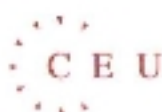


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VOL. 11 2005



Central European University
Department of Medieval Studies
Budapest





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Edited by
Katalin Szende and Judith A. Rasson



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Cover illustration

Saint Sophia with Her Daughters from the Spiš region, ca. 1480–1490.
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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 11 of our *Annual* presents some of the results of the academic year 2003–2004, when the Department of Medieval Studies entered the second decade of its existence. As usual, the first section contains articles based on MA theses or papers presented by our students at major international conferences. This year's thematic block arose from a series of sessions on *Nomads at the Frontier of Christian Europe* arranged by our faculty as part of the 2004 special thematic strand *Clashes of Cultures* at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. For the second time after Jonathan Shepard's contribution, published last year, the collection of studies is enriched by a guest article, this time by Valery Rees, a scholar of Renaissance literature and art.

Part II of the yearbook follows the patterns from last year concerning the limited number of issues presented here. This does not mean a restriction in the variety of its contents, however, since the abstracts of no less than 14 newly defended PhD dissertations cover almost all fields of medieval studies. For information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, please consult our newsletter, the *Medieval News*, and our refreshed and extended website (<http://medstud.ceu.hu>). At the end of this volume, we have included an index of articles and other materials published in the *Annuaals* during the last ten years. As another technical innovation, from the previous volume (Vol. 10) onwards, we also publish the *Annual* on CD-ROM, with better search possibilities and less demand for shelf-space than the printed version. We would also like to call our readers' attention to the intense publication activity of our department, which is reflected by the growing number of volumes in the *CEU Medievalia* series. More information on this is to be found on the last pages of this volume.

As usual, the editors were helped in the most demanding tasks of copy-editing by a competent and enthusiastic group of PhD students, which included this year Ágnes Flóra, Lovro Kunčević, Jurgita Kunsmanaitė, Petra Mutlová, András Németh, and Eszter Spät. Beside them, we would also like to thank our constant partners in the department's publishing activity, the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House, for turning the manuscripts into a handsome publication.




PART I.

Articles and Studies





LATE ROMAN *BULLAE* AND AMULET CAPSULES IN PANNONIA¹

Magdolna Szilágyi 

Introduction

In Classical Latin sources the term *bullā* indicates any object of round or globular shape, from the knobs on a piece of furniture through the buttons of a belt to lockets worn around the neck.² On the etymology of *bullae* Isidore of Seville says: *Dictae autem ...bullae, quod sint similes rotunditate bullis, quae in aqua vento inflantur.*³ Amulet capsules called *bullae* in Classical texts are therefore necessarily of globular shape. Because globular and tubular amulet capsules had similar functions and use, both are referred to as *bullae* in the archaeological literature. In the present paper I will discuss globular and tubular amulet capsules separately. I will apply the term *bullā* only to denote globular amulet capsules, while by the term amulet capsule I mean the tubular pieces.

In 1732 Francesco Ficoroni completed his dissertation entitled *La bolla d'oro de fanciulli nobili romani e quella de libertini*.⁴ Based on written sources Ficoroni, and many philologists after him, defined the *bullā* as a gold pendant that Roman boys of noble birth wore on a necklace. This definition has become a *topos* by now which requires rectification at some points in the light of recent archaeological investigations. Hans Goette has recently investigated and reinterpreted

¹ This article is a shortened and revised version of my MA thesis, “The Meaning and Use of Bullae in Late Classical Pannonia in their Imperial Context,” (Central European University, 2004). The catalogue of *bullae* and amulet capsules from the thesis has been published elsewhere: Magdolna Szilágyi, “Késő császárkori bullák és amulettkapszulák az Aquincumi Múzeumban” (Bullae and tubular amulet capsules in the Aquincum Museum), *Budapest Régiségei* 38 (2004): 313–333.

² *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* Vol. 2, s.v. “bullā,” 2241–2242; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (henceforth PWRE) Vol. 5, s.v. “bullā,” 1047–1051; Ch. Daremberg, and Edm. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (henceforth: Daremberg-Saglio) Vol. 1, s.v. “bullā,” 754–755.

³ Sanctus Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopus, *Etymologiae* in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series latina 82, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 592–610 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1844–; Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 19.31.11.

⁴ Francesco Ficoroni, *La bolla d'oro de fanciulli nobili romani e quella de libertini* (Rome: Stamperia di Antonio de' Rossi, 1732).

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the use of *bullae* through a close analysis of more than one hundred statues and reliefs.⁵ His survey was based on Western European collections; therefore, his achievements can only be adopted indirectly for Pannonia.

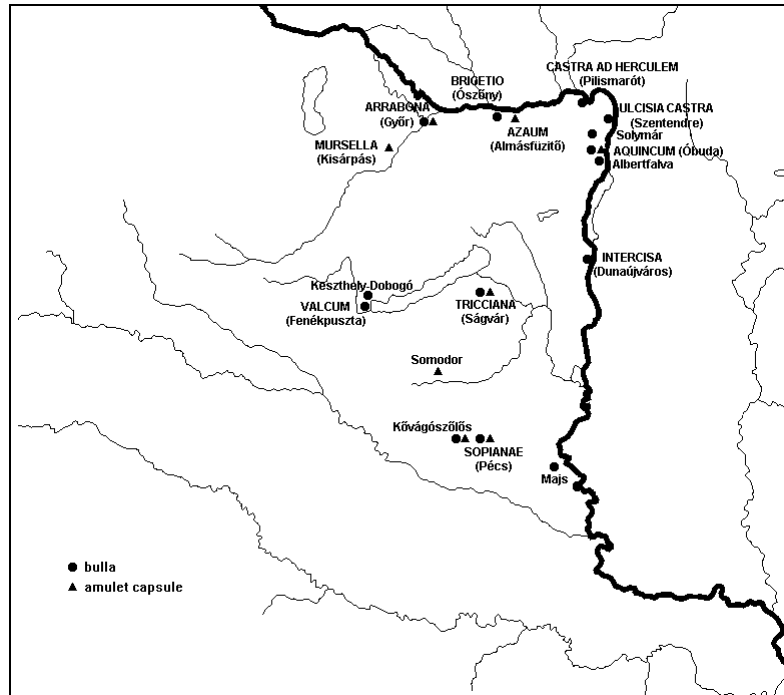


Fig. 1. Sites in Transdanubia where Roman bullae and amulet capsules have been discovered

In Transdanubia, which formed part of Roman Pannonia, seventeen sites have yielded *bullae* and amulet capsules so far (Fig. 1). In archaeological reports and monographs these *bullae* are often merely listed among the grave-goods of cemeteries and not discussed as a group of artifacts. In fact, Intercisa is the only Roman site where *bullae* have been catalogued and analysed in a systematic, scientific way.⁶ The aim of this paper is to make a comprehensive analysis of

⁵ Hans Rupprecht Goette, “Die Bulla” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 186 (1986) (henceforth: Goette, “Die Bulla”): 133–164.

⁶ Mária Alföldi, “Perlen–Ketten–Anhänger,” in *Intercisa (Dunapentele–Széklőváros)*, Vol. 2. *Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit*, ed. Mária Alföldi, László Barkóczi, Jenő Fitz, et. al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1957) (henceforth: *Intercisa* Vol. 2), 440–455; G. Facsar, I. Skoflek, Á. Salamon, “Eine Kapsel Frucht (Antirrhnum) aus Einer Römischen Bulla und



Late Roman *Bullae* and Amulet Capsules in Pannonia

eighty *bullae* and fifteen amulet capsules discovered in Transdanubia to cast light upon their Pannonian use and meaning in the context of the Roman Empire.

The Analysis of *bullae* and Amulet Capsules

The use of *bullae* originated with the Etruscans.⁷ *Bullae* discovered in Etruria were impressive pieces of jewellery made of gold, normally consisting of a round or heart-shaped capsule 4 to 6 cm in diameter and a loop decorated with three emphasized longitudinal ribs. The capsules were often adorned with hammered-out motifs representing mythological scenes,⁸ portraits,⁹ or palm-trees and leaves.¹⁰ Statues, bas reliefs, and other pictorial representations demonstrate that the Etruscans often wore three or more *bullae* strung on a necklace or a bracelet, sometimes together with other pendants. In the Republican and early Imperial periods the *bullae* of the Romans were also large round capsules like those of the Etruscans. However, they were normally plain and decoration was restricted to the loop. From the second century AD onwards even the loops tended to be undecorated.¹¹

Bullen aus Bestattungen von Intercisa,” *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen der Akademie Wissenschaften* 7 (1977): 93–108 (henceforth: Facsar–Skoflek–Salamon, “Eine Kapsel Frucht aus einer Römischen Bulla”).

⁷ “...senex cum toga praetexta bullaque aurea; quo cultu reges soliti sunt esse E[trus]corum...” Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex Libris Pompeii Festi de Significatione Verborum*, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913) (henceforth: Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex Libris Pompeii Festi*), 323; “...Etruscum puero si contigit aurum...” Juvenalis, *Satirae*, Loeb Classical Library Vol. 91 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996) (henceforth: Juvenalis, *Satirae*), 5.164.

⁸ One of the magnificent Etruscan *bullae* is the one decorated with the mythological scene of Daidalos and Ikaros (in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore), see George M. A. Hanfmann, “Daidalos in Etruria,” *American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of Fine Arts* 39. No. 2 (1935): 189–194; Eva Fiesel, “The Inscription on the Etruscan bulla,” *American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of Fine Arts* 39, no. 2 (1935): 195–197; another example of a *bulla* decorated with a mythological scene is the item that bears the scene of Perseus slaying the Medusa (in the Museo Nazionale, Ancona), see Carlo Carducci, *Gold and Silver Treasures of Ancient Italy* (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1963), 18.

⁹ On *bullae* with the portraits of women see Carlo Carducci, *Gold and Silver Treasures of Ancient Italy*, 20–21, Fig. 20b, 21a.

¹⁰ Goette, “Die Bulla,” 141.

¹¹ Goette, “Die Bulla,” 143.

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The earliest *bullae* in Pannonia can be dated to the second century AD.¹² Compared to Western examples, *bullae* from Pannonia are small items with capsules 1.4 to 2.1 cm in diameter. They were normally made of one sheet of metal folded in two after embossing. The obverse of the *bulla* was usually made more bulging than the reverse. The rims of the two convex plates were either soldered or triangular pieces were cut out of the edge of the front plate and the little teeth were bent back to hold the capsule together (Fig. 2). The edges of the capsules were made smooth, finely scalloped, or roughly jagged; however, because of corrosion this cannot always be seen. The loops of *bullae* also tend to be corroded or broken, still, it appears that wide (0.9–1 cm) and short (0.3–0.4 cm) loops were the most common.



Fig. 2. Gold bulla (AQM 51363)

In Pannonia, *bullae* were rarely made of precious metals: out of seventy-five items only four are made of gold and three of silver (Table 1). Gold or silver *bullae* were normally decorated (Figs. 2–3).¹³ In Pannonia the overwhelming majority of *bullae*, sixty-eight items out of seventy-five, were made of bronze.

¹² At Aquincum, three second-century *bullae* have been discovered (AQM 30236, 84.4.312/A, 88.4.32). *Bullae* dated to the late second or early third century are known from Brigetio (Kállay coll. K519 C, K 333a), Majs (grave 25), and Solymár (HNM 125.7).

¹³ The gold *bullae* from Aquincum (AQM 51363, 51472) and Kő (JPM 26.14.1941) have loops adorned with longitudinal ribs. In the case of one *bulla* from Aquincum (AQM 51472) even the capsule was decorated with radiating ribs (Fig. 3). The capsule of the silver *bulla* from grave 141 at Tricciana shows an engraved star-like motif.



Late Roman *Bullae* and Amulet Capsules in Pannonia

The loops were occasionally decorated with longitudinal ribs,¹⁴ but in most cases bronze *bullae* lacked all decoration. Some of the bronze *bullae* have a brown patina, while others are preserved with a lustrous sage or dark green colour as a result of burial. Some ancient bronzes closely resembled the colour and sheen of gold when they were new and well-polished. However, it is impossible to tell now whether the bronze ornaments were always brightly polished to preserve their lustre and resemblance to gold or were allowed to develop a brown patina.¹⁵

Table 1. Material of bullae

Material	No. of pieces	Site (collection, inventory number ¹⁶)
Gold	4	Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 166 (AQM 51363), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 102 (AQM 51472); Brigetio (Basch collection); Kő (JPM 26.14.1941)
Silver	3	Intercisa (grave XXIV/18); Majs (grave 25); Tricciana (grave 141)
Bronze	68	Albertfalva, Hunyadi J. St 18, 2/B (AQM 84.4.312/A), Aquincum (AQM 30236, 37527, 50779, 51026, 51043, 54211), Aquincum, Gas Factory (AQM 54116), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 514/a (AQM 61.1.13), Aquincum, Bogdáni Rd (AQM 82.9.10, 82.9.200, 82.9.215), Aquincum, Csikós St (AQM 82.10.29), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 269 (AQM 87.2.17, 87.2.44), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd – Perényi St (AQM 88.4.32, 88.4.57, 88.4.137), Aquincum, Vályog St (grave 73, grave 41), Aquincum, Pók St (grave 8); Arrabona, Gráb gyár (XJM 53.197.9), Arrabona, Kálvária St (XJM 53.156.80); Brigetio, (Kállay coll. K 519 C, K 333a); Castra ad Herculem (HNM 8/1937–47); Intercisa (HNM 85/1906–410, 14/1907–72, 14/1907–99, 46/1907–37, 46/1907–67, 8/1908–30, 8/1908–47, 28/1908–391, 28/1908–392, 28/1908–393, 90/1908–150, 105/1910–12, 193/1910–20, 194/1910–47, 194/1910–51, 75/1911–42, 75/1911–234, 75/1911–?, 100/1912–?, 1913–?, 97/1913–181, 97/1913–182, 125/1922–34, 125/1922–35, 125/1922–36, 3/1950–129; KSM 2459, 2769, 5514, 5515, 5560; IM 65.11.39.1, 65.11.44.1, 66.1.30.1, 70.1109.5; grave IV/8, grave XX/10); Keszthely-Dobogó (grave 47); Kővágószőlős (JPM R.84.16.8; R.83.103.3); Solymár (HNM 125.7); Tricciana (HNM 62.355.5)

¹⁴ Intercisa (HNM 75/1911–42), Tricciana (HNM 62.355.5)

¹⁵ Catherine Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain. Celtic and Classical Traditions* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996) (henceforth: Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain*), 14.

¹⁶ If the inventory number is unknown or the object is not inventoried the grave number is given in parentheses.



Fig. 3. Gold bulla (AQM 51472)

In contrast to *bullae*, amulet capsules seem to originate from the East. The earliest parallels to Roman amulet capsules are known from Middle Kingdom Egypt. They look essentially the same as the Roman items but they were made to be suspended vertically rather than horizontally.¹⁷ On mummy portraits from Late Roman Egypt, however, they are already depicted horizontally.¹⁸ Similar capsules were made of gold or silver by Syrian and Punic goldsmiths.¹⁹ In the Imperial Period the use of tubular amulet capsules spread throughout the Roman Empire. They even reached the Western provinces of the empire, as is evidenced by finds from Thetford,²⁰ York,²¹ Kastell Vermania,²² Gellep,²³ Autun,²⁴

¹⁷ Catherine Johns and Timothy Potter, *The Thetford Treasure* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1983) (henceforth: Johns–Potter, *The Thetford Treasure*), 99.

¹⁸ Klaus Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und Verwandte Denkmäler* (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1966), Plate 17, Fig. 1; Plate 50, Figs 1–2.

¹⁹ Jacques Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès* (Paris: Arts et Métiers, Graphiques, 1958) (henceforth: Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès*), 57–58.

²⁰ Johns–Potter, *The Thetford Treasure*, 99; Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain*, 104.

²¹ A. MacGregor, *Finds from a Roman Sewer System and an Adjacent Building in Church Street* (York: York Archaeological Trustees, 1976), 10–11, Fig. 8, 72.

²² Jochen Garbsch, “Spättrömische Schatzfunde aus Kastell Vermania” *Germania* 49 (1971): 138, Taf. 2.

²³ Max Siebourg, “Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 10 (1896): 125.

²⁴ n.a. *Autun Augustodunum Capitale des Éduens. Ouvrage Réalisé à partir de l'exposition qui s'est tenue à l'hôtel de ville d'Autun du 16 Mars au Octobre 1985* (Ville d'Autun: Musée Rolin, 1987), 195.



Late Roman *Bullae* and Amulet Capsules in Pannonia

Vertault,²⁵ and Planche.²⁶ In the East the use of amulet capsules continued into the Middle Ages. In Byzantium they were worn by Christians even in the ninth century. In Persia similar tubular pendants were in continuous use until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In North Africa they are still worn.²⁷

In Pannonia, tubular amulet capsules appeared in the third century. It may not be mere coincidence that it was in fact this period that the number of people moving to Pannonia from Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa had risen significantly. The wearing of tubular capsules continued through the Roman period of Pannonia into the Middle and Late Avar periods. The Avars apparently obtained them via their connections with Byzantium, where they were used as containers of reliquaries.²⁸

Table 2. Material of amulet capsules

Material	No. of pieces	Site (collection, inventory number)
Gold	6	Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 166 (AQM 51364), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 89 (AQM 51462), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 102 (AQM 51470), Arrabona (HNM 117/1885); Azaum; Sopiana (HNM 108/1912.18)
Silver	2	Arrabona, Kálvária St 6 (XJM 56.177.13), Mursella, Kőhíd-dűlő (grave 121)
Bronze	6	Kővágószőlős (JPM R.84.16.5); Tricciana (HNM 9/1939/4, 62.357.5, 62.390/2); Somodor, Somodor-puszt (HNM 108/1912.18); Sopiana (JPM 69.69.2–3)

Similarly to their Eastern parallels, amulet capsules in Roman Pannonia were often made of gold or silver (*Table 2*). They were made by folding sheet metal into a cylinder (*Fig. 4*), tetrahedron, hexahedron (*Fig. 5*), or octahedron. A piece of metal was soldered or carefully bent on one end of the tube. After the case was filled with some substance the other end of the case was closed with another piece of metal. Finally one, two or three tabs were soldered around (*Fig. 4*) or on the top of the case (*Fig. 5*). The tabs of gold or silver tubular

²⁵ Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès*, 59.

²⁶ E. Poncet, "Le Trésor de Plance," *Revue Numismatique* Ser. 3^e, 7 (1889): 517–538.

²⁷ Johns–Potter, *The Thetford Treasure*, 99; Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès*, 58, n.1.

²⁸ Adrienn Pásztor, "Adatok a közép-avarkor ékeszerviseletének kérdéséhez" (Data for the problem of wearing jewellery in the Mid-Avar period), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 113 (1986): 129–133, Fig. 12–14; Tivadar Vida, "Heidnische und christliche Elemente der awarenzeitlichen Glaubenswelt. Amulette in der Awarenzeit," *Zalai Múzeum* 11 (2002): 183, Taf. 9.

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amulet capsules were often decorated with ribs, and they were also sometimes adorned with granulation.²⁹

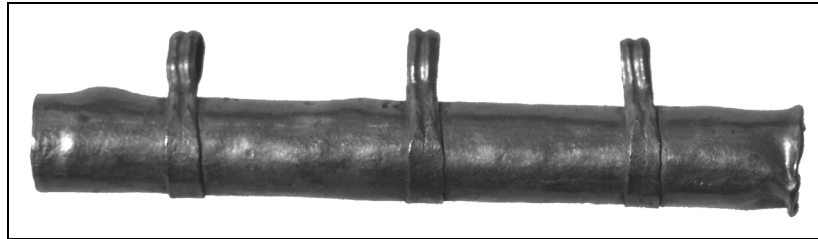


Fig. 4. Cylindrical gold amulet capsule (AQM 51462)



Fig. 5. Hexahedron shaped gold amulet capsule (AQM 51470)³⁰

Contents

Classical sources attest that Romans often wore prophylactic charms (*prae-bia, remedia*)³¹ to cure or prevent illness or to keep away misfortune and the evil eye.³² Amulets that could not be worn as jewellery, such as parts of plants or animals, were often put into a pouch or a capsule (*bullā, capsella, lupinum*), which they wore around the neck. Marcellus Empiricus, for instance, instructs that the eyes

²⁹ Arrabona (HNM 117/1885); Sopianae (HNM 108/1912.18)

³⁰ The photos (Figs. 2–5) were made by Péter Komjáthy, Aquincum Museum, 2004.

³¹ "...prae-bia a praebendo, ut si(n)t tutus, quod sint remedia a collo pueris..." M. Terentius Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, ed. Carolus Odofredus Muellerus (Leipzig: Libraria Weidmanniana, 1833), 7.107; "Praebia remedia dicuntur curan(di) mali remedia videlicet quae curationi(s) causa praebeantur," Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex Libris Pompeii Festi*, 235; "praedia...Verrius vocari ait ea remedia," Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex Libris Pompeii Festi*, 238.

³² N.G.L. Hammond and Howard Hayes Scullard, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), s.v. "amulets," 56.



Late Roman *Bullae* and Amulet Capsules in Pannonia

of a green lizard must be removed, enclosed in a gold box (*lupinum*) or a *bullā*, and hung around the neck if one has inflamed eyes.³³ As a remedy for goitre he suggests that the heart of a lizard should be put in a silver box and worn around the neck.³⁴

Table 3. The contents of bullae

Contents	No. of pieces	Site (collection/inventory number)
Parts of plants	8	Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 269 (AQM 87.2.17), Aquincum, Bécsi Rd-Perényi St (AQM 88.4.137), Aquincum, Vályog St 6 (grave 73); Intercisa (HNM 194/1910–47; grave XXIV/18; KSM 5514, 5515); Keszthely-Dobogó (grave 47)
Cloth	7	Intercisa (grave IV/8; HNM 8/1908–30, 8/1908–47, 28/1908–392, 28/1908–393; IM 65.11.44.1); Sopianae (JPM R.69.5.2)
Both cloth and plant	2	Intercisa (HNM 85/1906–410; KSM 2459)
Silver plate	1	Aquincum, Aranyhegy-árok (AQM 30236)
Coin	1	Aquincum, Aranyhegy-árok (AQM 30236)
Sand	1	Aquincum, Bécsi Rd 102 (AQM 51472)

In Pannonia the remains of textiles and/or parts of plants have been found in the capsules of *bullae* (Table 3). Botanical investigations carried out on the contents of *bullae* from Intercisa showed that some *bullae* held the seed pod of snapdragon (*Antirrhinum majus*).³⁵ Other *bullae* from Intercisa contained parts of plants wrapped in cloth. At Aquincum a raisin³⁶ and rose thorns³⁷ were found in

³³ “Lacerti uiridis, quem ceperis die Iouis lunae uetere mense Septembri aut etiam quocumque alio, oculos erues acu cuprea et intra bullam uel lupinum aureum claudes colloque suspendes; quod remedium quamdiu tecum habueris, oculos non dolebis. Lacertum sane eodem loco, in quo ceperis, dimittes.” Ulpianus Marcellus, *De Medicamentis* in *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, ed. Max Niedermann and Edouard Liechtenhan, Vol. 1, Caput VIII, 110–169 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968) (henceforth: Marcellus, *De Medicamentis*), 8.50.

³⁴ “Contra omnes strumas et feminis et maribus utilissimum est, si cor lacertae uiridis lupino argenteo clausum in collo suspensum semper habeant.” Marcellus, *De Medicamentis*, 15.52.

³⁵ Facsar–Skoflek–Salamon, “Eine Kapsel Frucht (Antirrhinum) aus Einer Römischen Bulla,” 97.

³⁶ The *bullā* (AQM 88.4.137) came from grave 13, graveyard V, of the cemetery of the Military Town at Bécsi Road–Perényi Street. Judit Topál, *Roman Cemeteries of Aquincum*,

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bullae. At Keszthely-Dobogó a *bulła* contained coriander seeds (*Coriandrum sativum*) wrapped in leaves³⁸ and another *bulła* enclosed unidentified pieces of wood.³⁹ *Bullae* from Pannonia not only contained organic substances. A gold *bulła* from Aquincum, for example, was filled with sand.⁴⁰ Another gold *bulła* from Aquincum contained a coin of Trajan and a folded silver plate with a Greek inscription.⁴¹

The shape of tubular capsules was well-suited to holding rolled up metal sheets, as is demonstrated by numerous items discovered throughout the Roman Empire. The sheets were made of gold or silver and bore Gnostic or magic formulae.⁴² Written sources support the archaeological data: Marcellus, for instance, recommends gold or silver sheets (*laminae aureae, laminae argenteae*) for magic spells. He says that the engraved sheets have to be either hung on a cord themselves⁴³ or rolled up and put into a gold tube (*tubulus aureus*).⁴⁴ The

Pannonia. *The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road*. Vol. 2 (Budapest: Aquincum Nostrum, 2003) (henceforth: Topál, *The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road* Vol. 2), 15.

³⁷ Grave 73, cemetery of the Military Town, Vályog St 6.

³⁸ Károly Sági, “Die Spätromische Bevölkerung der Umgebung von Keszthely,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 12 (1960): 216–218.

³⁹ Károly Sági, “Temetők” (Cemeteries) in *Intercisa* Vol. 1, ed. Károly Sági et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), 67.

⁴⁰ The *bulła* (AQM 51472) comes from grave 27, Western Cemetery of the Military Town, Aquincum, Bécsi Road 102. Bálint Kuzsinszky, “Aquincumi sírlelet” (Gravegoods from Aquincum), *Budapest Régiségei* 10 (1923): 63; Topál, *The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road* Vol. 2, 59.

⁴¹ The *bulła* (AQM 30236) was found in the Aranyhegy-árok cemetery. János Szilágyi, “Jelentés a Fővárosi Ókortörténeti (Aquincumi) Múzeum kutatásairól és szerzeményeiről az 1945–1948. évek folyamán” (Report on the excavations and acquisitions of the Budapest Museum of Antiquity [Aquincum] 1945–48), *Budapest Régiségei* 15 (1950): 66; Irén Bilkei, “Griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns,” *Alba Regia* 17 (1979): 29–30; Paula Zsidi, *Istenek, katonák, polgárok. Kiállítás az aquincumi múzeum megnyitásának 100. évfordulója alkalmából*, (Gods, soldiers, citizens. Exhibition for the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of the Aquincum Museum)(Budapest: Pro Aquinco, 1995), 54.

⁴² Max Siebourg, “Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep,” *Bonner Jahrbücher* 10 (1896): 123–153.

⁴³ “Remedium physicum magnum aduersum dolorem stomachi. In lamina argentea scribes et dices: ‘Arimatho, aufer dolores stomachi illi, quem peperit illa.’ Eandem laminam lana ouis uiuae inuolutam collo de licio suspendes et id agens dices: ‘Aufer mihi uel illi stomachi dolorem, Arimatho.’” Marcellus, *De Medicamentis*, 20.66.



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material of the plates and capsules could enhance the efficacy of the formulae by having magic features themselves. Gold, for instance, as Pliny notes, was “used as an amulet for wounded people and for infants to render less harmful poisonous charms” directed against them.⁴⁵

In Pannonia only one tubular capsule contained a magic plate: a bronze cylinder from Tricciana held a rolled up silver sheet on which Latin and Greek legends and magic symbols were engraved.⁴⁶ A tubular capsule from Arrabona had a votive legend engraved on the capsule itself.⁴⁷ In addition, an amulet capsule from Sopiana contained some remains of cloth,⁴⁸ and another item from Aquincum was filled with white paste.⁴⁹

The Symbolism of Age and Gender

The Classical sources attest that freeborn Roman infants received their *bullae* as part of the rites of incorporation that were held around their birth. Infants were

⁴⁴ “Ad coli dolorem scribere debes in lamina aurea de grafio aureo infra scriptos characteres luna prima uigesima et laminam ipsam mittere intra tubulum aureum.” Marcellus, *De Medicamentis*, 28.26.

⁴⁵ “Aurum pluribus modis pollet in remediis volneratisque et infantibus adplicatur, ut minus noceant quae inferantur veneficia.” C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, Loeb Classical Library Vol. 394, tr. H. Rackham, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972)(henceforth: Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*), 33.25.

⁴⁶ Alice Burger, “The Late Roman Cemetery at Ságvár,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18 (1966): 110; Mária Krisztina Kubinyi, “A ságvári római sírmező egyik sírjában talált varázstábla” (The magic plate found in the Roman cemetery of Ságvár), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 7 (1946–48): 276–277; Irén Bilkei, “Griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns,” *Alba Regia* 17 (1979): 33.

⁴⁷ (HNM 117/1885) Endre Tóth, “Römische Gold- und Silbergegenstände mit Inschriften im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum; Goldringe,” *Folia Archaeologica* 30 (1979): 168–173; Endre Tóth, “Silvanus Viator,” *Alba Regia* 13 (1980): 93.

⁴⁸ The amulet capsule (JPM 69.69.2–3) was found in grave L/91. Ferenc Fülep, *Sopiana. The History of Pécs during the Roman Era, and the Problem of the Continuity of the Late Roman Population* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 125–126.

⁴⁹ The amulet capsule (AQM 51462) was found in grave 9, Western cemetery of the Military Town, Bécsi Rd 89. Topál, *The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road* Vol. 2, 56. The filling substance was apparently applied for utilitarian reasons, that is it helped to preserve the form of the capsule. In addition, it may have had a magical role such as the sulphur found in one of the amulet capsules of the Thetford treasure or the calcite (bone powder?) found in the smaller capsule of the Ténès Treasure. Johns-Potter, *The Thetford Treasure*, 25–26; Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès*, 58, n.1.



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given their *bullā* on their birthday⁵⁰ or one week later (*dies lustricus*, *dies nominum*, or *nominalia*), when they received their *praenomen* in a solemn ceremony.⁵¹ On this day the child was ritually purified and the father gave a *bullā* to his son,⁵² and perhaps also his daughter,⁵³ to bring good fortune.⁵⁴ When a youth reached an age between 14 and 16 he underwent a rite of passage which involved dedicating his *bullā* to the household gods (*Lares*, *Penates*)⁵⁵ and exchanging his *toga*

⁵⁰ “Et bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit mi natali die...” Plautus, *Rudens*, Loeb Classical Library Vol. 260, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996) (henceforth: Plautus, *Rudens*), 1171.

⁵¹ The *dies nominum* was held on the eighth day after birth in the case of girls, and on the ninth day in the case of boys. H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, (Scott: Foresman, 1932), paragraphs 95 and 97.

⁵² Classical authors most often attribute *bullae* to boys of noble or free birth. “Etruscum puero si contigit aurum,” Iuvenalis, *Satirae*, 5.164; “ingenuis pueris attributum... bulla,” A. Theodosius Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, ed. Iacobus Willis, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963) (henceforth: Macrobius, *Saturnalia*), 1.6.17; “bullae ornamenta regaliū puerorum,” *Excerpta ex Libro Glossarum*, ed. Georgius Goetz, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1894) (henceforth: *Excerpta ex Libro Glossarum*), 5.173.1; “bullae... nobilium puerorum,” *Grammatici Latini ex Recensione Henrici Keilii. Supplementum Continens Anecdota Helvetica*, ed. Hermanus Hagen, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1870) (henceforth: *Grammaticorum Supplementum*), 239; “bulla... puerorum nobilium,” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.10; “ingenuorum puerorum... bulla aurea,” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.11; “bulla aurea insigne erat puerorum praetextatorum,” Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex Libris Pompeii Festi*, 36.

⁵³ Compared to boys, girls are infrequently reported in sources to have worn a *bullā*. In the *Rudens* a young girl called Palaestra was recognized by her father by after her *crepundia*, which contained a *bullā*. Plautus, *Rudens*, 1171.

⁵⁴ “...ornamentum pueritiae pater dederat, indicium atque insigne fortunae...” M. Tullius Cicero, *In Verrem, Actio II* Loeb Classical Library Vol. 7, ed. T. E. Page (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966) (henceforth: Cicero, *In Verrem II*), 1.152

⁵⁵ “mox ubi bulla rudi dimissaest aurea collo, matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga,” Sextus Propertius, *Elegiae*, ed. Paulus Fedeli (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1984) (henceforth: Propertius, *Elegiae*), 4.130; “cum primum pauido custos mihi purpura cessit bullaque subcinctis Laribus donata pependit,” A. Persius Flaccus, *Saturae*, ed. W. V. Clausen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) (henceforth: Persius, *Saturae*), 5.30–31; “translationē sumpta a generosis pueris, qui bullam auream egressi pueritiae annos apud lares solent suspendere,” Pomponius Porphyrius, *Commentarii in Horatium Flaccum*, ed. Guilelmus Meyer, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1874) (henceforth: Porphyrius, *Commentarii in Horatium*), 1.5.65; “Solebant pueri, postquam pueritiam excedebant, dis Laribus bullas suas consecrare, similiter et puellae pupas... Bullas nobiles senatores gestabant, quas adulti diis Penatibus consecrabant...” *Sermonum Liber in Pseudacronis Scholia in Hortatum Vetustiora*, Vol. 2, ed. Otto Keller (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904) (henceforth: *Pseudacronis Scholia*), 1.5.65–66.



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*praetexta*⁵⁶ for the *toga virilis* that he would wear for rest of his life. The ceremony, which could reach a lavish scale in the case of the elite, was conducted both privately in the household and publicly in the Forum.⁵⁷

Bullae and amulet capsules from Pannonia have come to light almost exclusively as grave-goods. Based on the data from the thirty-two graves that I have information about, I can infer that *bullae* and amulet capsules were mainly worn by children and women in Roman Pannonia. Out of thirty-two individuals twenty-two were children, eight were adult women, and only two were adult men (*Table 4*).

Table 4. Age- and gender-distribution of individuals buried with a bulla or amulet capsule

Age groups ⁵⁸	Male	Female	Unidentified sex	Total
<i>Neonatus</i> (0–1 year)	—	—	—	—
<i>Infans 1</i> (1–4 years)	2	—	1	3
<i>Infans 2</i> (5–12 years)	—	1	2	3
<i>Iuvenis</i> (12–20 years)	—	—	—	—
<i>Adultus</i> (20–40 years)	—	2	—	2
<i>Maturus</i> (40–60 years)	1	—	—	1
<i>Senilis</i> (60–x years)	—	—	—	—
Child of unidentified age	1	5	10	16
Adult of unidentified age	1	6	—	7
Total	5	14	13	32

⁵⁶ The *toga praetexta* together with the *bulla* symbolised the pre-adolescence of freeborn Roman children. Cicero, *In Verrem* II, 1.152; “liberorum bullas atque praetextas,” G. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Divius Iulius* Loeb Classical Library Vol. 31, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) (henceforth: Suetonius, *Divius Iulius*), 84; “praetexta bullaque... puerorum ingenuorum insignia esse,” S. Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Urbis Romae*, ed. F. R. Pichlmayr (Leipzig: Teubner, 1961) (henceforth: Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Viris Illustribus*), 6.9; “praetexta et bulla... puerorum nobilium,” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.10; “ingenuorum puerorum... bulla aurea cum toga cui purpura praetextitu,” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.11; “bulla aurea insigne erat puerorum praetextatorum,” Paulus Diaconus, *Excerpta ex Libris Pompeii Festi*, 36.

⁵⁷ “Qui virilem togam sumunt vel nuptias faciunt vel ineunt magistratum vel opus publicum dedicant, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exiguum numerum vocare binosque denarios vel singulos dare,” C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, *Epistulae*, ed. R. C. Kukula, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), 10.116.

⁵⁸ The age groups given in the table are the ones generally used in Hungarian anthropology, e.g. Gy. Acsády, and J. Nemeskéri, *History of Human Life Span and Mortality* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 223.



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The custom of children wearing *bullae* is thoroughly supported by ancient authors. What seems to contradict the general consensus of opinion among Classical philologists is that adult women had *bullae*. Ancient sources do not give any information about when girls parted with their *bullae*. However, because marriage was a rite marking the end of girls' childhood and the *bullae* was one of the insignia of children philologists have inferred that Roman women did not wear their *bullae* after the day of their marriage,⁵⁹ that is, after about the age of 14.⁶⁰ Goette also concluded from the analysis of Western European monuments that Roman women did not have *bullae*.⁶¹

The number of adult women among people buried with *bullae* is so high in Pannonia that they cannot be regarded as mere exceptions, and it is not likely either that they were all unmarried. The fact that women in Pannonia had *bullae* or amulet capsules must be considered a provincial custom, which may be explained by the apotropaic nature of their contents. Epigraphical data indicate that in Pannonia the mortality ratio was particularly high among women⁶² and children under the age of ten.⁶³ In addition, women and children were inferior to men owing to their physiques and their social, legal and economic status. It seems most plausible, therefore, that they were wearing the *bullae* or amulet capsule to shield themselves against illnesses and other harm that they were more subject to than men.

The Symbolism of Social Status and Wealth

Written sources highlight how the use of the *bullae* spread in Roman society and what its meaning was at certain periods of Roman history. Until the end of the Republican period the gold *bullae* symbolised the social status of its wearer. In the beginning it was only the children of senators and patricians who had the

⁵⁹ PWRE, s.v. 'bullae,' 1048.

⁶⁰ Albert Granger Harkness, "Age at marriage and death in the Roman Empire," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 27 (1896): 35.

⁶¹ Goette, "Die Bullae," 144.

⁶² By the statistical analysis of approximately 11,000 epitaphs János Szilágyi computed that life expectancy in Pannonia was between 24.0 and 38.7 for men, and 21.2 and 34.4 years for women. The life span of women was shorter than that of men because of marriage and child birth at a young age that often resulted in death. See János Szilágyi, "Adatok az átlagos élettartam kérdéseihez Aquincumban és Pannonia más részeiben" (Data on the problems of average life spans in Aquincum and other parts of Pannonia), *Antik Tanulmányok* 6 (1959): 229, 241 (henceforth: Szilágyi, "Adatok")

⁶³ According to the calculations of János Szilágyi in Pannonia 17.8 per cent of children died before the age of ten. Szilágyi, "Adatok," 235–236.



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privilege to have a gold *bullā*.⁶⁴ Later this right was extended to the equestrians.⁶⁵ Those who were not members of the *patriciatus* or the *equites* could have a leather strap (*lorum*) instead of a *bullā*.⁶⁶ From the second century BC onwards the gold *bullā* became the badge of freeborn (*ingenuus*) children.⁶⁷ In the first century AD even freedmen (*libertini*) received the right to have it. The gold *bullā* thus had lost its value as a social marker by the Imperial period and its possession became only a question of finances. The sons of noblemen and affluent people in general wore gold *bullae*. Those who could not afford gold had their children's *bullae* made of other materials, such as bronze or leather, or simply made a knot (*nodus*) on a *lorum*.⁶⁸

Conclusion

In this study I have demonstrated the characteristics and use of *bullae* and amulet capsules in Late Roman Pannonia in context of the Roman Empire. The use of the *bullā* went through significant changes from the Republican period to Late Antiquity not only as regards its material and decoration, but also considering the symbolic values and associations it had. According to the testimony of ancient texts, in the early Republican period the gold *bullā* was among the insignia of the highest stratum of Roman society: senators, patricians, and equestrians. In this period the *bullā* normally had a wide decorated loop and

⁶⁴ “aurum argentum [aes] signatum omne senatores crastino die in publicum conferamus, ita ut anulos sibi quisque et coniugi et liberis, et filio bullam, et quibus uxor filiaeque sunt singulas uncias pondo auri relinquant. argenti qui curuli sella sederunt equi ornamenta et [duas] libras pondo, ut salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint,” Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. P. G. Walsh (Leipzig: Teubner, 1982), 26.36.5–7; “alii putant eundem Priscum... cultum quoque ingenuorum puerorum inter praecipua duxisse, instituisseque ut patricii bulla aurea cum toga cui purpura praetextitur uterentur, dumtaxat illi quorum patres curulem gesserant magistratum,” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.11; *Pseudacronis Scholia*, 1.5.65–66.

⁶⁵ “Sed a Prisco Tarquinio omnium primo filium, cum in praetexta annis occidisset hostem, bulla aurea donatum constat, unde mos bullae duravit, ut eorum, qui equo meruissent, filii insigne id haberent, ceteri lorum,” Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, 33.10.

⁶⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 33.10.

⁶⁷ “neque te tam commovebat quod ille cum toga praetexta quam quod sine bulla venerat. Vestitus enim neminem commovebat is quem illi mos et ius ingenuitatis dabat,” Cicero, *In Caium Verrem* II, 1.152; Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Viris Illustribus*, 6.9; “ingenuorum puerorum... bulla aurea,” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.11.

⁶⁸ “Etruscum puero si contigit aurum vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?” Juvenalis, *Satirae*, 1.165.

a large, plain capsule 4 to 6 cm in diameter. In the second century BC the right to wear a gold *bullā* was extended to freeborn (*ingenuus*) people. In parallel, the *bullā* lost its decoration although it preserved its former shape and size. By the time the Roman Empire annexed Pannonia in the first century AD the wearing of the gold *bullā* had been allowed to any free person. Consequently, the *bullā* had lost its social marking feature, and having a *bullā* made of gold became merely a sign of wealth. In Pannonia only a few gold *bullae* have been discovered so far. They are small items with wide decorated loops and plain capsules approximately 2 cm in diameter. Most of the *bullae* from Pannonia are small pieces made of bronze, normally lacking all decoration.

Tubular amulet capsules were used in Roman Pannonia from the third century AD onwards. In contrast with *bullae* they were often made of gold or silver and bore some kind of decoration, such as ribs or granulation. While *bullae* were characteristic Roman ornaments, tubular capsules seem to have been brought to Pannonia from Asia Minor, Syria, or North Africa by Eastern peoples. In spite of these differences *bullae* and amulet capsules had similar uses and meaning in Pannonia, as is evidenced by their contents and the circumstances of finds. *Bullae* often enclosed remains of plants, sometimes wrapped in cloth, which, according to ancient authors, were meant to cure their wearers or to prevent illnesses or misfortune. The contents of tubular capsules such as magic formulae, cloth or white paste apparently had similar apotropaic functions. Both *bullae* and amulet capsules could be worn together with other amulets such as beads of special materials or colours. In Pannonia, *bullae* and amulet capsules are normally discovered in the graves of children and adult women, who needed the supernatural protection of these amulets more than men because of their high mortality ratio, their frailty, and lower position in society. *Bullae* and amulet capsules in Pannonia therefore were neither markers of status nor symbols of childhood, but containers of prophylactic charms meant to protect their wearers from harm.

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Abbreviations

AQM	Aquincum Museum, Budapest
HNM	Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
IM	King Stephen Museum, Székesfehérvár
JPM	Intercisa Museum, Dunaújváros
KSM	Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs
XJM	Xántus János Museum, Győr

Appendix: List of sites

List of sites	Literature
Albertfalva, Hunyadi J. St.	Szirmai, Krisztina. "Small Bronze and Iron Finds from the Vicus of the Military Fort of Budapest-Albertfalva." <i>NAR</i> 18 (1995): Kat. 24; Zsidi, Paula. <i>Istenek, katonák, polgárok</i> . Budapest: Pro Aquinco, 1995, 71.
Aquincum (Óbuda), Aranyhegy-árok	Szilágyi, János. "Jelentés a Fővárosi Ókortörténeti (Aquincumi) Múzeum kutatásairól és szerzeményeiről az 1945–1948. évek folyamán" (Report on the excavations and acquisitions of the Budapest Museum of Antiquity [Aquincum]). <i>Budapest Régiségei</i> 15 (1950): 66; Bilkei, Irén. "Griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns." <i>Alba Regia</i> 17 (1979): 29–30; Zsidi, Paula. <i>Istenek, katonák, polgárok</i> . Budapest: Pro Aquinco, 1995, 54.
Aquincum, Bécsi Rd. 89	Topál, Judit. <i>Roman Cemeteries of Aquincum, Pannonia. The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road Vol. 1</i> . Budapest: Aquincum Nostrum, 2003, 56.
Aquincum, Bécsi Rd. 102	Kuzsinszky, Bálint. "Aquincumi sírlelet," <i>Budapest Régiségei</i> 10 (1923): 62–63; Kuzsinszky, Bálint. <i>Aquincum. Az ásatások és a múzeum ismeretése</i> . Budapest, 1933, 41; Topál, Judit. <i>Roman Cemeteries of Aquincum, Pannonia. The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road. Vol. 2</i> . Budapest: Aquincum Nostrum, 2003, 59.
Aquincum, Bécsi Rd. 166	Szilágyi, János. "Jelentés a Fővárosi Ókortörténeti Múzeum kutatásairól és szerzeményeiről az 1945–48. évek folyamán." <i>Budapest Régiségei</i> 15 (1950): 308; Zsidi, Paula. <i>Istenek, katonák, polgárok</i> . Budapest: Pro Aquinco, 1995, 69–70.
Aquincum, Bécsi Rd. 269	Topál, Judit. <i>Roman Cemeteries of Aquincum, Pannonia. The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road Vol. 1</i> . Budapest: Aquincum Nostrum, 2003, 70–72.



