂ “Les vêtements dans la tragédie grecque,” Colloque sur les vêtements dans l’Antiquité et dans le Moyen Age, Paris, Université de Paris X, Nanterre, April 2002.

Academic and professional services

- ✂ Professeur invité, Université de Paris X, Nanterre, February 2002
- ✂ Membership, editorial board of *Kentron*, Revue du Monde Antique et de Psychologie Historique, Caen

GÁBOR KLANICZAY

Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest
Comparative study of sainthood, popular religion, heresy, witchcraft, historical anthropology of medieval and early modern Europe
E-mail: klanicz@ceu.hu

Publications

- ✂ [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) pp. 501; Postface, pp. 479–491.
- ✂ *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. translated by Éva Pálmai, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. 400.
- ✂ “Szent László ‘csodás’ tettei a krónikáinkban (The miraculous deeds of St. Ladislav in our chronicles),” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2001): 393–410.
- ✂ “Bronisław Geremek—A Laudatio,” *Budapest Review of Books* 11 (2001): 75.
- ✂ [review of] “Nora Berend At the Gate of Christendom,” *Annales HSS* 57 (2002): 809–812.
- ✂ “The Decline of Witches and the Rise of Vampires,” in Darren Oldridge ed., *The Witchcraft Reader*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 387–398.
- ✂ “Orgy Accusations in the Middle Ages,” in Mihály Hoppál and Eszter Csonka-Takács eds., *Eros in Folklore*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, European Folklore Institute, 2002), 38–55.
- ✂ “A Collegium Budapest tizedik éve (The tenth year of Collegium Budapest),” *Magyar Tudomány* (2002/7): 918–923.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

- ✂ “Rex Iustus – a keresztény királyság szent megalapítója (Rex iustus – the holy founder of the Christian kingdom),” in László Veszprémy ed., *Szent István és az államalapítás* (St Stephen and the state foundation) (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 107–130.
- ✂ “Le stigmate di santa Margherita d’Ungheria: immagini e testi,” *Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna* I (2002): 16–31.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Royal Sainthood in the Middle Ages: Old Problems and New Approaches,” *Kings in Heaven and on Earth*, University of St. Andrews, November 17–18, 2001.
- ✂ “Les lieux des miracles,” *Espace, frontières et identités en Europe*, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, Paris – Collegium Budapest, November 22–24, 2001.
- ✂ “Szentkultusz a középkori Magyarországon” (Cult of saints in medieval Hungary), Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, January 19, 2002.
- ✂ “A szent királyok kultuszának millenniumi feltámadása” (The millennial resurrection of the cult of royal saints), *Millenniumi konferencia* (Millennium conference), Open Society Archives, Central European University, Budapest, February 22–23, 2002.
- ✂ “Ruhákról” (On dresses), *Tárgyak a társadalomban. Tárgykultúra Magyarországon* (Objects in societies, the culture of objects in Hungary), Magyar Iparművészeti Egyetem, April 18, 2002.
- ✂ “Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses – A Book Presentation” *Majestas. An International Association for the Study of Rulership, 37th International Congress of Medieval Studies*, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, May 6, 2002.
- ✂ “A csodatörténetek retorikája a szentté avatási perekben és a legendákban” (The rhetorics of the miracle accounts in canonisation trials and legends), *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat* (Religion, rhetorics, state-consciousness), Debrecen, May 23–25, 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Rector and Permanent Fellow of Collegium Budapest, 1997–2002
- ✂ Permanent Fellow of Collegium Budapest, 2002 –
- ✂ Director of the Ph.D. Program, Dept. of Medieval Studies, 2002 –
- ✂ Member of CEU Senate Committees (Strategic Planning, Appointments, Doctoral)
- ✂ Member of the International Advisory Council of the CEU Humanities Center
- ✂ Member of the Scientific Committee of the Socio-Economic Research Conference 2001, organised by the DG Research of the European Commission
- ✂ Member of the Curatorium, Hungarian Soros Foundation, 2001 –
- ✂ Member of the editorial board, *Budapesti Könyvszemle—BUKSZ* (*Budapest Review of Books*)
- ✂ Co-editor of the series *Mikrotörténelem* (Microhistory) at the Osiris Publishing House (with Gyula Benda and István Szíjjártó)
- ✂ Co-editor of the series *Central European Medieval Texts* at CEU Press (with János M. Bak, Urszula Borkowska, and Giles Constable)