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Aquincum, Bécsi Rd. 514/a	Parragi, Györgyi. "Újabb késő-római leletek a Bécsi úton." <i>Budapest Régiségei</i> 21 (1964): 215.
Aquincum, Bécsi Rd.-Perényi St.	Topál, Judit. <i>Roman Cemeteries of Aquincum, Pannonia. The Western Cemetery. Bécsi Road</i> . Vol. 2. Budapest: Aquincum Nostrum, 2003, 9, 15, 96–97.
Aquincum, Bogdáni Rd.	By courtesy of Paula Zsidi (unpublished).
Aquincum, Csikós St.	Polenz, Harmut, Helga Polenz. <i>Das römische Budapest</i> . Münster, 1986, Kat. 616.
Aquincum, Gázgyár	By courtesy of Aquincum Museum. Unpublished.
Aquincum, Pók St.	By courtesy of Orsolya Láng. Unpublished.
Aquincum, Vályog St.	By courtesy of Orsolya Madarassy. Unpublished.
Arrabona (Győr)	Tóth, Endre. "Römische Gold- und Silbergegenstände mit Inschriften im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum; Goldringe." <i>Folia Archaeologica</i> 30 (1979): 168–173; Tóth, Endre. "Silvanus Viator." <i>Alba Regia</i> 13 (1980): 93.
Arrabona, Gráb Gyár	Szónyi, Eszter. "Arrabona késő római temető, II, Nádorváros." <i>Arrabona</i> 22–23 (1986): 8–9.
Arrabona, Kálvária St.	Szónyi, Eszter. "A győri Kálvária utcai temető csontvázas sírjai." <i>Arrabona</i> 16 (1974): 21; Szónyi, Eszter. "Arrabona késő római temető I. Vasútállomás környéki temető." <i>Arrabona</i> 21 (1979): 7.
Azaum (Almásfüzitő)	Kuzsinszky, Bálint. "Aquincumi sírlelet." <i>Budapest Régiségei</i> 10 (1923): 62.
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COMMUNITIES IN CONFLICT: THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE CULTS OF STS. ANASTASIA AND CHRYSOGONUS IN MEDIEVAL ZADAR¹

Trpimir Vedriš 

Introduction

The period between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries was highly turbulent for the Dalmatian city of Zadar. After the final collapse of Byzantine rule in the Adriatic this former capital of the Byzantine *theme* not only fought to preserve its leading position among the cities of Dalmatia, but also played power politics against Venice and against the rulers of the hinterland: the Hungarian kings and the local Croatian magnates. This strategic and political position reflected as well as defined the divisions and conflicts between the city's "sub-communities:" the cathedral chapter of St. Anastasia, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, and the commune of Zadar. The aim of this article is to trace the relations between these conflicts and the cults of the two principal patron saints: St. Anastasia and St. Chrysogonus.

¹ This article presents an abbreviated version of two chapters of my MA thesis "Martyr and Knight: the Cult of St. Anastasia and St. Chrysogonus in Medieval Zadar" (Budapest: Central European University, 2004). The central issue of the paper is an elaboration of the problem already touched on by Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Prošlost Zadru* (History of Zadar), vol. 2: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* (Zadar in the Middle Ages up to 1409) (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, 1976), 66, 67, 107–108 (hereafter: Klaić – Petricioli, *Prošlost*); Maren Freidenberg, "Samostan Sv. Krševana i Zadar u X–XIV stoljeću" (The monastery of St. Chrysogonus and Zadar from the tenth through the fourteenth centuries), *Radovi Instituta Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru* (hereafter: *Radovi Instituta JAZU*) 27–28 (1981), 62–63 (hereafter: Freidenberg, "Samostan"); Miroslav Granić, "O kultu Sv. Krševana zadarskog zaštitnika" (On the cult of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), in: *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru* (1000 Years of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990), 43–44 (hereafter: Granić, "O kultu"); Damir Karbić, "Vitez, djeva, pustinjač i biskup" (The knight, the lady, the hermit and the bishop), *Hrvatska Revija* 1 (2002): 67–68.

Early Christian Martyrs in Medieval Zadar

The cult of the martyrs Anastasia and Chrysogonus was established in the fourth century; the cult of St. Anastasia flourished in Sirmium and spread to Constantinople and Rome, while St. Chrysogonus was venerated mostly in Aquileia and north Italy. The emergence of the cult of both martyrs in Rome around the turn of the fifth century resulted in the compilation of their legend, in which they were Romanised and presented as teacher and disciple. The *Passio S. Chrysogoni et S. Anastasiae* became an important vehicle of the spread of the cult in the Middle Ages and provided the basic legend for their cult in Zadar.²

The cult of St. Anastasia was, according to the local legend *Translatio S. Anastasiae*, introduced in Zadar in the early ninth century,³ when relics were brought from Constantinople by Bishop Donatus and deposited in the cathedral formerly dedicated to St. Peter. The origins of the cult of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar are obscure. According to one local tradition his relics were translated to Zadar from Aquileia by Patriarch Maximus in 649. Although the cult of St. Chrysogonus seems to have been older than that of St. Anastasia, there is no evidence that it played a major role in the early Middle Ages.

The present inquiry into two types of hagiographic sources—legends and visual representations—focuses on the communication aspect of hagiography. The starting point of the research is the continuity of the inherited tradition present in the “basic” legend (the *Passio*) and the earliest depictions of the martyrs. The emergence of new local legends (the *Translationes*), as well as subsequent changes in iconography, provide clues for tracing the creation of the new local identities of the saints, their causes and context.

² For the history of the legend see: Hippolyte Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romain. Les saints de Novembre et de Décembre*, Subsidia Hagiographica 23 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1936) and François Halkin, *Légendes grecques de “martyres Romaines,”* Subsidia hagiographica 55 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1973).

³ The text, preserved only in a seventeenth-century manuscript, was published by Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* V (Venice, 1775): 34–35; Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Sclavorum Meridionalium 7 (Zagreb, 1877): 306–310, and it was analysed and translated into Italian by Vitaliano Brunelli, *Storia della città de Zara*. Vol. 1 (Venice: Istituto veneto di arti grafiche, 1913): 185–188 (hereafter: Brunelli, *Storia*).

The Evidence

Loci sacri

The Episcopal basilica of St. Anastasia, built in the very Roman forum, testifies to the continuity of the urban functions and the central position of the bishop in early medieval Zadar. While the church of St. Anastasia and the episcopal complex dominated the central space of the city as early as the beginning of the tenth century, St. Chrysogonus was still a small and mousy church (*Fig. 1*).⁴ Yet, with the fragmentation of the spiritual and secular authority in the High Middle Ages, and especially with the rise of the power of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, the image of unity “under the mantle of the bishop” was to be seriously contested.

The turning point for the cult of St. Chrysogonus was the foundation of the monastery in 986,⁵ accompanied by the act of donating the church to the monastery, which was reconstructed for the occasion. It is significant that this *translatio* meant realigning the existing street pattern, which attests a broader communal enterprise. Soon after its foundation the monastery started to enjoy not only numerous donations by the citizens but also from the Croatian kings

⁴ The writer of chapter 29 of *De administrando imperio*, who, admiring its beauty, compares the basilica dedicated to St. Anastasia with the Chalcostratean church in Constantinople, only mentions the church of St. Chrysogonus: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text ed. Gyula Moravcsik, English tr. Romily J. H. Jenkins, rev. ed. Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 136 (hereafter: *DAI*). For the monastery see: Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan sv. Krševana u Zadru* (The church and monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), *Djela* 30 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1931) (hereafter: Iveković, *Crkva*).

⁵ The restoration of the monastery documented in the *Cartula traditionis* was traditionally read as the founding of a new monastery where the old one once stood. This view was contested by I. Mustać who believed that there had been a Benedictine monastery before 986 and that the charter testifies only to the delivery of the church to the Benedictines. Ivan Mustać, “*Cartula traditionis ecclesie beati Chrysogoni martiris iz 986. godine*,” in *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru* (1000 years of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), ed. Ivo Petricoli (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990), 21–35 (hereafter: Mustać, “*Cartula*”). According to his reading, the church once belonged to the Madii, the respectable priors of Zadar. See Mustać, “*Cartula*,” 26. For the Madii see: Zrinka Nikolić, “The Madii: An Example of the Dalmatian Urban Elite in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2004) (forthcoming) and also her *Rođaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Relatives and neighbours: Dalmatian town nobility in the early Middle Ages) (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003).

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and their Hungarian successors. It was due to these relations that the monastery became a stronghold of anti-Venetian and royal interest in Zadar.

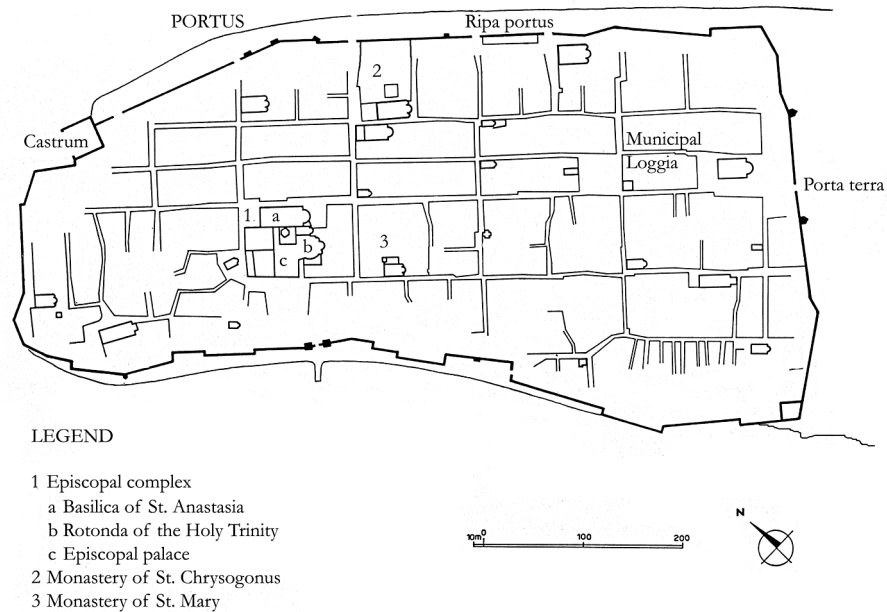


Fig. 1. Zadar in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

Legendae: *The Local Hagiographic Accounts*

The *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris*⁶ consists of three narrative parts. The first describes the discovery of the body of St. Chrysogonus in a graveyard near

⁶ The text of the *Translatio* is known from a fifteenth-century manuscript that was destroyed in the 1943 bombing of Zadar. Brunelli's analysis shows that the text was only recovered in the year mentioned, not written then. For the Italian translation see: Brunelli, *Storia*, 207–210; for the Latin original see Iveković, *Crkva*, 49–52. Although it was marked as “full of fantastic miracles and nebulous dialogues,” by Miroslav Granić, “O kultu,” it has received much attention lately. See also Radoslav Katičić, “Zadrani i Mirmidonci oko moći Sv. Krševana” (Citizens of Zadar and Myrmidons around the relics of St. Chrysogonus) in *Už početke hrvatskih početaka* (From the beginning of Croatian beginnings) (Split: Književni krug, 1993), 191–201 (hereafter: Katičić, “Zadrani”); Mate Suić, “Zadarski i ninski Mirmidonci” (Myrmidons of Zadar and Nin), *Radovi Instituta JAZU* 38 (1996): 13–33 (hereafter: Suić, “Zadarski i ninski Mirmidonci”), and Mladen Ančić, “*Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* kao povijesno vrelo”

Zadar and its transport to the city.⁷ The second part narrates how three monks stole the hand of the martyr and traveled to the land of Marab, and how the relics were returned by the nation of Myrmidones.⁸ The third part describes how a merchant from Aquileia was delivered from the peril of a storm and his rich donation to St. Chrysogonus. According to a philological analysis, the story can be dated to the ninth century.⁹ The central issue of the second story seems to be the contact with people from the hinterland. Rather than giving an authentic account of ninth-century history, the legend stresses two points: St. Chrysogonus was translated to Zadar by God's will to protect it and it is through his intervention that the rulers of the hinterland were brought into the orbit of city politics and established friendly terms with the citizens.

The *Translatio S. Anastasiae* is presented as a contemporary account of the translation of the relics of St. Anastasia from Constantinople to Zadar in 804. It tells the story of how Bishop Donatus and Beatus, a duke of Venice, went to Constantinople as envoys and met the citizens of Sirmium, who were hiding the relics of St. Anastasia. They urged the envoys to take the relics to their homeland. Upon approaching Zadar, the Venetians wanted to transfer the relics to Venice but were stopped by a storm and the relics were taken to Zadar.

Today's *opinio communis* is that the core of the document is an account contemporary with the translation. The legend itself must have been composed after the second half of the twelfth century, with additions in subsequent centuries. This dating would fit well with the complex socio-political situation in Zadar in the late twelfth century; written as an account of the translation, the aim of the compiler was to enhance the role of Bishop Donatus. Although the power of the bishop was at its peak at that time, it was already contested by the authority of the Patriarch of Grado on one side¹⁰ and the emerging commune

(The *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* as a historical source), *Starohrvatska prosijeta* 25 (1998): 127–138 (hereafter: Ančić, “*Translatio*”).

⁷ After overcoming the obstacles (the body would not enter the city before it was given a possession, and so on) the relics were introduced into the city and a church was dedicated to the honor of the martyr.

⁸ After their land was devastated by the plague, the inhabitants, who wanted to find its cause, brought the hand back to Zadar. Marab was interpreted by M. Suić as derived from “mrav” (Croatian “ant”), which led him to conclude that the Myrmidons were the Croats inhabiting the hinterland of Zadar: Suić “Zadarski i ninski Mirmidonci,” 29–30; Ančić, “*Translatio*” understands Marab as Moravia and the whole story as a reflection of the possible role of Zadar in the missionary activities in Pannonia.

⁹ Katičić, “Zadrani,” 193.

¹⁰ Namely, after the upgrading the bishopric of Zadar to the rank of archbishopric in 1154 the archbishop was subjected to the Patriarch of Grado.

on the other. The account seems to show concern for both problems. The divine patronage over the bishop is manifested in the event in front of Zadar when the duke of Venice decided to take the body to his city. Although men could not stop him, it was done by God, who forced the ship to sail to Zadar. The insistence on the bishop's independence from Venice as the central feature of the story points at the attempt to stress the traditional power of the early medieval bishops. Such a constellation of powers was hardly possible after 1205; the bishops were appointed by the patriarch, who sometimes insisted that they should be of Venetian origin. Along with this "external" problem, the legend touches upon the "internal" problem of the unity of the community. Out of all the holy protectors of the city the legend mentions only St. Anastasia. This is interesting knowing that soon after the probable compilation of the legend it was St. Chrysogonus who was named the principal patron of the commune of Zadar.

It is probable that the repair of the church in the mid-twelfth century was followed by the revision of the older hagiography. The *Translatio* is therefore an attempt to validate the authority of the bishop and when it mentions Bishop Donatus it means bishop as such. Donatus was perceived as the holy founder of the bishopric's power and the first bishop known for his particular deeds. This inference is further attested by the parallel promotion of his cult.¹¹ The twelfth century was the period when many Dalmatian cities promoted the cult of their local bishops, replacing the older late-Classical "imported" saints.

It is important to understand how the legends were perceived by the communities under the saintly patronage of the two martyrs. The oldest phase of the cult, based on the common, "basic" legend (the *Passio*), presented a "universal" layer of the cult. Only with the later "allodisation" (allodium is a term used for the land given by the lord to his subject; it is basically the essence of the so-called feudal system) of the calendar did a new hagiography emerge, reflecting contemporary realities rather than relying on tradition. It is significant that in the early medieval period, which I would call "pre-conflict" period, the offices of the bishop and the abbot of the monastery were exercised by the members of the same families. The two communities, connected by close family relations, had no problems with such familiarity among their patrons. However, local medieval legends of the translations give a much less unified picture. The *Passio*'s "ancient tradition" indeed connected the present with the authoritative past, but the cults were not petrified; saints, as living members of their communities, lived in the present. As the possession of the relics implied a close

¹¹ See Pavuša Vežić, "Su San Donato, vescovo di Zara," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 8 (2002): 235–240.

relation with the saint, it enabled a possessor to interpret the saint's will. Local hagiography gives an excellent example of this process and allows one to shift the attention from hagiography and inquire about the communities which controlled the cult of the saints.

Imagines: The Visual Representation of the Saints

What fits the "written" hagiography fits equally the "depicted" one; the iconography of both martyrs derived from a common origin but was changed during their sojourn in Zadar. The inquiry into the changes that took place during the localisation of the cults in medieval Zadar shows that the representation of Anastasia did not undergo drastic changes, but seems to have followed contemporary changes in Italy, especially those in Aquileia. The radical change in the iconography of St. Chrysogonus seems to have been connected with the specific role and position of "his monastery" in Zadar.



Fig. 2. *St. Anastasia, ambo of the cathedral, late twelfth century*

The earliest known image of St. Anastasia in Zadar is a miniature in the book of hours of the abbess Cicha, dated to c. 1060.¹² Anastasia is shown dressed in luxurious Byzantine clothes, raising her left arm and holding a small cross. This iconographic model was accepted as the most common way of representing the patron saint of the Zadar cathedral during the next two centuries; the twelfth-century relief of St. Anastasia on the cathedral's ambo shows the same features as the eleventh-century miniature (Fig. 2). Later depictions follow the oldest ones, showing minor alterations due to social changes that took place in the subsequent centuries or simply following contemporary fashion. These depictions do not show significant iconographic changes during the four centuries observed. Anastasia, the patron of the city

¹² *Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae Monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra*. Oxford Bodleian Library: MS. Canonici Liturgical 277, ed. Marijan Grgić and Josip Kolanović (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv–Kršćanska sadašnjost; Zadar: Matica hrvatska, 2003): fol. 128r. See also the MA thesis by Rozana Vojvoda, "Večenega's 'Book of hours': A Manuscript Study with a Special Stress on Decorated Initials: K.394, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences" (Budapest: Central European University, 2001).

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cathedral, preserved the Classical iconography throughout the Middle Ages. Her representation, balanced between Byzantine¹³ and Latin iconography, does not show distinctive local characteristics.

For the earliest representation of St. Chrysogonus one has to rely on a description rather than an image; the writer of chapter 29 of *DAI* mentions that the “monk Chrysogonus” is venerated in Zadar. Although the terminology does not explicitly say anything about the representation of the saint, it is surely a clue to it. Moreover, when the church was restored in the twelfth century, the walls were painted with the standing figures of St. Benedict, St. Scholastica, and St. Chrysogonus in the middle. The oldest known depiction, however, is the image on the eleventh-century reliquary of SS. James and Arontius. The subsequent



Fig. 3. *St. Chrysogonus, Romanesque Stone relief, twelfth–thirteenth century*

representations from the reliquaries and the portal of the cathedral show similarities: Chrysogonus is depicted as a standing figure, dressed as a martyr or monk. Although showing minor iconographic innovations, these representations still depend on the Classical image.¹⁴ However, sometime in the twelfth century a new iconography of St. Chrysogonus emerged; a depiction on a Romanesque column presents him as a bearded and long-haired mounted warrior charging with spear and shield (Fig. 3).

It seems that the depiction of Chrysogonus as a mounted knight only emerged in Zadar during the twelfth or thirteenth century,¹⁵ because this iconography does not appear in any Italian pre-quattrocento depictions. Neither does such an image exist in Byzantine iconography; Chrysogonus is not one of

¹³ The image of Anastasia tied to poles, dated to the thirteenth century, is reminiscent of Greek iconography. This literal depiction appears in the *Metaphrastian Menologion* from the eleventh century: Nancy Ševčenko-Patterson, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 98.

¹⁴ The early iconography of Chrysogonus depended on the earliest Italian depictions representing him as a martyr, nobleman or Roman knight. He is usually shown as a standing figure dressed either in the Roman *pallium* or Byzantine patrician costume.

¹⁵ This proposition is based on the fact that there is no such representation outside Zadar before the fourteenth century. If this notion were not valid the whole hypothesis would be put in question.

the Byzantine warrior saints.¹⁶ The source of such a perception is not to be found in the *Passio*, where Chrysogonus is referred to as *vir christianissimus* or as “one of the confessors.” The notion that he “suffered a great deal in vicariate” and the high offices offered to him by the emperor created an image of a nobleman that was later interpreted as a knight.¹⁷ Compared to other mounted warrior saints of the period, one observes that the iconography of St. Chrysogonus fits well into contemporary ideologies, the cult of chivalry as well as crusading. But what is suggested here is the dependence of the “new iconography” of St. Chrysogonus on the particular social and political context of Zadar in the thirteenth century.



Fig. 4. *St. Anastasia,
Seal used in 1190*

The new representation of St. Chrysogonus not only shows the changed iconography of one of the city’s patron saints, but at the same time it came to be used as Zadar’s coat of arms. During the period before the late twelfth century there is neither a description nor an image of the city’s coat of arms. The oldest known city seal is, in fact, that of the cathedral chapter from the twelfth century. This important piece of evidence shows how the city was perceived as the “city of St. Anastasia.”¹⁸ The seal is preserved on a charter from 1190 confirming a treaty between Zadar and Rab¹⁹ (Fig. 4). Not without a hint of irony, it was used only a month after the document confirming the return of the island of Maun to the monastery for the great victory won

¹⁶ L. Réau mentions him amongst the holy knights of the Eastern Church, but he does not give any example of Byzantine iconography: Louis Réau, *L’iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. 3/1 (Paris: 1958), 314; see also Sofija Petricioli, “Kameni grbovi grada Zadra” (Stone coats of arms of Zadar), *Radovi Instituta JAZU* 9 (1962): 362 (hereafter: Petricioli “Kameni grbovi”). Chrysogonus is not included among the Byzantine warrior saints by Christopher Walter in *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

¹⁷ Delehay, *Étude*, 222–223 and 227.

¹⁸ The inscription on the seal showing St. Anastasia raising her hands over the city says: SIGILLVM IADER[VR]BIS SANCTA ANASTASIA. See also: Ivo Petricioli, “Prilog zadarskoj sfragistici” (Contribution to the heraldry of Zadar), *Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta u Zadru* 10 (1972): 117–120.

¹⁹ *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae*, vol. 3, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904–1990), vol 2, 247–258 (hereafter: CD).

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with the help of St. Chrysogonus,²⁰ who “led and protected the citizens against the enemy.” At that time the clear political features of the influence of the monastery were reflected in the new symbolic representation of Zadar. When the cathedral was renovated after the crusaders’ conquest of 1204, the portal was decorated with a new sculpture of St. Anastasia, but this time accompanied by St. Chrysogonus. As early as around 1300 Zadar was represented as the “city of St. Chrysogonus”²¹ (Fig. 5) and the change was confirmed when the city seal was defined as “representing the figure of St. Chrysogonus” in 1385.²²



Fig. 5. St. Chrysogonus, carved wood choir seats,
Monastery of St. Francis, 1394

Interpretation: Communities in Conflict

Tempus episcoporum: 800–1205

When sealing a document in June, 1190, Blasius, the deacon and *notarius* of Zadar, used a seal with the inscription *sigillum Iadere urbis Sancta Anastasia* (Fig. 4). This seal, with the image of St. Anastasia raising her hands over the city, shows the influence of her cult in twelfth-century Zadar. Yet the seal was not simply the seal of the city; it was the seal of the cathedral chapter in the first place. It

²⁰ CD, vol. 2, 243–245.

²¹ See the maps: Rome Bibl. Vat. Cod. Vat. Lat. 2972 (c. 1310) and Bibl. Vat., Cod. Palatino lat. 1362.

²² Petricioli, “Kameni grbovi,” 360.



was the role of the bishop that integrated the identity of the city and presented a firm connection with antiquity in the period of the “early medieval transition.” Although the power of the bishops in the Dalmatian cities did not equal that of their Italian colleagues, evidence from the tenth and eleventh centuries shows their important position and great influence. They were not only professional international ambassadors but primarily the ones whose continuous presence in the city substituted for the short-term functions of imperial bureaucrats. The memory of particular bishops tended to blend with the office of a bishop as such. The *laudes* sung in their honour put them directly after emperors, kings, and dukes. The bishop was never alone, however; he lived in the episcopal chapter, a community to some extent resembling monastic communities. There are four issues that I see as highly important for the position of the bishop and his chapter: tradition, a monopoly on literacy, connection with the community, and control over the cults.

The cathedral of Zadar boasted the tradition of being the longest living institution within the community. It is not strange that many offices that were later to become a public or communal duty were born in the cathedral milieu. The emergence of a notarial office in Zadar is also connected with the chapter of St. Anastasia.²³ In the period when sources show the high level of illiteracy among secular officers, one can contemplate the power held by the institution which controlled local literary production. The reform of the notary after the beginning of the thirteenth century shows how the commune wanted to control this important office. Although not much is known about the details of the internal life of the chapter in the early and high Middle Ages, the buildings alone which constitute the episcopal complex signal the existence of a large and organised group of people who served the complex. Also, the relationship of the bishops with the community is well attested in the high Middle Ages; up to the late eleventh century, the bishop had his *familia* living with him. Some of the bishops were connected with the most powerful families in the city and had significant influence on the emergence of new monastic communities.

Concerning the position of the bishop in the community, in the case of Zadar it is not appropriate to speak of the emergence of a municipality in the Middle Ages, but rather about the transformation of institutions of the Roman city into a new medieval form. Three major institutions constituted the government of a late antique-early medieval city: the bishop, the civil and the military commanders. The importance of the bishop in the early medieval period was partially a result of the founding of bishopric seats in the Roman period. With regards to the Dalmatian cities, Croatian historians have

²³ Klaić–Petricoli, *Prošlost Zadra*, 197.

emphasized two important aspects for the preservation of the cities in the early Middle Ages. Older authors stressed the importance of the bishops and episcopal sees, while more recent writers have rather enhanced the “fusion of Roman municipal elements and the community of the faithful with the community of citizens.”²⁴ However, the militarization of Byzantine society after the founding of the Dalmatian *theme* around 870 led to the formation of the elite recently referred to as “urban proto-patricians.”²⁵ These closely-knit families tended to keep the most important positions in the cities even after their military role lost its importance.²⁶ Whatever the formal relations between the three segments of government, it is important to stress that in the early Middle Ages the positions of priors, judges, and bishops were often held by members of the same families.²⁷

The cult of St. Anastasia in the city cathedral was one of the most significant features of Zadar. How much space Constantine Porphyrogenitus gave to the description of the cathedral has already been mentioned. Similarly significant is the description of Cardinal Boson two hundred years later; on the occasion of Pope Alexander III’s visit to Zadar, he mentions how the pope was taken on a white horse to the “martyr Anastasia resting in the major church of the city.”²⁸ Not only visitors from the outside, however, observed the central position of the cathedral and its patron saint. This is well shown in the legend of translation, how the citizens of all “classes, ranks and gender” gathered around their patron celebrating her *adventus* as the most solemn occasion. In the description one clearly “reads” the image of the unified commune: the image of the *communio sanctorum* gathered around Christ’s martyr and her chosen follower,

²⁴ Cf. Ivan Strohal, *Pravna povijest dalmatinskih gradova* (Judicial history of Dalmatian cities) (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1913), 1; Marko Kostrenčić, “Postanak dalmatinskih sredovječnih gradova” (The emergence of the Dalmatian medieval cities) *Šišićev Zbornik* (Zagreb: Tiskara C. Albrecht, 1929), 114. Both positions were criticised and the stress was put on the continuity of the Roman civic institutions by Klaić, *Zadar*, 52–54. The preservation of the civil government is attested in Zadar in the Ostrogothic period, when the city’s prior was chosen from a college of judges and authors emphasizing the preservation of Roman law point to the fact that even the Byzantine tribunes were subject to municipal judges.

²⁵ See Neven Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* (The First Centuries of Croatia) (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994), 153–154.

²⁶ A good example of this continuity is the titles of *dux* and *strategos* given to the city prior in the period when he did not have any military role. On the problems of the Dalmatian proto-patricians, see Nikolić, *Rodaci*.

²⁷ Nikolić, *Rodaci*, 200.

²⁸ Strgačić, “Papa Aleksandar,” 165.



the bishop. However, this image, if it ever existed in such a simple and perfect form, was doomed to disappear.

When Zadar became an archbishopric in 1154 by order of Pope Anastasius IV, it shook off the supremacy of the archbishop of Spalato, with which it had been fighting for centuries. The victory, however, was short lived; already in the next year Pope Hadrianus IV subjected the archbishop of Zadar to the patriarch of Grado. This decision, seen as a political move toward the subjection of Zadar to Venice, caused a rebellion in 1159 and the Venetian duke imposed on Zadar was driven out. The first archbishops of Zadar participated in the communal resistance and this period is attested by dynamic building activity and prosperity. Zadar entered its glorious yet troubled era; at the end of the next fifty years, marked by constant rebellions, warfare, and changing alliances, the city was destroyed by Crusaders and the Venetians in 1202. The peace treaty of 1205 imposed a rule that the archbishop of Zadar should be, from then on, chosen from among the citizens of Venice.²⁹ On the level of public ritual the people of Zadar promised to sing *laudes* in the cathedral to the Venetian doge, the patriarch, the Venetian duke of Zadar, and their archbishop.

Despite the fact that King Andrew II gave Zadar to Venice as an “eternal possession” in exchange for passage to the Holy Land, the citizens apparently did not accept the situation. Scarce evidence reflects the situation in the city; Archbishop John had to promise his patriarch that “he will not prepare any plot with the citizens of Zadar.” The clear outcome of this project is that the archbishops were to become the representatives of Venetian authority in the city. After a hundred years of struggle Venice finally managed to impose her grip on the former Dalmatian capital, and through the imposed dukes and controlled archbishops, it started to influence inner city politics. This definitely changed the position of the bishop in the community.³⁰

Some weeks before the document mentioned above was sealed with the seal of St. Anastasia in 1190, the citizens of Zadar had won a battle against the Venetians on the peak of Treni. The victory was an occasion for the citizens to

²⁹ More precisely, from the region between Grado and Capo d’Argina. Grga Novak, “Presjek kroz povijest grada Zadra” (Survey of the history of Zadar) *Radovi Instituta JAZU* 11–12 (1965), 19 (hereafter: Novak, “Presjek”).

³⁰ Another aspect that should not be underestimated is the fact that the Church reform movement went in the direction of firmer control, distancing the bishop from close dependence on his flock. The interference of the papal reform and the centralisation of ecclesiastical institutions often had to oppose the “public good” of the emerging communes. Imposing the bishop from outside collided with traditional customs and in some cases must have been an irritating slap to the pride of growing “communal consciousness.”

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return some property to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, naming the monastery patron *noster patronus, tutor* and *protector civitatis* on this occasion.³¹ This event seems to have been a crystallizing point where a new balance of the powers in the city became evident. It is highly significant that the victory over the Venetian fleet was attributed not to Saint Anastasia (whose figure was still used on the seal), but to the patron saint of the influential monastery. It seems that by that time the monastery had grown to such power that it could oppose the archbishop, and the growing self-consciousness of the commune wanted to represent itself symbolically by choosing to put its trust in a patron saint other than the cathedral and city patron Anastasia. The following examples illustrate the contested authority:

In 1224, the abbot of St. Chrysogonus rejected the order of Duke Marin Dandolo, denying him the honour of being welcomed at the entrance to the monastery with holy water, incense, and the cross. The rebellious monastery was brought to order by the intervention of the archbishop who “closed” the monastery church, forbade burials and attendance at mass by the citizens of Zadar, even forbidding a procession on the feast day of St. Chrysogonus. Soon a number of citizens were involved in the scandal, since they tried to bury their dead in the monastery.³² This case is interesting not only for the opposition the monastery showed to the bishop and the duke, but also because of its outcome. In the end the citizens managed to force the archbishop to withdraw his order.³³

A similar symbolic demonstration of resistance took place in the summer of 1308, when the legate Cardinal Gentilis came to Zadar. His excommunication of some priests who rebelled against his orders was contested by the disobedience of the local clergy; the bells were rung and the churches were open as usual. The peak of the manifestation of independence took place on 3 October, when a funerary rite was led by the abbots of the three local Benedictine monasteries: “dressed in solemn clothes, with mitres and holding bishops’ staffs, the abbots, led by the abbot of St. Chrysogonus and followed by the mass of citizens opposed the legate.”³⁴ On the symbolic level it is highly significant how the abbots, having the right to wear the mitre and carry the bishop’s staff, gave the impression that there was more than one bishop in the

³¹ *CD*, vol. 2, 244.

³² *CD*, vol. 3, 280–281. Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 58.

³³ The case was further discussed before the bishop of Trogir, who judged that the duke should leave the monastery alone and called the archbishop’s orders “forced.” *CD* vol. 3, 283, 287–289; Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 58.

³⁴ “Cum pluvialibus et mitris ac baculis pastoralibus,” *CD* vol. 8, 196; Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 62.

city. Indeed, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it is the monastery that came to play a central role in communal politics against Venice and occasionally against the dukes and archbishops.

Tempus communitatis: 1205–1409

The monastery of St. Chrysogonus, the earliest city monastery in Dalmatia, was founded in the late tenth century by the bishop and Byzantine functionaries, and also by elected members of the newly formed organisation of the citizens.³⁵ The monastery, founded with the participation of the citizens of Zadar at the time when the same Madi family held posts in the city's secular government, the bishopric seat, and high monastic offices, could not, and had no reason to, present any threat to the authority of the bishop. However, during the eleventh, and especially the twelfth, centuries, the political situation became more complicated, leading to a polarisation within the city. Two features seem to have been extremely important for the development of the monastery and its role in communal life: firstly, the "organic connection" between the monastery and the communal organisation,³⁶ and secondly, the monastery's relation with the Hungarian-Croatian kings.

Although the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, through the possible personal relations of Abbot Madius and Abbot Aligerna of Montecassino, might have been connected to the Cluny reform, it never entered the Cluniac network nor was it included in papal exemptions. In fact, it did not need to enter international filiations; its close relations with the commune and the rulers of the hinterland granted various and extensive privileges to its monks.³⁷ It is significant that the existence of the most influential monasteries in Dalmatia coincides with the emergence of communes which needed these monasteries.³⁸ The participation of the citizens in the internal affairs of the monastery was often connected with the decline of monastic discipline in the thirteenth century. Many examples showing the active participation of lay persons in the life of the monastery also attest the communal character of the community of St. Chrysogonus. It is not surprising then that Patriarch Egidius was scandalised and angry when he discovered that some citizens would be present during his inquiry into monastic finances in 1306.³⁹ The earliest known lawsuits between the monastery and the commune took place in the 1221 and 1222. At first sight

³⁵ Freidenberg, "Samostan," 35.

³⁶ Freidenberg, "Samostan," 56.

³⁷ Mustać, "*Cartula*," 30.

³⁸ Freidenberg, "Samostan," 48.

³⁹ Freidenberg, "Samostan," 54–55.

they show the commune in conflict with the monastery, but if observed more cautiously, one notes that it is only one segment of the communal government that quarrels—namely the duke. When Venice imposed her dukes on Zadar after 1205 they must have found unacceptable the specific status that the monastery enjoyed in the city.⁴⁰ It seems that “in the city recently conquered by the Republic of St. Mark... it was the monastery which remained the symbol of the communal autonomy.”⁴¹

The monastery is known to have supported Croatian and Hungarian kings, with whom it kept family relations. The close relations of Cicha, the abbess of the sister monastery of St. Mary, with the Croatian King Krešimir IV and the friendly relations of her daughter Večenega with King Coloman have been interpreted differently in Croatian historiography. What is clear is that some kind of relation existed, whether it was really a family relation or shared goals.

Growing connections with the rulers of the hinterland, attested already in the *Translatio beati Chrysogoni*, can be read in donation charters. The earliest period of the monastery was characterised by the lack of landed possessions; its income seems to have come exclusively from fishing.⁴² However, sometime around the mid-eleventh century the monastery started to receive houses and gardens, slowly concentrating its own space as a separate entity within the city. The first land gifts, attested between 1020 and 1040,⁴³ were given mostly by Croatian nobles and kings.⁴⁴ In one charter the monastery was given a significant title: *Sacratissima membra Iadere*.⁴⁵ Towards the end of the century, more and more lands came into the possession of the monastery, and the trend continued through the following centuries.

In 1242, Bela IV confirmed the rights of the monastery for its fidelity,⁴⁶ and although the period under the rule of the Hungarian kings did not last long,

⁴⁰ For instance, unlike other city monasteries in Dalmatia, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus was not subject to the clerics of Zadar. This is testified to by the statement of one of the abbots that he “never gave any taxes to the parish priest nor other priests of Zadar.” Also in the process of 1221, the monastery, through its lawyer, announced that whoever stole property from the monastery was automatically excommunicated. Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 61.

⁴¹ Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 59.

⁴² Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 36–37.

⁴³ Freidenberg, “Samostan,” 42.

⁴⁴ Like the donation of Ban Godemir and his wife in 1028 or King Krešimir IV in 1069.

⁴⁵ CD 1, 76

⁴⁶ Eduard Peričić, “Samostan sv. Krševana kroz lik i djelovanje njegovih opata” (Monastery of St. Chrysogonus through the Activity of Its Abbots), in *1000 godina*

as early as 1311 the citizens of Zadar chose Mladen, the son of Paul of Bribir and ban of Bosnia, as their duke.⁴⁷ The highpoint of the tendency of Zadar to subject itself to the Hungarian-Croatian kings was the arrival of Louis I Anjou in Croatia in 1345.⁴⁸ On that occasion Zadar rebelled against Venice and invited Louis to the city. When the Venetians laid siege to Zadar for almost a year, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus was used as the headquarters of the defence.⁴⁹ The symbolic importance of its patron can be read between the lines of *Obsidio Iadrensis*, a contemporary account of the siege of 1345–1346.⁵⁰ What strikes the reader is that the description, probably written by the archbishop, never mentions St. Anastasia, while St. Chrysogonus is addressed many times. It is the bell of St. Chrysogonus that rings the alarm when the enemy is approaching,⁵¹ and citizens gather under the banner of their patron to attack the Venetians.⁵² High tensions and the importance of the symbolic convergence of the dates, places, and persons were well illustrated during the siege. On 25 November, the feast day of St. Chrysogonus, the whole the commune gathered in his church and the archbishop preached to encourage them. After the gospel was read, the archbishop blessed the king's banner. After the mass, the people went to the central square where they celebrated the feast by singing "pious hymns and secular songs."⁵³ Celebrating and cursing the enemy, they took their weapons and started a battle the same evening. The miraculous presence of St. Chrysogonus is also attested by a witness who saw how:

the fire, which, turning many buildings into ashes, burned the house in which there was a shield with a colourful depiction of St. Chrysogonus, everything was turned into ashes except the figure of the soldier of Christ. It was not ruined, but, illuminated by the Divine light, started to shine with even more brilliant radiance.⁵⁴

samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru, ed. Ivo Petricoli (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990), 95 (hereafter: Perić, "Samostan").

⁴⁷ Novak, "Presjek," 27.

⁴⁸ Novak, "Presjek," 31.

⁴⁹ Perić, "Samostan," 98.

⁵⁰ *Obsidionis iadrensis libri duo* were probably written by Nikola Matafar, Archbishop of Zadar (1333–1367). Born ca. 1290 he studied in Padua, was a friend of influential people of the age, and the ally of the Angevins.

⁵¹ *Obsidio*, 1, 10.

⁵² *Obsidio*, 2, 9.

⁵³ *Obsidio*, 1, 8.

⁵⁴ *Obsidio*, 2, 15.



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Although the rebellion did not succeed and the city was again taken by Venice, it was only twelve years later that the king came to re-conquer Zadar.

After the expiration of the cease fire, Louis I came to take Zadar in 1357. He was welcomed by the citizens. The monks of St. Chrysogonus helped Croatian soldiers and German mercenaries to cross the city wall and enter the city through the cloister. The Venetians were defeated and soon after, the “peace of Zadar” was signed on 18 February 1358. Venice had to resign all her possessions from Drač to the northern Adriatic and Louis I Anjou came to possess the city of Zadar.⁵⁵ The king generously expressed his gratitude to the monastery; besides confirming all the historical possessions of the monastery, he ordered that his coins minted in Zadar should bear the name of St. Chrysogonus.⁵⁶ That was the high point of success of the politics of both the monastery of St. Chrysogonus and the commune of Zadar. On the symbolic level, it is the “knight” who saved the city from the Venetians once again. Not forgetting the role of their protector, the city council decided that, to mark the victory over the Venetians, each citizen should bring a gift, a half-pound candle, to St. Chrysogonus.⁵⁷ Is it possible to make any connection between the success of the Angevin king and the expectations of the citizens of Zadar from their patron saint? This is the moment when the previous politics of the monastery succeeded: the city had coins with the inscription of their king and their heavenly protector, both represented as young knights. Some thirty years after the treaty, in a document from 1385, the new situation was officially confirmed: the seals of the commune represented St. Chrysogonus, signed with the inscription: *Urbs Dalmatina Jadra pollet hoc duce*.⁵⁸

Conclusions

The enhancement of St. Chrysogonus and his saintly protection in the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries was related to a turbulent period in the history of Zadar. In the period when Zadar found itself the focus of political struggle, it was the role of its Benedictines, through their piety and political engagement, who managed to integrate the growing self-consciousness

⁵⁵ Novak, “Presjek,” 36

⁵⁶ To my knowledge, no coin of this type has been preserved. V. Brunelli describes it as having the inscription: “M[ineta] IADRE Ludovicus REX UNGARIE on one side and “IADERA civitas – s. Grisogonus IADRAE” on the other: Brunelli, *Storia*, 513.

⁵⁷ Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* (Benedictines in Croatia and our other regions). vol. 2. (Split: Benediktinski priorat –Tkon, 1964), 46.

⁵⁸ Petricioli, “Kameni grbovi,” 360.

and pride of the commune. Becoming influential as a political force and keeping their relations with the Hungarian-Croatian kings, the monks preserved their own interests; in spite of having most of their possessions in the hinterland, they started to symbolise the growing self-consciousness of the commune. Supported by the donations of Hungarian kings, Croatian noblemen, and citizens of Zadar, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus became a crucial force in these political events. It opposed Venice and helped the rulers of the hinterland to gain control over Zadar. On the level of ecclesiastical politics, the abbots of St. Chrysogonus contested the power of the archbishops, who were subject to the “Venetian” Patriarch of Grado.

These tensions were expressed in the devotion to the patron saints of the communities in conflict. St. Anastasia’s cult was much more popular in the early Middle Ages and had a more glorious history, with important cult centres in both Rome and Constantinople. Chrysogonus came to play an active role in city politics only with the growing power of the monastery in the High Middle Ages. Venerated in the early period as a monk, Chrysogonus came to be represented as a charging horseman, who symbolised the pride and self-confidence of the citizens of Zadar. On the iconographic level, the new representation seems not to have derived from the Byzantine warrior-saint tradition and is not known anywhere in the West before the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Leaving many questions still to be answered, an analysis of the iconographic presentation of St. Chrysogonus shows that after the second half of the twelfth century he became venerated as the principal patron saint of the city. He replaced the former protector St. Anastasia and some time in the thirteenth century the figure of St. Chrysogonus came to represent the city. In the “century of rebellions,” Chrysogonus underwent a metamorphosis from a martyr into a knight. When, after the Venetian conquest of Zadar in 1409, the commune finally lost its independence, the figure of the mounted rider still reminded them of the times when the monastery and its abbots opposed the Venetian doges and their own archbishops.