Resident Faculty and Instructors

JÓZSEF LASZLOVSZKY

Associate Professor, Dr. Phil., Budapest

Medieval archaeology, monastic and mendicant architecture, medieval settlement systems, history of material culture

E-mail: laszlovj@ceu.hu

Publications

- ✂ [ed.] *Pomáz. Természeti kincseink, történelmünk, kulturális örökségünk.* (Pomáz. Our natural treasures, history, cultural heritage). (Pomáz, 2001.)
- ✂ “ Régészeti emlékek Pomázzról (Archaeological finds from Pomáz),” in *Pomáz. Természeti kincseink, történelmünk, kulturális örökségünk* (Pomáz. Our natural treasures, history, cultural heritage). Ed. József Laszlovszky. (Pomáz, 2001), 27–33.
- ✂ [with Gábor Virágos] “Pomáz a középkorban (Pomáz in the Middle Ages),” in *Pomáz. Természeti kincseink, történelmünk, kulturális örökségünk* (Pomáz. Our natural treasures, history, cultural heritage). Ed. József Laszlovszky. (Pomáz, 2001), 27–51.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “The Three Monastic Regions of Europe,” *The First Order: Discourse and Devotional Patterns in East Central Europe*, International Conference:14th–18th centuries. Cluj, September 2001.
- ✂ “Reconstructing Ancient Boundaries: Problems and Methodologies,” *Conference of the Trans-National Database and Atlas of Saints’ Cults*. TASC-CEU, Budapest, October, 2001.
- ✂ “Medieval Ecclesiastic Boundaries and Monuments in the Area of Budapest,” Field trip presentation in the *Conference of the Trans-National Database and Atlas of Saints’ Cults*. TASC-CEU, Budapest, October, 2001.
- ✂ “Espace urbain, ecclésiastique et royal dans le Medium Regni de la Hongrie médiévale,” *Colloque Franco-Hongrois: Espace, frontières et identités de l’Europe*. Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, Paris, November, 2001.
- ✂ “The Role of Text and Image in the New Systems of Distance Learning,” Plenary session speaker. *Historical Studies and the Culture of Intellectuals*. Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, December, 2001.
- ✂ “Millenáris régészet: Visegrád – Esztergom – Székesfehérvár. (Archaeology of the Millenium: Visegrád – Esztergom – Székesfehérvár),” *Millenium conference*, Open Society Archive-CEU, February 22, 2002.
- ✂ “The Archaeology of Medieval Royal Residences,” and “Medieval Material Culture and Archaeology,” *Seminarium Archaeologicum Tirnovense*. Dept. of Archaeology, University of Veliko Turnovo, April 2002.
- ✂ “Medieval Royal Centres,” Institute of Archaeology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Sofia, April, 2002.
- ✂ “Monastic Archaeology in Central and Western Europe,” Dept. of Archaeology, University of Sofia, April, 2002.
- ✂ “Recherches archéologiques sur la Hongrie médiévale – archéologie médiévale en Hongrie,” Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon, May, 2002.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Member of the Academic Senate of CEU 2001–2002
- ✂ Director, Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies Ph.D. Program of the Historical Doctoral School at ELTE
- ✂ Member of the State Exam Committee in the 'Applied Geographical Information System' Postgraduate Program, University of Technical and Economic Studies, Budapest
- ✂ Organizer of the HESP supported educational program "Shaping of Confessional Identities in Central Europe" with the Faculty of History at Cluj University
- ✂ Organizer of the "small grants projects" with Russian universities to create virtual museums as educational tools
- ✂ Member of CEU Senate Committees (Academic Program Organization and Travel Grants, Library)
- ✂ President of the Hungarian National Eötvös Scholarship Curatorium 2002
- ✂ President of the Hungarian Scholarship Committee (Magyar Ösztöndíj Bizottság) 2002
- ✂ Member of the programming committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 2001
- ✂ Organizer, Conference of the Trans-National Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults. TASC-CEU, Budapest, October, 2001.
- ✂ Organizer, *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, CEU Summer University Course, July 2002.
- ✂ 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)
- ✂ Director, excavation of the medieval royal chapel of St. Frambourg at Senlis, France