As this inquiry has shown, the very idea of a principal patron saint might be a bit misleading and should be used with caution, especially in the earlier periods when evidence is far from abundant; in some periods it is not possible to state precisely who was “the principal” patron saint of a city. Therefore I suggest observing this position in the light of the relations between the urban sub-communities as “contested territory.” In such a situation, it is the role of the institution which promoted the cult to interpret the events in a way to fit its aims. However, the emergence of urban consciousness displayed through public rituals and symbolic representations seems to have demanded a more precise self-definition and self-representation of communal identity. Although the



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scarce evidence does not allow one to make firm conclusions, the victory over the Venetians in 1190 and the interpretation of it as the action of St. Chrysogonus seems to have been one of these crystallizing points. For this, I have used the term “replacement” of the patron saint. However, the emergence of the cult of St. Chrysogonus as the principal protector of Zadar is not the result of a single act, but rather the result of a process in which the commune, by bridging the gap between the sacred and the secular, found ways to express its independent identity crystallised in the figure of its protector.



PSEUDO-DIONYSIAN EXCERPTS IN AN UNSTUDIED MANUSCRIPT OF *PANOPLIA DOGMATIKE* (THE IVIRON MANUSCRIPT)

Nadezhda Miladinova 

A *florilegium* from the fourteenth century preserves, among other patristic texts, several Pseudo-Dionysian fragments with commentaries not attested in other manuscripts. The examination of these fragments yielded unexpected results, thus, I am presenting here a report on work in progress rather than a complete analysis.¹

Acephalous and mutilated, the *florilegium* in question had remained hitherto unidentified because it was catalogued as an anonymous fragment from a relatively late date. The examination of the Dionysian excerpts revealed that the Iviron manuscript² contains an unknown copy of *Panoplia Dogmatike*—a famous anthology of patristic texts and a key source on Byzantine theology. Designed as a refutation of all existing heresies, both ancient and new, the *Panoplia* begins with the refutation of the Epicureans and concludes with religious movements coeval to the Comnenian period, including chapters against Latins, Jews, Muslims, and Armenians.

The *Panoplia* was prepared by Euthymius Zigab(d)enus at the behest of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) and, undoubtedly, behind this authoritative commission stands the emperor's claim to be a “Champion of Orthodoxy;” not surprisingly, an early manuscript³ attests a solemn scene in which Emperor Alexius offers his *Panoplia* to Christ. However, the *Panoplia* fits into a much broader context because it comes from the ancient tradition of preparing anti-heretical *florilegia*. Among the representative works of this tradition is Epiphanius' anthology, *Panarion*, dating from the fourth century, followed by *florilegia* appended to the decisions of the church councils; yet another famous example of this kind are the Damascene *florilegia*. A synthesis of

¹ This article is based on my MA thesis, “Pseudo-Dionysian Excerpts in an Athonite *Florilegium*” (Budapest: Central European University, 2004).

² I am indebted to Prof. István Perczel, who proposed the topic of my MA thesis, kindly gave me access to the Pseudo-Dionysian fragments in the Athonite *Florilegium* and guided my work with the best advice possible. I also express my heartfelt gratitude to Professors Basile Markesinis, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis, János Bak, Patrick J. Geary, and László Veszprémy for their support and valuable suggestions. Naturally, the responsibility for article's mistakes remains entirely mine.

³ Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 666.



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this tradition, the *Panoplia* became a principal textbook and can be ranked among the genuine contributions to Orthodox theology. Its tradition continued long after the fall of Constantinople, and perhaps Zigabenus is not merely exaggerating or flattering his patron when, in the preface to the *Panoplia*, he states that this work is among the most remarkable deeds of the reign of Alexius I Comnenus.

Anthologies of different characters were integral parts of the spiritual and intellectual life of Byzantium and their popularity in the Middle Byzantine period situates the *Panoplia* in a specific context.⁴ Being a *florilegium florilegiorum*, the *Panoplia* has a complicated history of text transmission and most of the excerpts included have suffered various truncations, transformations or mis-attributions in passing from one recension to another. The reception of the text in later centuries may demonstrate how the content of this anthology was susceptible to carrying a special agenda, depending on the patristic excerpts and the commentaries included. With this background, the Iviron manuscript becomes more important. Dated from the fourteenth century, it preserves a selection of excerpts which might be random or may testify to a later recension of the *Panoplia Corpus*. Moreover, the commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysian excerpts seem to be directed against someone who was charged with particular heretical beliefs. Thus, the Iviron manuscript can serve as an illustration of how the content of the *Panoplia* was modified and re-used according to a special agenda behind the changes introduced.

The Identification of the Manuscript and the Description of its Contents

According to the catalogue description by Lampros,⁵ the Pseudo-Dionysian excerpts discussed here come from an anonymous fragment from the fourteenth century. Lampros describes the Iviron manuscript as a mutilated florilegium under the name *The Theological Book of an Unknown Author*, divided into 12 items. He also provides a list of the other titles in the *florilegium*, but does not give further details. Without consulting the whole manuscript, I cannot give more detailed information either.

Here follows the English translation of S. P. Lampros' description; my additions to and corrections of Lampros' data are in square brackets.

⁴ Marcel Richard, "Florilèges grecs," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller, vol. 5 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1964), 502–503.

⁵ Σπιριδὼν Λάμπρος, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Ἑλληνικῶν Κωδικῶν*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 18:1895). (hencefort: Λάμπρος, *Κατάλογος*)



Pseudo-Dionysian Excerpts in an Unstudied Manuscript of *Panoplia Dogmatike*

The Theological Book of an Unknown Author

The book is divided into 12 items. Each of them has its proper title and contains diverse views and excerpts from the Fathers. The beginning of the manuscript is missing and begins with the fourth item.

Incipit: ...δέοιτ [apparently a misreading for {ἀί}διοις] αἰῶν τὰ [in fact τὸ] συμπαρακτεινόμενον ... τι χρονικὸν κίνημα καὶ διάστημα.

[Gregory of Nazianzus, In Theophania (Oratio 38), PG 36, 320.]

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εκ τοῦ περὶ θεολογίας λόγου. Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φάναι δὲ ἀδύνατον ὥς τις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι θεολόγων ἐφιλοσόφησεν, οὐκ ἀτέχνως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. [Gregory of Nazianzus, De theologia {Oratio 28} 4, 1]

Chapter 5: "On the Divine Names."

Chapter 6: "On the Divine Creation."

Chapter 7: "[Dionysius the Areopagite] On the Divine Inhumanation."

Chapter 8: "Against the Jews."

Chapter 9: "Against Simon the Samaritan, Marcion of Pontus, Mani the Persian, and the Manichees."

Chapter 10: "Against the Sabellians."

Chapter 11: "Against the Arians."

Chapter 12: "Against the Pneumatomachoi." The end [of the chapter] is mutilated (from the sermon of Gregory the Theologian On the Holy Spirit [De spiritu sancto {Oratio 31}, 23, 11–16]):

αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται συζυγίαι τοιαῦται καὶ οὕτως ἔχουσαι, τίνα δὲ, οὐτ' ἔστιν, οὔτε λέγεται· πονηρόν, τὸ θεῖον· ἡ σφαῖρα τετράγωνος· τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνέστηκεν, οὐ σύνθησιν [erroneous for σύνθετον] ὁ ἄνθρωπος· τίνα γὰρ εἰς τοσοῦτον ποτὲ ἐμπληξίας ἀφικόμενον ἔγνω, ὥστε τι τοιοῦτον ἢ ἐννοῆσαι τολμήσαι, ἢ ἀποφύνασθαι ...

The paper, on which the manuscript is written is thick and yellowish, similar to Oriental paper, and the folios are somehow dirtied.

The data by Lampros permits making an identification of the *florilegium* not given in earlier catalogues. Thus, the Iviron manuscript provides one more witness to the inventory of manuscripts of *Panoplia Dogmatike*.⁶ Because the *Panoplia* has no critical edition as yet, the Iviron fragment can only be collated against the printed edition. The only available edition is that by Hieromonk

⁶ Andreas N. Papavasileiou, *Euthymios-Ioannēs Zygadēnos. Bios Syngraphai*. (Leukosia, 1979), 59–76. (hencefort: Papavasileiou, *Euthymios-Ioannēs Zygadēnos*)

Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone, published in Tergoviște, Wallachia, in 1710.⁷ It remains unclear which manuscripts of the *Panoplia* were at his disposal and how far they are representative of the content of the *Panoplia*. Although it is a question yet to be clarified, the manuscripts used for the first edition may have been of high quality. They may have been connected with the revival of Greek manuscript production in post-Byzantine Wallachia, which preserved numerous texts invaluable as witnesses to lost mid-Byzantine and Palaeologan prototypes.⁸ The Tergoviște text of the *Panoplia* is reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, with additional notes of Christian Friedrich Matthäi taken from the preface to his edition of Zigabenus' *Commentaries on the Gospels*.⁹ The Iviron fragment begins at PG 130, 157 A11 and ends at 837 B12. However, it does not contain the same text as the edited *Panoplia*. It contains less and at the same time more—many of the edited texts in the printed edition in PG 130 are missing in the fragment, while the latter's text is different in many respects. In the case of the Dionysian fragments treated here, while the text edited by Metrophanes contains some variants of the Iviron fragment (or vice versa), the main difference is that the edited text does not contain the scholia, of which, as far as I can judge, the present article gives the *editio princeps*.

At this point an important question emerges: Were the texts in the Iviron manuscript somehow selected logically and are they a unity with all-embracing coherence? The inventory list¹⁰ of the *Panoplia* manuscripts makes it evident that at least one manuscript family transmits the initial eleven chapters only, thus giving the shape of a first volume. Surprisingly, no manuscript is attested to preserve *only* the remaining titles which, logically, can be expected to comprise a second volume. It remains an open question whether the scribe of the Iviron manuscript, or the scribe of its immediate model, copied a random selection of texts. Apparently, this manuscript is based on the whole *Corpus* of *Panoplia* and it contains the twelfth chapter entitled “Against the *Pneumathomachoi*,” a chapter supposed to be the first entry in a second volume. To make matters more

⁷ Πανόπλια Δογματική Αλεξίου Βασιλέως τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, περιέχουσα ἐν συνόψει τὰ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ θεοφόροις πατράσι συγγραφέντα, εἰς τάξιν δε καὶ διεσκευμένην ἁρμονίαν παρὰ Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ζιγαδηνοῦ τεθέντα (Tergoviște 1710).

⁸ This is another piece of evidence of the phenomenon of the survival of Byzantine tradition after the fall of Constantinople, as defined in Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium* (Iași: Center for Romanian Studies, 2000).

⁹ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelia Graecae et Latinae*/ Textum Graecum...ad fidem duorum codicum...diligenter recensuit et repetita versione Latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionis edidit Christ. Frid. Matthaei (Berlin and London: Asher, 1845).

¹⁰ Papavasileiou, *Euthymios-Ioannēs Zygadēnos*. 59–76.



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complicated, the Ivron manuscript lacks the beginning and the end and this excludes any clues which may come from the title, the table of contents or the scribe's colophon.

Paleographic Description

Lampros indicates that the manuscript dates from the fourteenth century. There is no sound reason to contest the proposed dating and this is important for establishing the sources of the Ivron manuscript and how it relates to *florilegia* of a similar character.

Despite the archaizing tendencies, the script has the distinctive characteristics of the style that Herbert Hunger called “die Fettaugenmode,” which clearly point to the same dating.¹¹ Undoubtedly, all the Pseudo-Dionysian excerpts were written by one hand without any significant modification of the script.

Each folio has 29 lines, except 10v and 28v, which have 28 lines because of the decorative stripe between two excerpts. The punctuation consists only of superior dots, commas, and signs for the end of each paragraph. The paragraphs themselves are not separated by spacing, and the only marginal signs are those for the text of the Areopagite and the following scholia. Because of the archaizing tendencies, the shape of the breathing marks is not always rounded and sometimes varies. Written in the “Fettaugen” style, the letters vary in size—some are enlarged while others remain small. Among the other “Fettaugen” elements are letters with long tails—the chis, kappas, and xis. Although not systematically, the betas, rhos, and omegas have rounded bows; the ypsilons are regularly prolonged as well. An archaizing feature is also the rare use of ligatures; among the few are those of epsilon-xi, epsilon-rho and only in two cases the article for Gen. Sg. M. Kὰ is always written fully. *Nomina sacra* are presented in abbreviations. The text is written neatly and the scribe made only one correction (26, verso13).

¹¹ Herbert Hunger, “Archaisierende Minuskel und Gebrauchsschrift zur Blütezeit der Fettaugenmode,” in *La Paléographie Grecque et Byzantine*, ed. J. Glenisson and J. Bompaigne (Paris: Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., 1977), 283–290.



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The Pseudo-Dionysian Fragments and the First Edition of the Hitherto Unknown Scholia Appended to Them

Dating from a late period, the Iviron manuscript still remains a fragment in the chain of interpretative succession of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*,¹² the first excerpt is followed by one small commentary, and the text of the *Letter to Gaius* by four scholia. What follows is a presentation of the Pseudo-Dionysian fragments with their titles as they appear in the Iviron manuscript. The commentaries are written as *in corpore* scholia and a small sign marks the precise word or phrase which is to be commented upon. The square brackets refer to the critical edition of *Corpus Dionysiacum*¹³; the transcription of the Greek text follows the original as closely as possible (*édition diplomatique*).

Title 5, On the divine naming, of the Areopagite

From the treatise On the Divine Names [DN I,6]; fol. 10v; annot with small scholion

Title 6, of the Areopagite, On the divine incarnation

From the first chapter of the treatise On the Divine Names [DN I,4] fol. 24v

From the second chapter of the Areopagite [DN II,9] fol. 25 r

[IV Letter] annotated with four *in corpore* scholia fols. 25r–26v

Of the same (Dionysius) from the Elements of Theology of the holy Hierotheus [DN, II,10] fol. 26v

A small commentary is appended to the first Dionysian except in the Iviron manuscript; so far this scholion had foiled all attempts at identifying it.

Title 5, On the divine naming, of the Areopagite

From the treatise On the Divine Names¹⁴ [DN I,6]; fol. 10v.

¹² For more details on the commentaries on the Areopagite see Paul Rorem and John Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). A future edition of the scholia will clarify the authorship of each scholion.

¹³ The Pseudo-Dionysian fragments were first collated against the critical edition of *Areopagitica*, see Beate Regina Suchla, *De Divinis Nominibus: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, vol. 1, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Patristische Texte und Studien (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1990); Günter Heil and Adolf Martin Ritter, *De Coelesti Hierarchia: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, vol. 2, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Patristische Texte und Studien (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1991).

¹⁴ All translations from Greek are mine. I am grateful to Prof. István Perczel and Matthew Suff for their corrections.



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Knowing this, the theologians praise Him as one who is without any name, and also one of all names. As being nameless, on the one hand, when they say that the Principle-of-divinity in one of the mystical visions of symbolic theophany reproached the man who asked “What is your name?” and when He, leading that man away from any possible knowledge according to the divine names, said “And why are you asking for my name, when it is a wonderful name?” Now is this not the wonderful name, the one beyond all names, the nameless name, which is established beyond all names spoken either in this age or in that to come? As the one with many names, on the other hand, when they introduce the Principle-of-divinity saying “I am the Being, the life, the light, God, the truth,” and when the same divinely wise men in many names celebrate the Cause of everything from all its effects—as good, as beautiful, as wise, as lovely, as God of gods, as Lord of lords, as the Holy of holies, as eternal, as being and cause of the ages, as the giver of life, as wisdom, as mind, as word, as the one who knows, as having in advance all the treasures of every knowledge, as power, as powerful, as King of kings, as the Ancient of Days, as ageless, as unchangeable, as salvation, as justice, as sanctification, as redemption, as in greatness exceeding everything and also as the one in the gentle breeze. Moreover, they also say that he is in the minds and in the souls and in the bodies and in the heavens and on the earth and at the same time remaining in himself; in the world, above the world, around the world, above the heavens, supersubstantial, sun, star, fire, water, spirit, dew, cloud, that-which-is-the-stone, rock, *every being and nothing from among the beings*.

Scholion:

Οὐ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἀνεννόητος, τούτου πάντως οὐδὲ ὄνομα κύριον
εὐρεθήσεται· δηλωτικὸν γὰρ φύσεως, τὸ κύριον ὄνομα·

Of Whom the nature is impossible to conceive, for Him not even one proper name will be found. For the proper name indicates the nature [of the beings].

The commentary appended to the first Dionysian excerpt remains enigmatic and I could not establish its provenance. Although it sounds like Gregory of Nyssa, the source of this scholion remains elusive.

A philological analysis of the four scholia appended to the *Letter to Gaius* demonstrates that at least the second, third, and fourth scholia are older than the Iviron manuscript (or its direct model) because their text is independent of the mistakes or variant readings contained in the commented-on text. These scholia show a different stage of text transmission or, in other words, they do



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not comment on the text in the Iviron manuscript but on a different and earlier version.

For sake of convenience, the scholia are presented together with a translation of the main text in a sequence as they appear in the manuscript. The phrases of the scholia that are under the direct influence of Saint Maximus' *Ambigua ad Thomam* are in bold typeface; the italics denote the words in the Iviron manuscript which were a starting point for the annotation.

[IV Letter] 25v –26v

of the same [Dionysius], from his letter to the monk Gaius

Text

How do you say that Jesus, the one who is beyond all, is substantially put in the same order with all? For he is not called man as the Cause of men but as being truly, according to the entire substance. However, we do not define Jesus in terms of humanity. For he is neither only a man nor is he only supersubstantial as far as he is a man¹⁵—but truly man is the one who is especially man-loving.

Scholion I

Τουτέστιν οὐχ ὡς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀρίζομεθα· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἄνθρωπος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεός· ὥσπερ δὲ οὐ θεός μόνον ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἄνθρωπος·

This means that we do not determine him as mere man, for he is not only man, but also God, just as he is not only God, but also man.

Text

Above men and according to men, the Supersubstantial *substantiated* from the substance of men.

Scholion II

Υπὲρ ἀνθρώπους μὲν οὐσιωμένος ὅτι ἐκ παρθένου· κατὰ
ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὅτι ἐκ γυναικὸς· ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δὲ
οὐσίας ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὴν σάρκα

¹⁵ The meaning is obtained after changing the breathing in the word *ἦ* to *ἧ*. The scholion seems to comment on a different textual variant. Changing the meaning of the text, this variant reading is important; it is testified to in only one manuscript from the direct Dionysian tradition, but is attested here and also in the printed edition of the *Panoplia*, PG 130, 208 D.



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κατήγαγεν· οὐτε ἐκ γῆς ἑτεροφυῇ τινὰ σάρκα παρὰ τὴν
ἀνθρωπίνην ἑαυτῷ περιέθετο· οὐτε κατὰ φαντασίαν
ἐνηνθρώπησεν.

He is substantiated above men, because from a virgin, but according to men because from a woman; from the substance of men because not from another substance; for neither had he brought the flesh from heaven nor did he take on himself an earthly flesh of a nature other than human, nor did he become man [only] in appearance.

Text

The one who is always supersubstantial is for this in no lesser extent more-than-full of supersubstantiality; even, because of the superabundance of this [that is, of the supersubstantiality] coming truly to substance, he was substantiated above substance and above man he performed the deeds of man. And this is shown by the virgin who supernaturally gives birth and by the unstable water that bears the weight of the material and earthly feet and does not yield, but by a supernatural power is coagulated into a state of solidity. Why would one go through the rest, which are so numerous, through which the one who sees in a divine manner will know above intellect that even the things said about the man-lovingness of Jesus have the meaning of transcendent negation? And in order just to say it briefly—he was even not a man, not as if he were no man, but as the one who from men, beyond men, and above man, truly became man.

Scholion III

Ὁ ὑπερούσιος καὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη
ὑπερούσιος ὥς ἐκ παρθένου· καὶ ἄνευ σπέρματος· καὶ
ὥσπερ ἡ θεότης ὑπὲρ νοῦν καὶ λόγον· νοουμένη γὰρ τὸ
ἄγνωστον ἔχει καὶ λεγόμενη, τὸ ἄρρητον· ὁ κατὰ φύσιν
καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσιώθη
γινώσκομέν τε καὶ λέγομεν· πῶς δὲ ἐκ παρθενικῶν
αἱμάτων ἑτέρῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν θεσμῷ, οὐτε
οἶδαμεν, οὐτε λέγομεν·

That even this [that is, the substantiation of Jesus] is *supersubstantial and according to the divinity*. Supersubstantial as being from a virgin and without [the] seed [of a man] and, just like the divinity, it is above mind and word. For even when conceived, it has unknowability, and when said, ineffability. The one who is according to nature, is also above nature. We know and say that he was substantiated from human nature [?] but neither do we know nor do we say how it was from virginal blood according to a law other than [that of] human nature.

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Text

And for the rest, *he did the divine things not as God, and the human things not as man*, but being God man-ified, he exerted for us a kind of new god-manly activity.

Scholion IV

‘Ο Χριστός οὔτε κατὰ θεὸν ἔδρασε τὰ θεῖα, οὔτε κατὰ
ἀνθρώπον τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· οὔτε γὰρ θεικῶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀνθρωπικῶς· οὔτε ἀνθρωπικῶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
θεικῶς διὰ τὴν ἀχώριστον καὶ ἀσύγχυτον ἔνωσιν·
ἀνδρωθέντος γὰρ θεοῦ· τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος
θεοῦ, καὶνὴ τις ἡ θεανδρική ἐνέργεια ἐγένετο· καὶνὴ μὲν,
ὅτι μήτε θεικῶς τὰ θεῖα· μήτε ἀνθρωπικῶς τὰ
ἀνθρώπινα ἐνηργεῖτο· θεανδρικῶς δὲ ἡ θεία ἅμα καὶ
ἀνθρωπίνη· ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῦ πυρακτωθέντος ξίφους· τὸ
τμητικὸν γέγονε καυστικόν· καὶ τὸ καυστικόν· τμητικόν,
ἠνώθη γὰρ, καθάπερ τῷ σιδήρῳ τὸ πῦρ, οὕτω καὶ τῷ τοῦ
σιδήρου τμητικῷ, τὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καυστικόν· καὶ γέγονε
καυστικὸς μὲν ὁ σίδηρος, ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ· τμητικόν
δὲ τὸ πῦρ· ἐνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν σίδηρον· οὐδέτερον δὲ
τροπὴν πέπονθε, τῇ καθ’ ἑνωσιν πρὸς θάτερον ἀντιδόσει
ἄλλ’ ἐκάτερον· καὶ τῇ τοῦ συγκειμένου καθ’ ἑνωσιν
ἰδιότητι· μεμένηκε τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείας οἰκειότητος
ἀνέκπτωτον οὕτω καὶ τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς θείας
ἐνανθρωπήσεως, θεότης καὶ ἀνθρώποτης ἠνώθησαν καθ’
ὑπόστασιν· μηδ’ ἐτέρας ἐκστάσης τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας,
διὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν· μήτε μὴν ἄσχετον αὐτὴν κεκτημένης
μετὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν· μὴ δὲ τῆς συγκειμένης διακεκριμένην

Christ neither did the divine deeds as God nor the human deeds as man. For [he did them] not only divinely but also humanly and not only humanly but also divinely through the indivisible and unconfusable union. For by means of the man-ification of God, that is, by the inhumanation of God, a kind of new god-manly activity came into existence. It is new, because neither did he divinely do the divine deeds nor did he humanly do the human deeds, but in god-manly manner the divine [activity] is together with the human [activity]. Just as the cutting capacity of a brazing sword became its burning capacity and its burning capacity became its cutting capacity—for just as the fire became united with the iron, so also the burning capacity of the fire became united with the cutting



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capacity of the iron, so that the iron becomes burning because of the union with the fire and the fire became cutting because of the union with the iron and neither of the two suffered any alteration because of the exchange between each other in the union, but each of the two, even while in the union sharing in the property of the other element, remained without falling out from its own natural property—so also even in the mystery of the divine inhumanation, divinity and humanity became united according to the hypostasis, without any of the two abandoning, because of the union, its natural operation, although without keeping it unrelated to the other element or separated from it.

The immediate source of the greater part of the last scholion (IV) is to be found in Maximus Confessor's, *Ambigua ad Thomam*.¹⁶ Moreover, one can recognize a definitive influence on the second to the fourth scholion of the same *Ambigua ad Thomam* of Maximus,¹⁷ written during the Monothelite controversy in the seventh century. Before coming to this conclusion, the text of the commentaries was also compared with the *in corpore* scholia as they are published in *Patrologia Graeca*. Based on Saint Maximus' commentaries on the Areopagite, the scholia in the Iviron manuscript seem to comment on already-existing commentaries, or, to put it more simply, *volens-nolens*, they are included in the chain of interpretation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

Evaluation of the Iviron Manuscript

Research on the Iviron manuscript has demonstrated that every manuscript, even late and fragmentary, can bring unexpected results. At this stage, I can provide only a partial evaluation of the manuscript, based on the Pseudo-Dionysian excerpts. Research which is now going on will take into consideration other manuscripts of the *Panoplia*. Because the Iviron manuscript is acephalous and mutilated, it is important to search for its model and also for other manuscripts which display some parentage of it. According to the catalogue description by Lampros,¹⁸ another *Panoplia* manuscript from Iviron, dated from the same time, contains a note that it belonged to the bishop of Cyprus. Apart

¹⁶ PG 91, 1060 B1 – C5.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, I had to use Migne's edition: "Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*," in PG 91, 1045–1060. The edition of Bart Janssens was not available to me. Bart Janssens, "Maximi Confessoris *Ambigua ad Thomam* una cum *Epistula Secunda ad Eundem*," *Maximi Confessoris Opera*, *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* vol. 48, (Turnhout and Leuven: Brepols and Leuven University Press, 2002).

¹⁸ Λάμπρος, *Κατάλογος*.



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from this,¹⁹ another manuscript of the *Panoplia*, also from the fourteenth century, preserves small notes on another Pseudo-Dionysian fragment.

The discovery of this hitherto unidentified copy of the *Panoplia* also had other welcome consequences. The case of the Pseudo-Dionysian fragments treated here has demonstrated that the main text and the commentaries have a value of their own. This implies the possibility that the Iviron manuscript was compiled on the basis of two different manuscripts—one a source for the main text and another a source for the commentaries. Evidence for this is the fact that the scholia are older than the Iviron manuscript (or its direct model) and are independent of the mistakes and variant readings in the main text. Research on fragments from the Iviron manuscript is an illustration of the complicated transmission of texts in the *florilegia* from the Middle Byzantine period and also, by providing interesting variant readings, demonstrates the importance of the *Panoplia* for patristic studies.

¹⁹ Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 667.



REVISITING THE *SECRETUM*: LINEARITY AND CIRCULARITY IN PETRARCH'S DIALOGUE

Zsuzsanna Kiséry 

Nam in omni sermone, gravi presertim et ambiguo, non tam quid dicatur, quam quid non dicatur attendendum est.

Francesco Petrarca: *Secretum*, III. 188.

Introduction

The *Secretum* is one of the most researched Latin works of Francesco Petrarch. At the same time it has incited the most contradictory interpretations. One group of scholars has applied the “biographical approach,” trying to use the *Secretum* to gain information from Petrarch’s text concerning his life, or, vice versa, trying to understand his work on the basis of what they supposed they knew about his life. They did not take into consideration the fictional character of the text. The other way to approach Petrarch’s work has been to treat it as literature, that is, to analyze it by finding the literary context and embedding it into different literary traditions.

One aspect of the work has been neglected by the latter studies: They have not questioned the purpose of the text. Whenever the question of this purpose has been asked and analyzed, it has been by scholars practicing the “biographical approach,” that is, by those who identified the narrator’s avowed purpose with Petrarch’s original aim with no reservations.

Both the “biographical” and the “literary” approaches have their shortcomings concerning the question of the *Secretum*’s aim. The “literary approach” does not consider it at all and the “biographical approach” has tried to answer it based on a credulous reading of the text.

In the present analysis I want to offer a new and different approach to the *Secretum*, claiming that the question about its purpose has to be seen as fundamental.¹ “There can be no motiveless creation....There can be no expression without an origin and an object, a from and a for.”² My analysis aims

¹ This article is extracted from my MA thesis, “Revisiting the *Secretum*: Linearity and Circularity in Petrarch’s Dialogue,” (Central European University, 2004).

² Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations, The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 12.

at finding the “from and the for” of the *Secretum*: its purpose and possible audience, which was evidently closely related to the question of the purpose.

In my examination, two approaches are applied to the text: Firstly, I close-read the dialogue on the basis of a distinction between its author and the narrator. Here, I will analyze the narrative strategies of the *Secretum* and its possible readings suggested by these strategies. Secondly, I place my analysis into the context of the contemporary reception of the work. By analyzing examples of the contemporary reading of the text, I provide evidence for the tenability of my reading.

Linear and Circular Reading/Re-reading of the *Secretum* as a Description of *Franciscus*’ Dream

1. The linear and the circular readings on the level of the narrative strategies

When examining narrative strategies, one has to pose the following questions: How does the text present itself? How do these strategies reveal the author to his readers? What makes these strategies special and what do they say about the author’s position in the text? What can be understood from them about the author’s intention?

In my interpretation, the text suggests two parallel readings that contradict each other. One, which I will hereafter call the linear reading of the dialogue, is the reading suggested by *Franciscus*,³ the narrator of the text. Based on this reading, the *Secretum* is the written form of the essence of a conversation between *Franciscus* and *Augustinus* in the silent presence of *Veritas*, who appeared in order to help him, seeing that he is ill with *acedia*. According to *Franciscus*’ description in the *Probemium*, *Veritas* appeared to the narrator while he was awake, not in his dream:

*...contigit nuper ut non, sicut egros animos solet, somnus opprimeret, sed anxium
atque pervigilem mulier quedam inenarrabilis etatis et luminis, formaque non satis
ab hominibus intellecta, incertum quibus viis adiisse videretur.*⁴

³ In order to make a distinction between the fictitious characters of the dialogue and the “real” persons I will use italics for the former ones.

⁴ In my work I have used the bilingual (Latin and Italian) edition of Fenzi, provided with an abundant commentary and an informative introduction: Francesco Petrarca, *Secretum*, ed. Enrico Fenzi, (Milan: Mursia, 1992) (hereafter: *Secr.*). When quoting Latin texts, I will use spelling according to the editions used. Since, for quoting the text, the secondary literature on the *Secretum* generally follows the page numbers of the edition by Carrara, given also in the edition of Fenzi, I will use both of them for quoting the text,



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He puts the essence of the conversation in writing in order to have the possibility of re-reading it when he needs the advice given by *Augustinus*. I call the interpretation suggested by *Franciscus* “linear,” because if one accepts his description of the genesis of the dialogue, one reads the *Secretum* as an apparition seen awake, which can be seen as something that might help *Franciscus*’ healing. In this case one treats the plot of the work as linear. Despite the ambiguity of the end of the dialogue, by accepting *Franciscus*’ interpretation one accepts the possibility of being healed of *acedia*. Consequently, the linear reading is at the same time optimistic. The secondary literature and the commentary on the text trust this statement of *Franciscus*, concluding from it that Petrarch, by emphasizing that *Franciscus* was awake, wanted to break with the tradition of the *visio* literature. Rico⁵ states that Petrarch’s distancing himself from the vision literature serves to render the description of the meeting with *Augustinus* and *Veritas* more vivid. Mercuri argues for connections between the *Secretum* and *Divina Commedia*. In his opinion, the aim of the allusions in the *Secretum* to *Divina Commedia* is on the one hand Petrarch connecting himself to that literary tradition. On the other hand, the emphasis on *Franciscus* being awake when *Veritas* and *Augustinus* appeared, as opposed to Dante’s vision setting, is part of Petrarch distancing himself from Dante.

Both studies, by attributing different functions to the emphasis on *Franciscus* being awake, accept *Franciscus* as a reliable narrator of the text. This implies that Petrarch’s intention is for his readers to read the *Secretum* as a description of something that happened to *Franciscus* while he was awake. In contrast to this opinion, I would like to propose another possible reading of the text that I call the circular reading.

Besides the reading suggested by *Franciscus*, the narrator of the text, another reading is suggested by Petrarch, the author of the text.⁶ In my opinion,

first the page numbers of the Fenzi edition and then those of the Carrara edition. For the English translation I will use the translation by Davy A. Carozza and H. James Shey, *Petrarch’s Secretum with Introduction, Notes and Critical Anthology* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989) (hereafter: *Transl.*). *Secr.* 94, 22, “Recently... I did not give way to sleep as depressed people tend to do, but rather found myself tense and wide awake. To my astonishment, a woman seemed to stand before me. I do not know how she came to be there, and I cannot describe her youthful radiance nor her beauty, which corresponds only imperfectly to anything in human experience.” *Transl.* 37.

⁵ Francisco Rico, *Vida u obra de Petrarca. I. Lectura del Secretum* (Padua: Antenore, 1974), 17.

⁶ Since the *Secretum* is clearly not a factual narration, but fiction (an “autofiction”), one has to distinguish between the author and the narrator, even if the text itself induces the reader to do the opposite.

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at some points in the dialogue he uses a narrative strategy that creates an ironical distance between himself and *Franciscus*, who turns out to be an unreliable narrator. Below, I will analyze the parts of the text that make the reader mistrustful of the narrator's veracity, in other words, the elements of the text which can be seen as a tool that creates an ironical distance between himself and *Franciscus*.

a. Franciscus' egritudo

The first element is *Franciscus'* illness. The narrator appears in the dialogue as a sick person who is to be cured. That is the reason why he needs help and why the other two characters in the dialogue visit him: *...nec te latet quam periculosa et longa egritudine tentus sit,*⁷ *Veritas* says to *Augustinus* about *Franciscus*. This illness is called *acedia* later in the text: *Habet te funesta quedam pestis animi, quam acediam moderni, veteres egritudinem dixerunt.*⁸ The symptoms of this illness are the same as those of the sick person in Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae*.⁹ The senses of the patient become dull; his eyes cannot tolerate light, thus, one of the signs of his recovery is that his eyesight becomes clear again. Another important symptom of *acedia* is the memory becoming dull; this symptom is emphasized the most in the dialogue. *Franciscus* forgets everything, including his readings and even the fact that he is a mortal: *An non te mortalem esse meministi?*¹⁰ *Augustinus* asks him. The process of curing basically consists of making *Franciscus* remember what he already knew but forgot because of his illness. Two other symptoms of *acedia* are the most relevant for the question examined here. One is that the patient always falls asleep. The connection between *Franciscus' egritudo* and this lethargy is also made clear by the passage of the *Prohemium* quoted above (*non, sicut egros animos solet, somnus opprimeret.*) *Augustinus* also makes an allusion to this symptom in the very beginning of the first book, by accosting *Franciscus* with these words: *quid somnias?*¹¹ The other effect accompanying *acedia*, the most

⁷ *Ser.* 96, 24, "...you are aware that he is the victim of a long and serious illness." *Transl.* 38.

⁸ *Ser.* 176, 106, "You are plagued by a disease of the mind, which we moderns call melancholy and the ancients called aegritudo." *Transl.* 84.

⁹ For Boethius' description of the symptoms of this illness see the study of Wolfgang Schmid, "Philosophisches und Medizinisches in der *Consolatio* des Boethius," in *Festschrift Bruno Snell. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 18. Juni 1956 von Freunden und Schülern überreicht* (München: Beck, 1956), 113–144.

¹⁰ *Ser.* 100, 28, "Or have you forgotten that you will die?" *Transl.* 41.

¹¹ *Ser.* 100, 28, (the translation in this case has to be corrected) "What are you daydreaming about?"



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dangerous of all the symptoms, is that the patient believes himself to be healthy. *Veritas*, says to *Augustinus* about *Franciscus*' illness: ...*que eo propinquior morti est quo eger ipse a proprii morbi cognitione remotior*,¹² and later: ...*te ipse decipias*.¹³

The narrator, who states that he was awake during the visit of *Veritas* and *Augustinus*, has an illness of which the two most important symptoms are lethargy and the fact that the patient does not have any consciousness of being ill. This aspect could make the reader hesitate whether to trust *Franciscus* or not.

b. The Secretum as visum, oraculum or insomnium

That interpreting the *Secretum* as a dream description is a valid reading of the text is supported by an analysis of the connections between the terminology used by Petrarch and the terminology of Classical dream literature. The most relevant text in this regard is Macrobius' presentation of the various kinds of dreams in the first book of his commentaries on *Somnium Scipionis*. Here he creates five groups of dreams; one of the five categories is the group called *visum*. These dreams appear in a state between sleep and waking, showing figures of unusual size and shape. One of the characteristics of this kind of dream is that the dreaming person thinks he is awake: ...*in quadam, ut aiunt, prima somni nebula adhuc se vigilare aestimans, qui dormire vix coepit aspicere videtur irruentes in se vel passim vagantes formas*.¹⁴ Accordingly, a state does exist in the Classical tradition—known by Petrarch—in which the dreamer thinks he is awake. This seems to be the state in which *Franciscus*' was found.

In Macrobius' typology an *oraculum* is another kind of dream which can be taken into consideration in interpreting the dialogue. It is not a strange idea in the Macrobian system to connect a dream to more than one type, because the Classical author also, writing about the dream of Scipio, connects it to several kinds of dreams, that is, to *oraculum*, *visio*, and *somnium*. The *oraculum* is a dream in which a parent or another respectable figure, such as a god or a priest, gives advice with regard to what the dreamer should or should not do in the future. *Franciscus*' dream—with the divine figure of *Veritas* and with *Augustinus*, who comes to *Franciscus* in order to help him come out of his crisis, also corresponds to this condition. The third type that can be applied to *Secretum* is the *insomnium*, in which the dreamer sees things that attracted his attention when he was awake. This can also be true for *Franciscus*, who, before the visit of *Veritas* and *Augus-*

¹² *Secr.* 96, 26, "Ironically, the nearer he draws to death, the less aware he is of his own disease." *Transl.* 38.

¹³ *Secr.* 100, 28, "You ... are deceiving yourself." *Transl.* 41.

¹⁴ Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius. *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*. Ed. Jakob Willis (Leipzig: Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1970), I. 3, 7.

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tinus, was thinking about the questions treated later in the conversation. It says in the sentence describing the setting of the dialogue: ...*et sepissime cogitanti qualiter in hanc vitam intrassem, qualiterve forem egressurus...*¹⁵

Reviewing the Macrobian types of dreams applicable to the setting of *Secretum*, one can conclude that the dialogue can be read as a dream in three ways: two of these types are deceptive dreams (*insomnium* and *visum*), which according to Macrobius are not worth interpreting, and one appertains to true dreams, the *oraculum*. The fact that there are two false dreams among these types should not make readers hesitate regarding the possibility of interpretation because in the parallel case of the interpretation of Scipio's dream the possibility that it could be seen as a false dream did not constitute an impediment to the interpretability of the dream. Unraveling the intertextual web of the dialogue, I will examine some other elements of the text which make this reading even more convincing.

c. "O quam te memorem virgo?" Veritas-Venus: Franciscus' love

Franciscus, upon seeing *Veritas*, does not recognize her at first sight and asks who she is. He accosts her saying: *o quam te memorem virgo? Namque haud tibi vultus/mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat.*¹⁶ *Franciscus* quotes here Virgil's *Aeneid*, the most frequently quoted text in the dialogue. According to Mercuri,¹⁷ this quoting of Virgil in describing the visit of *Veritas* and *Augustinus* alludes to the way Dante uses Virgil as a guide in his *Divina Commedia*, and thus *Franciscus*' meeting with *Veritas* and *Augustinus* can be seen as the counterpart of Dante's journey in the hereafter. In my opinion, one should not settle for stating the fact that the quotation is from Virgil. By examining the original context of these verses one can enrich the interpretation of this scene with a new element, which may have implications that are relevant for my reading of the *Secretum*.

The original context of Virgil's verses is the first book of the *Aeneid* (327–328) is in the scene when *Aeneas* meets *Venus* in Carthage. *Venus* appears to her son as a Spartan virgin, telling him the history of Carthage and foretelling the return of his fellows. *Aeneas* notices only at the last minute that it was his mother who spoke to him. He lashes out at her with bitter words (*falsis ludis*

¹⁵ *Secr.* 94, 22, (I had to change the translation slightly) "While absorbed in thoughts about how I came into existence and how I shall pass out of it..."

¹⁶ *Secr.* 94, 22, "Tell me, maiden, what name to call you by./Your appearance and speech are not those of a human." *Transl.* 37.

¹⁷ Roberto Mercuri, "Genesi della tradizione letteraria italiana in Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio," in *Letteratura Italiana, Storia e Geografia. I. L'eta medievale* (Torino: Einaudi, 1987), 229–455, 335.



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imaginibus, I. 407–408) because of her always appearing to him in disguise. In the original context, the verses were used for accosting a deceptive apparition, that is, an apparition that seems to be something other than what it really is. The ideal erudite reader of Petrarch's text was likely to think of this original context of the cited verses; consequently, this connotation of deceptiveness had to infiltrate into his reading. The parallelism between the two contexts, the original and the new context in the *Secretum*, is the other fact supporting the assumption that the reader when reading this citation has to draw the original context into his reading as well. The two contexts seem to be similar: in both an authoritative female figure gives advice to the protagonist.

Another detail of the original scene that has to be emphasized is that the goddess accosted by *Aeneas* is *Venus*. The third book of the *Secretum* deals with human weakness, the two bonds hindering *Franciscus* in recovery: *amor* and *gloria*. *Fr. Quenam sunt quas memoras cathene? A: Amor et gloria.*¹⁸ These are the two chains binding *Franciscus* to earth, impeding him in taking care of the things concerning his soul and leading to salvation. The conversation with *Augustinus* in the presence of *Veritas* essentially serves to help *Franciscus* rid himself of these chains. Keeping this in mind, it seems confusing that *Franciscus* accosts *Veritas*, whose aim is to help him to get out of the snare of *Venus*, with the very words used in the *Aeneid* for accosting the same *Venus*.

Furthermore, the *Prohemium* is not the only passage in the *Secretum* where this scene from the *Aeneid* appears in the text. In the part of the third book mentioned above, *Augustinus* is trying to convince *Franciscus* that he should get rid of the chains binding him to the love of earthly things, arguing that *Franciscus* should also forget his love for a mortal woman. When *Franciscus* justifies his love by pleading her virtues, *Augustinus* answers that the fact that the subject of his love is virtuous does not make any difference to the vanity of his feelings. In his answer he uses irony: *nichil enim adversabor: sit regina, sit sancta, dea certe an Phoebi soror, an nimpharum sanguinis una.*¹⁹ The second part of *Augustinus'* answer (*dea certe...*) is a continuation of the passage cited in the *Prohemium*.²⁰ This strict fitting of the two quotations to each other cannot be accidental; it has to have a

¹⁸ *Secr.* 202, 132, “Fr: What are the chains you are talking about? A: Love and glory.” *Transl.* 102.

¹⁹ *Secr.* 210, 142, “I have no objections. Let her be a queen, a saint, a goddess, or a sister of Apollo, or one of the nymphs.” *Transl.* 107.

²⁰ The whole passage of the *Aeneid* is: “o quam te memorem, virgo? Namque haud tibi vultus/ mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat, o, dea certe/ an Phoebi soror? An Nympharum sanguinis una?” It means that *Augustinus* continues the quotation exactly where *Franciscus* ended it, omitting only the “o”.



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function in the text. Petrarch's using the same passage of the *Aeneid* for both accosting *Veritas* and speaking about his love is another phenomenon making the reader hesitate over the identity of the woman who appeared to *Franciscus* in the beginning of the work and aroused some doubts already at her entry. The reader no longer knows who she is. Is she really *Veritas*, as suggested by *Franciscus*, or *Venus*, or even *Franciscus*' love?

2. *The linear and circular readings on the level of the content*

Accepting the statement of Victoria Kahn,²¹ who argues that the main topic of the dialogue is the question of reading, one has to analyze in what exactly the teaching about reading, advanced in the *Secretum*, consists. The possibility of a double reading of the dialogue, besides on the level of the narrative strategies, also appears on the level of the content of the text, meaning that the representation of reading can also be interpreted in both the linear and the circular ways. The two parallel and at the same time clashing representations of reading appear on two different levels of the text. The linear interpretation is presented in the text *expressis verbis*, in the statements of the characters, that is, on the level of what the text says, while the circular interpretation is present on the level of what the text is, how it functions, how it presents itself as text.

a. *The linear interpretation of reading*

According to *Augustinus*, one of *Franciscus*' main problems is that he does not remember well the things he has already read. Consequently, the moral problem turns out to be a problem concerning the right way of reading, or the other way round, the question of reading turns out to be a moral question. The reminders by *Augustinus* of the things *Franciscus* has already read serve as the organizing principle of the dialogue. Let me quote some examples to illustrate the pervasiveness of this strategy: *Legis semper ista sed negligis*,²² says *Augustinus* to *Franciscus*, speaking about a quotation from Horace. Another typical example for the Augustinian reproach about *Franciscus*' forgetfulness of his reading: *Lectio autem ista quid profuit? Ex multis enim, que legisti, quantum est quod inheserit animo...*?²³

But the detailed discussions concerning the topic of reading are even more telling than these seemingly only accidentally dropped remarks. Discussing the

²¹ Victoria Kahn, "The Figure of the Reader in Petrarch's *Secretum*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 100 (1985): 154–166.