BALÁZS NAGY

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Economic history and medieval social history
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Papers and Lectures

- ✂ "Monasticism and economics: a comparative analysis of medieval monastic orders," "Digital textual databases in the study of European Middle Ages," within *The Shaping of Confessional Identities in Central and Eastern Europe (14th to 18th century)* program, University of Cluj, May 30–31, 2002.
- ✂ [session organizer] "Urbanisation in medieval Central Europe: case studies of frontier territories,"



Resident Faculty and Instructors

☞ [paper read] “Central European towns in the reports of medieval travelers,” [*Leeds, 10th International Medieval Congress*, July 8–11, 2002.]

Academic and Professional Service

☞ Member, CEU Library Committee

☞ Member, Programming Committee, International Medieval Congress, Leeds

ISTVÁN PERCZEL

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Patristics, Byzantine theology, Late Antique and Byzantine philosophy, Eastern Christian studies, Greek and Syriac manuscripts

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Publications

☞ [translation, commentaries, introduction, study and apparatus of] Saint John Chrysostom, *On the Incomprehensible and the Glory of the Only-Begotten: Nine Homilies Against the Arians* (Aranyszájú Szent János, *A Felfoghatatlanról és az Egyszülött Dicsőségéről. Kilenc prédikáció az arianusok ellen*), (Budapest: Odigitria-Osiris, 2002), pp. 335.

☞ [text edition on CD-ROM, with the contribution of Artur Feczko, Tivadar Feczko, and Tamás Sajó] *Syriac Manuscript Collections in Malabar/ Kūnōšē dak^htōb^hē Sūryōyē d-Malabar I: Presentation CD* (containing the facsimile editions and catalogue descriptions of three Syriac MSS from Kerala, India [*Pampakuda 239, Thrissur 46, and SEERI 12*]), Budapest and Kottayam, India: CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies and Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 2002.

☞ “Pseudo-Dionysius and Palestinian Origenism,” in *The Sabbate Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98.) (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 261–282.

☞ “Notes sur la pensée systématique d’Evagre le Pontique,” in *Origene e l’alessandrinismo cappadoce (III–IV secolo): Atti del V Convegno del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su « Origene e la tradizione alessandrina »* (Bari, 20–22 settembre 2000), eds. Mario Girardi and Marcello Marin, (Bari: Edipuglia, 2002), 277–297.

☞ [with A. Palmer] “Description of the Syriac Manuscript *Pampakuda 239* (Kyriakos bar Šamōnā’s Syriac version of the *Dionysian Corpus*),” in *Syriac Manuscript Collections in Malabar/ Kūnōšē dak^htōb^hē Sūryōyē d-Malabar I: Presentation CD*, ed. István Perczel. (Budapest and Kottayam, India: Central European University, Dept. of Medieval Studies and Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 2002.)

☞ [with A. Desreumaux, and A. Palmer] “Description of the Syriac Manuscript *Thrissur 46* (Mēmre for the « Fast of the Ninivites »),” in *Syriac Manuscript Collections in Malabar/ Kūnōšē dak^htōb^hē Sūryōyē d-Malabar I: Presentation CD*, ed. István Perczel. (Budapest and Kottayam, India: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies and Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 2002.)



Resident Faculty and Instructors

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “The Christology of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite,” University of Padova, May 25, 2002.
- ✂ “Manuscripts Witnessing Confessional Polemics in Mar Aprem’s Collection in Thrissur,” *Fifth Syriac Conference*, Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, Kottayam, Kerala, India, September 8–14, 2002.
- ✂ “Manichaeism in Origenism? The Case of the Book of the Holy Hierotheus,” *Annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and the American Academy of Religion*, Toronto, November 24–27, 2002.