²² *Secr.* 156, 82, "You read such things often enough, but ignore them." *Transl.* 72.

²³ *Secr.* 144, 72, "As for reading, what is the use of that? Out of all that you have read, how much has really stayed in your mind?" *Transl.* 66.



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act of reading, *Augustinus* warns his disciple that what he reads should become real knowledge and not be forgotten.

*Quotiens legenti salutare se se offerunt sententie, quibus vel excitari sentis animum vel frenari, noli viribus ingenii fidere, sed illas in memorie penetralibus absconde multoque studio tibi familiares effice ut, quod experti solent medici, quocunque loco vel tempore dilationis impatiens morbus invaserit, velut in animo conscripta remedia.*²⁴

According to *Augustinus*' teaching in the *Secretum*, reading can help one become what one has to become; it can serve as a remedy against *acedia*. This optimistic notion of reading can be seen as a linear view, since in this interpretation it leads the reader toward a goal. It is possible to recover, and it is possible through reading itself.

b. The Circular Interpretation of Reading

The significance of the passage quoted above is underscored by the *Prohemium*, where the text provides a description of the fictional situation which eventually gave rise to the writing of the book one is about to read. Here the goal of writing this dialogue is identified as remembering the essence of the conversation that took place between *Franciscus* and *Augustinus*.

*Ubi multa licet adversus seculi nostri mores, deque comunibus mortalium piaculis dicta sint, ea tamen quibus ipse notatus sum, memorie altius impressi.*²⁵

And further:

Tuque ideo libelle, conventus hominum fugiens mecum mansisse contentus eris, nominis proprii non immemor. Secretum enim meum es et diceris, michique in

²⁴ *Secr.* 192, 122, "As often as you come across any beneficial ideas in your reading, by which your spirit is roused and enthralled, do not merely trust to the power of your intelligence, but commit them carefully to memory and make them familiar to you by intensive study. In that way of an experienced doctor who has ready remedies whenever a disease strikes which needs immediate attention, you too would have the remedy written in your mind." *Transl.* 93.

²⁵ *Secr.* 98, 26, "Much criticism was spoken against the behavior of our age and against the common failings of men in general. It seemed that the whole human race was being reproached, rather than me alone. I well remember, however, the charges lodged against me in particular. I decided to set down in writing this intimate conversation so as not to forget its details, and the result is this little book." *Transl.* 39.



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*altioribus occupato, ut unumquodque in abdito dictum meministi, in abdito memorabis.*²⁶

If one compares this passage to *Augustinus*' teaching on reading in the dialogue, that *Franciscus* should learn how to relate what he reads to himself, that he should remember the most important messages with the aid of some signs, one can see that the *Secretum* is not merely the transcription of the conversation, it is itself the application of *Augustinus*' teaching. Consequently, the writing of the *Secretum* can be interpreted as rereading from *Franciscus*' readings, as a selection with commentaries on his most important readings. Writing as rereading: this is the circular interpretation of the function of reading, suggested not by what the text *says* (as in the case of the linear interpretation), but by what the text *is*: the scheme of the dialogue consists of quotations from *Franciscus*' former readings. In the circular interpretation, the writing of the *Secretum* turns out to be reading, the rereading of texts of from the past. One reads in order to write, and writing becomes reading. Reading and writing do not have any moral function; they cannot help anyone to recover; they are to be seen as an autotelic process. This despair is reflected at the end of the dialogue by *Augustinus*' remark on *Franciscus*' attitude, when *Augustinus* says that they arrived at the same point where they started their conversation:²⁷ *In antiquam litem relabimur, voluntatem impotentiam vocas.*²⁸

Reading the *Secretum* and its Purpose in the Context of its Contemporary Reception

In this part of my analysis I attempt to reveal Petrarch's possible purpose in the *Secretum* by contextualizing the double reading that I offer. The context I will examine is the contemporary reception of the *Secretum*. I attempt to find answers to the following questions: What might the meaning be of the paradox of the

²⁶ *Socr.* 98, 26. This little volume, therefore, is not intended for wide circulation, but will remain among my private papers, in keeping this title. For it is a private conversation, and so shall be called. When I find myself preoccupied with the more profound problems of human existence, I shall have a faithful record to recall to my mind what was said in that conversation. *Transl.* 39.

²⁷ *Augustinus* started his teaching with the anti-augustinian, or Pelagian, doctrine about the human will. According to this anti-augustinian teaching of the fictitious *Augustinus*, *Franciscus*' problem is that he does not really want to change, because if he wanted to he could.

²⁸ *Socr.* 282, 214, "We are slipping back into an old argument." *Transl.* 144.



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two clashing readings? What could the rational basis be for an author to write a text having two interpretations that undermine each other's validity?

Having argued for a double reading of the *Secretum*, one has to face the question of its validity. How can the reader be certain that his or her reading is not an overinterpretation of the text?

An analysis of the contemporary reception of the dialogue is a useful aid that may help to justify the reading proposed by the present analysis. One can never be sure about being right in a reading; the maximum to be sought is a possible reading. In my work, I try to combine both sides of the interpretation, first focusing on what the text says, that is, what can be seen as the intention of the text, and second, what can one learn about the dialogue by examining its contemporary reception. The contemporary reception has a special significance in the history of the reception of a work because it can help to reconstruct the ideal reader of the work, that is, a reader with the same *Erwartungshorizont* as the author had, whom the author might have had in mind while writing. Could the text be understood when it was written as one tries to interpret it now?

Examining the contemporary and almost contemporary receptions of the *Secretum*,²⁹ one can find examples of both interpretations. Billanovich cites evidence for the fact that the *Secretum* was read in the monastic ambience. It was used, together with *De Otio religioso*, *Sine nomine*, and *Salmi penitentiali* as a text for pious meditations.³⁰ Billanovich summarizes the popularity of Petrarch's works as texts stimulating meditation by stating that their author had a similar role in the spiritual development of his readers as *Augustinus* had.³¹ He also quotes a brief summary of the *Secretum* by Vespasiano Bisticci, who writes about the dialogue when discussing about the conversion of Francesco da Legname:

²⁹ As the present work's aim was not to analyze the reception of the dialogue, my source for this part of my analysis is the secondary literature on the question. Since there is no detailed overview on the question (works about Petrarch's reception concentrate almost exclusively on the reception of *Canzoniere*) I have to rely on the sparsely dropped remarks in the literature on the question. The most informative book in this respect is Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato*, I. *Lo scrittoio del Petrarca*. (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1947), (hereafter: *Petr. Lett.*) and especially the chapter *Da Padova all'Europa*, 297–419. In general, questions on the dialogue's reception can be summarized as: it has been a question for a long time whether it was known in the life of Petrarch. As a consequence, most of the studies do not pay attention to the contemporary reception of the dialogue.

³⁰ Billanovich, *Petr. Lett.* 372–379.

³¹ "...il maestro Petrarca estende per decenni dopo la morte la sua opera di direttore di coscienza, o addirittura, come egli si era proposto, di minore sant'Agostino," Billanovich, *Petr. Lett.* 377–378.

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[Messer Francesco da Legname] nel principio della sua conversion mandò a Firenze per uno libretto composto da messer Francesco Petrarca, intitolato *De conflictu curarum suarum*, dove in forma di dialogo egli si confessa de' peccati sua all'onnipotente Iddio, e Santo Agostino, così è opinione, risponde al Petrarca dolendosi de' sua errori, e così con infinite lacrime il Petrarca si confessa de' sua peccati all'onnipotente Iddio, e ne domanda perdonanza. Messer Francesco col mezzo di questo libro si convertì al suo Iddio, e mutossi della vita e de' costumi, in modo ch' era ignuno che non si meravigliasse di tanta mutazione in ogni cosa, quanta fece in brevissimo tempo.³²

In the light of this passage, the *Secretum* seems to have been read as a true description of a conversion, similar to that of Augustine, used because of its exemplariness in order to further the readers' personal moral development. This reading is identical with what I call linear reading.

This interpretation, however, despite being more successful in the reception of the work, was not the only way the dialogue was read. Boccaccio, another contemporary reader of the text, constructed an opposite meaning of the text. The evidence for this reading is indirect and can be reconstructed on the basis of a paraphrase of the *Secretum*.³³ Boccaccio, in the beginning of the eighth book of his *De casibus virorum illustrium*, dated to 1359, relates his dream in which Petrarch appeared to him. According to his report, while working on *De casibus virorum illustrium*, a sense of laziness stole over him and he fell asleep. In his dream, Petrarch appeared to him and urged him to continue his work, pleading the *fama* that Boccaccio could obtain by his writing. Föcking calls

³² Vespasiano Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri*, quoted in Billanovich, *Petr. Lett.*, 378. In my translation: "Messer Francesco da Legname, at the beginning of his conversion, sent someone to Florence for a booklet composed by the master Francesco Petrarca, with the title 'De conflictu curarum suarum' (that is, for the *Secretum*). In this book, in the form of a dialogue, Petrarca confesses his sins to the almighty God, and, it is said that Augustine answers Petrarca feeling pity for his sins. Petrarca, with neverending crying, confesses his sins to the almighty God, and craves his pardon. Master Petrarca, with this booklet, converted to God and he changed his life and his customs, so that there was no one who would not have been surprised by such a change in everything that had happened in such a short time."

³³ Marc Föcking mentions this paraphrase of the *Prohemium* of the *Secretum* in a footnote of his study. He uses it as evidence of the fact that the *Secretum* was known by some of Petrarch's friends already in his lifetime. Marc Föcking, "Dyalogum quendam Petrarcae *Secretum* und die Arbeit am Dialog im Trecento," in *Möglichkeiten des Dialogs, Struktur und Funktion einer Literarischen Gattung zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance in Italien*. Text und Kontext, Romanische Literaturen und allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft 15, ed. Klaus W. Hempfer, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002) 76–114.



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attention, first, to the fact that the passage describing Petrarch's appearance paraphrases Petrarch's description of *Veritas'* visit. Second, he also states that in Boccaccio's text Petrarch is arguing in order to convince Boccaccio of the opposite of what *Augustinus* argued for in the *Secretum*, namely, seeking glory. These two facts alone would be sufficient for coming to the conclusion that Boccaccio saw the possibility of reading the *Secretum* in a different way compared to those who applied the linear reading to it. Accordingly, Boccaccio's reading might be an example of the interpretation of the text that I call here a circular reading. Boccaccio turns the argumentation of the *Secretum* upside down: in his work it is the lazy writer, Boccaccio, who uses Augustine's argumentation against *fama* in order to convince himself that he should not continue working:

*O insana cupido! Adveniet hora, et iam est que te a rebus mortalibus excimat, que corpusculum conterat tuum, que te convertat in fabulam. Quid, oro, cum nil ex momentaneis rebus amplius senties, etiam si orbis totus ore pleno nil aliud preter nomen tuum cum laude cantet, absens, honoris aut voluptatis assummes?*³⁴

While laziness is using arguments that in the *Secretum* have been used for pious reasons, when the master, Petrarch, appears he uses arguments that are the opposite of those used by his master, *Augustinus*, in the *Secretum*. In Boccaccio's text, he argues for the beauty of *fama*, calling it *desiderabile bonum*.³⁵

In my opinion, in addition to the facts that Föcking mentions, there are some other elements in Boccaccio's text that support the conclusion I draw from Boccaccio's paraphrase. In the beginning of the eighth book, the narrator sleeps, which is not only mentioned, but an almost exaggerated emphasis is put on this circumstance. He writes: *...in tantum tanque profundum demersus soporem sum ut, nedum alteri, verum michi ipsi immobilis factus mortuus fere viderer*.³⁶ When he almost obeyed the advice received in his dream, Boccaccio was about to wake up: *Talibus ergo plurimisque similibus suadente desidia semivictus imo victus in totum, caput,*

³⁴ Giovanni Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, in *Tutte le opre di Giovanni Boccaccio*, 9, ed. Vittore Branca, (Milan: Mondadori, 1983) (hereafter Bocc.). In my translation: "Oh, foolish desire! The hour will come, or rather it has already arrived, that will drag you away from all the mortal things, that will destroy your miserable body, and that will turn you into a tale. Tell me, what honour or pleasure will you take, even if the whole world would in full mouth sing only the praises of your name, when you will not feel anything from the transitory things, when you will not be here any more."

³⁵ Bocc. 658.

³⁶ Bocc. 650, in my translation: "I delved into such a deep and heavy sleep that it almost seemed not only to others but even to myself that I was dead because I became so immobile."

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*quod in cubitum surrecturus erexeram, in pulvinar iterum reclinavi.*³⁷ He wanted to wake up, but in the end he could not. It was in this state that the figure of Petrarch appeared to him: *Sed ecce visum est michi, nescio quibus missum ab oris, hominem astitisse...*³⁸ The fact that the narrator in Boccaccio's case was sleeping when Petrarch appeared to him also supports the inference about Boccaccio's circular reading of the *Secretum*.

Another detail supporting the idea that Boccaccio's paraphrase testifies to Boccaccio's circular reading of the *Secretum* is the good reputation it assigns to poetry. According to the Petrarch of Boccaccio's text:

*Sic nos inter multiplices Scipiones Affricano primo, inter Catones Censorio, inter Quintios Cincinnato, inter Stoicos Platoni, inter Peripateticos Aristoteli, inter poetas Homero aut Maroni, si note aliud dignum non sit, fingendo dignitatis superaddimus aliquid phantasia.*³⁹

Fantasy and invention are seen as tools by which great personalities' fame is created, and consequently, as good tools, because fame in the whole argument has been shown as something desirable.

On the basis of the analysis of texts that provide the context for the *Secretum* one can conclude that its contemporary reception supports the possibility of a double reading of the dialogue. The oscillation between the two positions with regard to the role of reading, literary activity, and poetry can be exemplified in Petrarch's œuvre as in the *Erwartungshorizont* of the contemporary readers, which can be reconstructed on the basis of their understanding of the *Secretum*.

Accepting the interpretation of the *Secretum* according to which it is a justification of poetry, it is not difficult to answer the question about its purpose. It can be seen as a self-justification of Petrarch, being a poet himself. The question about the audience can also be solved, by combining what Petrarch writes about the function of *integumentum* and what he is doing in the text of the *Secretum*. In the dialogue he uses the same technique of hiding the

³⁷ Bocc. 652, in my translation: "While I was quasi, or rather totally, won over by these and similar things by which idleness tried to convince me, once again I reclined my head that I was already raising, wanting to stand up in my dream, on to the cushion."

³⁸ Bocc. 652, in my translation: "But behold, somebody appeared to me, I do not know from where he was sent..."

³⁹ Bocc. 658. In my translation: "Thus, we assign to Africanus among the many Scipiones, to Censorius among the Catones, to Cincinnatus among the Quintii, to Plato among the Stoics, to Aristotle among the Peripatetics, to Homer or to Virgil among the poets some dignity by means of invention, with fantasy, if there is nothing else worth mentioning."



Revisiting the *Secretum*: Linearity and Circularity in Petrarch's Dialogue

message from those who in his opinion are not worthy of understanding it. His ideal audience is not the ignorant physician to whom *Contra medicum* was addressed. It can be assumed that the ideal audience of the *Secretum* is formed by readers who have exactly the same culture as Petrarch, meaning that Petrarch's most perfect ideal reader is himself. Consequently, *Franciscus'* statement in the *Prohemium* about the purpose of the dialogue can also be understood in this way: the *Secretum* is not addressed to the opposition camp, but to those who have the same cultural equipment and the same interests as Petrarch.

The question about the ideal audience (which is related to the question of the implied reader of the text) can be answered on the basis of the analysis of the text itself, because the implied reader and the ideal audience are readers constructed by the text itself. The analysis of a possible audience that met the expectations of the text, i. e. that had the same cultural background as the author, has not been the purpose of this study. It might, however, be the subject of further analyses in the framework of studies on Petrarch's reception.

Conclusion

By analyzing the narrative strategies and the narrator's position in the text, I argue that Petrarch's position as author can be understood as an oscillation between two positions: sometimes hiding himself and merging his figure into the figure of the narrator, that is, *Franciscus*; sometimes creating an ironic distance between himself and *Franciscus*. In the latter case, the narrator turns out to be unreliable. Since former analyses of the *Secretum* have always accepted *Franciscus* as a trustworthy narrator, I have tried emphasize those elements of the text that seem to undermine the narrator's reliability, that is, those parts of the text that show the distance created by Petrarch between himself and *Franciscus*.

According to the two positions of the author in the text (hiding and distancing himself), two parallel readings of the *Secretum* can be established:

- a. The traditional way of interpreting the text accepts *Franciscus* as a reliable narrator, according to which his healing of *acedia* is possible, which might be called the "linear reading."
- b. The parallel reading to the "linear" interpretation is the "circular reading" of the text, according to which it is impossible to be cured of *acedia*. What the linear interpretation claims to be a tool for healing (a vision seen awake), in the circular reading turns out to be a symptom of the illness (a dream of a person laboring under lethargy).

Consequently, the question of reading, which is also the central topic of the dialogue, should generally be interpreted in both the linear and the circular



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way. In the linear interpretation it has a moral function by which it can be justified, while according to the circular interpretation it is an autotelic process that is useful in itself. The clash of these two contradictory interpretations in the text has the function of providing a paradoxical justification of the unjustifiable, that is poetry. It creates the tension of the *Secretum*.

Generally, the “paradox” purpose of the *Secretum* was the justification of poetry, a heroic and ironic proposition of the author, who was aware of its impossibility: an act trying to resolve the irresolvable question that poetry always has to face. From the author’s side, the motivation is clear: it is the poet’s self-justification. As for the audience, one has to suppose a group of intellectuals of the same cultural level as Petrarch, who were able to decipher the message under the *integumentum* that hid it from those who did not have the same cultural equipment and background. Petrarch’s ideal audience was formed by people who had the same culture, the same viewpoints, and asked the same questions.

Readers select their texts; texts select their readers, they filter out those who are not prepared to battle their way through the obstacles they present. This is the reason why Petrarch could afford a contradiction as a justification of poetry.



LEARNING AND PREACHING IN CENTRAL EUROPE: THE EVIDENCE OF A LATE MEDIEVAL RHYMING DECALOGUE¹

András Németh 

Vernacular preaching was an essential element in the medieval culture of Central Europe, but it left few traces in written evidence. Besides analyzing medieval sermon and exempla collections scholars need to find other paths to this hidden field of orality. The analysis of preparatory school texts for preachers can also provide new evidence in the search for elements of orality behind the written material. The rhyming Decalogue, a preparatory school text for preachers, shows promise in this investigation for two reasons. First, it was used and transmitted with different commentaries over a large area of Central Europe (Bohemia, Germany, Hungary, and Poland).² Second, the Decalogue was used as the basic text for preparing for obligatory and regular confessions from the middle of the thirteenth century because the Ten Commandments provided a good framework for summarizing the moral teachings of the Church on the virtues and vices. In this context, the rhyming Decalogue can show the dissemination process of moral theology in Central Europe, the basis of the later Reformation, and the framework of the first expansion of vernacular literacy, which is otherwise difficult to follow in the sources. In spite of the potential of the rhyming Decalogue and its commentaries, these texts have not been published and have escaped scholarly attention so far. This article aims to show the dissemination function of the text and to follow three steps of this process: first, how a medieval student studied the school material in Esztergom, Hungary, in 1463; next, the role of universities and schools in disseminating knowledge via school texts; and finally, the possible recycling of knowledge on the basis of the extant copies of the Decalogue text, which took place usually via

¹ This study summarizes the social aspects of my MA thesis: András Németh, “A Latin Rhyming Decalogue in Fifteenth-century Central Europe: Textual Analysis in an Intellectual Context,” (Central European University, 2004) (hereafter: Németh). I would like to thank all those who helped me during my work, especially my external mentor Edit Madas and my supervisor László Veszprémy. I also acknowledge the generous help of CEU Tănasă Fund and *Pro Renovanda Cultura Hungariae* Student Science Foundation for funding my research in Cracow and Munich, and all the libraries for permitting me to use and publish their material.

² For a list of the extant manuscripts see *Appendix 1*.

vernacular preaching. Before addressing these questions, it is necessary to make an overview of the significance of the Decalogue in the late medieval period.³

Although the Church Fathers and several authors of the early Middle Ages wrote influential passages on the Ten Commandments,⁴ the flourishing period of the Decalogue literature set in after 1215. After this date the Fourth Lateran Ecumenical Council obliged every Christian to confess his or her sins annually and receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least once a year, at Easter (canon 21).⁵ Thereafter, the Ten Commandments served as a basis for preaching and teaching the virtues and vices. In the liturgy, Lent was the period for teaching catechetical knowledge, originally to prepare new converts for baptism, later to prepare laymen for their obligatory confession at Easter.⁶ Since this task required well qualified preachers, the Fourth Lateran Council accepted two other canons. Canon 10 ordered that a trained preacher should replace the bishop who had previously been responsible for preaching; canon 11 ordered that every cathedral school should have a qualified theologian and should provide free education for poor students, which was a significant step in the history of theological education of secular priests.⁷ The rhyming text functioned

³ On the late medieval Decalogue and catechetical literature, see Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bilderkatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther. 1. Die zehn Gebote, mit 12 Bildtafeln nach Cod. Heidelb. 438* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1855) (hereafter: Geffcken); Eginio P. Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965) (hereafter: Weidenhiller); Karin Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien. Zur Programmatik und Überlieferung spätmittelalterlicher Superstitionenkritik*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, vol. 6, 1–2 (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1989), 11–99, 832–865; Miguel Lluch-Baixaül, *Formación y evolución del tratado escolástico sobre el decálogo (1115–1230)*, Université de Louvain, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 80 (Louvain-La-Neuve: Collège Érasme Bureau de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1997) (hereafter: Lluch-Baixaül).

⁴ These works are collected in Lluch-Baixaül, 37–41.

⁵ “Concilium Lateranense IV a. 1215,” in *Conciliarum Oeconomicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti, P. P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1973), 230–271.

⁶ The Decalogue is emphasized in the Lenten liturgy in the Lection (Ex 20,12–24) and the pericope (Mt 15,1–20) of the mass in the middle of Lent (*quadagesima media*). Xavér Ferenc Szunyogh, OSB, *Latin–Magyar Missale* (Latin–Hungarian Missal) (Budapest, 1933), 507–543.

⁷ On the education of the secular priests see László Mezey, *Deákiség és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlatja* (Literacy and Europe: the foundations of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 175–193.



as a textbook for these students, who learned the techniques of preparing for vernacular preaching and later used this skill as priests.

The rhyming Decalogue from Esztergom, according to its commentaries, was composed by the rector of the Cracow chapter school, probably to teach future secular priests an expanded version of the catechetical Decalogue.⁸ The length of the poem is surprising, because other Latin Decalogue poems in the codices of medieval Hungary,⁹ in Walther's and Bloomfield's collections,¹⁰ and in most of the other collections elsewhere in Europe are short summaries of the

⁸ See the commentary in K₂ M₁ M₂ W: *Sed causa efficiens ultima fuit quidam doctor rector scole in castro cracovie qui hunc libellum compilauit librum* M₁ (277^r) *libellum* K₂ (286^r) M₂ (213^r) W (57^r) *metrice add.* K₂ (286^r). K₁ (154^{ra}) gives *magister Florianus Cracoviensis Rector scole in castro*, who may be identified with Bishop Florian Mokrski, first rector of Cracow University, housed in Wawel Castle after its foundation. Zofia Budkowa, "Mokrski Florian," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny, Mieroszewski Sobiesław-Morsztyn Władysław* (Polish biographical lexicon), vol. 21 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976), 600–602. *Slaunoborius*, preserved in P₂ (1^v), does not seem to be more than the name of a teacher lecturing on this text.

⁹ The first versified Decalogue preserved in Hungary occurs in the Pray codex, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, MNy. 1,16^v. I am grateful to László Veszprémy for mentioning the reference: Menyhért Zalán, "A Pray-kódex forrásaihoz" (The sources of the Pray codex), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 33 (1926): 260. This text is attributed to Petrus de Riga (d.1209), and treated as an excerpt from his *Aurora*, which was a popular versified version of the Bible; see it in Gustav Meyer and Max Burckhardt, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis. Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften*, vol. 2 (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1966), 206–207; Morton W. Bloomfield, Bertrand-Georges Guyot, Donald R. Howard, and Thyra B. Kabealo. *Incipit of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D. Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1979) (hereafter: Bloomfield), no. 5797–5798. The other rhyming Decalogue occurs in a codex, later used by the parish priest in Trenčsén (Trenčín) (Upper Hungary) after 1440. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Clm 379, 48^r–85^r. This text was finished by a certain Michael on 23 September, 1440. The codex is described by Emma Bartoniek, *Codices manu scripti Latini*, vol. 1, *Codices Latini medii aevi* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1940) (hereafter: Bartoniek), 333–335; and Július Sopko, *Stredoveké latinské kódexy u slovenských knižniciach. Codices Latini medii aevi qui olim in bibliothecis Slovaciae asservantur*, vol. 2 (Matica Slovenská, 1982), 64–65.

¹⁰ Hans Walther and Alfons Hilka, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1959) (hereafter: Walther), no. 18425, 4145, 4527, 5873, 5874; Bloomfield, no. 5784.



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Ten Commandments in four or five lines. Only vernacular poems and vernacular and Latin mixed didactic poems tended to be longer.¹¹

The Interaction of the Schoolmaster and Students in Esztergom

The Esztergom copy of the text (B) is a valuable document of how teenaged students preparing for the profession of secular priest studied a text in the cathedral school of the Hungarian archbishopric centre in 1463. This text, similarly to most of the other commentaries (P₁, P₂, K₂, M₁, M₂, W), consists of two parts: an explanation of the main text (with the glosses previously written above the lines of the main text) and a textual commentary, which sometimes became independent from the text it comments on. In this case the first part preserves a certain element of the oral work in medieval schools which is usually totally lost in school texts. Besides the valuable evidence of school activity that the Esztergom copy preserves, it may also exemplify the everyday life behind other copies because a description in the *Canonica visitatio* of 1397 provides detailed information on how the cathedral school of the archbishopric centre functioned.¹² This document says that the canon *sublector*, originally the assistant of the canon *lector*, was the leader of the cathedral school. With a few exceptions, he was obliged to give three lectures to the students each day. He was responsible for discipline, which could not have been easy judging from the rules of the school, which had special regulations for misbehaving students. The canon *succentor*, originally the assistant of the canon *cantor*, was responsible for preparing the students for liturgical singing. On these days, the canon *sublector* was exempted from giving lectures and keeping an eye on misbehaving students. He was obliged, however, to bring them to the main mass and vespers in the cathedral each day. What happened in the *sublector's* lesson when he lectured on the Decalogue?

The rhyming Decalogue belonged to the higher, so-called *schola maior*, level of the cathedral school where older students studied canon law, texts on the tasks of a parish priest, *computus*-astrology, and moral works of Classics or Aristotle, as was the practice in the Faculty of Arts at a university. At this level, the schoolmaster was free to choose the texts to be studied. Previously, in the *schola minor*, the students had already reached quite an advanced level of Latin and had some knowledge of *logica*, as an analogy with the school rules of Vienna

¹¹ See the German rhyming Decalogue texts in Geffcken, 149, 175–196, and Weidenhiller, 192–200.

¹² “Visitatio capituli E. M. Strigoniensis anno 1397,” ed. Ferenc Kollányi, *Történelmi Tár* 2. no. 1 (1901): 71–106, 239–272, (hereafter: *Visitatio*).



in 1446 exemplifies.¹³ A commentary attached to the popular *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei explains how a schoolmaster should teach a versified text (printed in Buda, 1519):

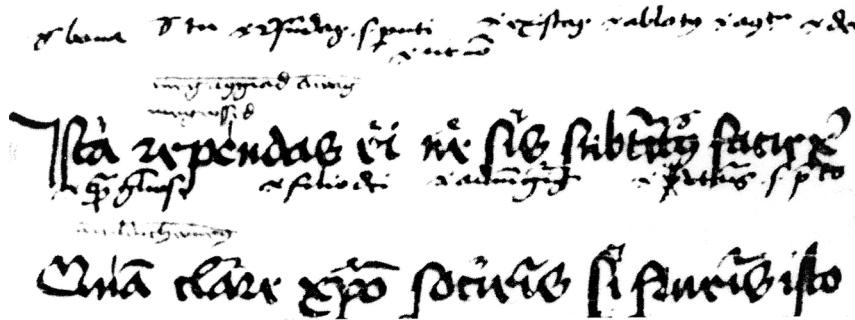
It is worth mentioning that a good school rector should teach his students in the following way. First, they should learn to read the passage of the school text to be studied. Next, he should present and explain the grammatical structure of the verses, and then he should illustrate the meaning of the verses by clear words according to the capacity of the students so that they can bear new fruits of knowledge. Finally, they should explain the meaning of the words in German according to the wish of Alexander.¹⁴

Lines 21–22, as preserved in B (see *Fig. 1*), illustrate the process the *sublector* and the students used to work on the text. First, the students copied the main text from the sample copy of their teacher, probably together with most of the Latin glosses. They copied the commentary later, after having discussed the text in the schoolroom. The process of copying the subsequent parts corresponded to the learning activity: the irregular relationship between the location of the commentary and the text in the codex illustrates that the rhythm of copying the main text did not follow the rhythm of copying the commentary. The vernacular glosses (line 21: *meg aggjad awag meg wssed*: you should give; line 22: *mel dichwuer*: how gloriously),¹⁵ written with a sharp-nibbed pen, were attached to the text during the class when the master or the students explained the meaning of the particular word in vernacular Hungarian. Among these explanations, the vernacular gloss in line 22 preserved the first occurrence (1463) of word *discő*

¹³ About the structure of the cathedral schools, see István Mészáros, *Az iskolaiügy története Magyarországon 996–1777 között* (A history of education in Hungary between 996 and 1777) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981) (hereafter: Mészáros), 109–128. The history of medieval education in Hungary is summarised generally by Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the public education in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906). See also his other book on cathedral schools in id., *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910).

¹⁴ The passage is quoted from the book of Orbán Keym, Buda, 1519 (Esztergom, Cathedral Library Inc. II. 127. XVI). The reference is taken from Mészáros, 159.

¹⁵ These glosses were edited by Emil Jakubovich, “Két magyar glosszás bécsi kódex” (Two codices from Vienna with Hungarian glosses), *Magyar Nyelv* 23 (1927): 35–36 (henceafter: Jakubovich).



*Ista rependas ei ne sis subtractus facie
Qua clare xpo sociaris si frueris isto*

B: 131r: Main Text (Fourth Commandment: lines 21-22)

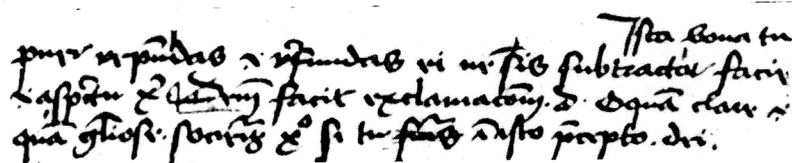
bona tu refundas parenti existas ablatus aspectu dei
ut non
meg agiad awag
meg wssed

[21] **Ista** (3) **rependas** (1) **ei** (2) **ne** (4) **sis** (5) **subtractus** (6) **facie Christi**

quam gloriose filio dei adiungeris uteris precepto
mel dichwuen

[22] **Quam** (1) **clare** (2) **Christo** (4) **sociaris** (3) **si** (5) **frueris isto**

Ista bona tu
puer **rependas** id est refundas **ei ne sis subtractor facie**
id est aspectu **Christi**. Demum facit exclamacionem dicens: O **quam clare** id es
quam gloriose **sociaris Christo** **si** tu **frueris** in **isto** precepto dei.



*Ista bona tu
rependas & refundas ei ne sis subtractor facie
Christi & demum facit exclamacionem dicens: O quam clare
quam gloriose sociaris Christo si tu frueris in isto precepto dei.*

B: 130v: commentary

Fig. 1. Main text and commentary, B: 130v–131r



(glorious) in the Hungarian language.¹⁶ This custom fulfilled the requirement of improving both Latin and the vernacular, which was essential for preparing for later preaching. As a next step, the students tried to construct the meaning of the sentence. They attached numbers to the confusing word order of the verses, which follow the order of the explanation in the commentary, for instance, in line 22 but do not so in line 21. Consequently, almost all glosses occur in the commentary, demonstrating a strong connection between the commentary and the text.

The changing proportion of the length of the poem and the two types of commentaries are surprising. Commandments one to five have a relatively detailed commentary besides the strict textual explanation; commandments six to eight, however, have only short explanations, while commandments nine to ten completely lack the second type of additional commentary. From the fifth commandment onwards, where the prohibitive commandments begin, the main text ceases to have Latin and vernacular glosses, which coincided with shortening and omitting the detailed commentary after the textual explanation. Probably the master did not finish lecturing on the whole text. After leaving the cathedral school, most students went into the region to become parish priests, where they could profit from the rhyming Decalogue previously studied, or continued their studies at a university.

The Role of Universities and Schools in Disseminating Knowledge

Medieval students—like students nowadays—usually threw their school material away after leaving school. Even if they preserved these quires for later use, the educational material could hardly escape destruction. It was a rare occasion when school texts preserved or transmitted some traces of their former existence, as Porpáczy's letter¹⁷ and a few fragments¹⁸ from fifteenth-century Hungary exemplify.

¹⁶ *Régi Magyar Glosszárium. szótárak, szójegyzékek és glosszák egyesített szótára* (Old Hungarian Glossary, A unified dictionary of vocabularies, word-lists, and glosses), ed. Jolán Berrár and Sándor Károly (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 158.

¹⁷ In 1441, Lukács Porpáczy deposited twelve school books among his goods in a signed sack after receiving a position as a scribe in the royal chancellery in Buda. His letter of request (Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Dl. 44318) is published in *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1888): 86–87. See its facsimile in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety, (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1985) (hereafter: *Kódexek*), 129–130, table 66.



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Medieval schoolbooks were usually preserved in a few paper quires sewn together with string and protected by a cheap paper binding. Later, the schoolbook, if it turned out to be useful, was bound together with other texts in a miscellany. Two extant codices of this kind, the only evidence for the medieval Esztergom cathedral school, demonstrate an intense intellectual life at this leading educational institution of medieval Hungary.¹⁹ One of them is a miscellany containing didactic poems by different authors with Latin and vernacular Hungarian glosses.²⁰ The colophons, dated between 1419 and 1423, give the name of one *magister* (Tamás Zákáni) who studied at Vienna University

¹⁸ The binding of a wine-tithe register from Sopron (1447) preserved a paper fragment of a medieval textbook, now in Sopron, Municipal Archives, Dl. 3325. It has been studied in detail by Károly Mollay, “Többsnyelvűség a középkori Sopronban. II. A latin nyelv (1352–1450)” (Multi-lingualism in medieval Sopron. II. The Latin language [1352–1450]), *Soproni Szemle* 21 (1967): 326–332. Another wine-tithe register (1435) preserved a parchment fragment of the Latin grammar of Aelius Donatus, now kept in Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, Dl. 35029, and discussed by Géza Erszegi, “Aelius Donatus latin nyelvtanának töredéke” (A fragment of the Latin Grammar by Aelius Donatus), in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai (996–1526), Az ‘1000 Éves a Magyar Iskola’ Országos Program győri kiállítása* (The first centuries of the Hungarian School (996–1996), The exhibition of the Project ‘Hungarian schooling is 1000 thousand years old’ in Győr, ed. Katalin Szende (Győr, 1996), 166, catalogue no. 72.

¹⁹ Although scholars refer to four codices as produced in the Esztergom cathedral school, only two of them seem to have definitely originated in Esztergom: Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305, and Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Clm 410. There is no evidence that a third codex (Esztergom, Cathedral Library, MS. III. 184.) containing a treatise by Rupert of Deutz and a *Tractatus in Cantica Canticorum* copied around the 1160s–1170s, had ever been in Esztergom before Archbishop János Scitovszky purchased it in the middle of the nineteenth century. See Előd Nemerkenyi, “Cathedral Libraries in Medieval Hungary,” *Library History* 20, no. 1 (2004): 9–10. Another codex (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lyell 70.), does not have certain evidence of its origin, although it is usually treated as a product of the Esztergom cathedral school. For a summary of the hypotheses on the origin of this codex see Előd Nemerkenyi, “Medieval Hungarian Glosses in MS. Lyell 70,” *Bodleian Library Record* 16, no. 6 (1999): 503–508.

²⁰ Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305. Edit Madas, the editor of the Hungarian glosses in this text, separates six hands in the main text and at least four hands in the glosses. This codex is discussed in detail by Edit Madas, “Bécsi Glosszák” (The Vienna Glosses), *Magyar Nyelv* 77, no. 4 (1981): 506–510, and Edit Madas, “Esztergomi iskoláskönyv a XV. század első negyedéből” (An Esztergom schoolbook from the first quarter of the fifteenth century), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Studies in the cultural history of medieval Hungary), ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986) (hereafter: Madas), 159–175, 334–339.



in the 1410s and the names of four scribes who came from the Zagreb diocese and eastern Transylvania (Székelyföld). These distant places illustrate the attraction of the Esztergom cathedral school. The owner of the codex, Jakab Bélai, came from Szepesbéla (Spišská Belá, Slovakia) to Esztergom and was later registered at Vienna University in 1436. He brought his collection of schoolbooks with him and bequeathed the codex to the Scottish Monastery (Schottenstift), where it is housed now.²¹ This wide geographical distribution of students studying the text probably also applies to the other fifteenth-century schoolbook of Esztergom which preserved the Decalogue text to be discussed in this article.

This miscellaneous paper codex (B) consists of four separate units that were bound together, but not in the temporal order of copying.²² The rhyming Decalogue text and its commentary are a separate unit (VI^{127–138}) in the third part (127^r–151^v). According to its colophon, this school text was finished in Esztergom in 1463 (138^r).²³ The four separate parts were bound together after 1476 and the miscellany was presumably used until the early sixteenth century as a sample copy by the *sublector* in the teaching process described above. This conclusion is based on two texts in the codex. One of them is a weekday sermon (162^r–162^v) composed for the great feast when the antiphon “O sapientia” is sung (17 December). On this day, the *sublector* had the duty to preach in the cathedral in front of the clerics.²⁴ The other text is a sequence on Saint Adalbert,²⁵ the patron saint of Esztergom Cathedral, with special musical notations (224^r–224^v), written at the turn of the fifteenth century.²⁶ The vernacular Hungarian glosses of the codex, mainly preserved between the lines of the rhyming Decalogue text, strengthen the intellectual value of the

²¹ Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305. Madas, 162–163.

²² Bartoniek, 370–376. She omitted a description of the quire structure of the manuscripts and an examination of the watermarks of the codex. The structure of the codex is analyzed in Németh, 33–35, 107.

²³ B 138^r: *Expliciunt decem precepta domini in scola strigoniensi M^o quaturcentesimo sexagesimo tercio etc.*

²⁴ *Visitatio*, 91–96.

²⁵ Budapest, Széchényi National Library, Clm 410. f. 224^r–224^v: *Corona sanctitatis et immortalitatis*. See the text in Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum. Catalogue des Chants, Hymnes, Proses, Séquences, tropes en Usage dans l'Église Latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. (Louvain: Imprimerie François Centrick, 1892–1920) nr. 3931.

²⁶ Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* (The musical sources of medieval Hungary), *Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez*, vol. 1, ed. Gábor Albert (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézete, 1981), 103, nr. F 327.



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manuscript.²⁷ The codex was kept in the Austrian National Library until 1932, when it was moved to Budapest.²⁸

The two extant schoolbooks of medieval Esztergom and that of László Szalkai, the chancellor of Hungary and archbishop of Esztergom (1524–1526), demonstrate that the universities of Central Europe played an essential role in the dissemination of school texts.²⁹ The evidence of the manuscripts suggests that the same texts were used at faculties of arts at universities, as well as in monastic, cathedral, and town schools. This may explain how a rarely used school text could spread over a large distance within a relatively short period, as happened with the rhyming Decalogue. A university student brought his or others' former schoolbooks to university, as Jakab Bélai did in Vienna. In vivid intellectual circles, not only ideas but also books were exchanged. The huge number of students from the region visiting different universities gave an opportunity for a text to be exchanged over hundreds of kilometres within a few years. Kinga Körmendy³⁰ and József Köblös³¹ agree that in the second half of

²⁷ These glosses are edited by Jakubovich, 35–36. The significance of the codex was discovered by János Csontos, "A bécsi udvari könyvtár hazai vonatkozású kéziratai" (Manuscripts related to Hungary in the Royal Library in Vienna), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 9 (1884): 157–158. The codex was exhibited among the most important manuscripts of medieval Hungary in 1986, see *Kódexek*, 156–157.

²⁸ A huge quantity of valuable codices relating to Hungarian history was moved from Vienna to Hungary according to the Venice Cultural Agreement in 1932. The difficult question of when this manuscript was moved from Hungary to Vienna is discussed by Kinga Körmendy, *A Knauz-hagyatékek kódextöredékei és az esztergomi egyház középkori könyvtárának sorsa* (Codex fragments of the Knauz bequest and the history of the medieval library of the Esztergom cathedral) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1979), 29–33 and Csaba Csapodi, *A budai királyi palotában 1686-ban talált kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek* (Codices and printed books found in Buda Royal Palace in 1686), (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1984), 5–9, 54–57.

²⁹ Szalkai's school teacher, János Kisvárdy, was registered in 1481 as a student in the Faculty of Arts in Cracow University and obtained a baccalaureate in 1484. In five years, he was already the teacher of the future archbishop in Sárospatak. This codex is discussed by István Mészáros, *A Szalkai-kódex és a XV. század végi sárospataki iskola* (The Szalkai Codex and the school of Sárospatak at the end of the fifteenth century) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972).

³⁰ Kinga Körmendy, "Literátusok, magiszterek, doktorok az esztergomi káptalanban" (Literates, masters, and doctors in the Esztergom chapter), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Studies in the cultural history of medieval Hungary), ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1986), 176–202.

³¹ József Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában, a budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával* (The middle class clergy in the period of King Matthias and



fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the universities of Vienna, Cracow, and northern Italy were the most frequented by Hungarian students, whereas evidence for attendance at Prague University is lacking in this period.

The Possible Recycling of the Rhyming Decalogue

Although most of the copies of the rhyming Decalogue have been destroyed, some internal and external evidence of the surviving copies may help reconstruct the recycling and impact of this important school material. As internal evidence, the content of the rhyming Decalogue (see *Appendix 2*) and the commentaries offer valuable information. As external evidence, the structure of the codices can show why this text was important enough to be bound together and preserved with other texts.

The juxtaposition of *sapiens* and *rudis* in the introduction indicates a dialogue structure (line 3), the usual form of later catechisms, which is repeated at the end of the poem (lines 127–128). The central part of the text (lines 4–118) is divided into ten parts according to the commandments. The distribution of the passages of the text in manuscripts usually follows this division. At the end of the poem there is a concluding part (119–129). The commandments are explained by a “smart” speaker, a priest, as indicated in line 53 (*Sum fur, divino si quos in officio alienos foveo*). The whole text is a dialogue between this smart priest and the members of various groups of society,³² as expected from a catechism. The role of a preaching priest occurs in the preaching elements on the ninth commandment, especially in lines 90–112. First, the priest should refer to the Holy Scripture (line 90) and then he is informed how to teach the women proper prayers against vanities (90–95), like contemporary Franciscan and Dominican observant preachers.³³ The most interesting element of the poem is the exemplum of the lover nobleman (lines 99–112) who sold his soul to the

the Jagiellonian kings, database of the chapters Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, and Pozsony), *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 12 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1994).

³² The poem addresses several groups of society, specified especially when explaining the seventh commandment (lines 39–58): (a) servant, maidservant; (b) farmer; (c) craftsman, mechanic, clergyman; (d) priest; (e) judges, merchants, princes, knights.

³³ Margit Szlancsok, “A ferences és a domonkos obszervánsok luxuskritikája a XV. században” (Criticism of the observant Franciscans and Dominicans against luxury in the fifteenth century), PhD dissertation (Budapest: Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2002).

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devil to obtain a woman and was damned as a consequence.³⁴ The exempla were the usual elements of both didactic literature and preaching.³⁵ Besides referring to Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council in lines 52–55, as another catechetical characteristic the poem incorporates several references to the seven virtues³⁶ and seven vices.³⁷ In addition, the divisions refer to other literary genres like sermons and treatises,³⁸ since they supported human memory and commentary composition.

A passage from the Esztergom commentary (B 127^v) on the third commandment, which seems to be different and independent from the others, is quoted here as good example of the purpose of the Esztergom commentary on the rhyming text:

³⁴ This exemplum does not occur in other sources but combines the elements of the popular legend of Theophilus, love magic with the help of the devil, and some other details of medieval religious tales. See Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1969) (hereafter: Tubach), nr. 3566 and nr. 3572. Interestingly enough, the commentaries have different understandings of this exemplum: M₁ (291^v–292^r), M₂ (224^{r-v}), W (67^{r-v}) has the same understanding, F (186^{va}–187^{ra}) is similar to this group, K₁ (157^{rb}–158^{va}) is peculiar, B, K₂, P₁, P₂ have not preserved this part of the commentary, and Wo has not been consulted.

³⁵ Jean Thiébaud Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque d'histoire ecclésiastique de France, (Paris: E.-H. Guitard, 1927); Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, eds., *Les 'exempla' médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche suivi des tables critiques de l'Index exemplorum' de Frederic C. Tubach*, (Carcassonne: GARAE/Hesiodé, 1992).

³⁶ Although the verse does not include the names of *invidia* and *ira*, the content refers to them (lines 67–70), only *acedia* is neglected. The poem does not speak of virtues directly except *fides* (lines 4, 34) and *iustitia* (lines 29, 30, 32), but refers to some of them indirectly: *caritas* (fourth to tenth commandments, especially the fourth), *prudentia* (lines 63–66), *temperantia* (lines 63–66), only *spes* and *fortitudo* are neglected.

³⁷ The vices are mentioned several times: *superbia* (line 82), *avaritia* (lines 43, 116), *luxuria* (lines 37, 103, 79–98), *gula* (lines 6, 47). See the medieval practice in John Bossy, “Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments.” In *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 214–234; Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, “La classificazione dei peccati tra settenario e decalogo (secoli XIII–XV),” *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 5 (1994): 331–395.

³⁸ *Primum, secundum, tertium* etc. Line 23: *Iste parens quadruplex...*; line 26: *occisio... bina*; line 31: *occisio... triplex*; line 33: *tribus modis*; line 36: *sensibus...: auditu, tactu, visu*; line 63: *sex fingas...*; lines 119, 129: *decem*.



Idcirco qui iam paucissime seruare curant inter christianos decem precepta Dei, ideo dominus punit eos diuersimode: nunc per tempestatem, nunc per siccitatem, nunc per grandinem, per uredinem, nunc per pestilenciam, nunc per primum consilium, nunc per finem, nunc per dumosum, nunc per incendium, nunc per spoliū, nunc per latrinium, nunc per captatorem, per infirmitatem, per orbatorem puerorum uel amicorum uel populum nostrum. Hec omina veniunt, quod dei precepta seruare non curant.

Independent from the main text and also from the commentaries in the other copies of the rhyming Decalogue, it addresses peasants, the largest social group of fifteenth-century Hungary. At that point, the Esztergom commentary obviously prepared students for vernacular preaching. A deeper investigation and analysis of all the commentaries on the rhyming Decalogue text may reveal much more about the purpose and possible recycling of these pieces of writing.

As external evidence, the codices are valuable narrators of the real recycling of extant copies. Only a few of them are the remains of real schoolwork; most of them are later transcriptions of former school copies. The Esztergom copy (B) and one Cracow copy (K₂) are the only examples of recycling a real school text. In codex B, the vernacular Hungarian glosses and the position of the Decalogue in the codex indicate that this passage was a result of real schoolwork. K₂ preserves some early sixteenth-century corrections of missing lines of the original text (290^v), which document the re-use of the text in Cracow.³⁹ K₁ preserves the traces of former schoolwork; here the Decalogue commentary was originally produced in a Polish school, as a previously undiscovered vernacular Polish word (K₁, 154^{ra}: *non mehaberis volgariter nȳ/Źnycȳ/Źcȳ/Ź*) suggests, which is among the earliest occurrences of this form in mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Some other copies also preserve characteristics of previous schoolwork: interlinear glosses (in all copies but usually not throughout the entire text), the numbers rearranging the word order of verses (B, M₁), and the independent position in a codex (B, F, K₂, P₂, W). All the other copies besides B and K₂ have some characteristics indicating that the existing copy is not the result of learning activity. They do not have all the criteria mentioned above: K₁ with its vernacular Polish gloss and M₁ with its rearranging numbers are not independent units in the codices; without a codicological examination of codices F, P₁, and W, it is impossible to decide whether they are school texts or

³⁹ See the description of the codex in Németh, 38–40, 108–109.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Dagmara Wójcik for deciphering the vernacular Polish gloss. “Nieczyścić” (Fornication), in *Słownik Staropolski, (Na-Naportlity)* (Old Polish Dictionary), vol. 5, ed. Stanisław Urbańczyk (Wrocław, Warszawa and Cracow: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1965), 168–169.



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later copies of a school text. Wo is a surprising recycling of the commentary; this copy omits the main text, which shows that the commentary was much more useful later than the rhyming text itself.

Some extant codices also reveal the circumstances of recycling a Decalogue text. B was used as a school text in the Esztergom Chapter school and K₂ was used in Cracow at the turn of the fifteenth century. M₂ is a copy by Johannes Hune, finished on 22 June, 1464 (225^v). He was the abbot of Prüfening (1468–1482),⁴¹ a Benedictine monastery near Regensburg, having been an active copyist before his abbotship (1452 to 1468).⁴² According to the hagiographical text of K₁, the Decalogue here was probably used as teaching material in a Dominican friary. In most cases, the codex preserving the Decalogue contains some sermons as well. It is probable that F belonged to Johannes Hune, parish priest of Büchold, who copied another catechetical sermon on the seven sacraments into the same quire containing the rhyming Decalogue.⁴³

Conclusion

Medieval education, although criticised for the opposite, did prepare students in many ways for their later tasks in life. This was the function of the rhyming Decalogue. The cooperation of the teacher and the students in studying this schoolbook served a threefold purpose: teaching the content of the commandments (a combination of the Decalogue with the virtues and vices), improving linguistic skills (both Latin and vernacular), and developing the skills of sermon composition. This practice provided a solid background for broadening and deepening the awareness of Christian faith in society. Thus, the rhyming Decalogue spread and reached much wider audiences than the small circle of a classroom.

⁴¹ Laurent Henri Cottineau, OSB, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, vol. 2 (Maçon, 1939; reprint: Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 2369–2370.

⁴² Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 12027, 12028, 12029, 14553, 27423, 12030, 13080. See Kopp's codices in Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4. no. 1: *Die Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (Munich: Beck, 1977), 127, 411; Bernard Bischoff, "Studien zur Geschichte des Klosters St. Emmeram im Spätmittelalter (1324–1525)," in Bernard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann, 1967), 115–155.

⁴³ Regina Hausmann, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, vol. 1. *Die Theologische Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600, Codices Bonifatiani 1–3, Aa 1–145a*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992) (hereafter: Hausmann), 220–224.



Appendix 1: The extant manuscripts of the Decalogue text

- B = Budapest, National Széchényi Library. Clm 410. fols 127^r–138^r; see its description in Bartoniek, 370–376. The text was copied in the Esztergom Chapter school in 1463.
- P₁ = Prague, National Library. I. E. 29 (214) fols 1^r–31^r; see its description in Josephus Truhlař, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Latinorum qui in C. R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, vol. 1 (Prague: Sumptibus Regiæ societatis scientiarum Bohemicæ, 1905), 81–82, and *Memoriæ Mundi Series Bohemicæ*. [<http://database.aipberoun.cz/engine/memoria.cgi>], 2001, accessed 25 September 2003.
- P₂ = Prague, The Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter. O 43 (1627) fols. 1^r–13^r; see its description in Antonín Podlaha, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in archivo capituli metropolitani Pragensis asservantur* (Prague, 1923), 513–514.
- F = Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 112. f. 178^{ra}–187^{vb}; see its description in Hausmann, 220–224.
- M₁ = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Cgm. 690. fols. 277^r–293^v; see its description in Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 5, no. 4, Cgm 501–690, *Codicis Germanicos* 501–690 complectens (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1978), 421–432.
- M₂ = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 14553. fols. 213^r–225^v; see its description in Carolus Halm, Fridericus Keinz, Gulielmus Meyer, and Georgius Thomas, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ Monacensis*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1876; reprinted: Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), 191–192.
- K₁ = Cracow, Bibliotheca Jagellonica. 554. fols. 154^r–158^r; see its description in Maria Kowalczyk, Anna Kozłowska, Mieczysław Markowski, Zofia Włodek, Jerzy Zathej, and Marian Zwiercan, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum medii ævi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviæ asservantur*, vol. 3 (Wrocław: Institutum Ossolinianum officina Editoria Academiae Scientiarum Polonae, 1984), 356–374.
- K₂ = Cracow, Bibliotheca Jagellonica. 2141. BB VI 14. fols. 286^r–290^v; see its description in Władysław Wisłocki, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis*, vol. 2 (Cracow: Typis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1877–1881), 516–517.
- W = Wrocław, University Library. IV. Q. 104. fols. 57^r–68^v; see its description in Willi Göber, *Katalog rękopisów biblioteki uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu* (Manuscript Catalogue of University Wrocław), T. 21, Photocopy.



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Wo = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 35. 1. Aug. Qu. (3409) fols. 68^r–82^v; see its description in Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Zweite Abteilung, Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, vol. 5 (Wolfenbüttel: Verlag von Julius Zwißler, 1903), 4–5.

Appendix 2: The Text of the Rhyming Decalogue⁴⁴

	Qui non transcendit mandata Dei, bene tendit, Et nisi perpendit ea quis bene, se male vendit. Que si pretendit sapiens, rudis hec cito prendit.	P ₁ 2 ^r
I	Idola non cures sumptaque fide bene dures.	P ₁ 2 ^v
5	Vive Deo soli, quid amat caro, querere noli. Istud non servat gula, sculpta colensque cupido.	
II	Per Dominum vendens consueto sermoneque iurans, Confirmo falsum si Christi sanguine cas[s]um, Sic facio †que sequens† sum[m]endo nomen inane.	P ₁ 3 ^v
III 10	Tercium mandatum: sabbataque quod celebremus. Sabbata mutantur, dominice dum celebrantur. Hoc si servatur, Deus ista die rogitatur. Mandatum triplex hoc violat populus:	P ₁ 5 ^r
15	Hic manuale parat, sordibus ille vacat, Hic coreis servit et per mala verba protervit.	P ₁ 5 ^v

4: Walther, nr. 8661, nr. 18425 (*Idola non cures*)

4–5: Ex 20,2–5; Dt 5,7–11; Dt 6,4.13–14; Io 13,34; Lc 4,8; Lc 16,13; Mt 4,10; Mt 6,24; Mt 22,37; Mc 12,29–31

6: Phil 3:19 (*quorum deus venter est*); Dt 4,15–16

7–9: Ex 20,7; Dt 5,11; Dt 6,13; 6; Mt 5,33–34.37;

10: Ex 20,8–11; Ex 31,15; Dt 5,12–15; Gn 2,2; Ps 118,24; Mc 2,27–28

⁴⁴ According to the detailed analysis of the variant readings of the manuscripts, P₁ gives the earliest, the most consistent, and the most understandable version of the rhyming Decalogue. Since this text has not been published so far, this redaction will serve as a sample to aid the reader to identify the references of the article. The text follows the spelling of the manuscript. I gave all variant readings and their detailed analysis in Németh, 53–83.



Learning and Preaching in Central Europe

- IV** Quartum preceptum, fieri quod cernitur artum: P₁ 7^r
Hos non turbabis, quorum puer esse probaris,
Ymmo focilabis, valeas quousque, iuvabis.
Qui bona contul[]it et mala protul[]it ampla fovendo:
- 20** Pavit, nutrit, custodivit, bona dedit,
Ista rependas ei, ne subtractus faciei
Aspectu Cristi, socieris diroque hosti.
Iste parens quadruplex, cui est venerancia danda:
Christus, carnalis, baptizans, spiritualis.
- V** **25** Non occidamus, quintum iussum teneamus. P₁ 8^v
Factis et lingwis est hys occisio bina.
Occisor lingwa fit consilio sive iussu:
Consilio Cayphas suo te, Christe, necavit,
Iussu perverso multi multos cruciantur.
- 30** Sic fecit David, Uriam quando necavit.
Est triplex facto, quod nunc tibi tradere tracto:
Iudicio prawi fit, auxilio, propria vi. P₁ 9^r
Spiritus inde modis tribus istis ecce necatur:
Usuras faciens, mortale scelus, male credens.
- VI** **35** Sexto mandatur, ne quis mechus efficiatur. P₁ 11^r
Il<l>icite tangens mea membra vel tua mechor,
Mente tenens luxum vel tractans sensibus ipsum:
Auditu, tactu, visu mechabor et actu.

17: *Ex* 20,12; *Dt* 5,16; *Eph* 6,1–3

18: *Eccli* 3,3–7.14–15.18

19–20: *Prov* 6,20–22

21: *Eccli* 7,28–30 – 25: *Ex* 20,13; *Mt* 5,21–22; *Gn* 9,5–6

28: Augustinus, “Epistolae, 36,13,” in *CSEL* 34.2, 60

25: *Ex* 20,13; *Dt* 5,17; *Mt* 5,21–22; *Rom* 13,8–10

30: *2 Sm* 12,9

35: *Ex* 20,14; *Dt* 5,18; *Mt* 5,27–28; *Rom* 13,8–10; *1 Cor* 5,1.3–5

36: Augustinus, “Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum,” in *PL* 45, 1453

37: *Mt* 5,27–28



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- VII** Cum quidquam rapio non volente possessore, P₁ 14^r
40 Tunc furtum facio, parum rapio sive multum.
Res inventa facit furtum, nisi restituatur,
Ast ignoratur, cuius si est, tribuatur
Pauperibus, quod consilio fac presbiterali.
Servus et ancilla dominis furantur inique:
45 Si quid eis rapiant, non sibi pertineant.
Sive cibum sumant, hoc cum moderamine fiat. P₁ 14^v
Si escas sumes avide, venialiter peccas.
Furta, colone, facis, si non iuste decimabis.
Artifices, vel mechanici, sive spirituales,
50 fraudem miscetis operi, si furta fovetis.
Quoque modo fratres fraudes, fur esse probaris.
Et furta facis, si non tuus est, cui tu fatearis.
Sum fur, divino si quos in officio alienos
Foveo, hinc fructus rapio quibus pereor simul.
55 “Est ubi grex, ubi lex?” – Deus a me requirit ista.
Lusor furatur, si quidquam ludendo lucratur.
Iudex, mercator, princeps, miles: spoliator,
Quilibet istorum male est torquens dona suorum.
- VIII** Nulla tuos falsa socios tu contra loquaris. P₁ 18^r
60 Peccas, si casse graviterque testificaris.
Numquam sunt sine ve, sint ioca, seria vel ne,
Qui dicunt false non considerando necesse.
Sex fingas in te, quod formes verba perite, P₁ 18^v
Non dic mendacia, sed dicenda premediteris,
65 Non dubiumque, loqui pro certo multa cavebis,
Attende tempus et loca dumque loqueris.
Non odium, lucrum nec amor sit causa iurandi,
Nonque tuis verbis aliquis privetur honore.
Non veniam capiam culpe de fraude maligna.

39–40: *Ex* 20,15; *Dt* 5,19; *Mt* 19,18; *Rom* 13,8–10

42–43: *Mt* 10,8 (*Mt* 5,42; *Io* 12,8; *Lc* 11,41; *Lc* 3,11; *Iac* 5,1–6; *Dt* 15,11; *Iac* 2,15–16)

52: “Concilium Lateranense IV a. 1215, canon 21,” In *Conciliorum Oeconomicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti, P. P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1973), 230–271.

58: *Ex* 20,16; *Dt* 5,20; *Mt* 5,33; *Rom* 13,8–10



- 70 Qui me fraudatur, numquam laudi restituatur.
Non periurabis ergo, que tu falsa putabis,
Lingwa privaris, ut Lucidarius inquit.
“Despicitur cunctis falsus testis.” – ait Augustinus.
- IX Non sis alterius uxoris tuque amator, P₁ 22^r
75 Et eciam alium virum tua ne petat uxor.
Hoc violat iussum thorum querens alienum,
Sed iactu lapidis obruit hunc populus
Ex iussu Moysi, ex lege Dei veteri.
Non sic orneris, ex hoc prave quod ameris.
80 Non cupiunt aliqui, sed gaudent, si cupiantur.
Lingwa sive manu, visu, gressu patet illud:
Alloquitur, loquitur, circumspicit itque superbe.
Ut pulcre pateant, faciem coloribus aptant.
Multi non cupiunt, sed faciunt alios.
85 Corporis ornatu peccant, peccare docentque.
Et sic peccantes hy bis peccare videntur:
Al<l>iciunt alios, hec faciendo docent.
Qui discunt ab eis, hys non prosunt bona facta:
Orant, ieiunant seque reos faciunt. P₁ 22^v
90 Ut pompam fugiant, tuque, presbiter, dic illis.
Scripta prius possunt hys addi convenienter:
Ornato vultu iaciunt vincendo virosque.
Hys induc Sampsonem cum David et Salomonem.
Hys orare iube dicendo “Deus pater alme,
95 O factor vite, ne permittas velle prophana,
Me nec extollas, oculos nec gliscere vana.”
Sicque potest dici: “Non fias amator amici
Coniugis, incantans, manu premendo pudica.”

73: *Prov* 19:8 (*testis falsus non erit impunitus*); Augustinus, “Speculum, 7” in *CSEL* 12, 63.

76: Augustinus, “Quaestiones in Heptateuchum 2, 70,” in *CSEL* 28,2, 135; (*Ex* 20,17; *Dt* 5,21)

77–78: *Dt* 22,24; *Ez* 16,40 – 82: the last verse preserved in P₂.



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- 100 <Exemplum multis de milite flebile dicam,> M₁ 290^v
<Demone qui raptus hic est ad tartara tractus.>
<Non est res ficta, verum per scripta relictas.>
[<Rem credo veram, quam breviter referam.>]
<Baro virilis erat deditus luxurie.>
<Dum machinatur vicini frangere lectum,>
105 <Abnegat inde Deum se faciendo reum.>
<In tornamentis dum cadit, en moritur.>
<Fit dolor hinc cunctis, strepitusque per aera iunctus>
<Fletibus horrendis “Quo miser” – inquit – “eo?”>
<Ve michi, ve misero, quia iam nunc misere pereor.>
110 <Mundi dulcedo facto finitur amaro.”> M₁ 291^r
<Qui dicebat: “Amor,” melius dixisset: “Amarum.>
<Non amet uxorem socii, qui querit honorem.”>
- X 113 Consulo sincere, si vis de morte cavere, P₁ 25^v
114 Ne subeas penas, res contempnas alienas:
116 Usurarius hoc non complet, nec avarus.
117 Aufers si michi res, sive velis, reus es.
118 Factum complesti, si corde tuo voluisti.
- 119 Hec servare decem quisque tenetur homo, <...>
123 Est his congestum quodque salutiferum.
124 Quisquis ea frangit, vix ad celestia scandit,
125 Immo dampnatur transgressor quilibet uno,
Ac si contemnerit omnia ista simul.
Si non subtili, placeant hec carmina vili,
Non pravo vili, sed placeant humili.
Sunt precepta decem totam servancia legem.

99–112: missing in P₁; the text is damaged, I give a reconstructed version on the basis of M₁; K₁ (157^{rb}) commentary: *Hic auctor ponit quoddam exemplum de milite ubi notatur quod beatus Augustinus in expositione exemplorum ponit istud exemplum*; see Tubach, nr. 3566 and nr. 3572.

102: missing in M₁ – 114: Ex 20,17; Dt 5,21; Rom 13,8–10 – 116: Eccle 5,9 – 115: missing in K₂ M₁ M₂ W P₁ – 118: Mt 5,28; Mt 15,19 – 120–122: missing in K₂ M₁ M₂ W P₁ – 128: Walther, nr. 5874.



SAINT LADISLAS ON STOVE TILES

Ana Maria Gruia 

Religious images and especially the saints are very frequent as stove tile decoration in the central and later Middle Ages. Besides popular saints who appear on a great number of tiles, there are also specific saints with a restricted area of popularity. Ladislav is such a case, his image on tiles being restricted to (and around) the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

This article will take into consideration all the tiles depicting Saint Ladislav (to the best of my knowledge and to the state of publication of such items). As starting point I use here the related research developed in my MA thesis¹ which took into consideration the tiles decorated with Saint George, Saint Ladislav, Saint Demetrios and Archangel Michael in present-day Transylvania and Moldavia, comparing the two provinces mainly through an iconographical perspective. The conclusions showed that George and Ladislav were the most popular knightly saints on stove tiles, but that there was a difference in such depictions: in Transylvania they were more “knightly”, with clear details of arms and armor, while in Moldavia they were more “saintly”, with halos, Byzantine-type mantles, cross-ended weapons and blessed by the *dextra Domini*. In the thesis I have also shown that in the Romanian areas no stoves with exclusively knightly compositions can be reconstructed. At the same time the social, religious and ethnic distributions of tiles with knightly saints do not show any clear patterns, as far as one can see from the excavated and published material.

Concentrating here on the tiles related exclusively to Saint Ladislav, I have grouped them into types and skipped the fragments too unclear or too small for a positive identification. According to an iconographical taxonomy, I will discuss the types and groups of related tiles in Transylvania, Moldavia, Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) and Central Hungary.

Saint Ladislav: Cult, Legend, and Iconography

Tiles depicting Saint Ladislav are not frequent finds. Their rare occurrence fits into the dimensions of the saint’s cult and to the fact that he was a specifically Hungarian royal saint. Ladislav, ruler of the Kingdom of Hungary (1077–1095), canonized at the initiative of King Béla III in 1192, was always regarded as a

¹ Ana Maria Gruia, “The Holy Heat. Knightly Saints on Transylvanian and Moldavian Stove Tiles,” MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2004).

warrior king. Although the first hagiographic texts concentrate on the death of the holy king as a martyr, sometime at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century the emphasis started to shift to those elements of his legend that reflected the values of chivalric culture. In the fourteenth century, the cults of knightly saints and saintly kings in Central and Eastern Europe had already incorporated the ideals of the flourishing Western chivalric culture. The new accent in their legends had several causes: the influence of the crusades, the popularity of the theory of just war, the entire courtly and knightly European fashion. Ladislás became therefore the perfect symbol of the knightly saint, embodying both the Christian saintly ideal and the violent, knightly model.²

On stove tiles, the emphasis is put either on the royal or the knightly character of St. Ladislás. He is most often depicted with his crown and his attribute, the battle-axe, sometimes with a halo,³ but very rarely in the narrative context of his legend. The narrative episode of Saint Ladislás fighting the Cuman is an interesting and very popular later addition to his legend. The episode is known in different variants, but the basic text is included in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (written around 1358).⁴

The saintly prince, Ladislás, then, espied a Pagan carrying on the back of his horse a beautiful Hungarian maiden. The prince thought that this maiden had been the daughter of the bishop of Várad, and, although being in severe wound, he started to pursue him, riding his horse whose name was Szög. But, then, when he reached by a lance's point, he could do nothing, for his horse was unable to run faster, while the other's did not fall back in speed, and thus, something like an arm's length had remained between the tip of the lance and the Cumans's back. Then St. Ladislás cried to the maiden, saying: "Fair

² Gábor Klaniczay, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle." In *La Royauté Sacrée dans le Monde Chrétien. Bilan et Perspectives. Colloque de Royaumont, mars 1989*, ed. Alain Boureau and Claudio Sergio Ingerflom (Paris : Editions de l'Ecole Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 53–62; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) (henceforth: Klaniczay, 2002).

³ The same is true for the iconography of the saint in all artistic media. See *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Vienna: Herder, 1968), vol.7, 361–363.

⁴ Summary of the textual references for the saint and further bibliography can be found in Klaniczay 2002; Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas, "La Hongrie," in *Corpus Christianorum, Hagiographies*, vol. 2, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 103–160; Annamária Kovács, "Costumes as Symbols of Warrior Sainthood: The Pictorial Representations of the Legend of King Ladislás in Hungary," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000), 145 (henceforth: Kovács, 2000).



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sister! Take the Cuman by his belt and jump off from the horse to the ground!” And she did as she was asked. But then, when the Cuman lay on the ground and prince Ladislav wanted to kill him with his lance, the maiden strongly asked him not to do so, but let him [the Cuman] go free. So it is clear from this as well, that there is no faith in women, for surely she wanted to spare the Cuman out of lusty love. The saintly prince, then, after a long battle, cut his [the Cuman’s] sinew, and killed him. But the maiden was not the bishop’s daughter.⁵

The episode is constructed in such a way as to highlight the basic chivalric virtues of the holy saint, presenting Ladislav as a true *miles Christi* and in the same time a true *athleta patriae*: the hero fights evil, embodied by the pagan Cuman, rescuing a maiden in distress, showing bravery in battle and abnegation. Ladislav is fighting to protect his future kingdom from barbarian invaders.⁶ He is also fighting for his Christian faith, defending a Christian girl from the hands of a pagan enemy.

The narrative details presented by the chronicle are also depicted on the few stove tiles which illustrate the legend. Ladislav fights the Cuman both on horseback (no. 15) and on foot (no. 6). The Cuman carries the maiden on his horse (no. 7). The difference between the text and the images is that the lance was replaced in all of the cases by the saint’s attribute, the battle-axe, but this is true for all the visual representations of the saint. The characters of the legend can be depicted alone or in pairs on one tile: Ladislav alone (probably the pair of tile no. 7), Ladislav and the Cuman (no. 6 and 15), the Cuman and the maiden (no. 7), Ladislav and the maiden (it can be argued that tile no. 10 from Cristurul Secuiesc depicts either Ladislav and Emeric or Ladislav and the maiden).

Transylvania

Almost half of the stove tiles depicting the knightly saint (10 tiles out of 21) were excavated in Transylvania, an observation not surprising, considering that the province was the center of his cult and that the tomb of the saint was placed

⁵ Emericus Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum ducum regumque Stirpis Arpadiane gestarum* 1–2. (Budapestini: Acad. Litt. Hung, 1937–38, (reprinted: Budapest: Nap, 1999), 368–369. Translation: Kovács, 2000, 145.

⁶ The episode is considered to have taken place during the battle of Kerlés, in 1068, when Ladislav was still prince. Although the narrative tradition calls the enemy Cumans, they were in fact Pechenegs.



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in the cathedral dedicated to him in Oradea (Nagyvárad). According to their iconography, the tiles can be grouped according to three distinct types:

- a) Ladislás on horseback, holding a shield with cross and the battle axe (tiles in Oradea,⁷ Cristur,⁸ Aiud,⁹ Cluj,¹⁰ Cluj-St.Peter,¹¹ in the catalogue tiles no. 1–5). All these tiles and fragments are clearly directly connected through copying, although it is quite difficult to say which is the original and which the copy without a close direct comparison of the pieces (*Fig. 1*).
- b) Ladislás fighting the Cuman (tiles in Cechești¹² and maybe Sighișoara,¹³ no. 6, 7). The tile in Sighișoara depicts only the Cuman and the maiden, but it must have had a now lost pair with Ladislás following the couple. Such an image could have been close to the previous type, but the combination of the tiles, separating in a strange way the narrative over two surfaces, would depict the moment of the fight (*Fig. 2*).
- c) Ladislás with his attributes standing under a gothic niche, probably separated by columns from the other holy Hungarian rulers (tiles in Râșnov,¹⁴ Vinț,¹⁵ Cristur,¹⁶ no. 8–10). The fragmentary state of tiles 8 and 9 makes it impossible to consider on copying issues (*Fig. 3*).

⁷ Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum. Várad vára II* (Varadinum. The Castle of Várad) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 106 and fig. 98 (henceforth: Balogh, 1982).

⁸ Elek Benkő and István Ughy, *Székegykeresztúri kályhacsempék 15–17. század* (Medieval stove tiles from Cristurul Secuiesc from the fifteenth to seventeenth century) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1984), 69, fig. 57 (henceforth: Benkő, 1984).

⁹ Daniela Marcu-Istrate, *Căle din Transilvania și Banat de la începuturi până la 1700* (Stove tiles from Transylvania and Banat from the beginning to 1700) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2004), 176, 340, fig. B1 (henceforth: Marcu, 2004).

¹⁰ Viorica Crișan, “Săpăturile arheologice de salvare din Cluj-Napoca, str. Prahovei nr.12” (Archaeological rescue excavations in Cluj-Napoca, Prahovei Street number 12), *Acta Musei Napocensis* 33 (1996): 385–401.

¹¹ Elek Benkő, *Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa a középkorban. A Kolozsvárba olvadt Szentpéter falu emlékei* (The Hungarian suburb of Cluj in the Middle Ages. Finds from Saint Peter village, merged into Cluj) (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2004), 69, 107, plate 17 (henceforth: Benkő, 2004).

¹² Benkő, 1984, 53, fig. 13.

¹³ Marcu, 2004, 272, 538 and plate 199.2.

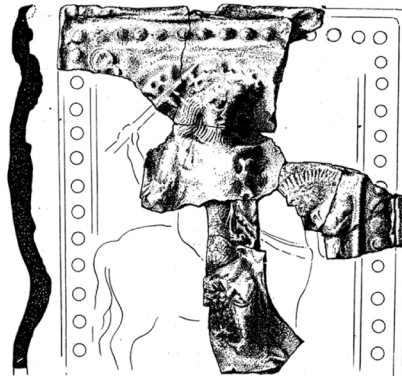
¹⁴ Marcu, 2004, 263, 467, plate 128.3.

¹⁵ Marcu, 2004, 286, 495, plate 156.61.

¹⁶ Benkő, 1984, 70 and fig. 60.



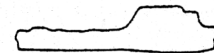
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5

*Fig. 1. Transylvania. St. Ladislav on horseback
(Oradea, Cristurul Secuiesc, Aind, Cluj, Cluj-St. Peter)*

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6

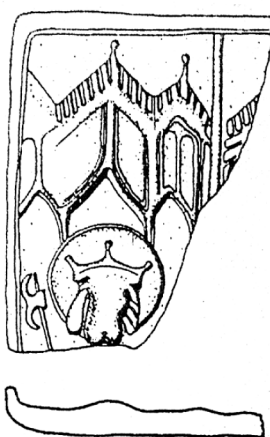


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Fig. 2. Transylvania. St. Ladislav fighting the Cuman (Cebești, Sighișoara)



8



9



10

Fig. 3. Transylvania. St. Ladislav under a Gothic niche (Râșnov, Vințu de Jos, Cristurul Secuiesc)



Moldavia

In Moldavia only 5 tiles were found with Saint Ladislav, but it is an impressive number considering that the province was always outside the boundaries of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. It is in fact the only place where tiles with Saint Ladislav were excavated in an area never incorporated into Hungary. The five Moldavian tiles can be grouped in two types:

- a) Ladislav on horseback holding the axe on his shoulder: tiles in Borniș,¹⁷ Bacău,¹⁸ and presumably Suceava,¹⁹ from where the tile in question is still unpublished but reportedly similar (nos. 11–14). These three tiles are to be included in the copy/imitation category. The quality of the details on the tile in Borniș might indicate that the others are copied after it, but it cannot be said with certainty because the dimensions of the Bacău tiles were not published. At the same time, the frame with buttons, found both in Borniș and Bacău, is usually added on copied tiles in order to compensate for shrinking during the technological process (*Fig. 4*).
- b) Ladislav fighting the Cuman (tile in Baia,²⁰ no. 15). One must note that this tile is iconographically different from the Transylvanian ones depicting the same scene (*Fig. 5*).

¹⁷ Rodica Popovici, “Despre motivele decorative de pe cahele din secolul al XV-lea descoperite la Borniș, jud. Neamț” (About the decorative motifs on the fifteenth-century stove tiles discovered in Borniș, Neamț County), *Arheologia Moldovei* 21 (1998): 176 (henceforth: Popovici, 1998).

¹⁸ Alexandru Artimon, “Noi contribuții arheologice privind Curtea Domnească din Bacău” (New archaeological contributions to the princely court in Bacău), *Carpica* 18–19 (1986–1987): 285–299 (henceforth: Artimon, 1986).

¹⁹ The tile is to be found in the collections of the National Museum of Bucovina, Suceava. Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, “Cahle cu subiecte religioase descoperite în Moldova” (Stove tiles decorated with religious motifs excavated in Moldavia), *Ars Transilvaniae* 4 (1994): 115–134, footnote 87; Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală. Secolele XIV–XVII* (Stove tiles from medieval Moldavia. From the fourteenth to seventeenth century) (Suceava: Editura Istros, 1999), 179 (henceforth: Batariuc, 1999).

²⁰ Adrian Bătrâna, Lia Bătrâna, “Legenda ‘eroului de frontieră’ în ceramica monumentală din Transilvania și Moldova” (The legend of the “border hero” on stove tiles from Transylvania and Moldavia), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 2/41 (1990): 168–170 (henceforth: A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990).

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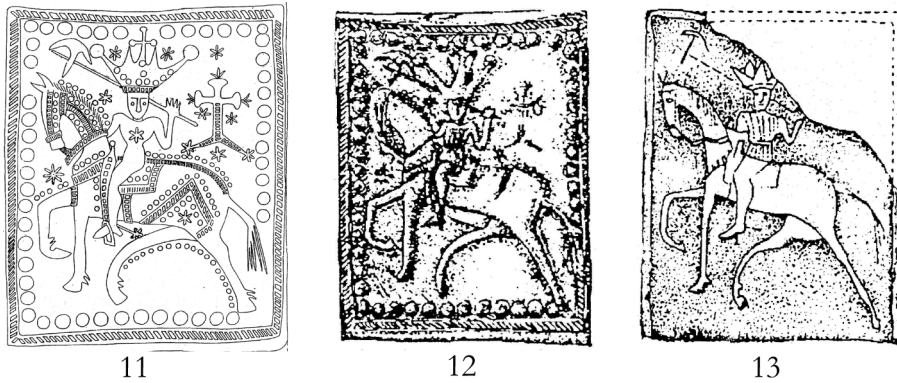


Fig. 4. Moldavia. *St. Ladislav on horseback* (Borniş, Bacău, Bacău)



Fig. 5. Moldavia. *St. Ladislav fighting the Cuman* (Baia)

An interesting group of tiles was excavated from a city house at Baia (Moldavia). The six unglazed stove tiles are decorated in a uniform style and technique (the figures were modeled by hand and attached to the clay plaque while it was still wet). Each of them depicts a king and a female character, always standing but with different objects: a sword, a small chair, bags, and a club. The images were interpreted as illustrating the rest of Saint Ladislav and the maiden in a unique and somewhat courtly style.²¹ Victoria Batariuc concluded that at least three of these tiles in fact represent dancing scenes.²² Taking into consideration that all six pieces illustrate the same story, whatever that is,

²¹ A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990.

²² Batariuc, 1999, 124; Imre Holl agrees that they depict a worldly subject in his review of Batariuc, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54 (2003), 434.



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and that the crown and the sword alone are not enough to identify the male character with Ladislav, I reject both of these interpretations. Without the help of analogies or a written text, the story illustrated on these tiles remains unknown.

Central Hungary

A tile from the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest was published by Imre Holl as representing Saint Ladislav on horseback.²³ At a close look, some parts of the tile depicting the character's weapon are broken but the image is visible on another similar tile, where it is clear that the weapon is a halberd and not a battle-axe. Also the headdress, which could be mistaken for a crown in the published photo, proves to be a felt hat.²⁴ This tile therefore is not to be identified with Ladislav. Another stove tile, excavated at Szombathely, was published as depicting the mounted Ladislav. It is extremely schematic and the weapon of the rider is a spear. I think it can hardly be claimed that it represents Ladislav.²⁵ Except for these two tiles, which I reject as depicting Ladislav, there are, as far as I know, no other similar examples in present-days Hungary. The fact might be explained by the significant Ottoman destruction in central Hungary, but the great number of surviving stove tiles with other depictions indicate that other causes should be taken into consideration.

Upper Hungary

Besides the already mentioned tiles from Transylvania and Moldavia, only in Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) can comparative examples of stove tiles be found depicting Ladislav. The tiles from Upper Hungary depict the saint

²³ Imre Holl, Pál Voit, *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln*, (Budapest: Corvina Verlag, 1963) (henceforth: Holl, Voit, 1963), 55, fig. 35.

²⁴ The semi-cylindrical tiles (inventory numbers 3603 and 3602), decorated with open-work and polychrome glaze are of inferior quality and their finding context is unknown. I thank the museum curator Éva Csenkey for allowing me to see the pieces. Good quality photos of both tiles are available at <http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at>, no. 013738 and 013739.

²⁵ Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány, *Savaria-Szombathely története. A város alapításától 1526-ig* (History of Szombathely/Savaria. From the foundation of the town until 1526), (Szombathely: Szombathely Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 1998), 206–207, fig. 157. I thank my colleague Krisztina Orosz for indicating this tile to me.

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always as a standing king, with the crown and the battle-axe (*Fig. 6*). The tiles in Filakovo,²⁶ Kremnica, Branč,²⁷ and Orava (no. 16–19), reportedly very similar iconographically and therefore probably directly connected, depict Ladislav with a royal mantle and the orb. The Banská Bystrica²⁸ tile (no. 20) shows Ladislav as a knight in full armour, standing, without a halo. The other Slovak example (no. 21), interestingly enough found in a Carthusian cloister from Kláštorisko in the Slovenský Raj National Park,²⁹ depicts the saint with crown and mantle but also without a halo. Related to the social distribution of these tiles, one has to note again the variety of contexts in which the image of Ladislav has been used in Upper Hungary, that is from castles (Filakovo, Kremnica, Branč, Orava) to city halls (Banská Bystrica) and monasteries (Kláštorisko).

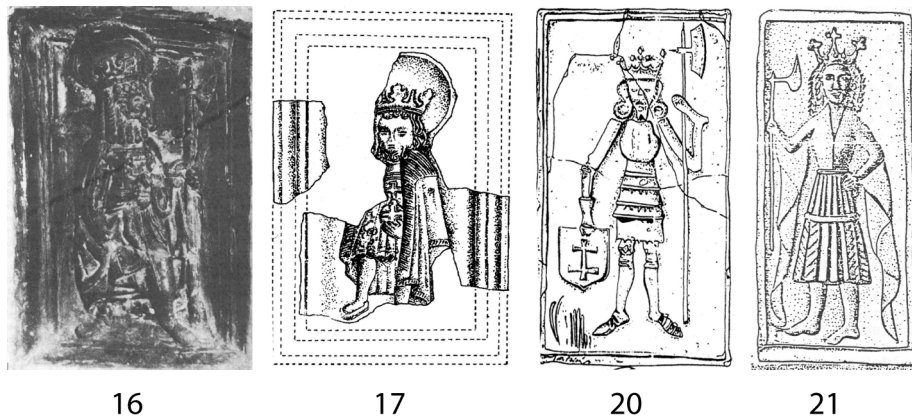


Fig. 6. Slovakia. Standing Ladislav (Filakovo, Branč, Banská Bystrica, Kláštorisko)

²⁶ Holl, Voigt, 1963; Štefan P. Holčík, “Stredoveká kachliarska dielňa v Banskej Bystrici” (Medieval stove tile workshop in Banská Bystrica), *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea*, LXVIII: *História* 14 (1974), 175–193; Kalmár Janos, “A füleki (Filakovo) vár XV–XVII. századi emlékei” (Fifteenth to seventeenth century find from the Fülek castle), *Régészeti füzetek* Ser. II, No. 4 (1959): 24–25, Table XLII.

²⁷ Jozef Hoššo, “K technológii a lokalizácii výroby neskorogotických kachlíc na slovensku” (On the technology and localization of late gothic stove tiles in Slovakia), *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea*, XCI: *Archeológia* 7 (1997): 95–102. The author mentions similar tiles in Kremnica and Orava (henceforth: Hoššo, 1997).

²⁸ Marta Mácelová, “Gotické kachľové pece z banskobystrickej radnice” (Gothic tile stoves from the city hall of Banská Bystrica), *Archaeologia historica* 24 (1999): 409–420.

²⁹ I thank Edit Kocsis (Mátyás Király Múzeum, Visegrád) for this information and image.



Geographic Distribution and Transmission of Motifs

From the types mentioned above, one can see that the tiles with this knightly saint are to be found (so far) in peripheral regions of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and in Moldavia. In each of the three regions or provinces Ladislav is depicted according to different iconographical patterns, so the only directly related tiles are from inside the same region: the group of Transylvanian tiles with Ladislav as mounted knight, the group of Moldavian tiles with Ladislav on horseback and the Slovak group depicting the saint as a standing king. These three cases indicate that such tiles were copied and circulated over some distance but not across the kingdom.

In Transylvania, the five clearly connected tiles (no. 1–5), four unglazed and one glazed, come as far as we know from urban contexts. The excavation place is unknown in Oradea and Aiud, but in Cristurul Secuiesc the tile was used in a small Szekler market town and in Cluj the tiles came from two distinct urban houses, one clearly from the Hungarian suburb of Saint Peter. This group can be dated around the middle of the sixteenth century, due to the date inscription (1540) on the tile from Oradea, which matches the more general excavation context of the other tiles.³⁰ The fact that directly related tiles were found in different locations in Cluj indicates that they were produced or copied in a local workshop. Tiles no. 2 and 10, excavated in Cisturul Secuiesc, depicting two different iconographic types of Ladislav, share the same technical characteristics. This indicates that there were workshops “specialised” in producing (also) tiles with Saint Ladislav, in this case probably a local workshop.

In Moldavia, the related tiles (no. 11–14) seem to be connected to a socially more distinguished context. The four tiles, probably just the unpublished one in Suceava being glazed, were used in princely courts and in the rural residence of a boyar. The tiles are dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the next. If this dating is accurate, then the Moldavian tiles are earlier than all the Transylvanian preserved examples.³¹

³⁰ Benkő, 2004, 70, dating the type of shield depicted draws the conclusion that the frame with the inscription of the year was added later to the tile. The author dates the asymmetrical shield to the second half of the fifteenth century and the symmetrical one rather to the first part of the sixteenth century. I think that the tiles did not necessarily keep up (closely) with arms and armor fashion, so the first half of the sixteenth century is a fairly accurate dating.

³¹ One can wonder whether the Moldavian scholarship has a tendency to date tiles earlier than the more sceptical Transylvanian one, considering that often not the tiles are dated according to the context, but the contexts tend to be dated according to the tiles.



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The related tiles in Slovakia, from Filakovo, Branč, Kremnica and Orava, come from castles. They form a clear group of directly related tiles, connected through copying (*Fig. 6*). The tile from Kremnica is 15% smaller than the one in Branč, which certainly served as model. In Orava a tile similar in details but rendering only the bust of Saint Ladislav was discovered, so it is a partial copy.³²

Comparative approaches to the iconography of the tiles depicting Saint Ladislav are the most frequent and the safest in the present state of publication of the material. In only Transylvania do most of the tiles depict recognizable elements of arms and armor. In Moldavia the images are schematic and more decorative while in Slovakia the accent is put on the royal and not the knightly attributes. In Transylvania, the Ladislav-on-horseback type depicts a fully armed knight³³ with knee and elbow protection plates, cuirass with a rosette on the right shoulder, tassets for the lower half of the body, a halberd (pierced on tile no. 3) and a shield decorated with a cross. The only similar tile concerning the quality of such details is the one in Banská Bystrica (no. 20, *Fig. 6*). It renders the saint in complete armor, with chest plate, tassets, iron gloves, elbow and knee protection plates, halberd and a small shield decorated with a double cross. Still, this is an isolated example in the Slovak group. The other tiles include the crown (decorated with crosses or not), the royal mantle, and the orb. Returning to Transylvania, the Cuman is depicted with typical oriental costume elements like the pointed hat and with oriental weapons like the bow. In Moldavia, significantly fewer details of arms and armor can be identified: halberds (no. 11, 12, 13), spurs (no. 11), a coat of mail (no. 13), and tassets (no. 15). On the other hand, the Moldavian depictions of Ladislav are rich in decorative elements like lines, dots and stars (no. 11, 12). The proportions of the horses are elongated, the figures are schematic. The difference in accent towards details of arms and armor can give indications as to the quality and the type of knightly culture popular in Transylvania and in Moldavia.