Grants and Fellowships

- ✂ Dumbarton Oaks Project Grant for the international team-project “Saving the Manuscripts of the Syrian Christians in India,” February, 2002.
- ✂ Field-trip to Kerala, India, study, cataloguing and digitalizing Syriac manuscripts. Financed by CEU with the contribution of the St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, Kottayam, January–March 2002.
- ✂ Visiting Fellowship, Istituto Trentino di Cultura, Centro per le Scienze Religiose, Trento, Italy, April–May, 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Visiting Professor: Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, Kottayam, Kerala, India. Course on Syriac Legal Literature, February–March, 2002.
- ✂ Member, Advisory Board of *Eastern Christianity* book series (Louaize, Lebanon and Piscataway, NJ: Notre Dame University and Gorgias Press).
- ✂ Member, Editorial Board of *Iran and the Caucasus* (Leiden: Brill).
- ✂ Associate Member, Centre de l’Etude des Religions du Livre, Paris, C.N.R.S., École Pratique des Hautes Etudes).
- ✂ Foreign correspondent, *Adamantius: Newsletter of the Italian Research Group on “Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition”* Università di Pisa
- ✂ Editor of *Odigitria Books*, Budapest: Odigitria and Osiris

JUDITH RASSON

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Cultural anthropology, material culture, archaeology, academic writing
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Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Maya Kingship Ideology in the Light of Recent Research,” in the Department of Medieval Studies *Interdisciplinary Workshop: Religion and Rulership*, February 2002
- ✂ “Cultural Anthropology for Archaeologists,” “Material Culture for Archaeologists” – Two guest lecture series at ELTE during the academic year
- ✂ “Pits and Site Formation Processes in the Neolithic and Bronze Age of Hungary,” *Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists*, Thessalonike (2002).



Resident Faculty and Instructors

Grant

- ☞ University of California Research Expedition Program (UREP) grant for archaeological research project employing volunteers at the Százhalombatta Archaeological Expedition (SAX) project, Hungary

Academic and Professional Services

- ☞ Co-Director, American volunteer excavator program of the Százhalombatta Archaeological Expedition (SAX) project
- ☞ Curated, designed, and hung exhibit on California Indians (*San Nicolas-sziget (Kalifornia) indiánjai "Egy kis világ nagy túlélői"*) at the Matrica Museum, Százhalombatta (with Helen Wells)

MARIANNE SÁGHY

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Late antique and medieval intellectual and social history, political history
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Publications

- ☞ *Versek és vértanúk. A római mártírkultusz Damasus pápa korában, 366–384* (Poems and martyrs. The cult of Roman martyrs in the age of Pope Damasus, 366–384) (Budapest: Kairosz, 2003), pp. 334.

Papers and Lectures

- ☞ "A la recherche de Saint Martin en Hongrie: hagiographie, traditions, coutumes," Société martinienne, Tours, France, November 11, 2001.
- ☞ "Angevin Hagiography: Recent Research in Hungary," *Hagiographische Kreise* — Akademie der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart, Stuttgart-Hohenheim, Germany, April 23–24, 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ☞ Academic director, Institut Hongrois de Paris

MARCELL SEBŐK

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Late medieval and Renaissance cultural history, Humanism and Reformation, historical anthropology
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Publications

- ☞ [ed. with Katalin Szende] *Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU*, Vol. 8. 2002, (Budapest: 2002), pp. 348.



Resident Faculty and Instructors

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ [moderator of the discussion] Peter Burke, “Reflections on the rise of the vernaculars in Renaissance Europe,” round-table discussion organized with CEU Humanities Center, CEU, January 28, 2002.
- ✂ “What was an Intellectual in Sixteenth-century Hungary?” *Terra Scepusiensis – Conference of the Polish-Slovak Historians’ Association*, Levoča-Slovakia, November 2002.