³² Hoššo, 1997, 96.

³³ R. Ewart Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Weapons* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963); R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964); R. Ewart Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964); Eduard Wagner, Zoroslava Drobná and Jan Durdík, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons (1350–1450)* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2000); Francois Wilkinson, *Histoire illustrée des Armes et Armures* (Paris: Editions Princesse, 1978). I thank my colleague Anca Nițoi for her help in recognizing the specific weapons and armor elements and for the bibliographic indications.



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In Transylvania the image of Saint Ladislav appears on church frescoes, coins, seals, manuscript miniatures, enamels and sculpture.³⁴ In Oradea there was a reliquary for the saint's skull and an equestrian bronze statue commissioned from the artists George and Martin, brothers from Cluj.³⁵ The distribution of medieval frescoes depicting Saint Ladislav in the context of the Cuman episode³⁶ shows that these representations, ordered by noble patrons, were significantly more numerous in the border regions of the Hungarian Kingdom (Transylvania, Slovakia, and Slovenia). It was concluded that the saint was venerated as a border-defender hero and his protection was invoked in regions more vulnerable to enemy attacks.

The tiles with Ladislav in Moldavia are very interesting cases. Unlike in Transylvania and Slovakia, in Moldavia there are no frescoes or other visual sources depicting the saint or his legend. Even if some textual variants of the saint's legend could have made their way to Moldavia as early as the sixteenth century,³⁷ the transmission of texts is different and later than the transmission of images. It seems clear that the image of Saint Ladislav was brought from Transylvania to the east, but the means of such transmission need further observations. It can be that Transylvanian stove tiles were sold in Moldavia or copied there. Considering that different types of Transylvanian masters and craftsmen were employed in Moldavia, one can suspect also that itinerant potters crossed the Carpathians. As for who would buy such tiles in Moldavia, it can be argued either that they were used only for their decorative role, without the buyers identifying Saint Ladislav on those images, or that the tiles were used by Catholics. Indeed, the tile from Baia, the only one in Moldavia showing

³⁴ Ernő Marosi, "Der Heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14–15. Jh.," *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987): 211–256. (henceforth: Marosi, 1987); Balogh, 1982.

³⁵ The gilt silver reliquary is kept today in Győr. The statue was made around 1390 and placed in front of the cathedral, but it was melted by the Turks in 1660. It represented Ladislav on horseback, crowned and holding the battle-axe. Balogh, 1982; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* (The history of feudal art in the Romanian Countries) (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 2001), 319.

³⁶ The topic is popular among scholars. See Marosi, 1987, 222–230; A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990; Vasile Drăguț, "Legenda 'eroului de frontieră' în pictura medievală din Transilvania" (The legend of the "border hero" in medieval painting from Transylvania), *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor – Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 2 (1974): 21–38 (henceforth: Drăguț, 1974); V. Dvořáková, "La légende de Saint Ladislav découverte dans l'église de Velká Lomnica. Iconographie, style et circonstances de la diffusion de cette légende," *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* 4 (1972): 25–42.

³⁷ Drăguț, 1974, 30.



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Ladislas in the narrative context of the Cuman episode, was excavated in one of the urban houses near the Catholic church.

Still, there are strong counter-arguments: the preserved Moldavian types are not iconographically copied after the Transylvanian ones, even if they depict similar scenes; the dating indicates that the Moldavian tiles depicting Ladilsas may be earlier than all the Transylvanian examples; there is no strong evidence supporting the transmission of tiles or potters between the two neighboring provinces. I consider it useful in this case to investigate other possible channels for the transmission of the image. I suggest as a hypothesis that at least the Ladislas on horseback type, restricted to Transylvania and Moldavia, might have reached the Moldavian area through coins.³⁸

In the Hungarian Kingdom, emissions of coins depicting King Ladislas standing, holding the orb and the battle-axe, were issued from the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁹ The image of the holy king appears for the first and only time as a mounted knight on coins during the reign of Wladislas II (1490–1516), on emissions from 1499, 1500, 1504 and 1506 (*Fig. 7*). All Ladislas depictions on coins are restricted to golden forints and ducats. The emissions of king Wladislas II with Saint Ladislas on horseback are guldiners, coins valued for their precious metal. These guldiners were also used in Moldavia, as the analysis of coin hoards indicates.⁴⁰ The Moldavian tiles depicting Ladislas on horseback are also dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, supporting this hypothesis. But again, the iconography of the mounted saint on tiles and on coins is not identical and there is no direct evidence that potters used the coins as inspiration for their own products.

³⁸ Elek Benkő, although unconvinced by the idea in the spring of 2004 when he consulted my thesis as external reader, mentioned a possible indirect connection through coins later on in his recent book (Benkő, 2004, 70).

³⁹ Emil Unger, *Magyar Éremhatározó* (Hungarian coin register) (Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 1980); Lajos Huszár, *Műnzkatalog Ungarn* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979), 122–124.

⁴⁰ Information kindly provided by Márton Gyöngyössy-Kálnoky, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Department of Archaeology.

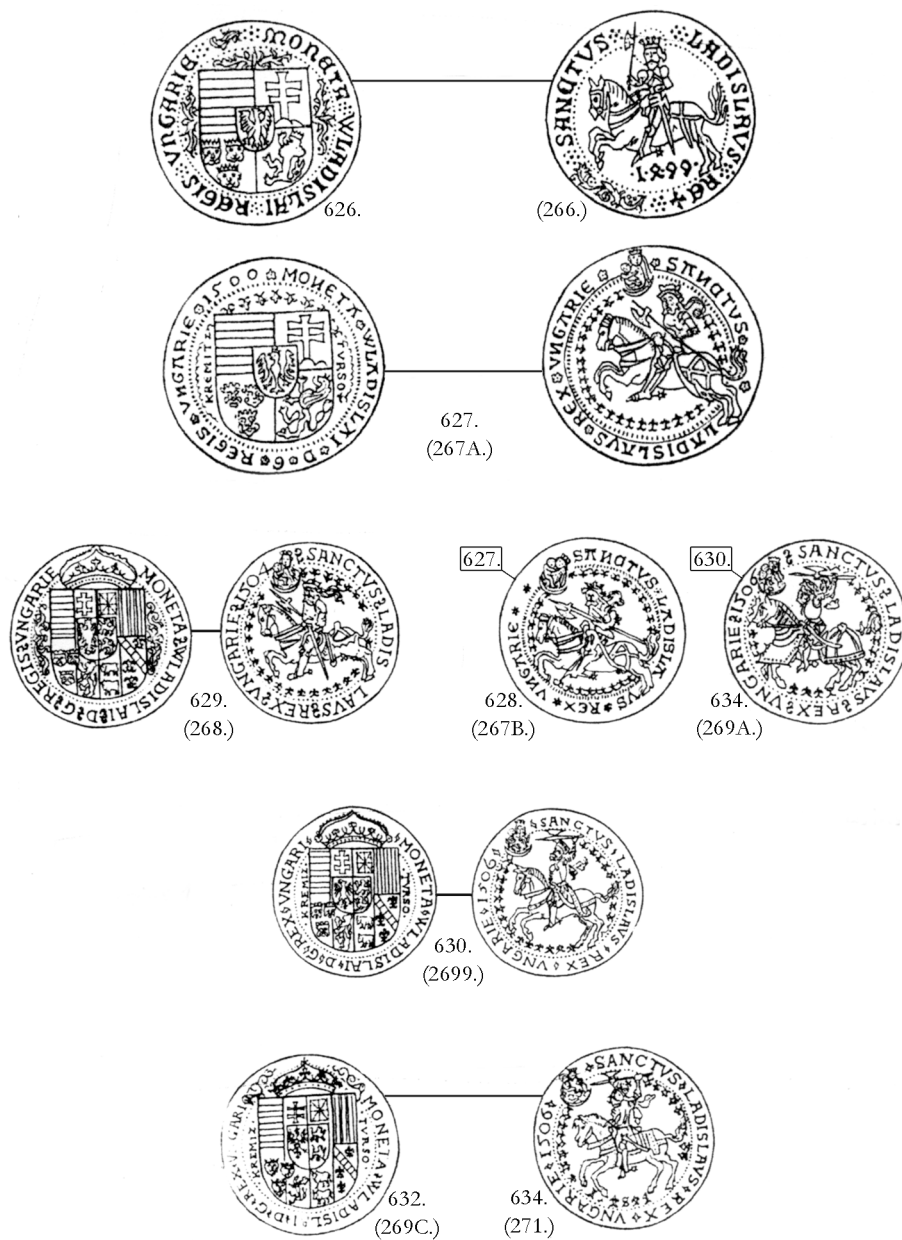


Fig. 7. Guldiners depicting Saint Ladislav on horseback, emitted between 1499–1506 by King Wladislav II (1490–1516)



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Conclusions

Stove tiles decorated with Saint Ladislav became fashionable and were copied in the second half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century, in certain regions of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (in Upper Hungary and Transylvania) and even beyond, in neighboring Moldavia. There are not many such tiles⁴¹ (21) but their iconography is surprisingly varied and they were used in different social contexts. The most popular are the images of Ladislav on horseback (10) and Ladislav as a standing king (9), while there are only two tiles depicting the saint fighting the Cuman. All the image types can be found in Transylvania. On tiles from Upper Hungary Ladislav is always depicted as a standing king while this iconography is never used in Moldavia.

How were these images transmitted? At least three of the iconographical types, Ladislav on horseback in Transylvania (if not also Ladislav standing under the gothic niche), mounted Ladislav in Moldavia and standing Ladislav as a king with an orb in Slovakia, show that such images were popular enough to be copied and transported over significant distances but still in the areas of only one province. The transmission of motifs seems to have taken place only inside the upper social strata (urban and aristocratic milieus). Among local workshops involved in the production of tiles depicting Saint Ladislav (among other motifs) the scholarly literature counts the ones in Cluj, Cristur and Banská Bystrica. The exact means of copying these tiles, as well as the identification of the sources of inspiration of the potters are still to be discussed.

The exact usage context of these tiles is rarely known, due to the finding conditions. In the few cases when the archaeological context is relevant, the tiles with Saint Ladislav were used on stoves with mixed iconography. In Banská Bystrica, the stove from the first level of the City Hall was composed from tiles with Saint Ladislav, Saint Catherine, the Virgin and Child, Saint George, heraldic lions, Agnus Dei, etc. In Borniş, the stove must have been composed of tiles with Ladislav and bagpipe-players.

Does the stove tile evidence show that Saint Ladislav became a border-defending hero in the Later Middle Ages? Vasile Drăguţ proposed the hypothetical perception of the saint as a border defender hero in 1974 after having analyzed the spread of the iconographic cycle of Ladislav fighting the Cuman.⁴² He observes that all of these church frescoes were painted between the beginning of

⁴¹ As one tile I understand one image type from one site. When the existing literature mentions fragments from more than one tile of the same type on one site, I included the information in the catalogue (*Table 1*).

⁴² Drăguţ, 1974.



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the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century and were located in southeastern Transylvania, Upper Hungary and one in southwestern Hungary. He explains this particular chronological and spatial distribution through a shift in the devotion towards St. Ladislav, who was being venerated as border-defender hero. This widely accepted theory⁴³ implies that Ladislav ceased to be an exclusively ethnic (Hungarian) and royal saint, but instead the details of his legend and the chivalric values attached to him made him popular in the border regions of the Kingdom of Hungary and among several (noble) ethnic groups.

The geographic distribution of the stove tiles with Saint Ladislav seems to confirm the theory of the saint's popularity as a border-defending hero (in case we consider entire provinces as "border-regions" and we ignore the uneven destruction raids of the Ottomans). Still, a valid comparison cannot be made between all stove tiles depicting Saint Ladislav and frescoes depicting the saint only in the context of fighting the Cuman. A better comparison would be with all the frescoes with Saint Ladislav, depicted also in other contexts of his legend, beside the other Hungarian holy rulers. The distribution of these images shows that indeed they are concentrated in Transylvania (21 frescoes) and Upper Hungary (20) but not only on the borders of these provinces. An other 5 frescoes are to be found in Central Hungary and one in southwestern Hungary (present-day Slovenia)⁴⁴ (see *Fig. 8*). Compared to the distribution of the tiles, one can see as similarity their preponderance in Transylvania and Upper Hungary, but the tiles are also found in Moldavia and the frescoes also in Central Hungary. The chronology is also quite different, in that the tiles are clearly later than the frescoes, which might suggest that the image of Ladislav became popular in decorative arts after it ceased to be an attraction for church fresco decoration.

Several arguments must be considered when approaching the delicate issue of image perception. The most difficult is to distinguish among the several possible interpretations of Saint Ladislav on stove tiles. It can be that the image was considered purely decorative. In case the image was identified as depicting Saint Ladislav, this preference might show a personal devotion, a need to imitate others (a question of prestige and fashion), a taste for chivalric and/or courtly scenes or an expression of loyalty towards the Hungarian royal house.

⁴³ Maria Crăciun, Carmen Florea, ed., "The Cult of Saints in Medieval Transylvania," in *Saints of Europe. Studies towards a Survey of Cults and Culture*, ed. Graham Jones (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 43–68.

⁴⁴ Considering data from Drăguț, 1974; Kovács, 2000; Lángi József, "Erdélyi falképfelmérések" (Survey of Transylvanian mural paintings) *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, 2001: 210–213.

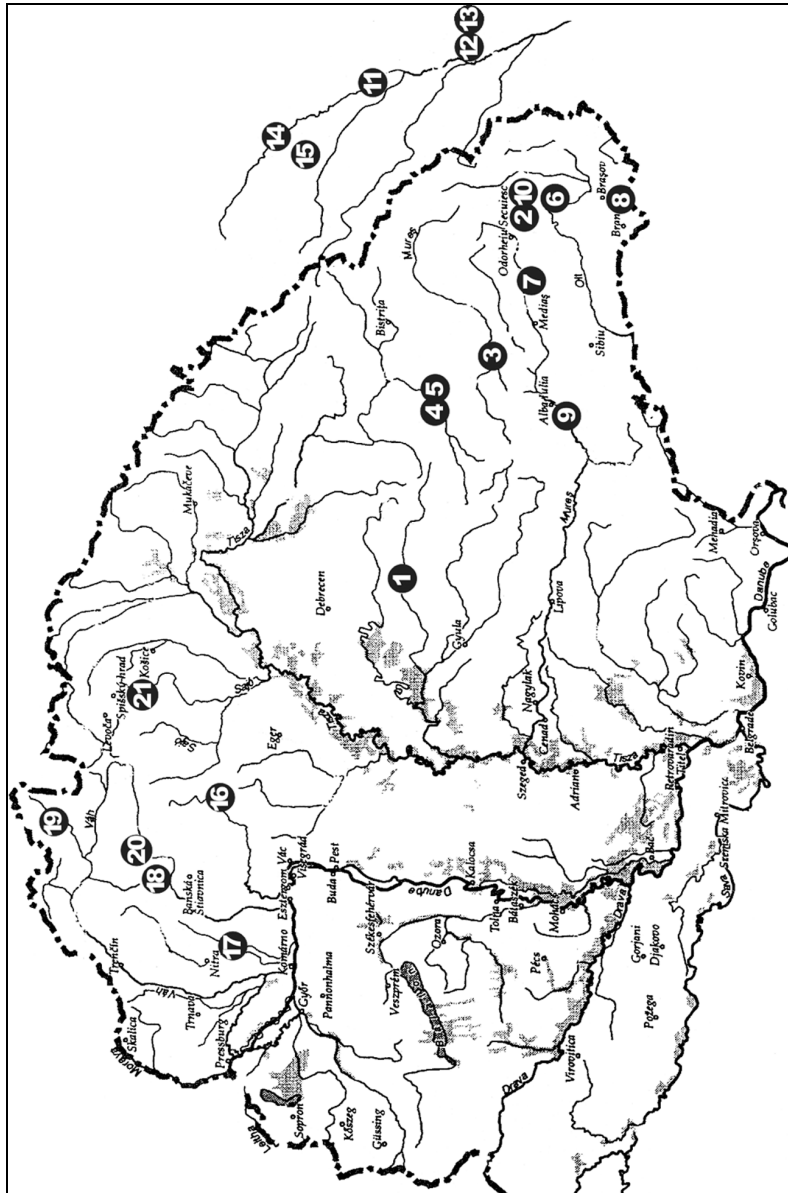


Fig. 8a. Distribution of the medieval tiles depicting Saint Ladislav.
Transylvania: 1: Oradea; 2, 10: Cristurul Secuiesc; 3: Anid; 4, 5: Cluj-Napoca; 6: Cechești; 7: Sighișoara; 8: Râșnov; 9: Vințu de Jos
Moldavia: 11: Bormiș; 12, 13: Bacău; 14: Suceava; 15: Baia
Upper Hungary: 16: Filakovo; 17: Branič; 18: Kremnica; 19: Orava; 20: Banská Bystrica; 21: Kláštorisko

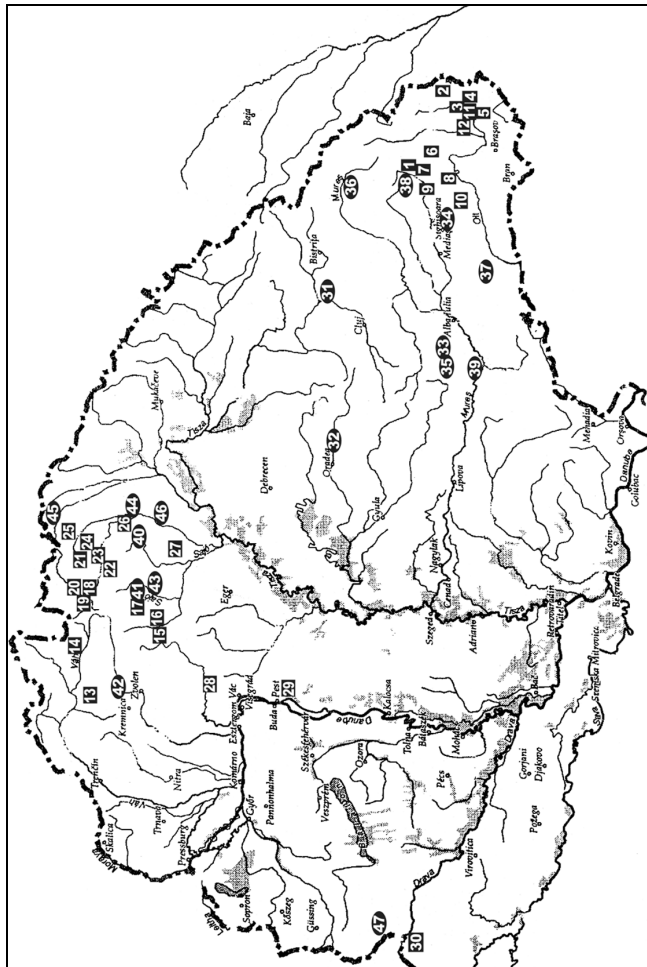


Fig. 8b. Distribution of the medieval frescoes depicting Saint Ladislav:

- Ladislav fighting the Cumans: 1: Mihăileni; 2: Ghehăia; 3: Pădureni; 4: Mouşa; 5: Chileni; 6: Biborţeni; 7: Filea; 8: Mărtiniş; 9: Muga; 10: Dârju; 11: Chibiş; 12: Săcova; 13: Necpăl; 14: Lăptovský Ondrej; 15: Rimnăscă Baia; 16: Krusko; 17: Racoş; 18: Şvabovce; 19: Poprad; 20: Velká Lomnica; 21: Biškovce; 22: Vito; 23: Želva; 24: Slatina; 25: Sabinov; 26: Košice; 27: Szolnoka; 28: Tereske; 29: Ócsa; 30: Turnište
- Ladislav as a standing king: 31: Fişşul Gherlei; 32: Tileagd; 33: Crăcior; 34: Mălăncra; 35: Ribiţa; 36: Remelea; 37: Sibiu; 38: Armăşeni; 39: Chiminda; 40: Căpăne; 41: Racoş; 42: Banská Bystrica; 43: Plešince; 44: Corry Ardor; 45: Bardejov; 46: Abaújvár; 47: Velemér

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One can argue that in the case of the urban representations, the interpretation given to such images was not concentrating on the chivalric and military attributes of the saint. The tile from the Carthusian complex in Kláštorisko is more likely to have been seen rather as a saintly depiction than a chivalric one. Another observation goes back to the number of tiles depicting Ladislav with clear details of arms and armor. These tiles are only 9 out of 19, counting the ones in which at least one other element of arms and armor appears beside the battle-axe (which is more like a specific identification attribute of the saint). Also, the actual scene of combat against the pagan enemy is very rare (on only two tiles). We have no evidence that the tiles depicting the knightly saint were connected and used together with other chivalric tiles. It can therefore be argued whether indeed Ladislav was seen so much in a chivalric cultural framework or not.

Regarding the ethnic identity of the owners of such tiles, especially since the image is to be found in the case of Moldavia outside Hungary, one has to question if the saint was preferred by Hungarians or if he ceased to be an exclusively ethnic saint. The case of Moldavia, a province never incorporated into the Kingdom but subjected to its (religious and ethnic) influences is somehow ambiguous. Tile no. 11 might have belonged to a Moldavian boyar of Hungarian origin; tile no. 15 was excavated in a house near the Catholic church so probably belonged to a Hungarian owner. Out of the 19 tiles in present-day Romania, only 6 can be connected with strong probability to Hungarian owners. Still, the state of publication of the items leaves the question open to further research. Even if a strong correlation of ethnic and religious identity can be established in late medieval Transylvania and Moldavia, in the sense Hungarian-Catholic and Romanian-Orthodox, it cannot be asserted whether Ladislav was or was not an exclusively Catholic saint.

Therefore the popularity of Ladislav (on stove tiles at least) as a border-defender hero needs to be regarded with a certain scepticism. At the same time, further attention given to the issues of image perception and interpretation and further knowledge on the primary context of both tiles and frescoes will hopefully lead to more elaborated conclusions. Why was the cult of Saint Ladislav stronger in Upper Hungary and Transylvania? How was his image interpreted in the late Middle Ages? These questions are still to be answered.

Table 1. Catalogue of stove tiles with St. Ladislav

No	Scene	Where found	Date	Description	Technical details	Archaeological context and social environment	Museum & Reference
1	St. Ladislav	Oradea (Bihar County)	1540	-Ladislav on horseback -with inscription of the year	-unglazed flat tile	-unknown	-private collection, Bucharest -Balogh, 1982 -Benkő, 1984
2	St. Ladislav	Cristurul Secuiesc (Harghita County)	First half XVI	-Ladislav on horseback	-fragmentary flat tile, 21.7x20.5cm, no frame -fine clay (+ fine sand), pressed with textile -unglazed	-small Szekler market town -rescue excavation	-Muzeul de Istorie, Cristurul Secuiesc -Benkő, 1984 -Bătrăna, 1990 -Marcu, 2004
3	St. Ladislav	Aiud (Alba County)	XV–XVI	-knight with axe and shield	-fragment 13.7x8.5x0.7cm -unglazed	-unknown	-Muzeul de Istorie Aiud (14803) -Marcu, Scrobotă, 2003 ⁴⁵ -Marcu, 2004
4	St. Ladislav	Cluj-Napoca (Cluj County)	XV–XVI	-knight with shield	-fragment 0.9x1.4cm thick -unglazed (white engobe)	-wooden medieval city house	-Muzeul National de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj (P26884) -Crisan, 1996 -Marcu, 2004

⁴⁵ Daniela Marcu Istrate, Paul Scrobotă, "Căble medievale din Transilvania în colecția Muzeului din Aiud" (Medieval stove tiles from Transylvania in the collection of the Museum in Aiud), *Patrimonium Apulense*, 3 (2003): 143–159.

No	Scene	Where found	Date	Description	Technical details	Archaeological context and social environment	Museum & Reference
5	St. Ladislav ?	Cluj-Napoca (Cluj County)	XV-XVI	-shield	-fragment(12x12cm) -green glaze	-city outskirts (St. Peter Hungarian district)	-Benkő, 2004
6	St. Ladislav	Cechești (Harghita County)	First half XVI	-Ladislav fighting the Cuman	-fragmentary flat tile, 26x19.5cm. -medium clay -pressed by hand -unglazed	-Szekler village	-Muzeul de Istorie, Cristurul Secuiesc -Benkő, 1984 -Benkő, 1992 -Marcu, 2004
7	St. Ladislav	Sighișoara (Mureș County)	Second half XV - XVI	-Cuman on horseback with bow, Ladiva	-fragment of flat tile 26.3x20.5 cm -polychrome glaze (white, yellow, green, blue)	-Saxon city	-Muzeul de Istorie (1528) -Marcu, 2004
8	St. Ladislav	Râșnov (Brașov County)	Second half XV	-Ladislav standing under a Gothic baldachin	-fragment, no frame -low quality clay, pressed by wood -medium use -unglazed	-fortification	-Muzeul Județean Brașov -Marcu, 2004
9	St. Ladislav	Vințu de Jos (Alba County)	XVI	-Ladislav under a Gothic baldachin	-fragment, 13.3x12.4x1 cm -low quality clay, pressed by wood -unglazed	-Martinuzzi Castle	-Muzeul National de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj -Marcu, 2004

No	Scene	Where found	Date	Description	Technical details	Archaeological context and social environment	Museum & Reference
10	St. Ladislav	Cristurul Secuiesc (Harghita County)	XVI	-Ladislav standing beside another character	-reconstructed flat tile, 25.5x21 cm, short frame -pressed by hand -unglazed	-small Szekler market town -rescue excavation	-Muzeul de Istorie, Cristurul Secuiesc -Drăguț, 1974 -Benkő, 1984 -Bătrana, 1990 -Marcu, 2004
11	St. Ladislav	Borș (Neamț County)	End XV	-Ladislav on horseback	-reconstructed flat tile, 19.4 cm wide -good quality clay -pressed by hand in wooden mold -unglazed	-country house of boyar Toader Hurdigaș -more fragments from stove with Ladislav and bagpipe players	-Popovici, 1998 -Bătrana, 1999
12	St. Ladislav	Bacău (Bacău County)	End XV beg. XVI	-Ladislav on horseback	-unknown	-princely court -fragments from several tiles	-Artimon, 1986–1987 ⁴⁶ -Bătrana, 1999
13	St. Ladislav	Bacău (Bacău County)	End XV beg. XVI	-Ladislav on horseback	-unglazed flat tile	-princely court	-Artimon, 1986–1987 -Bătrana, 1999

⁴⁶ Artimon, Alexandru. “Noi contribuții arheologice privind Curtea Domnească din Bacău” (New archaeological contributions to the princely court in Bacău). *Carpias* 18–19 (1986–1987): 285–299

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No	Scene	Where found	Date	Description	Technical details	Archaeological context and social environment	Museum & Reference
14	St. Ladislav (?)	Suceava (Suceava County)	End XV	-Ladislav on horseback	-green glaze	-princely court	-Muzeul Național al Bucovinei -Bătrâna, 1990 -Popovici, 1998 -Bătrâna, 1990
15	St. Ladislav	Bătrâna (Suceava County)	XV around 1477	-Ladislav following the Cuman king	-glazed flat tile	-city house, near the catholic church	-Bătrâna, 1990 -Popovici, 1998 -Bătrâna, 1990
16	St. Ladislav	Filakovo (Slovakia)	?	-Ladislav as standing king	-unknown	-castle	-Kalmár, 1959 -Holl, Voigt, 1963 -Holčík, 1974
17	St. Ladislav	Branč (Slovakia)	?	-Ladislav as standing king	-green glaze -at least 2 tiles -technically similar tile with St. Emeric	-castle	-Hošo, 1997
18	St. Ladislav	Kremnica (Slovakia)	?	-Ladislav as standing king	-green glaze? -15% smaller than Branč	-city castle	-Hošo, 1997
19	St. Ladislav	Orava (Slovakia)	?	-bust of Ladislav	-partial copy of Branč	-castle	-Hošo, 1997
20	St. Ladislav	Banská Bystrica (Slovakia)	XV- first half XVI	-Ladislav standing in full armor	-semicircular tile -green glaze	-city hall	-Mácelová, 1999
21	St. Ladislav	Kláštorská, Slovenský Raj National Park, (Slovakia)	?	-Ladislav as a standing king	-unknown	-Carthusian monastery	-unknown



A HOLY MATRON AND HER DAUGHTERS SAINT SOPHIA IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY¹

Judit Sebő 

Contemporary texts and works of art show that people in late medieval Europe were amply equipped with saints. These saints guarded every step of their protégés, gave advice on their problems if requested, and could be invoked for assistance in difficult moments. The established habit of resorting to the aid of saints had increased conspicuously by the fifteenth century.² Their essential function as mediators between earthly and heavenly matters had been preserved from early times, but during the late Middle Ages many of them were characterized primarily by the faculty of helping.

However, the persons venerated in the late Middle Ages were no longer the living saints of earlier centuries whose direct personal power accomplished miracles. Notwithstanding, late medieval saints were as alive as their predecessors in the eyes of believers. While the demand for authenticated biographies had lost relevance, various lively versions of the legends of earlier saints continued to flourish. Concluding from prayers, legends, and folk traditions associated with saints, it is tempting to assume that they operated almost like a spiritual medicine cabinet, from which one could produce and apply the appropriate remedy for each trouble. Besides the best-known saints, who were venerated in almost every corner of Europe in the late Middle Ages—like Saints Anne, George, Sebastian, and Christopher—there were characters of local importance, accessible and meaningful only for a limited audience. Saint Sophia seems to have been one of these.

The idea to study the late medieval iconography and cult of Saint Sophia and Her Three Daughters was initiated by their representation on several Upper Hungarian (Slovakian) altarpieces (*Figs. 1–5 and cover illustration*). Although most of them are set into different programs of images (an issue that will be discussed below) their conspicuously constant iconography immediately caught my

¹ This paper is an excerpt from my MA thesis “Scantifying Virtues: Saint Sophia and Her Daughters, Their Image, and Their Role in Late Medieval Hungary”, (Budapest: Central European University, 2004). Here I would like to thank again those who have been helping me from the beginning of my work.

² The phenomenon of the late medieval cult of saints has been thoroughly treated by many scholars, see e.g. Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1994); Norbert Wolf, *Die Macht der Heiligen und ihrer Bilder* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004).

attention. The mother, always fitted out with a crenellated crown, is most often either seated or standing in the middle of the composition, with the maidens placed in a row before her or sitting in her lap. There are variations, of course, but generally the depictions do not bear the sign of any substantial modification through the period of popularity—roughly one century—of the four saints. Clinging to an established scheme may sound uninteresting, but in many cases in the history of art specific reasons are hidden in the background. Popular late medieval saints were, indeed, represented on altarpieces by motionless figures with their attributes unless they were bound into narrative scenes taken from their lives. Saint Sophia and Her Three Daughters have more in their composition than simply being fixed in a convenient posture.

In addition to the iconography, the names of the four figures themselves seemed significant, because the three daughters of Sophia are called Fides, Spes, and Caritas. Their names suggest that it is worth taking these figures seriously; they are principally abstract concepts whose representation expresses their hierarchy and relations with each other. They can be identified as personifications in the sense that otherwise impalpable things receive human form.³ Since the most evident and probably only device for bringing abstract ideas closer to the common mind is to animate them and weave a plot around them, Sophia and Her Three Daughters could be concepts at the same time as they were saintly women described in legends. How could they talk, act, be of different ages and linked by family ties if they were not real persons?

All the same, the closer concepts come down to earth imagined as persons, the more they lose their immateriality. By striving to give form to their invisible object, both literary and visual representations (primarily the latter) deprive it of its essential unattainability.⁴ Much earlier in art, the influential image of a frontally represented, enthroned figure already solved this problem fairly well by giving limitless scope for associations. The wide range and variability of personifications which accompany the seated figures, extending to virtues, muses or

³ See L. Deubner, "Personifikationen antiker Begriffe," in *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher, vol. 3 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1897–1909), coll. 2068–2169; Emma Stafford, *Worshipping Virtues. Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2000), 1–36 (hereafter: Stafford, *Worshipping*). Concerning the Middle Ages, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*. Subsidia Hagiographica 18. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1973, first edition 1955), 5–6.

⁴ Moshe Barasch, *Icon. Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 6–9, 185–253; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 45–46; Stafford, *Worshipping*, 14.



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artes, makes strict classification senseless.⁵ In the present case, Saint Sophia gently dominates the other three as she embraces them into a unity.

The classical source for the trio of Faith, Hope, and Charity is in Saint Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, where they are meant as conditions of the real knowledge of God, that is, Wisdom (1 Cor. 13).⁶ According to Saint Paul, it is definitely Charity who should encompass the others. The indivisible unity of these three virtues—only later called “theological”—with Wisdom and with each other was treated also by Augustine in *De Fide, Spe et Charitate*, where charity again emerges as the real sense, the cohesive material of every other thing.⁷ A verse from Proverbs reveals no contradiction but rather interchangeability when Wisdom says: “I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me (Prov. 8:17).”⁸

These preliminary considerations have arisen from first impressions of the paintings. Nevertheless, delving into the elucidation of the four names and the iconographic scheme may lead towards remote, indeed, too remote, fields because late medieval representations do not appear to preserve much of their abstract origins. A wide hiatus can thus be perceived between the late antique—early medieval “prehistory” of Saint Sophia and Her Three Daughters and their late medieval existence, which will be discussed here.

Although the paintings that gave the idea and also the subject matter of this article stem from Upper Hungary, these pieces are strongly related to the more copious Polish material.⁹ The distinct area of the spread of the cult is

⁵ For the connections between Muses, virtues, and sciences, see Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art, from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1989, reprint of London: Warburg Institute, 1939); L. D. Ettlinger, “Muses and Liberal Arts. Two Miniatures from Herrad of Landsberg's Hortus Deliciarum,” in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to R. Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967, second imp. 1969), 29–35.

⁶ The notion of what man's primary duty is was changed: in the Book of Wisdom it is the fear of God, while here it is faith in him.

⁷ Augustinus, “Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive De Fide, Spe et Charitate,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed by J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1967) vol. 40, coll. 231–290; see also Eugen Biser, “Mater Pulchrae Dilectionis,” *Das Münster* 11 (1958): 180–182.

⁸ The immense richness of medieval interpretations concerning Wisdom, Christ and Charity, would have led the argumentation too far, therefore they are only mentioned here.

⁹ For an extensive description see Helena Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej ikonografii i kulcie Św. Zofii z trzema córkami w Małopolsce” (The late medieval icon-

possible to define from altar and church dedications, together with the panels found either in museums or in situ. The altarpieces which contained these panels were donated to chapels or churches, and a few mentions of altar foundations in honor of Sophia are, indeed, the first references to the beginning of her cult. It expanded over the medieval boundary between Poland and Hungary, which is not surprising if one considers the close contacts of the two countries.¹⁰ The cultural inseparability of this territory is affirmed by the iconography and the style, although they do not provide enough support for reconstructing the flow of influences.

In Poland it seems that, at least in the beginning, the cult was not limited to the southern part of the country because in the oldest known Polish source, from 1406, mentions the raising of an altar to Saint Sophia in Lublin, Greater Poland.¹¹ Two years later another altar was dedicated to her in Poznań, and among other sites from the following decades Cracow can also be found, which may have been the most important of all because it was the capital. Among extant representations the most important and probably earliest is a fresco in Kazimierz, today a district of Cracow.¹² It was discovered in the ambulatory of the Augustinian cloister and is dated by Malkiewiczówna to approximately 1430. Thus, the fresco is roughly contemporary with the chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Sophia founded in the Wawel cathedral by Queen Sophia, fourth wife of King Władisław Jagiello, in 1431 or 1432.¹³ The

ography and cult of Saint Sophia and her three daughters in Lesser Poland),” *Folia Historiae Artium* 26 (1990): 27–70 (henceforth Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej”).

¹⁰ For the artistic connections see e.g. Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci mester és köre” (The Master of Matejovce and his followers), in *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Art in Hungary c. 1300–1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 715–720 (henceforth *Magyarországi művészet*).

¹¹ Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 42.

¹² Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 27–30.

¹³ After Queen Sophia, whose previous name was Sonka Holszańska, married Władisław Jagiello and converted to Catholicism, Saint Sophia was chosen as her patron saint. See Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 43; Karel Estreicher, “Tryptyk św. Trójcy w katedrze na Wawelu (The Triptych of the Trinity in Wawel cathedral),” *Rocznik Krakowski* 28 (1936): 47–125. see also Joannes Długossius, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, Book 11. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964–1985). On the policy of rebaptizing Orthodox people according to Catholic rules as a means of strengthening the state, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, “La Pologne et la christianisation de la Lithuanie,” in Jerzy Kłoczowski, *La Pologne dans l'Eglise médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993): 137–157.



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initial decoration and furnishings of this chapel are not known, but as late as 1467 an altarpiece of the Holy Trinity was placed there, with a sculpture of Sophia and Her Daughters, paired with another of Saint Anne with the Virgin Mary and Jesus in its pediment. It may have been modeled after an earlier one, carved for the original furnishing in the 1430s. This sculpture is also of that particular type which is characteristic of all the Polish and Upper Hungarian examples, therefore it was presumably developed in this more or less circumscribed area. The supposed relation between the queen's choice of this saint and the popularity of the latter in Little Poland may be another reason for the importance of this sculpture.

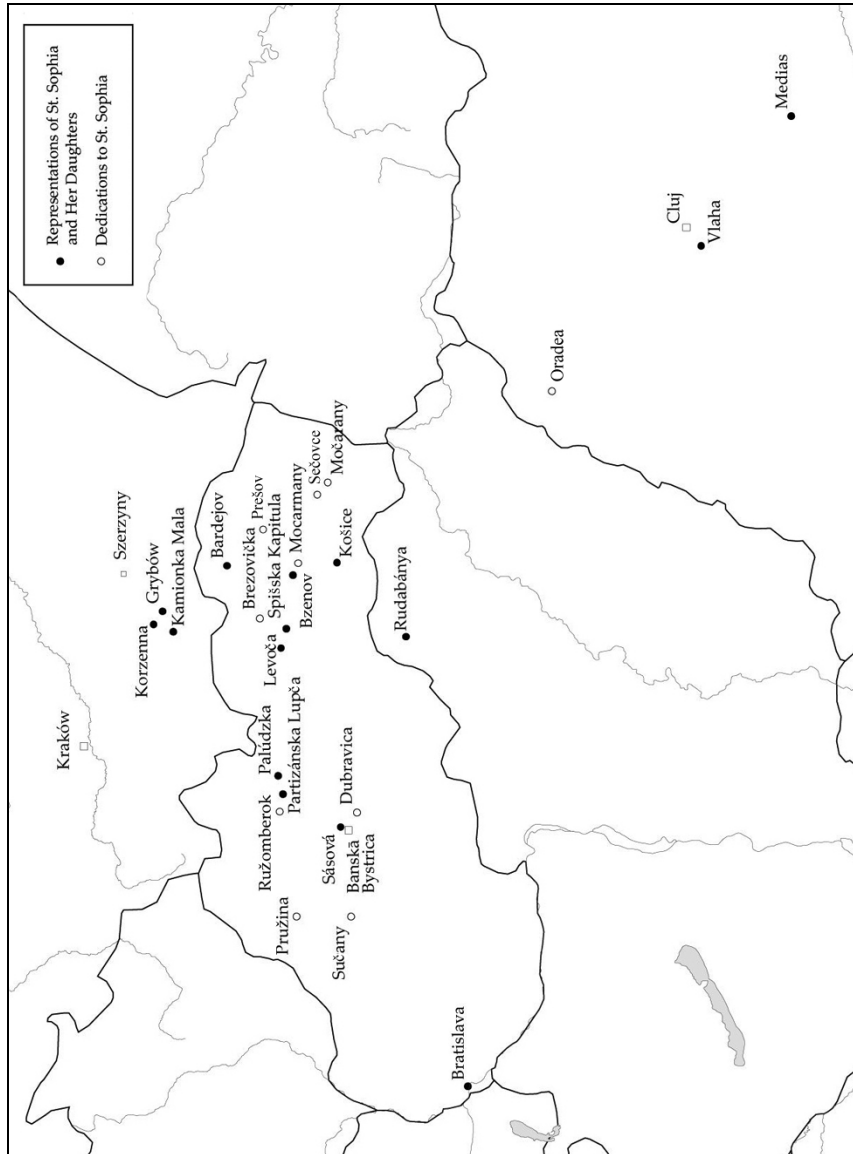
In Upper Hungary, present day Slovakia, the map of the former cult area of Saint Sophia takes shape from surviving altarpieces and frescoes as well as written sources which mention dedications. It is like an incomplete mosaic put together from pebbles of different types. Probably all the churches and chapels under her patronage contained visual representations of the saint, but various reasons, e.g. replacing the “old-fashioned” altarpieces with up-to-date ones in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, may have contributed to the disappearance of many. Thus it can be inferred that her images which have survived to this day represent only a fraction of the whole.

Churches and chapels dedicated to Saint Sophia are documented within the boundaries of medieval Hungary in Dubravica (1432, church), Sečovce (Gálszécs; 1469, chapel), Brezovička (Hamborg; 1439, chapel), Močarany (Mocsár; 1439, church), Močarmany (Mocsármány; 1438, wooden chapel), Pružina (Pruzsina; chapel), Ružomberok (Rózsahegy; 1397, 1399, church), and Sučany (Szucsány, mentioned only in 1590).¹⁴ Beyond these places in Upper Hungary, where no material evidence has remained, the dedications and parts of altarpieces are known from Sásová and from (Kispalugya). According to scattered mentions and preserved panels, two groups of places can be distinguished in Upper Hungary where the painted accessories of the cult are attested.¹⁵ One is in the eastern area, including Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa), Prešov (Preschav, Eperjes) and Spišská Kapitula (Zipser Kapitel, Szepeshely); the other is centered around Banská Bystrica (Neusohl, Besztercebánya) and Liptovské Mikuláš (Liptószentmiklós) (see *Table 1* and *map* below).

¹⁴ See András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* (Church dedications in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: METEM, 2003), 496–497 (hereafter Mező, *Patrocíniumok*).

¹⁵ For the non-Polish panels see Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* (Panel paintings of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955,) (hereafter Radocsay, *Táblaképek*).

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Map. 1. Evidence of Saint Sophia in historical Hungary, with selected Polish locations



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Testaments, another kind of written source mentioning donations for altars, shed light on the great importance of saints and their role in piety. Quite a large number of last wills from Prešov register the bequest of a sum for Saint Sophia's altar in the parish church of St. Nicholas.¹⁶ The testators required masses to be celebrated for their or someone else's salvation in return for the endowment. A similar practice can be seen at other places, like Bardejov.¹⁷ However much Saint Sophia may have been venerated in Upper Hungarian towns, her popularity did not reach that of Saint Anne, Saint Barbara, the Corpus Christi or the Rosary, to all of which confraternities were established.¹⁸

The data listed are those that can be directly connected with Saint Sophia's presence in Hungary. Unfortunately, the records of churches and altars are not very communicative in themselves. Depictions can tell much more, as has already been hinted; but before turning to the discussion of selected examples, the literary sources should be cited. The late medieval version of the legend, which has several variants, contributed importantly to the specific iconography. Its prototype was probably invented in Poland, because the earliest example, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, is to be found there.¹⁹ This legend was usually inserted in later editions of the *Legenda aurea* from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and it is noteworthy that in Hungary two of these redactions are in the vernacular.²⁰ Nevertheless, none of these manuscripts can be identified with any of the Hungarian cult places.

¹⁶ Béla Iványi, *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára. Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes 1245–1526* (Szeged: Szeged Városi Nyomda és Könyvkiadó Rt, 1931), documents no. 441, 653, 667, 895, 902, 915, 1016, 1196, 1201, 1239.

¹⁷ Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára. Oklevélregeszták* (The archives of the royal free town of Bardejov. Registers of the charters) vol. 2. 1501–1526. Budapest, Széchényi National Library, Department of Manuscripts, Fol. Hung. 2940, e. g. documents no. 3627, 4146, 4485, 4850. See also Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* (Religious life of the Hungarians during the Jagiellonian era) (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940, reprint Budapest: METEM, 2000), 25–29, 73–80. Without any reference to altars the author writes that St. Sophia was the patron saint of the tailors in Prešov.

¹⁸ For a thorough study on Upper Hungarian confraternities see Marie Madeleine de Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320–vers 1490)* (Budapest–Paris–Szeged: METEM/Publications de l'Institut Hongrois de Paris, 2003).

¹⁹ Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 56 ff, and also footnote 119, where codices in Polish libraries which contain this legend are listed.

²⁰ Edit Madas, "Középkori Zsófia-legendáink latin forrása" (The Latin source of our medieval legends of Saint Sophia), 173–179, in *Tarnai Andor-emlékkönyv*, ed. Gábor Kecskeméti (Budapest: Universitas, 1996) (henceforth Madas, "Zsófia-legendák"). For medieval Hungarian legends in general, see Cyrill Horváth, *Középkori legendáink és a*

Both the translations and the local amplifications of the text show that the book was read everywhere; they are full of new elements and modified details compared to the earlier legends. These alterations indicate a change in the attitude to religious issues. According to them, Sophia was an offspring of the Persian royal family; her father, Mamfredus (or Naufredus) ruled over seven countries.²¹ By the decision of her parents, Sophia was married to a prince called Demetrius and they had three daughters: Fides, Spes, and Caritas, named in a distorted Greek Tyspes, Alpes and Agapes in the *Érdy Codex*. Demetrius, together with the exiled Pope Anacletus, headed for Rome with the aim of suffering martyrdom, and they soon succeeded. They earned the *palma martyrii* at the command of Hadrian, the successor of Decius. In paintings of Saint Sophia, there are usually several crowns on the heads of and around the figures: they can be explained by the saint's dream in which angels offered one crown to each daughter and seven to their mother. Sophia interpreted this correctly as encouragement to imitate her husband in volunteering for martyrdom in Rome. The number of crowns presaged how many deaths they would face, thus Sophia was promised seven and her daughters one each. They were awarded them at last, at the end of innumerable cruel torments.

In spite of such an exciting narrative, no episodes were rendered from it in Central European painting, except for one case. This is the altar of Saint Sophia from Sásóvá, the only known extant winged altar dedicated to this saint²² (Fig. 1). On its central panel the symmetrical group of the four saints can be seen and on the wings the martyrdom of two of her daughters is visible. On the third panel a crowned woman receives communion before an altar and on the fourth the same person is being beheaded. Earlier scholarship, rather surprisingly, regarded these as episodes of anonymous saints²³ or the martyrdom scenes of Saint

Legenda Aurea (Medieval Hungarian legends and the *Legenda Aurea*) (Budapest: n.p. 1911). The “Zsófia-legenda” is in Latin; for versions in the vernacular see *Nádor-kódex, 1508. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* (Facsimile edition and transcription of the codex with an introduction and notes) (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1994), 1205–1307. (fols 304r–329v), and *Érdy-kódex*, ed. György Volf, *Nyelvemléktár vols 4–5* (Series of old text publications) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1876), 437–447.

²¹ Mamfredus in the *Érdy Codex* and in the Polish legends, see also Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 56. The seven countries are those of the Medes, the Africans, the Ethiopians, the Chaldeans, the Arabs; Alexandria, and Egypt.

²² Banská Bystrica, Central Slovakian Museum; Török “A Mateóci mester és köre,” 717–719; Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 30–32 and footnote 10 and 13.

²³ Radocsay, *Középkori falképek*, 66; P. Stintzi, “Heilige Sophia,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, col. 384.

Dorothy, Saint Agatha and Saint Susanna, as well as the communion of Saint Ursula.²⁴ Helena Malkiewiczówna recognized that the episodes on the wings were explicitly linked to the main panel.²⁵

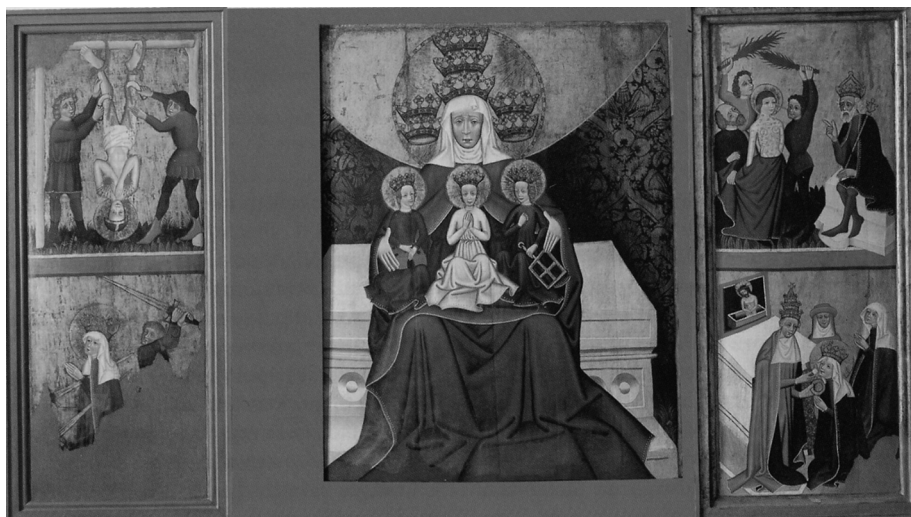


Fig. 1. *The Altar of Saint Sophia from Sásová, with wings opened, ca. 1440.*
Banská Bystrica, Central Slovakian Museum

Sophia is seated on a bench apparently carved of stone and embraces her underproportioned daughters, who sit smartly in her lap. The colour scheme of her clothes, a green and red dress and a cloak with a white scarf, corresponds to most of the other cases because these are the colours of faith, hope, and charity. She wears a threefold crown and two others are placed on each side: a similar solution can be observed on the Saint Sophia panel of an altarpiece from Kamionka Mała from around 1460.²⁶ Her head is encircled by a halo punched

²⁴ Kornél Divald, *Magyarország csúcsveszkori szárnyasoltárjai* (Gothic altarpieces from Hungary) vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1911), 7–8; Libuše Cidlinská, *Gotické krídlové oltáře na Slovensku* (Gothic winged altars in Slovakia) (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), 72.

²⁵ Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 62–63.

²⁶ Tarnów, Diocesan Museum, Inv. no. MDT 148. Jerzy Gądomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1420–1470* (Gothic panel painting in Lesser Poland) (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), 78–79, 117, figs. 63–64. Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 32–33 assumes a later date.

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into a golden, crescent-shaped field beneath which painted gold brocade makes up the background.

Based on the style and composition of the panel and taking into account characteristic details like the embroidery and the bench, the altar was connected to a fairly well-defined group of altarpieces. They come from different places in Lesser Poland and Upper Hungary and are attributed to the so-called Master of Matejovce, the painter—probably a workshop—of the Altar of Saint Stephen and Emmerich there.²⁷ The Saint Sophia panel from Grybów offers an even more interesting comparison because it depicts the same saint. Besides similarities—of the composition, in the attributes of the daughters and the decorated throne—differences are also evident. The works associated with the “Master of Matejovce” represent a phase in painting, as most scholars have emphasized, when the so-called Beautiful Style was gradually replaced by a sharper one in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The dating is, however, uncertain, since it depends on the supposed mutual relation of the panels.²⁸ In general, a dating circa 1440 is accepted for Sásová and approximately 1455 for Grybów.²⁹

Another altarpiece which contains an image of Sophia and Her Three Daughters and focuses on the theme of martyrdom, though it does not represent the fate of the little girls, is the Altar of Saint Apollonia in Bardejov (Fig. 2). This altar, as can be seen today, is a work assembled from different parts over a long period.³⁰ The structure was made and the wings painted probably in the second decade of the sixteenth century, although three fifteenth-century sculp-

²⁷ István Genthon, *A régi magyar festőművészet* (Old Hungarian painting) (Vác: Pestvidéki Nyomda, 1932), 33–34; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 65–75, esp. 66–68; Karol Vaculík, *Gotické umenie Slovenska* (Slovak Gothic art) (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 1975), 45–46; (hereafter: Vaculík, *Gotické umenie Slovenska*); Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci mester művészetének problémái” (Questions concerning the art of the Master of Matejovce), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1 (1980): 49–80, esp. 53–54, 715–720; (hereafter Török, “A Mateóci mester művészetének problémái”); *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* (Gothic. History of fine arts in Slovakia), ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 265, fig. 224 (henceforth *Gotika* 2003).

²⁸ Some scholars insisted on the precedence of the Master of Sásová, even appointing him the tutor of the Master of Matejovce or at least taking them as contemporaries, see Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 66, others have regarded the Master of Sásová as a less talented follower of the workshop, see Török, “A Mateóci mester művészetének problémái,” 53 (with references).

²⁹ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 66–67; Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 30–32.

³⁰ It was the altar of the sieve-makers according to Jana Božová, Gabriel Drobniak, and František Gutek, *Kostol Sv. Egídia v Bardejove—The Church of St. Egidius in Bardejov—Die St.-Agidius-Kirche in Barfeld* (Bardejov: Sajancy, 1998), 73, (henceforth: *St. Egidius*)

tures are placed in the altar case. Saint Anne, with small figures of Mary and Jesus in her arms, stands in the middle. She was moved here from her own altar, dated 1485, where some rearrangements were also made.³¹ Beside her stand Saint George and Saint Apollonia, both from the fifteenth century. Scenes of slaughter are painted on the inner side of the panels: the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Martyrs of Nicomedia and the Massacre of the Innocents occupy the upper panels, while a selected group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers and Saint Sophia with Her Three Daughters follow on the lower. Four saints who are rarely represented, Fabian, Eligius, Canute, and Urban, appear on the exterior.



Fig. 2. Inner side of the winged altar of Saint Apollonia, 1510s.
Parish church of St. Egidius, Bardejov

³¹ *St. Egidius*, 70 and 83–86. As far as I know, the reasons for and the time of these replacements are unknown.

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A peculiar feature of these paintings is the differing proportion of the figures appearing in one and the same scene. The master otherwise seems to have been well-informed on recent trends in the visual arts: in certain details he relied on woodcuts, widely used as models in that period.³² This is also apparent in the scene of the Massacre, but it is most conspicuous in the group of Sophia where, from her size, one cannot decide whether the youngest daughter (Caritas?) is standing or sitting on her mother's arm. Her head is as small as her sisters' hand.³³ The distribution of crowns is also curious: one of the girls does not have any, but Sophia wears an impressive sevenfold "tiara."

However, that the painter was aware of the latest style in the period manifests itself not only in the compositions but in the colours as well.³⁴ He employed tones that spread from the most prominent masters' work, like moss green, different crimsons, and pale yellow. Sophia's dress not have the customary green-white-red colors either. Her place among themes and compositions which show the direct impact of south German painting denotes the appropriation of her image by painters working in this region.

Concerning another aspect of the iconography of Saint Sophia, a nineteenth-century reference to the altarpiece from Sásová is not without interest. Arnold Ipolyi, writing about this locality, the residence of the region's landowner, described the image in the newly built or reconstructed church as that of "Sancta Maternitas."³⁵ Considering the multiple meanings of Sophia, it has to be admitted that his guess was correct. One only has to observe her place

³² He must have known, for example, Dürer's woodcut *Ten Thousand Martyrs of Nicomedia*, c. 1497–1498.

³³ I assume that a Saint Anne with the Virgin Mary and Jesus on her arms, accompanied by two virgin martyrs was repainted to show Saint Sophia with Her Daughters, but this is not supported yet by any investigation.

³⁴ He is connected to the Master of Okolično whose works are characterised by conservatism of the background contrasted to the modernity of the figures; see Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 177 and *St. Egidius*, 72.

³⁵ Arnold Ipolyi, *A besztercebányai egyházi műemlékek története és helyreállítása* (The history and renovation of religious monuments in Banská Bystrica) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878), quoted by Miklós Csánky, *A székesi és sárosi táblaképfestészet 1460-ig az emléktárgy leírásával és képes bemutatásával* (Panel paintings from Spiš and Šariš until 1460, with a catalogue and illustrated discussion of the works) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1938), 22 (hereafter Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*). Ipolyi cannot be blamed for dating it too early—"after the middle of the fourteenth century"—because in the nineteenth century the material was not well known and the method for comparative analysis was just under formation. He also added that it might have been a later copy of the original.

in different contexts and amidst different companions. She has the distinguishing attribute of a head shawl beneath a crown, that is, a sign referring to her majesty on the top of a garment associated with matrons. This goes together with the usual balanced composition of the four figures, and thus the group is reminiscent of Saint Anne with the Virgin and the Infant Christ. Their “kinship” does not remain latent: in several instances, as on the pediment of the Holy Trinity altarpiece in the Wawel cathedral or on the wings of the altarpiece from Kamionka Mała, they are placed beside each other. Two further examples can be mentioned here from the Hungarian material: the Altar of Saint Anne with Mary and the Child from Bzenov (Berzenke) and the Altar of Saint Anne from Vlaha (Magyarfenes) in Transylvania.

A whole “choir” of saintly women is represented on the Altar of the *Mettertia* from Bzenov.³⁶ Surrounding the central panel of the titular saints with Mary Magdalene and Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, three venerable matrons appear on the wings: Saint Helen on the left, Saint Sophia and Saint Hedvig on the right (*Fig. 3*). Saint Mary of Egypt was also admitted, having obtained indulgence. In the group of Sophia and Her Daughters the mother’s position is less strict than in Sásová: she leans her head to the right. This detail resembles several Polish examples from the early sixteenth century, and indicates a modest attempt to enliven the established composition by emphasizing the human aspect of the figures portrayed. A peculiarity here is the arrangement of the crowns in a crescent above the figures’ heads. While forming a rather decorative element they also refer to the visionary origin of the motif. The exclusively female character and, moreover, the comparatively large number of mother saints on the altarpiece suggests a focus on women’s virtues: charity work, chastity, prudence, and maternity. Saint Sophia, being a mother, might also have principally addressed women.³⁷

³⁶ C. 1500; Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 55. 834. 1–9; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 129, 281; János Vég, “Mettercia-oltár nyitott szárnyakkal Berzenkéről” (Altar of the *Mettertia*, with opened wings, from Bzenov), in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Régi Gyűjteményei* (Collections of Old Hungarian Art in the Hungarian National Gallery) (Budapest: Corvina, 1984), no. 80.

³⁷ However, occasionally female saints may also have been venerated by men: see Karen A. Winstead, “St. Katherine’s Hair,” in *St. Katherine of Alexandria. Texts and Contexts in Medieval Western Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 185.

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Fig. 3. The upper right panel from the altar of Saint Anne with Mary and the Child from Bzenov, ca. 1500. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery

The altar from Vlaha, the only example that has survived among Transylvanian altarpieces, is similar to that from Bzenov in that it also represents only female saints.³⁸ Saint Anne and the Virgin with Jesus in her lap are seated on a bench in the central picture. God the Father and the Dove of the Holy Spirit appear in a golden halo above them. Four female saints can be seen on the inner side of the wings: Saint Claire and Saint Sophia on the left, Saint Barbara and Saint Ursula on the right. This piece is a good example for acknowledging that there was relative liberty in the choice and grouping of the most popular female saints.

In the late medieval personality of Saint Anne, concerns of purity, sanctity, wisdom and (grand)motherly virtues were blended—just like in the figure of

³⁸ C. 1490–1500; Alba Iulia (Romania), Batthyaneum. Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 180, 384–385. For the moment, I could access only an old photograph of this altarpiece from the collection of Edith Hoffmann, a Hungarian art historian active in the first half of the twentieth century.



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Saint Sophia.³⁹ There are, of course, differences between the two saints: while Anne is a grandmother, holding Mary and Jesus—the children who justify her role—in her lap or her arms, Saint Sophia is the mother of three little girls, both in a real and in a spiritual sense. In the theoretical writings surrounding Anne there is much emphasis on her role as teacher of Mary and, symbolically, of all her devotees. The three-figure group of her with Mary and the Child embodies Wisdom in a way; and another type of representation alludes more overtly to Anne's educational activity. In many examples she is together only with Mary and teaches her to read from a book.⁴⁰ This teaching is evidently not limited to transferring practical knowledge; the book is a good means of objectifying a concept. Considering this, when Sophia or one of the daughters, in themselves examples of prudence and literacy, hold a book, it seems to be an almost superfluous stress on their characteristic feature. It is like this on the sculpture in Eschau (Alsace), Saint Sophia's Western European cult place, where the mother's attribute is a large opened book, and also on the wooden sculpture from the Spiš region in the Slovak National Gallery exhibited in Zvolen. (Fig. 4).

This latter is a unique example of this genre in Central Europe, although originally many Saint Sophia altarpieces may have had a carved representation instead of a painted panel as their central image.⁴¹ The mother is without doubt the dominant figure in this group; her daughters, standing close to her, seem to be of a different scale of magnitude. They indeed have a double function, as

³⁹ Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna. Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1930), 423; (hereafter: Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*); Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Introduction," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 1–68; Ton Brandenburg, "Saint Anne. A Holy Grandmother and Her Children," in *Sanctity and Motherhood. Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 31–65.

⁴⁰ Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, 217 mentions compositional difficulties in the placing of two adults and a child. It is important that in this case compositional problems equal iconological ones. See also Pamela Sheingorn, "The Wise Mother: The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 69–71.

⁴¹ C. 1480–1490; 108.2 cm x 52 cm, with remains of paint; Bratislava, Slovak National Gallery, Inv. no. P 985. Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* (Wooden sculptures of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 67; Vaculík, *Gotické umenie Slovenska*, 73, cat. and fig. 176; Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 33, 37; Anton Glatz, "Gotische Kunst," in *Kunst der Slowakei. Ständige Ausstellung der Slowakischen Nationalgalerie* (Bratislava: Slowakische Nationalgalerie, 1995), 66, no. 47. Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 497 mentions a sculpture from the end of the fifteenth century in Pružina: this information is to be checked, but if it is so, this would be an important contribution to the material known so far.

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attributes of a saint who does not show her real meaning except in their company and as daughters of this saint with their own importance. This three-dimensional representation from the end of the century summarizes in compact form the meaning inherent in the iconography.



*Fig. 4. Saint Sophia with Her Daughters, wooden sculpture, ca. 1480–1490.
Slovak National Gallery, exhibited in Zvolen Castle*

The daughters' faces are not as special as Saint Sophia's, who has strongly marked traits. She has a longish face with large, melancholic, almond-shaped eyes and quite a long nose from which her lips are rather distantly set. These features are so specific that they allow comparison with a panel painting in Budapest representing Sophia⁴² (*cover illustration*). Another feature in common

⁴² C. 1490–1500; Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 3181. Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 127, 442 and pl. CXLII (four of the six panels) and János Vég, "Szent Zsófia Szepeshelyről" (St. Sophia from Spišská Kapitula), in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Régi Gyűjteményei*, no. 75 (hereafter: Vég, "Szent Zsófia Szepeshelyről"). They connect the panel painter to an important workshop in Spišská Kapitula; Glatz, "Gotische Kunst," 66, no. 47 identifies the sculptor as the Master of the Saint Anne in Spišská

with the panel is the tiara-form crown with its gradually diminishing tiers. Through this example both can be connected to the circle of the so-called Master of Spišské Podhradie (Kirchdrauf, Szepesváralja), who is in turn related to the workshop in Spišská Kapitula. This painter, named after the former main altar in Spišské Podhradie, seems to have been an interesting and important personality of the late fifteenth century who worked in a style of his own. The six paintings known as the “Gyöngyös” panels (because they were donated to the museum by the Franciscan friary in Gyöngyös) are attributed to one of his disciples.⁴³ These panels, including the one with Sophia, all belonged formerly to one and the same altarpiece.⁴⁴ In this image of Sophia only the youngest daughter is sitting on her mother’s knee, while the two older girls flank them. Except for the banderoles inscribed with their names, this painting strongly resembles the sculptural group. It is indeed the similarity of their iconography that excludes the idea that they once formed part of the same altarpiece.

Probably the only example from this sample where Saint Sophia takes a place in a context appropriate to her original meaning has been treated a bit marginally by art historical research.⁴⁵ The only reason for this is that it forms part of an extraordinary object which has attracted a great deal of interest because of its age and its two other scenes. This panel, a work from the early fifteenth century, is in secondary use as a predella below a later altarpiece, the Altar of Saint Catherine, in the parish church of Saint James in Levoča (*Fig. 5*). It

Nová Ves (Igló) whose artistic activity was influenced by the workshop in Spišská Kapitula.

⁴³ Végh, “Szent Zsófia Szepeshelyről,” infers that the Gyöngyös friars could have obtained the panels as gifts from their fellow members in Spišská Kapitula.

⁴⁴ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 127.

⁴⁵ Oskar Schürer and Erich Wiese, *Deutsche Kunst in der Zips* (Brno: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1938), 92, figs. 341–342; Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8; Jenő Rados, *Magyar oltárok* (Hungarian altarpieces) (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 44, pl. XVI; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48–49; Ján Bakoš, “Štruktúra a genéza predely oltára Sv. Kataríny v kostole Sv. Jakuba v Levoči” (The structure and origins of the predella of the Saint Catherine Altar in the parish church of St. James in Levoča), *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* 16 (1972): 73–90, German summary 87–90; János Végh, “A táblaképfestészet korai szakasza. Az első emlékek” (The early phase of panel painting. The earliest evidence), in *Magyarországi művészet*, 618; Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 36; Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei. Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: VDG, 2000), 107 (hereafter Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei*); Milena Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče” (The panel of Angels from Levoča), in *Gotika* 2003, 696, cat. no. 4. 14. (hereafter Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče”).

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is not known for exactly what purpose it was made. Was it intended for personal piety or as a small altar in a church?⁴⁶



Fig. 5. The predella of the Altar of Saint Catherine
in the parish church of Saint James in Levoča, ca. 1470–1490.

Its re-use in a new function led to an overpainting, which happened either still in the fifteenth or later, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.⁴⁷ It resulted in a misinterpretation of the central panel until a restoration in the 1970s, when it was revealed that the altarpiece shows a unique combination of a *Maiestas Domini* with attributes of the Ascension and the Apocalypse.⁴⁸ The right-hand representation of the Dream of Jacob is typologically related to this scene as a foretelling the divine epiphany for mankind. Thus the entire altar may have referred to the omnipotence of God, his providence, and his wisdom.⁴⁹ This implies the interdependence of all three scenes, which seems plausible considering the theological connotations of Saint Sophia. The alterations to the panel mentioned above were not the only changes it underwent over its history. As a closer glance at the Sophia panel reveals, the hilly landscape with trees and bushes remains from another scene, to which, presumably, the faint pair of

⁴⁶ Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče,” 696, assumes that the parish priest Hermann could have been the patron of this small altarpiece.

⁴⁷ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48 considers it improbable that the small altar served its original function only for half a century, therefore he assumes that it was applied as a predella in the “baroque” age. Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei*, 107 says it happened in the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁴⁸ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, Pl. VIII still shows the (rather curious) Trinity. Bakoš, “Štruktúra a genéza predely,” figs. 29 and 30 show the situation after restoration.

⁴⁹ Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 44; Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče,” 696 considers an angelological topic.



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wings behind Sophia's head also belonged.⁵⁰ This earlier image was certainly connected in iconology with the other two contemporary scenes because the singular iconographies reflect a thoroughly thought-out program. Several questions arise here: What was there initially? Why was it necessary to repaint it, and when did this happen?

Concerning the first question: either there was a Biblical scene, alluding, in parallel with Jacob's dream, to the knowledge of the Divinity (with at least one angel whose wings are still there) or Sophia was there from the beginning, although in another form.⁵¹ Whatever may have been there previously, Saint Sophia fits into the program perfectly as far as she embodies Wisdom with the theological virtues in a comprehensible way. The reason for the remodeling cannot be entirely separated from the first question because it may be connected to the intention of a new patron. One practical motive might have been the poor condition of the panel.⁵² The date of this modification is not easy to place and it is linked to one's view about the new function of the altarpiece.

The tall and slender figures in their exquisite clothes are an almost matchless example in this milieu. Radocsay⁵³ compared them to the Altar of the Female Martyrs in Kežmarok; others have contributed possible analogies in Flemish or Lower Rhenish painting,⁵⁴ but the roots are still to be found. As a consequence of general uncertainties the dating cannot be precise either: it ranges from around 1470 to around 1490–1495, since the Altar of the Female Martyrs in Kežmarok is dated 1493.⁵⁵

All the altars described, but especially this last example, have brought forward the issue of the patrons as well as the public of winged altarpieces. This takes us back to the starting idea about the "usage" of saints in the late Middle Ages during the last decades preceding the Reformation: Saint Sophia was, in addition to her motherly virtues, also an effective helper. Although the particular texts and images can only be brought together indirectly, her late medieval

⁵⁰ Végh, "A táblaképfestészet korai szakasza," 618; Bartlová, "Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče," 696.

⁵¹ Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8 and Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48 also suggests this latter solution but in this case the problem of the wings and the landscape remains.

⁵² Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8.

⁵³ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48.

⁵⁴ Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 1938, 44; Bartlová, "Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče," 696.

⁵⁵ 1460–1470 in Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 36; Bartlová, "Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče," 696, c. 1470; Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8 assumes the dating for 1470–1480; Rados, *Magyar oltárok* and Radocsay, *Táblaképek* suggest the later dating, to 1490–1495.



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career as a helping saint can be derived from them. Like other early Christian martyrs, the three daughters, on their mother's advice and then Sophia herself asked Christ to fulfil their vows by being merciful to those who remembered them in troubles or in their last hour.⁵⁶ This moment allowed worshippers to invoke the four saints in desperate situations: hopeless poverty, false accusations, and unfair judgments, but their competence covered practically all kinds of troubles; thus they were perfect helping saints. Consequently, this may be rightly considered as the chief explanation for the quite large number of representations of Saint Sophia, though not as many as of the more renowned holy helpers. They were never, however, included in the group "officially" known by the name Fourteen Holy Helpers, whose cult emerged around 1400.⁵⁷ Also, the region it covered overlaps approximately that of Saint Sophia, with the important addition of its source area, South Germany. A lengthy mass in Latin but with a few Hungarian marginal notes in the private prayer book of Boldizsár Batthyány, dated 1489, also bears witness to the helping function of Saint Sophia.⁵⁸ Unfortunately it remains unsolved whether Sophia, owing to her distinctive feature, wisdom, was an especially effective helper or only one from the multitude of similarly brave and resolute martyrs enlivened by the imagination of medieval European believers.

⁵⁶ Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 57–58; Madas, "Zsófia-legenda," 175, f. 10. Adolf Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902), 272–282; Ursula Borkowska USV, *Królewskie Modlitewniki. Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku)* (Royal Prayer-books. A study of the religious culture of the Jagiellonian period) (Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1999), 256–257, footnote 182 gives brief prayers to other saints.

⁵⁷ Its standard members were the Saints Achatius, Blaise, Christopher, Cyriacus, Denis, Erasmus, Eustache, George, Guy, Pantaleon, Vid, Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antiochia; see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3. *Iconographie des saints* II (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 680–683; R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 170–171; Georg Schreiber, *Die Vierzehn Nothelfer in Volksfrömmen und Sakralkultur. Symbolhaft und Herrschaftsbereich* (Innsbruck, 1959); and Josef Dünninger, "Die Wallfahrtslegende von Vierzehnheiligen," in *Festschrift für Wolfgang Stammer (zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern)* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1953), 192–205.

⁵⁸ Budapest, National Library, Department of Manuscripts, Quart. Hung. 386. On its Hungarian calendar and marginal notes see Gyula Zolnai, "A Batthyány-misekönyv magyar naptára és lapszéli jegyzetei (The Hungarian calendar and marginal notes of the Batthyány prayer-book)," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 19 (1895): 106–116; Polikárp Radó, "Batthyány Boldizsár misekönyvének hitelessége (On the authenticity of the prayer-book of Boldizsár Batthyány)," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 65 (1941): 132–149.

Table 1. Paintings of Saint Sophia and Her Daughters from historical Hungary

Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
1. Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) Slovakia	Altar of St. Apollonia, lower right inner panel Parish church St. Egidius	Martyrs and scenes of martyrdom	All the four standing St. Sophia with a seven- level crown, two daughters with a simple crown, one without any; the daughters have swords	1510s
2. Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) Slovakia	Altar of the Pieta, upper right inner panel Parish church St. Egidius	St. John the Almsgiver, St. Paul the Hermit, St. Michael the Archangel with St. John the Baptist, Sts Cosmas and Damian	St. Sophia enthroned, one daughter on her lap, one standing on each side St. Sophia with a four- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns; with swords	1510s– 1520s
3. Boian (Bonnesdorf, Alsóbajom) Romania	Fresco on the northern wall in the sanctuary of the Lutheran church	Situated beneath a scene with the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Martyrs	Fragmented; the four women kneel in a row, hands clasped in prayer Saint Sophia has a multi- level crown, the daughters have simple crowns(?)	Ca. 1500
4. Bzenov (Berzenke) Slovakia	Altar of St. Anne with Mary and the Child, upper right inner panel Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 55.834 1–9	Female saints (Mary Magdalene, St. Anne, St. Elisabeth of Hungary, St. Helen, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Hedwig)	All the four standing, the mother embracing her daughters Six crowns in a crescent, plus one on each head; grate, sword, oven	Ca. 1500



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Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
5. Košice (Kaschau, Kassa) Slovakia	Altar of the Death of the Virgin, lower left inner panel Cathedral of St. Elisabeth	Death of the Virgin (central panel), male saints (Sts Cosmas and Damian, St. Fabian with St. Sebastian, St. Blaise with St. Erasmus); female saints on the outer sides	St. Sophia standing, embracing her daughters St. Sophia with a seven- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns, swords and banderoles	1470s– 1480s
6. Levoča (Leutschau, Lőcse) Slovakia	Predella of the Altar of St. Catherine (later addition) Parish church St. James	On the left of a <i>Maestas Domini</i> , in pair with a Jacob's dream on the right	St. Sophia enthroned, her daughters standing before her St. Sophia with a three- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns; two with swords, one with oven	Ca. 1475– 1495?
7. Mediasz (Mediasch, Medgyes) Romania	Fresco in the northern aisle of the church of St. Margaret	Kneeling before a Crucifix? (the iconographic context is unclear) They belong to the second layer of frescoes	The four women kneel in a row, hands clasped in prayer St. Sophia has a multi- level crown, the daughters have simple crowns	Ca. 1490– 1500?
8. Palúdzka (Kispalugya) Slovakia	Altar of the Three Magi, lower right inner panel, probably from the former church of St. Sophia (or its successor) Slovak Nat. Gallery, Inv. no. H 2209	Adoration of the Magi (central panel), St. Barbara with St. Catherine, St. Anne with Mary and the Child and St. Helen, St. Sebastian with St. Denis	St. Sophia standing, embracing her daughters St. Sophia with a seven- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns and swords (cf. Košice)	1510s



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Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
9. Partizánska L'ubča (Deutsch Liptsch, Németlipcse) Slovakia	Former high altar of the parish church, lower right inner panel Slovak National Gallery, Inv. No. O 319.	Scenes from the Passion and female saints (Sts. Barbara, Catherine, Cordula, Ursula; Martyrdom of St. Apollonia)	St. Sophia enthroned, holding her daughters on her lap St. Sophia and two daughters with three-level crowns, the third without any; oven, prayer and grate	Ca. 1460–1465
10. Rudabánya Hungary	Fresco on the northern wall of the Reformed church	Flanked by a fresco of St. Helen with the True Cross	St. Sophia enthroned, one daughter on her lap, one standing on each side St. Sophia with a three-level crown, the daughters with simple crowns; swords (+oven?)	Ca. 1420–1430
11. Sásová (Zólyomszászfalu), Slovakia	Altar of St. Sophia, central panel; from the Roman Catholic church Banská Bystrica, Central Slovakian Museum	Four scenes from the martyrdom of St Sophia's daughters on the wing panels	St. Sophia enthroned, holding her daughters on her lap St. Sophia with three-level crown+two on each side, the daughters with simple crowns; oven, prayer and grate	Ca. 1440
12. Workshop related to Spišská Kapitula/Zipser Kapitel/Szepeshely? Slovakia	Wooden sculpture, probably the central piece of a winged altarpiece Slovak National Gallery, Inv. No. P 985		St. Sophia sitting, embracing her daughters much smaller in scale St Sophia with a seven-level crown, the daughters with simple crowns, one holding a book	Ca. 1490–1500



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Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
13. Workshop related to Spišská Kapitula/Zipser Kapitel/Szepeshely? Slovakia	Panel painting from an altarpiece (of which only six scenes remain) Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 3181	On the verso: Christ in Limbo; and four further scenes: Virgin and Jesus, St. Catherine/ Ascension, Virgin with St. Francis and Descent from the Cross	St. Sophia sitting, holding <i>Karitas</i> on her lap, Fides and Spes flanking them St. Sophia with seven-level crown, the daughters with simple ones Daughters signed with banderoles; two have swords, St. Sophia holds a glass globe	Ca. 1490–1500
14. Unknown Upper Hungarian (Slovakian) location	One of the outer panels of a winged altarpiece	St. Magdalene, a saint bishop, St. Nicholas, Christ and the helping saints	St. Sophia standing, her daughters stand before her in a row	1530–1560?
15. Vlahă (Magyarfenés), Romania	Altar of St. Anne, lower left inner panel Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum	Female saints (St. Anne with Mary and the Child on the central panel; St. Claire, St. Barbara, St. Ursula)	St. Sophia standing, her daughters before her in a row St. Sophia with a three-folded crown, the daughters without any?	Ca. 1490–1500



NATIONAL ART HISTORIES: WHOSE “BEAUTIFUL STYLE”?

Luba Hédlová 

In the past, academic communities of perhaps every European nation-state made individual attempts to write “national histories of art.” For Czech- and German-speaking art historians one of the most prestigious periods for such an aim was between ca. 1380 and 1420—the time of the so-called “Beautiful Style.”¹ A controversy about the centre and place of the origin, dating, and attribution of Beautiful Style sculpture arose between Czech- and German-speaking academic communities: Was it Prague, Vienna or Salzburg? When did the autonomous artistic production originate? To whom does this art belong?

From as early as the 1920s, various ideas started to form different conceptions of the Beautiful Style that showed the therapeutic potential medieval art had for each nation’s art history, especially during the war period.² After 1945, these stereotypes did not lose their efficacy; on the contrary, they were strengthened by institutionally supported conservatism, skepticism towards new methodological streams, and perceived necessity from adverse

¹ The background of the origin of the term “Beautiful Style” lies in the history of the discipline, see Milena Bartlová, *Poctivé Obrazy* (Honest Images) (Prague: Argo, 2001), 113 (hereafter Bartlová, *Obrazy*). In the German tradition, the term “Weicher Stil” is used (with several exceptions, such as in Kunsthalle Köln, *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern: ein Handbuch zur Ausstellung des Schnitzgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln*, 5 vols, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978) (hereafter Köln, *Die Parler*). Even though I will deal with contributions coming from both Czech and German language environments, it is more convenient to use a unified terminology. That is why I will use the term “Beautiful Style” (hereafter without quotation marks), keeping in mind that it belongs to the Czech tradition, which does not always correlate with the German one.

² For an overview of the extensive literature concerning Beautiful Style sculpture from the point of view of different countries, compare: Karl-Heinz Clasen, *Der Meister der Schönen Madonnen. Herkunft, Entfaltung und Umkreis* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974) (hereafter: Clasen, *Meister*); Günter Brucher, *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, 2 – *Gotik*, (Munich: Prestel, 2000) (hereafter: Brucher, *Geschichte*); Albert Kotal, “Gotické sochařství” (Gothic Sculpture), in *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění 1/1* (History of Czech Fine Arts 1/1), ed. Rudolf Chadraba, Jiří Dvorský (Prague: Academia, 1984), 216–283; Jaromír Homolka, *Studie k počátkům umění krásného slohu v Čechách* (Study on the Beginnings of the Beautiful Style in Bohemia), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica*, Monographia 55 (Prague: Karlova Univerzita, 1974).



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social and political circumstances. I chose several scholars, each a representative of a different conception, in order to show in concrete cases how these versions of art history concerning this period were written, mainly in the postwar period up to the 1970s, and how personal experience and the social as well as the academic environment influenced the scholar's view of medieval art.³

Beautiful Style Sculpture: Between Science, Patriotism and Nationalism

In 1991, a conference was held at the Art History Seminar in Brno on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the death of former professor Albert Kutal (1904–1976). The submissions delivered by his students, colleagues, and followers, published later in the *Bulletin of the Moravian Gallery*,⁴ sound as if they intended to present Kutal's work as truly patriotic, fighting, especially against German-language authors, for the achievements of Bohemian medieval art. Kutal, a Czech art historian, created a model of the integrated evolution of medieval art in the Czech region beginning in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, considering the Beautiful Style its peak phase; this was most clearly shown in his book *Bohemian Gothic Sculpture 1350–1450*, published in 1962.⁵ Kutal organized the sculpture of this period internally and arranged it chronologically, using comparison with paintings where sculptural “evolutionary links” were not available. Even today, Kutal's work is presented in encyclopedic entries as “a pillar of Czech medieval studies in art history.”⁶ Still, his concept of

³ This article is partially based on my MA thesis “National Art Histories: Czech, Austrian and German Conceptions of the Beautiful Style Sculpture,” (Central European University, 2004), and partially on further research of the same topic, focused on Albert Kutal, at the Faculty of Arts of the Masaryk University in Brno.

⁴ Bohumil Samek, Helena Knozová et alii, “Profesor Albert Kutal – osobnost, dílo, život...” (Professor Albert Kutal—personality, work, life...), *Bulletin Moravské Galerie* 48 (1992): 3–13. In the post-1989 era, Czech art historians dedicated yet another conference to A. Kutal in 2004 (see Milena Bartlová, “Albert Kutal zum 100. Geburtstag,” *Kunstchronik* 9/10 (2004): 448–449).

⁵ Albert Kutal, *České gotické sochařství 1350–1450* (Bohemian Gothic Sculpture 1350–1450) (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění, 1962) (hereafter Kutal, *Sochařství 1350–1450*).

⁶ Milena Bartlová, “Albert Kutal,” in *Nová encyklopedie českého výtvarného umění* (New Encyclopedia of Czech Art), ed. Anděla Horová (Prague: Academia, 1995), 427. Great interest has been shown in the elaboration of Kutal's methodology (see Ján Bakoš, “Umeleckohistorické stanovisko Alberta Kutala” (Albert Kutal's Methodological Position), in *Štyri trasy metodológie dejín umenia* (Four Routes of Art Historical Methodology) (Bratislava: Veda, 2000), 69–107) (hereafter Bakoš, *Kutal*), as well as in his



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the Beautiful Style clearly demonstrates that during his whole scholarly career he was influenced by dealing with the opinions of his German colleagues and their views on Bohemian medieval art.

For example, his review⁷ of a book by Karl Heinz Clasen, a German art historian, about “the Master of the beautiful Madonnas”⁸ had the character of almost a personal disagreement between the two scholars. Clasen formulated his conception into a proposition that the “beautiful Madonnas” were sculpted by a single master who had come from the west (the Franco-Flemish region) and traveled through the Rhineland, Prussia, and Silesia to Bohemia, leaving numerous pieces of art and followers behind. In this way Clasen personified into his one-master-theory a widespread notion of so-called “West-Ost Gefälle”—an artistic influence spreading from Western to Eastern Europe—which Czech art history never relished and sought to disprove.

One of Kutal’s main points against Clasen was his search for patterns of motifs in the West when they were supposed to have existed in Bohemia even earlier. In Clasen’s postulate, “[Ein] Meister ... der als wandernder Künstler vom Westen Deutschlands nach dem Osten kam, um dort in verschiedenen Ländern tätig zu sein,”⁹ a pan-Germanic view of the regions that were supposed to have contributed to the art of the German Empire was expressed unequivocally. As both authors were quite close in their evaluation of the artworks, Kutal lacked a methodological means to disprove the theory of artistic influences spreading eastwards from the west. Both authors based artistic development mainly on the evolution of form.

Today it might seem immaterial whether Clasen considered the “beautiful Madonnas” to be the work of a single genius or if Kutal thought there were two such personalities (tagged as Master of the Krumlov/Krumau Madonna and Master of the Toruń/Thorn Madonna). The main points of the “Beautiful Style controversy” were precisely the origin, attribution, and dating of the pieces of art. Kutal’s, as well as Clasen’s, postulates were formulations of long-held

importance for Czech art history (see Jiří Kroupa, “Sedmdesát let dějin umění v Brně” (Seventy Years of Art History in Brno), in *Almanach 1927–1997*, ed. Jiří Kroupa, Lubomír Slavíček (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1997), 5–27.

⁷ Albert Kutal, “Ein Neues Buch über die Skulptur des Schönen Stils,” *Umění* 23 (1975): 544–567.

⁸ Clasen, *Meister*.

⁹ Clasen, *Meister*, VII.



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opinions.¹⁰ In the introduction to his book, Clasen wrote that he had finished his research before World War II, which prevented him from publishing its results earlier. Nevertheless, his opinions were already known in the academic community of Czechoslovakia; Clasen had presented them in a lecture held in Prague in October 1958, invited by the Academy of Science. On this occasion he met leading personalities among Czech art historians, such as Jan Květ and Jaroslav Pešina. Viktor Kotrba, Kutal's disciple, was also exceptionally helpful in the organization of his journey and he later summarized Clasen's opinions in *Umění* magazine.¹¹ Surprisingly, Clasen did not meet Albert Kutal on this occasion although they shared a common interest in art of the same period.¹²

Kutal's battlefields were not only the German origin of the Beautiful Style sculpture or its labeling as German. His review¹³ of Dieter Großmann's article "Die Schöne Madonna von Krumau und Österreich"¹⁴ was perhaps the most severe as well as humorously ironic reaction. Großmann's work set the origin of Beautiful Style sculpture into the artistic production and tradition of Salzburg, today in Austria. The German Federal Home Office supported Clasen's book and a prestigious Austrian magazine (*Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*) published Großmann's article, thus giving them the air of official opinion. Kutal considered Großmann's postulates radical, especially because the Czech contribution to Beautiful Style sculpture was simply omitted from his

¹⁰ Clasen published his theses for the first time in 1939: Karl Heinz Clasen, *Die mittelalterliche Bildbauerkunst im Deutschordensland Preussen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1939).

¹¹ Viktor Kotrba, "Zpráva o přednášce profesory Dr. K. H. Clasena" (Report on the lecture by Dr. K. H. Clasen), *Umění* 7 (1959): 79.

¹² Because Clasen (1893–1979) spent a part of his life in the Eastern Germany, he was able to visit numerous artistic monuments otherwise unreachable for Western scholars. In 1930, Clasen became a professor at the University of Königsberg, together with Wilhelm Worringer. In 1940, he moved to the University of Rostock and after World War II, in 1949, he obtained a scholarly position in Greifswald in Eastern Germany. Clasen was also one of the first members of the German Academy in the GDR (1951). (Lee Sorensen, "Karl-Heinz Clasen," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Historians, Museum Directors and Scholars of Art* (Duke University Libraries, 2003). <http://www.lib.duke.edu/lilly/artlibry/dah/clasenk.htm> (accessed 20 January 2004).

¹³ Albert Kutal, "Tři příspěvky k dějinám české gotické plastiky" (Three Contributions to the History of the Bohemian Gothic Sculpture), *Umění* 10 (1962): 106–109 (hereafter Kutal, *Tři příspěvky*).

¹⁴ Dieter Großmann, "Die Schöne Madonna von Krumau und Österreich", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 14 (1960): 103–114 (hereafter Großmann, *Krumau*).



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conception.¹⁵ Großmann documented this point well when he deduced the ethnic origin of art from the localization of some of the sculptures in the Southern Bohemian region, which he considered Czech-German – politically belonging to the Czech lands but having German settlement until 1945. He obtained this finding from a publication with the symptomatic title *Atlas zur Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung*.¹⁶

While Kutal communicated with Clasen by means of scholarly publications and reviews, Großmann was his personal acquaintance and they kept up an extensive correspondence.¹⁷ They informed each other about their books, sent each other offprints and photographs of artworks (especially at the time when Großmann worked in the *Bildarchiv* in Marburg). Kutal’s review of Großmann’s article, however, in a journal that published articles and reviews in German as well as Czech, was mentioned in none of their letters. Its ironic form and use of the Czech language strongly imply that it was meant for the Czech audience. The language barrier was a considerable impediment in the communication between Czech and foreign scholarly communities, so it is quite easy to distinguish whom the authors intended to address. While the Czech review of Großmann’s book was an ironically meant personal comment, the reaction to Clasen’s book, written in German, was a part of a long-lasting personal controversy made public.