Academic and Professional Service

- ✂ Academic coordinator, Study Center for the Early Modern Republic of Letters – a Dutch-Hungarian research cooperation
- ✂ Member, CEU Senate
- ✂ Member, editorial board, *European Review of History*
- ✂ Chief editor, KonTextus.hu, online culture and humanities
- ✂ Founding editor, Litera.hu, online contemporary literature

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Publications

- ✂ [ed.] *Guide to Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe*. (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies, 2001) (CEU Medievalia 2.)
- ✂ “A Fájdalmas Szentháromság (*Notgottes*) ábrázolásai a középkori Magyarországon (Representations of the *Notgottes* in medieval Hungary),” *Ars Hungarica* XXX (2002): 5–24.
- ✂ “Remarks on the filigree of the Holy Crown of Hungary,” *Acta Historiae Artium* XLIII (2002): 44–49.
- ✂ [review of] “*Tesori della Croazia – Blago Trogirskih Riznica*,” *Ars Hungarica* XXX (2002): 211–214.
- ✂ [review of] “*Paradisum plantavit*. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary,” *Acta Historiae Artium* XLIII (2002): 179–182.

Papers and Lectures

- ✂ “Between chronicle and legendary: Image cycles of St. Ladislav in 14th-century manuscripts,” *International conference on “The medieval chronicle*,” University of Utrecht, July 2002.

Fellowship

- ✂ DAAD fellowship at Munich, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, research project “Architectural connections between Bavaria and Hungary in the Eleventh century,” April–June, 2002



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Publications

- ✂ “Testaments and Testimonies. Orality and Literacy in Composing Last Wills in Late Medieval Hungary” in: *The Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context*. Ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter. *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, Sonderband XII = *CEU Medievalia* Vol. 3., Krems and Budapest, 49–66.
- ✂ “*Fidelitas* és politika. Kihez és miért volt hűséges Sopron városa a középkorban?” (*Fidelitas* and politics. To whom and why was the town of Sopron faithful in the Middle Ages?), *Soproni Szemle* 55 (2001): 343–355.
- ✂ [review of] *Analecta Mediaevalia I. Tanulmányok a középkorról* (Studies on the Middle Ages.) Ed. Tibor Neumann. Budapest: Argumentum, 2001. *Soproni Szemle* 55 (2001): 450–453.
- ✂ [ed. with Marcell Sebők] *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, Vol. 8 (Budapest: CEU Department of Medieval Studies, 2002).
- ✂ [series editor] *Bél Mátyás: Sopron vármegye leírása I./Descriptio Comitatus Semproniensis I.* Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ödenburg, Reihe C/Bd. 2. Ed. Katalin Kincses. Sopron: Soproni Levéltár, 2001.

Papers and lectures

- ✂ “A demográfia határán. Nemzedékek közötti kapcsolatok vizsgálatának lehetősége későközépkori források alapján” [On the fringes of demography. Research on intergenerational relations on the basis of late medieval sources] *Meeting of the Commission for Historical Demography of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Szeged, November 9, 2001.
- ✂ “State of Research on Urban History in Hungary” Report presented to the *annual meeting of the International Commission for the History of Towns*. Toruń, September 11–15, 2002.

Academic and Professional Services

- ✂ Member, International Commission for the History of Towns/ Commission internationale pour l’histoire des villes
- ✂ Editor-in-chief, local history quarterly *Soproni Szemle*
- ✂ General editor, series *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ödenburg*



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Publications

- ✂ [editor of] *Szent István és az államalapítás* (St. Stephen and the foundation of the state). (Budapest: Osiris, 2002.)
- ✂ “Die Ostmark (Bayern-Österreich) und Ungarn,” in *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Osteuropa*. Ed. F. Glatz. (Budapest: Europa Institute, 2002), 98–112.
- ✂ “Friedensbegriff um 1300 in Ungarn,” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2002): 38–40.
- ✂ “A 12. századi magyarországi kódexírás alakulása (Development of codex writing in twelfth-century Hungary),” in *Rendi társadalom – polgári társadalom*. Ed. Csaba Sasfi. (Szombathely: Megyei Levéltár, 2001), 53–60.

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