At least three generations of art historians sought to clarify the questions of the Beautiful Style concerning form, evolution, and the ethnic, national or geographic origin of certain pieces of art. As demonstrated in the examples of Clasen, Großmann, and Kutal, it took the form of an argument between three parties: Czech, German, and Austrian (and partially Hungarian).¹⁸ Only a year after Kutal’s review of Clasen’s book another reaction to the same work by Robert Suckale was published. This shows a completely different type of

¹⁵ Kutal, *Trí příspěvky*, 108.

¹⁶ Wilfried Krallert, *Atlas zur Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung* (Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1958).

¹⁷ Part of this correspondence is kept in the Archive of the Faculty of Arts of the Masaryk University in Brno, file B 30 *Albert Kutal* (hereafter B 30 FF MU) (II/C/30), part in the Archive of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, file ZR ABK 3634, *Nachlass Dieter Großmann* (hereafter ZR ABK 3634 GNM) (23), ranging from 1961 to 1970.

¹⁸ The discussion about the artistic role of Hungary in this period arose especially with the findings of sculptural fragments from Buda; for the latest summary with bibliography see András Végh, “Gotische Statuen aus dem Königspalast in Buda,” in *Hans Multscher. Bildbauer der Spätgotik in Ulm*, ed. Brigitte Reinhardt (Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997), 71–86.



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criticism, not inquiring into nationalist preconceptions but interested rather in the method of approach to artistic material. Suckale preferred not to study this problem from the point of view of dating and attribution but rather in relation to the theology, religiosity or liturgical function of the time, as he demonstrated in his article about the Madonna from Šternberk (Sternberg), published in the *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil* catalogue.¹⁹ This review, published a mere year later than the review by Kutal, represents completely different methodological principles as well as an opposing opinion that:

...man kann nicht immer sicher sein, dass sich individuell-handschriftliche Züge durchsetzen. Deshalb sind Künstleroeuvres dieser Epoche, wenn sie nur auf Stilkritik fußen, im hohen Masse spekulativ, so sehr, dass man zu fragen hat, ob nicht die darauf verwandte große Energie besser für die Lösung anderer Probleme eingesetzt würde.²⁰

Nevertheless, the methodological twist, as outlined above, did not take place in the Czech, German or Austrian medieval studies in art history concerned with the Beautiful Style sculpture in the 1970s. Many of the conclusions of that time were taken for granted and similar problems were still being solved.

The Beautiful Style in the Czech–German Dialogue

In 1964, the idea was born to hold a great representative exhibition of Bohemian medieval art and Albert Kutal had a fundamental role in its preparation. The show was at first scheduled for 1965 and was supposed to take place in the Vladislav Hall in Prague castle. The next year, in 1966, Albert Kutal wrote to his friend and colleague Robert Didier that the preparatory commission had set to work, a list of exhibits had been prepared, the authors of the catalogue appointed and so on, and he saw the financial support as the only problem. “Mais je suis plein d’espérance,” he concluded.²¹ One year later, Kutal wrote to the same addressee that the exhibition had been postponed until 1967 because “it was not possible to finish the restoration work in such a short term.”²² After that it was put off “for sure” to the dates of 15 August to 15

¹⁹ Robert Suckale, “Die Sternberger Schöne Madonna”, in Köln, *Die Parler V*, 117–122.

²⁰ Robert Suckale, “Review of C. H. Clasen, *Der Meister der Schönen Madonnen. Herkunft, Entfaltung und Umkreis*,” *Kunstchronik* 29 (1976): 247.

²¹ Kutal to Didier, B 30 FF MU (C/18), 22. 10. 1966.

²² Kutal to Didier, B 30 FF MU (C/18), without precise dating, in 1967.



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October 1968, by which time its doom was politically sealed.²³ Nothing but a catalogue, co-authored by the most important Czech historians of medieval art,²⁴ resulted from the great preparations. The twists and turns of this project illustrate well how social and political restrictions influenced presentation of art history research and at the same time what an impact such limited presentations had on scholarly work.

The main impulse of the Prague project was declared to be a reaction to the exhibition *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, which had taken place in 1962 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. This exhibition was one among a number of similar activities supported by the Council of Europe every year after 1955.²⁵ The Czech exhibition was supposed to react deliberately to the Viennese one, especially because not a single sculpture from Czechoslovakia made it to Vienna. Therefore, in the preliminary outline of the Prague exhibition Kutal wrote that the Czech project should follow two principal objectives: firstly, it should complete the image that the scholarly public would have seen of the situation in art around 1400 and add its “Eastern” parallels (or more precisely, parallels from the Eastern Bloc) during the Viennese exhibition. And secondly,

Unlike the conception of the exposition in Vienna that accentuated the international character of production and culture around 1400, it should point out the local and international character of the Bohemian production. ... The artistic material we have gathered would be a strong argument in the discussion about the character and importance of Bohemian art around 1400.²⁶

According to Kutal, despite the fact that the Beautiful Style was supposed to be nothing but a variant of the International Style, it had a specific position within this period, and considering its expression and genesis it was “indeed Bohemian.”²⁷ Kutal supported this argument with two of the basic principles of his work: formal analysis of the art object and observation of concrete

²³ I refer here to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the USSR in August 1968.

²⁴ Jaroslav Pešina, František Kavka et alii, *České umění gotické 1350–1420* (Bohemian Gothic Art) (Praha: Academia, 1970).

²⁵ *Europäische Kunst um 1400* in Vienna was the eighth exhibition in a row (the former ones had taken place in Brussels, Amsterdam, Rome, Munich, London, Paris, and Barcelona) that had presented subjects assumed to prove the connection among European countries, e.g. humanism, mannerism, rococo etc.

²⁶ B 30 FF MU (II/F/1), Kutal’s preliminary outline of the exhibition of Bohemian art around 1400.

²⁷ B 30 FF MU (III/b/A/6), from Kutal’s university lecture “Bohemian sculpture at the end of the 14th century and its international links” (without dating).

evolutionary similarities. On this basis Kutal created lines of evolution, where each work of art had its own firm place. Due to the causality of the lines of evolution he was even able to ascribe sculptural material situated outside Bohemian borders to the framework of Bohemian sculpture (which was the case of the Madonnas from Altenmarkt and Linz in Austria). When Kutal applied the principle of concrete evolutionary-genetic connection, and thus the description of Beautiful Style genesis became his main goal, he determined not only its formal but also its territorial sources.

In Kutal's opinion the form was at the same time an expression of spiritual streams within the society, ideas embodied in the material that were based on man's perception of the world. This view of the evolution of medieval art consisted of the interaction between two diverse stylistic streams: the Mediterranean, based on the observation of reality (spatial forms), and the Northern stream, based on abstraction (linear forms).²⁸ This way, according to Kutal, art oscillated between spirituality expressed in abstraction and an inclination to the "organic feeling" conveyed in realistic forms. These streams were supposed to be identifiable with man's relation to the world and reality and, importantly, they were inherent in human psychology reflected in artworks. It is easily deducible that both Kutal's conceptions (formal analysis and conception of two polar streams) originated from the methodological basis of the Vienna School of art history.²⁹

Kutal, however, added one more stream to the bi-polar model that, according to him, arose in the middle of the fourteenth century and was defined by the relation to space. Non-spatiality, in terms of geometric definition, was supposed to be characteristic of all Bohemian art. Precisely in this way, in the period of the Beautiful Style, "the shapes of objects separated from their surroundings and space acquired a non-optical, symbolic character."³⁰ Kutal

²⁸ Kutal, *Sochařství 1350–1450*, 9. See also Bakoš, *Kutal*, 71.

²⁹ Bakoš, *Kutal*, 74–75. The origin of this perception goes back to Max Dvořák (1874–1921), and further even to Alois Riegl (1858–1905), both important representatives of the Vienna school. It was mediated to Kutal by Vincenc Kramář who himself studied in Vienna. Kramář was, together with Eugen Dostál, Kutal's mentor and after 1919 the director of the institution that later became the National Gallery in Prague (in 1949).

³⁰ Kutal, *Sochařství 1350–1450*, 73. A similar way of thinking about the role of space can be found by Otto Pächt. Nevertheless, Kutal applied its understanding following Kramář, who declared one of the specific features of the Beautiful Style to be the unreal character of space (see Jaromír Homolka, "K problematice české plastiky 1350–1450" (On the Problematic of Bohemian Sculpture 1350–1450), *Umění* 11 (1963): 444, note 81. It was yet another Czech art historian, Václav Mencl (1905–1978), who designated this feature as a Bohemian specific.



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assumed Bohemian art to have played the leading role in European art, firstly because it was able to unite these two antagonistic poles in its unique way and secondly, because it “neglected” the construction of optical space.

Also, the characteristics like refinement and emotionality were supposed to fit into this concept. All those aspects were supposed to combine into the Beautiful Style and that is why it was assumed to have been one of the most important and most characteristic periods of Bohemian medieval art. Kutal added that there had to be a reason for these specifics: “deeper roots in the national psychology of that time.”³¹ At this point he adhered implicitly to Birnbaum’s concept of “the law of transgression.”³² Kutal assumed, together with Birnbaum, that each nation had its own unique creative potential and was able to express it in certain historical periods: “The nation overtakes the leadership at the moment when a style comes to the period that corresponds to its mental skills.”³³

As Kutal was one of the main organizers of the Czech “exhibition 1968” project, there was a tendency to point out the national character of Bohemian medieval art. In contrast, the explicit objective of the *Europäische Kunst um 1400* exhibition in Vienna was “to demonstrate the cultural unity of Europe in its most valuable manifestations, i.e. in its artistic creations ... and to make the great public conscious of this unity.”³⁴ The subject of the exhibition was proposed by Vinzenz Oberhammer, at that time director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum; although originally a presentation of modern European art of the second half of the twentieth century had been planned, Oberhammer put through medieval art around 1400. As he declared in a radio interview, the reason was that this period could be termed “eines der europäischsten.”³⁵ At the same time, Vienna was thought to be a particularly suitable place for such a

³¹ Kutal, *Sochařství 1350–1450*, 73.

³² Vojtěch Birnbaum (1877–1934) was one of the most prominent figures of Czech pre-war art history. His concept of the law of transgression was published in Vojtěch Birnbaum, “Doplňk k vývojovým zákonům?” (An addition to the evolutionary laws?), in *Vývojové zákonitosti v umění* (Evolutionary laws in art), ed. Ivo Hlobil (Prague: Odeon, 1987, first published 1932), 47–50.

³³ Albert Kutal, “Problém slovanství v českém umění” (The problem of Slavism in Czech art), in *Slovanství v českém národním životě* (Slavism in Czech national life), ed. Josef Macůrek (Brno: Rovnost, 1947), 166.

³⁴ Archiv des Kunsthistorisches Museums Wien, file V 160, *Europäische Kunst um 1400* (hereafter V 160 KHM) (Protokoll 39), press release.

³⁵ V 160 KHM (without numbering), document for broadcasting.

presentation due to its relations to this art: “[da] Österreich in die Entwicklung dieses Stiles große Bedeutung gehabt hatte.”³⁶

A strong group of art historians who had returned from emigration in the postwar period appeared on the list of preparatory commission participants of the exposition and its catalogue. Among them were, for example, Otto Benesch,³⁷ Otto Demus,³⁸ and Otto Pächt,³⁹ who was appointed to write the introductory article to the catalogue (instead of Erwin Panofsky, as had been formerly intended).⁴⁰

In Otto Pächt’s work one can find many concepts similar to those of Kutal; their methodological principles were close.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Pächt, surely influenced by the proclaimed aim of the exposition, contributed to the view that the art around 1400 was seen more as a pan-European phenomenon. In this sense he used the term “Gesamteuropäische Kunstsprache” in the opening article of the catalogue, where his essential thesis appeared to be that the creative potential in art around 1400 arose from the junction of different national cultures. According to Pächt, none of the centers—Prague, Paris, Cologne or Milan—could be proclaimed the place of origin of this style: “Zu dieser Zeit hat kein Land die Führerrolle allein innegehabt, keinem einzelnen Ort gebührt der Vorrang.”⁴²

Nevertheless, one vital premise was present at the base of Pächt’s method; he again assumed that it was possible to define individual cultures by means of psychological constants. In the structure of an artwork, he was looking for basic elements such as the relation of a figure and its background or the relation of form and space. From these ways of representation, he abstracted two main streams, Northern and Italian. Even though he perceived artistic evolution in its complicated scope as a fusion of elements from different European domains

³⁶ V 160 KHM (Protokoll 17).

³⁷ O. Benesch (1896–1964) became a director of Albertina when he returned from emigration after the end of World War II.

³⁸ O. Demus (1902–1990) accepted a position as the president of the Bundesdenkmalamt in Vienna.

³⁹ O. Pächt (1902–1988) returned to the Kunsthistorisches Institut at the university in Vienna, where he had been an assistant to K. M. Swoboda before World War II.

⁴⁰ V 160 KHM (Protokoll 33).

⁴¹ For Pächt’s biography and methodology, see Martina Sitt, “Otto Pächt: Am Anfang war das Auge”, in *Kunsthistoriker in Eigener Sache*, ed. Martina Sitt (Berlin: Reimer, 1990), 25–61.

⁴² Otto Pächt, “Die Gotik der Zeit um 1400 als Gesamteuropäische Kunstsprache”, in *Europäische Kunst um 1400. Ausstellung unter den Auspizien des Europarates*, ed. Otto Pächt (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 1962), 53 (hereafter Pächt, *Gotik*).



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(delimited as Italy and the territory north of the Alps), he considered only characteristics inherent to these two regions, e.g. the Italian sense for realistic depiction (“Verräumlichung der Dingwelt, Veranschaulichung der Körperlichkeit”) and abstraction in the northern art (“Erschliessung des Freiraumes, des Unkörperlichen”).⁴³ Both streams were supposed to have influenced each other; on the one hand, the rhythmic and dynamic northern character influenced Italian art, which afterwards had to change its original static way of dealing with space. On the other hand, northern art had to adapt from two-dimensional to three-dimensional space. The Beautiful Style was supposed to have originated from this fusion.

According to Pächt’s interpretation, this new style was Northern or, using different terminology, German, which also included artistic production from Bohemia and Austria. Pächt was sure that the form of the Beautiful Style canon was possible only in German sculpture where the new linearity was merged with the Italian sense of spatiality. German art might have lost its characteristic expression around 1400, but that applied to only its more delicate and lyric version. New types of lyric and sensual Madonnas or Pietàs of German provenance may have succeeded beyond the frontiers of their origin, especially back in Italy, because they were made according to the principles of Italian art. Italy embraced this production because it drew on Italian prototypes. This was what Pächt called a typical “dialogue among nations.” The more aesthetic (and less formal) the aim was, the more it was European: “Und so ließe sich vielleicht sagen, dass in dem Masse, als diese Zielsetzung eine ästhetische war, sie eine europäische zu werden vermochte.”⁴⁴

However, the final exhibition of the artworks and their cataloguing was carried out in a different, far more “traditional,” way. The artworks from Austria were in the most prominent place, followed by the German collection, and then by art from other European countries.⁴⁵ The preparatory commission considered the question of arranging possible loans of artwork from Czechoslovakia several times. Otto Benesch, especially, interceded for them and on this occasion he pointed out: “Es ist grundsätzlich daran gedacht, Leihgaben von der Č.S.S.R. zu erbitten. ...soll bezüglich Böhmens nicht nur der Einflusskreis gezeigt werden, das Zentrum jedoch nicht.”⁴⁶ However, the Czech group (particularly the politically involved) did not show any interest in presenting its

⁴³ Pächt, *Gotik*, 60.

⁴⁴ Pächt, *Gotik*, 65.

⁴⁵ Belgium, the Netherlands, England, France, Italy, Sweden, and one item each from Spain and Switzerland.

⁴⁶ V 160 KHM (Protokoll 3).



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pieces of art in the Viennese exhibition. Even Kutal had difficulties obtaining permission to leave Czechoslovakia in order to visit it and until the last moment it was uncertain whether he would be able to see it.⁴⁷ Finally, he succeeded and later he was even given the opportunity to present his views on the Czech contribution to the Beautiful Style.⁴⁸ However, Kutal was never allowed to hang “his” exhibition of Bohemian medieval art, although, as he pointed out in the exhibition outline, employing the official rhetoric, it would have been “without doubt a politically important act, also because it would show the international public how the People’s democratic states appreciate their cultural history.”⁴⁹ As earlier in Vienna, the Czechs gained support of an international organization and the exhibition was supposed to be “added to the cycle of UNESCO cultural events and supported by this organization.”⁵⁰ The opposition of the two conceptions of the Beautiful Style, Western art history versus the “Eastern Bloc” concept, was clearly reflected in the list of participating countries. Works of art from Yugoslavia, Hungary, the USSR, the German Democratic Republic (so-called “East Germany”), Poland, and Romania were supposed to be included, but not only because of difficult communication with the Western states. In fact, no official cooperation with the countries “on the other side of the border” was envisaged (Kutal’s effort to borrow the Madonna from Altenmarkt came later, but he always regarded it as Bohemian). In a manner of speaking, the “Eastern Bloc” conception of the Beautiful Style was born.

Meanwhile two other exhibitions concerning the Beautiful Style took place in Salzburg, both arranged according to iconographic themes. The first one concerned Madonna sculptures (*Schöne Madonnen 1350–1450*) in 1965,⁵¹ the second, pietàs (*Stabat mater, Maria unter dem Kreuz in der Kunst um 1400*) in 1970, i.e. after final failure of the Czech project).⁵² The ambitions of the preparatory

⁴⁷ Kutal sent two urgent demands for travel permission, even to the Ministry of Culture of ČSSR. B 30 FF MU (II/B/4), 16. 7. 1962.

⁴⁸ B 30 FF MU (III/b/B/16), *Sculpture of the Beautiful Style*, (Graz and Vienna, 1964); (III/b/B/17); *Bohemian art of the 1480s* (Vienna, 1965); (III/b/B/18), *Beautiful Pietàs* (Vienna, 1965).

⁴⁹ B 30 FF MU (III/F/1), Kutal’s preliminary outline of the exhibition of Bohemian art around 1400.

⁵⁰ Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, file 821/67, 12. 2. 1967.

⁵¹ Dieter Großmann, *Schöne Madonnen 1350–1450*, ed. Johannes Neuhardt (Salzburg: Salzburger Domkapitel, 1965).

⁵² Dieter Großmann, *Stabat Mater. Maria unter dem Kreuz in der Kunst um 1400*, ed. Dieter Großmann (Salzburg: Salzburger Domkapitel, 1970).



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team were not small, as can be seen in the declaration of one of the organizers; Sebastian Achörner stated: “Wir hoffen, dass im Zusammenhang mit dieser Ausstellung etliche wissenschaftliche Frage gelöst werden können.”⁵³ Despite material analyses of artworks that were expected to bring decisive results, the exhibition was a breakthrough and memorable due to a large number of visitors, which led directly to an attempt to repeat its success five years later.⁵⁴

Johannes Neuhardt, the head organizer, also invited Dieter Großmann to cooperate. Thus, he was given an exceptional opportunity to present his conception of the Salzburg–Viennese origin of Beautiful Style sculpture, which he had published at the beginning of the 1960s (in an article dealing with the Austrian origin of the Krumlov Madonna).⁵⁵

The first exhibition was not focused exclusively on the close group of Beautiful Style sculptures; the lower limit of 1350 was not chosen accidentally. The intention was to present the continuity of artistic development in Austria in the time frame beginning in mid-century and culminating in the Beautiful Style. Großmann shared the specific conception of Austrian medieval sculpture formulated by Franz Kieslinger and Karl Ginhart,⁵⁶ which took into account its special “psychological setting.” Despite assumed changes of the outer formal character during the time, qualities like “liebliche Anmut, Feinheit und Liebenswürdigkeit” generally and “höchste Steigerung der Eigentümlichkeiten des Weichen Stiles – Lieblichkeit, Fülle und Weichheit” in the Beautiful Style were supposed to remain inherent.

Großmann thought Salzburg was an autonomous artistic region, above all because of its political and ecclesiastical independence. This artistic autonomy was assumed to have appeared at the end of the fourteenth century, especially in the group of “Madonnas on the Lion” (characterized again by formal refinement). These Madonnas were supposed to have come originally from the “deutschen Osten” (Silesia, in the debated period a part of Bohemian Crown lands) and to be directly related to Austrian examples. Großmann eliminated the

⁵³ Achörner to Kutal, B 30 FF MU (II/C/1), 19. 7. 1965.

⁵⁴ “Die 75 000 Besucher waren für eine Ausstellung dieser Art damals recht viel; fünf Jahre später, bei der “Stabat Mater,” wurden sie nicht erreicht, obwohl der Diözesankonservator [J. Neuhardt] in seiner Verzweiflung noch mit nachträglich erstellten Plakaten “Madonnenausstellung” selbst an der Autobahn warb.” Großmann to Meier, ZR ABK 3634 GNM (55), 29. 1. 1987.

⁵⁵ Großmann, *Krumau*.

⁵⁶ Franz Kieslinger, *Zur Geschichte der Gotischen Plastik in Österreich* (Vienna: Krystall Verlag, 1923); Karl Ginhart, “Die Gotische Plastik in Wien,” in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Wien 2: Gotik*, ed. R. K. Donin (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1955), 1–81.



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mediating role of Bohemia. By analogy with the importance of the Madonnas on the Lion, Großmann emphasized the importance of local Beautiful Style pieces.

Großmann acquired a special interest in Silesian medieval art at the beginning of his activities in the J. G. Herder Institute in Marburg (1963). This institute supported above all studies in the history and monuments of Eastern Europe, particularly Poland. Großmann even had to learn Polish and Czech to be able to focus on the “Silesian question”⁵⁷ in medieval art: “Meine Tätigkeit im Herder-Institut schlägt sich erst jetzt erstmals in etwas bemerkenswerterem Ausmaß gedruckt nieder, nämlich in einem etwa 80-seitigen Bericht über das Schicksal der Kunstdenkmäler in Niederschlesien seit 1945.”⁵⁸ The construction of a direct relation between Austrian and Silesian art also appeared in his article about the Wrocław Madonna.⁵⁹

It is remarkable how Großmann reconsidered his understanding of the initiative role of Bohemia in the Beautiful Style. In his article from 1960 he completely excluded Bohemia from its hub, incorporated the Krumlov Madonna into the development of Austrian sculptural production and proclaimed it an import from Salzburg: “Salzburg und damit Österreich ist die Heimat der Krumauer Madonna.”⁶⁰ Five years later he watered down his language and admitted the existence of a Bohemian contribution, especially in terms of painting and partially in Parlerian sculpture. Probably he was influenced in this respect by his extensive contacts with Czech art historians, primarily Kutal.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Großmann to Kutal, B 30 FF MU (C/30), 11. 1. 1964.

⁵⁸ Großmann to Kutal, B 30 FF MU (C/30), 28. 2. 1967.

⁵⁹ Dieter Großmann, “Die Breslauer Schöne Madonna und ihr Typus in Westdeutschland“, *Städte Jahrbuch* 6 (1977): 231–264. For the question of the early dating of the Wrocław Madonna from the church of St. Elizabeth by Austrian art historians, see Milena Bartlová, *Mistr Týnské kalvárie* (The Master of the Týn Calvary) (Prague: Academia, 2004), 67–68.

⁶⁰ Großmann, *Krumau*, 114.

⁶¹ Both art historians visited each other several times in the 1960s and 1970s. Großmann had a special relation to Czech art history, where for him Kutal was one of the most important names. Großmann considered Kutal’s results in the field of Gothic sculpture very important. He tried intensively to have his book from 1962 (Kutal, *České gotické sochařství 1350–1450*) published in German, so as to make it available to the foreign public (in the end it was published as Albert Kutal, *Gotische Kunst in Böhmen* [Prague: Artia, 1971]). Großmann’s inclination to Czech (and Polish) art history was perhaps also influenced by the weak approval of his work in the German environment, especially because he was not allowed to proceed in his academic career. Despite this, he took a teaching position at the University of Marburg in 1979. Thus, his first important project



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If he remained consistent in his opinion on the primacy of Austrian art from two centers, Vienna and Salzburg, at this time he derived it particularly from the actual geographical distribution of preserved pieces. Yet, by doing that, he rather problematically merged once-independent regions under the term “Austrian medieval art” in one artistic-territorial unit derived from modern political borders of the twentieth century.

Despite the fact that the reaction to Großmann’s theses, presented at both exhibitions and further in their catalogues, was mainly critical, Kutal did not underestimate them and thought it fundamental to comment on them on several occasions.⁶² At the same time, he could not express any other opinion than a flat refusal of Großmann’s conception of the Beautiful Style sculpture. This dispute over their common material remained heated during the time of their contact; *per contra*, it was because of personal contacts that some artworks could be lent from Prague to the Salzburg exhibition, such as the Madonna from the National Gallery. It was not easy, though, and for some time it seemed that this Madonna from Hallstatt (as she was named by Großmann; Kutal always wrote about the “Prague variant of the Krumlov Madonna”) would not be loaned by the Czech side. Großmann was well aware of the trickiness of the whole situation, as he commented in a letter to J. Neuhardt:

Sie [Krofta⁶³ und Kutal] möchten ja nun doch einmal, dass a) die Krumauer Madonna nicht österreichisch sondern böhmisch sei, und b) dass die Gruppe um Hallstatt/Bad Aussee davon abhinge und nicht vorherginge [Großmann himself did not consider these artworks to be copies, but models for the Krumlov Madonna]. Professor Kutal ist nicht so kleinlich, uns wegen einer solchen Frage keine Unterstützung zu gewähren, aber von Dr. Krofta weiß ich nicht, ob er auch so denkt, und will es nicht gerade in diesem Augenblick ausprobieren.⁶⁴

was the exhibition in Salzburg, where he was invited by Austrian scholars, and at the end he had the possibility of taking part in the scholarly collegium at the *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil* exhibition in Cologne in 1978.

⁶² Albert Kutal, “K problému krásných madon” (On the problem of Beautiful Madonnas), *Umění* 5 (1966): 433–458; idem, “Výstava Stabat Mater v Salcburku” (The Stabat Mater exposition in Salzburg), *Umění* 19 (1971): 402–421.

⁶³ Jan Krofta, director of the National Gallery in Prague, 1960–1967.

⁶⁴ Großmann to Neuhardt, Konsistorialarchiv Salzburg, Domassstellungen 19/72, *Ausstellung 1965 “Schöne Madonnen.”* (Korrespondenz A–J), 24. 02. 1965. Yet in the 1990s it was to be shown that questions about the origin of artworks of the Beautiful Style did not lose their importance and remained a controversial issue. In 1995 the National



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The Logic of Evolution and the “Krumlov Madonna Case”

The Krumlov Madonna, a high-quality artwork, generally became a favorite substitute element where different conceptions of particular authors clashed. The results of such work were bound to differ due to the methods applied.

Retrospectively, it often seems that the development of a historical situation is relatively well known. For art history that focused on formal evolution, this development was often also foreseeable, for it not only started from a known situation, but it also headed towards a supposed goal. Thus, this idea included the predictability of future development. It is interesting how the artworks assumed to have been at the beginning or the end of the development were defined, and how each artwork was assigned a position as the framework of development was being constructed.

At the same time, the effort to grant different regions creative potential, meaning the ability to give the style new impulses, was introduced into the concept of artistic development. One of the important criteria was reflected in the fact that the modern idea of “progress” as a positive value in the development of style was often projected onto medieval art.⁶⁵ This was expressed in the appreciation for artworks that involved new creative elements and were not “only” repeating or copying “earlier” elements.

The Krumlov Madonna statue was discovered in Krumlov in southern Bohemia before World War I and taken to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in

Gallery in Prague acquired a statue of a saint holding a book that seemed to have been lost since the 1920s and that had been published earlier by Großmann (Kunsthalle, *Die Parler*, 141). According to his son, Dr. Ulrich Großmann (personal interview in Nürnberg, 29. 1. 2005), he was then very disillusioned by the fact that this piece of art was presented in Prague as Bohemian “without further argumentation” (see the catalogue Jiří Fajt et alii, *Světice s knihou* [Saint Virgin Holding a Book] [Prague: Národní Galerie, 1996], hereafter Fajt, *Světice*). His opinion was that its provenance could have been from Vienna, Salzburg or Prague and that none of these places could be clearly ascertainable. If he inclined to the line Salzburg–Vienna in the 1960s, later he saw this question more openly and refused straightforward definitions.

⁶⁵ See Milena Bartlová, “Madona z dominikánského kláštera v Plzni. Problém vývojového a kvalitativního hodnocení” (The Madonna from the Dominican Cloister in Plzeň. The problem of estimating quality and evolution), in *Gotika v západních Čechách, Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodního vědeckého sympozia* (Gothic in Western Bohemia. International Conference Proceedings, Summary Volume), ed. Jiří Fajt, Hana Laštovková, Tatjana Štenberová (Prague: Národní galerie, 1998), 48–49.



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Vienna.⁶⁶ Because of its highly esteemed artistic quality, different authors tried to incorporate it into the artistic development of different countries, applying the presumed “inner logic of evolution.” The logic of evolution was driven by the idea of a style being subject to the laws of natural evolution that gradually passes through the stages of origin, peak, and decline. In this way, an artistic style behaved as a natural phenomenon.⁶⁷ While combining criteria like quality and progress, it was important to search for and find (or appropriate) artworks that fitted into the phases of development and proved this inner logic. Moreover, when an inherent quality was discovered in one region, it was supposed to imply the existence of artworks with the same qualities. Therefore, it happened that artworks with this supposed quality discovered in different regions were included into one style-geographical unit.

This “home tradition,” based on the continuity of artistic development in one territory and the legitimacy of its origins, was a basic element of many concepts of Beautiful Style sculpture. The “Viennese postulate” and its two main representatives, F. Kieslinger and K. Ginhardt (and nowadays Lothar Schultes)⁶⁸ assumed that the Krumlov Madonna had a legitimate predecessor in Vienna and that it belonged to the production of the Herzogswerkstatt (the workshop of the Viennese court). This was supposed to prove that it could not have originated in Bohemia. The presumed predecessors were, for example, the Madonna from the chapel of St. Eligius or the Madonna from the Museum der Stadt Wien (originally from the southern tower of St. Stephan’s cathedral), the Dienstbotenmadonna or the Madonna from the Minoritenkirche, especially because of their “specific refinement and gracefulness.”

Dieter Großmann, who handled types of the Beautiful Madonnas as closed units, grouped individual pieces of art around one prototype, either known or assumed, and searched for its copies. From this perspective the Madonna from Altenmarkt in the Salzburg region was seen as the oldest prototype or “a reflection of a lost prototype.” For Großmann, the next step in the development was the Madonna from Hallstatt near Salzburg (today in the National Gallery in Prague). He derived the Krumlov Madonna from this statue and declared it an export from Salzburg. Moreover, he supported his statement with quantitative evidence of statues from the Salzburg region.

⁶⁶ First published by Richard Ernst, “Die Krumauer Madonna der k. k. Staatsgalerie,” *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der K. K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalspflege* 11 (1917): 109–131.

⁶⁷ For a critique of such an understanding of “style” see Bartlová, *Obrazy*, 28–29.

⁶⁸ For Kieslinger and Ginhardt, see note 57. For Schultes, see his catalogue entries in Brucher, *Geschichte*.



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Albert Kutal did not doubt the Bohemian origin of the Krumlov Madonna, which he considered embedded in Bohemian sculpture as a result of the fusion of its predecessors—the Madonna from the Old Town Hall in Prague (a Parlerian sculpture) and the Madonna from Žebrák (a Bohemian wooden sculpture). Because the Madonna from Altenmarkt had a substantial position in Kutal's evolutionary line, he used the same argumentation as previously mentioned authors to assess its origin in Bohemian production. He derived it from the Třeboň (Wittingau) Altarpiece in southern Bohemia and supported its Bohemian origin by its relation to the Madonnas from Plzeň (Pilsen) and Krumlov, mainly with the help of a detailed stylistic analysis.

The highly esteemed quality of the Madonna from Krumlov often served as a value criterion for dating not only the sculpture itself, but also other related works. Several subordinate procedures were derived from the evolutionary concept of the style. It often happened that the quality of an artwork was confused with its dating, depending on how the direction of the development was arranged. General hypotheses based on long-term observations were transferred into a general conformity to a law, afterwards applicable to concrete chronological relations between particular artworks. According to this concept, when comparing two concrete artworks, it was possible to decide to what extent they contained certain characteristics and to place them on a time axis. If the starting points were set differently, the correspondence of dating was almost impossible; on the contrary, that could easily lead to conflicting opinions. In the case of the Madonna from Krumlov, the dating changed over a range of 30 years among different authors.⁶⁹

The difference in the dating of related pieces caused by differences in setting the evolutionary lines was similarly radical, for example, in the cases of the Madonna from Plzeň and the Madonna from Altenmarkt. When the Krumlov Madonna was considered to represent the peak of development in the framework of the Viennese Herzogswerkstatt (as Kieslinger and Ginhart believed), other statues could only be its imitations. That was why the Madonnas from Plzeň and Altenmarkt could only be considered younger (around 1410). For Großmann, the criterion for dating was the level of quality ("Qualitätsstufe") together with the style of the period ("Zeitstil"). Großmann derived the Krumlov Madonna from the Madonna from Altenmarkt (1393)⁷⁰ by means of

⁶⁹ It ranged from the 1380s to the 1390s for Pečírka, was dated to 1390 by Kieslinger and Ginhart, before 1400 by Kutal, and to the 1410s by Großmann.

⁷⁰ The date was identified according to an indulgence formulary by Archbishop Ubaldin from 1393. For the facsimile see J. Neuhardt, "Die Schöne Madonna," in *Altenmarkt*,



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an evolutionary line from realism, fullness, and spatiality towards mannerism. Großmann placed the Madonna from Plzeň into the next evolutionary phase, the beginning of the fifteenth century. Kutal demonstrated a reversed chronological development leading from a higher level of liveliness and realism to their diminishing, from the Madonna from Altenmarkt (1393) through Plzeň (1390s) towards the Krumlov piece (before 1400).⁷¹

Conclusion

The effort to prove the autonomy of Beautiful Style sculpture and its independence of the art of other countries, or possibly to prove its leading role, was a substantial task for the participants in this discussion. It was an important component in forming a national identity by finding its traditions and roots in the past, constant and unique qualities in ancient art. This situation did not occur in a historic vacuum, but it was conditioned from the beginning by the necessity to define “us against the others.” The aim was to ascribe innovative or high quality pieces to one’s own artistic production, and at the same time to find the earliest possible origin of its artistic autonomy. This was not to be dependent on “mediating influences,” and in the best case was meant to have a centrifugal effect on other artistic territories.

The various methods that were used to reach these objectives sometimes changed with time or with the social situation, but most often there was a fluctuation of methods across time and place. It is possible to assume that approaches that served to define the national character of art were widespread or even sought after. Even though some authors tried to corroborate them by means of “more scholarly” methods and others were based on racial or national prejudices, I argue that they did not differ. In fact, they were based on the same stereotypes, and these stereotypes were even conceived as part of a truly scholarly approach. Their persistence was caused by unwillingness in the discipline itself to correct these ideas, their institutional support, and the academic careers of the scholars discussed above who were active at least until the 1970s. Despite the intense reciprocal contacts among Czech, German, and Austrian art historians that blunted former sharp-pointed formulations, conceptions of the Beautiful Style sculpture did not get rid of the fouling of the old national interpretations, often until the present time.

“Mutterpfarre” im Ennspongau, Ortschronik Altenmarkt im Pongau 2, ed. Matthias Rainer (Altenmarkt: Marktgemeinde, 1996), 49.

⁷¹ Recently, the Madonna from Plzeň was dated to “before 1384” by Jiří Fajt (Fajt, *Světice*, 27).




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Rhetorical questions may be posed: Are nationality, ethnicity, geographic or political division still present in art history? Is something like a Bohemian (Czech), Austrian or German character of art still an important or interesting concept or does the reader of the texts reviewed get caught up in a discussion that might seem unimportant or even ridiculous? After all, the authors were employing very similar methodological principles and their arguments were left without a chance of success. On the one hand, it is ahistorical to connect medieval art with the modern concept of a nation, to create borders of art where borders of modern states are or to project the contemporary image of an independent creative artist onto the practices of medieval artists' workshops. This widespread tendency towards aprioristic conceptions, especially concerning the assignment of artistic material to homogenous artistic regions—according to nationality or ethnicity or according to state or ecclesiastical geography—and their construction mainly on the basis of stylistic evolution, has already received well-deserved criticism. On the other hand, it seems to be a problem that while deconstructing the traditional national (art) histories and exposing them as “mythologies,” the singular histories, individual “memories” are in danger of being melted into this whole; these, I believe, should not disappear.



TRANSFORMATION AND SELF-FASHIONING: MATTHIAS CORVINUS AND THE MYTH OF HERCULES

Valéry Rees* 

In the development of new ideas about kingship at the end of the fifteenth century, the myth of Hercules provided potent imagery, which offered great scope to Matthias Corvinus and those who supported him. Without entering the debate about how far Matthias did in fact transform the institutions of government into a more modern form, I would like to highlight certain aspects of the Hercules myth that have a special place in the transformation of his image, aspects that have a peculiarly Renaissance flavour and a considerable degree of sophistication.¹

At first sight, the Hercules myth might seem quite unpromising as a model, for it relates to a child who is half divine, who strangles a serpent in his crib, grows up to be champion of the oppressed through displays of superhuman strength and endurance, but who overreaches himself and in a mad rage kills his wife and children. His mighty musculature is matched by gargantuan appetites, and he comes to a horrid, painful end on Mount Oetus. However, that is not

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¹ There is a large literature on the Hercules theme, and on iconography in Hungary, some of which is referred to in the footnotes below. A more extensive bibliography can be found in Ronald Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1983), and in Gergely Buzás, *The Hercules Fountain of Giovanni Dalmata in the Royal Palace of Visegrád*, (Budapest and Visegrád: TKM Association and the King Matthias Museum, 2001). Enikő Békés discussed ideological aspects of Matthias's portrait iconography in "The Lion and King Matthias Corvinus: A Renaissance Interpretation of a Classical Physiognomic Image," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 10 (2004): 77–94. The present article extends themes I have discussed in "The myth of Hercules as a symbol," in *Neoplatonism and the Arts*, ed. Liana de Girolami Cheney and John Hendrix, (Lewiston, Queenston & Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 151–175 and "Matthias Corvinus as Renaissance Prince—Propaganda or Reality?" presented to the Renaissance Society of America's annual meeting, Chicago, 2001. For discussion in English of transformation in the institutions of government, see Kathleen Garay, "Legislation under King Matthias I (Corvinus) 1458–1490 in *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary 1458–1490*, tr. and ed. János M. Bak, Leslie Domonkos, and Paul Harvey Jr. (Los Angeles: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1996), xix–xxxv; János M. Bak, "The Late Medieval Period, 1382–1526," in *A History of Hungary*, ed. Peter Sugar (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990), 54–82 and Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 298–322.



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how the myth was being read by fifteenth-century interpreters, and long before Hercules became a decorative theme in the royal palaces of Buda and Visegrád, a rich history of allegorical interpretation had grown up around him.

The Hercules Myth and its Interpretation

The myth of Hercules had always been both potent and popular, from Classical times onwards. To the ancient Greeks, he was a favourite character, depicted on vases and in sculpture, as well as having his praises sung in poetry and drama. Primarily known for physical strength and indomitable courage, he also had the distinction of being the one hero who spanned all Hellas in his deeds, and in this sense acquired a degree of universality. He was strong and brave without compare, but subject to passion and lust on an equal scale. Native wit and cunning were his mental qualities rather than sheer intellect, though later generations expanded the allegory to include intelligence too. His long and eventful life spanned a series of terrible trials, but at the end he was received into heaven.

Since the Classical renditions of Hercules' tale rose to new prominence in the Renaissance, it is worth noting the principal Greek studies of his character, as they formed the basis for all the later, more accessible versions. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, written around 440 BC, the focus is on the suddenness with which human triumph turns to tragedy.² The play opens with the meditations of Hercules' wife, Deianeira, upon the arrival of the beautiful young Iole, the "prize" Hercules has won through a bitter war with her father Eurytus, provoked by the latter's refusal to yield her to our hero's inexhaustible sexual appetites. Deianeira's well-meaning intervention allows hostile destiny to unfold, through the agency of a poisoned robe. The blood-stained robe of the centaur whom Hercules slew in protection of Deianeira acts not as the blessing she expects but as a dire curse, for the centaur's wound was tainted with the very poison which had assured Hercules' success. In an earlier exploit, when he slew the Lernaean Hydra he had dipped his arrows in its deadly venom. Unwitting authors of their own fate, both Hercules and Deianeira are shown as being moved by genuine emotion (though not many today would condone his

² This was known in fifteenth-century Italy, at least to speakers of Greek. Cardinal Bessarion's library contained the tragedies of Sophocles; Argyropolous in Florence was familiar with them, and a section of *Trachiniae*, consisting of lines 1046–1102, is translated by Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations*, II, 8, a book which had wide currency. The first printed edition of Sophocles' tragedies was by Aldus Manutius in Venice, 1502. See Rudolf Hirsch, *The Printed Word: Its Impact and Diffusion* (London: Variorum, 1978).



treatment of Deianeira) and endeavouring to apply reason. But these very traits render them vulnerable, and provide the mechanism whereby the ancient prophecies are fulfilled. As the centaur promised, Hercules does not leave Deianeira for another woman, but he is killed, as foretold, by an enemy from beyond the grave. Human action is important: we are told that “knowledge must come through action. You will never be sure unless you put it to the test;”³ but the world is presented essentially as the play of divine forces, and the divine presence is manifest in each and every happening if only we can see aright:

You but lately have seen dreadful deaths,
with many sorrows unheard of before —,
and none of these things are without Zeus.⁴

In Euripides’ version of the tale, written probably during the interwar years of 421 to 418 BC, even greater emphasis is laid upon nobility of character.⁵ As with Sophocles, the protagonists are undone not by their own faults but by divine decree. Indeed, there is an essential innocence about Hercules that pervades most accounts of his life. Euripides also focuses on human suffering. The first half of the play explores the evils of tyranny through the eyes of Hercules’ first wife Megara and his father Amphytrion, presenting a sensitive study of both the feminine and the elderly faces of fortitude. Then Hercules arrives home and transforms all, swiftly putting right the wrongs; but by another transformation the play sharply turns again, to a violent spiral of destruction. This transformation is wrought directly by the gods—by Iris, messenger of Hera, and Madness personified, traditionally played by an actor with gorgon mask, black chariot, and goad. Despite initial reluctance, they eventually inflict Hera’s vengeance, and Hercules slays his innocent wife and children in a frenzy of delusion and rage. When Hercules recovers, his first resolve is to take his own life, but Theseus, that other great hero, appears and persuades him that survival is the more courageous path. Love and friendship are the redeeming qualities in life, and are of greater account than suffering. Meanwhile the very

³ Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, line 592–3, tr. Robert Torrance.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1276–8.

For the idea of life as a play, see Plotinus, *Enneads*, III, ii, 15 and 17 and for its revival in the Renaissance *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (hereafter referred to as Ficino, *Letters*) (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2003 and continuing), vol. 7, 56 (letter 49).

⁵ Euripides, *Heracles*, tr. William Arrowsmith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952). Hercules also appears in Euripides’ *Alceste* but in a very minor role; likewise in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes.



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nature of the gods is exposed to question, with Hercules casting doubt on all the traditional tales:

I do not believe the gods commit
adultery, or bind each other in chains.
I never did believe it; I never shall;
nor that one god is tyrant of the rest.
If god is truly god, he is perfect,
Lacking nothing. These are poets' wretched lies.⁶

On the whole, one might well conclude that the Greek Herakles is hardly a fitting model for a Renaissance king. However, familiarity with the hero of Sophocles and Euripides was mediated by later additions to the canon. The patience of Hercules in adversity and his final redemption by Zeus become key elements in the story.

Roman writers such as Cicero and Seneca echo the scepticism of the gods expressed by Euripides' hero. Cicero even goes so far as to question Hercules' legendary endurance.⁷ But for the most part, Hercules remained a very popular and exemplary hero, not least for having been accorded by tradition his celestial place among the stars.

Seneca built upon the Greek dramatic tradition, elaborating a portrayal of Hercules that highlighted human virtue. His *Hercules Furens* draws on both Sophocles and Euripides. It opens with Juno (the Roman Hera) proclaiming her vengeful intent, therefore from the outset it is clear that Hercules is being punished for no sin of his own but for Jupiter's infidelity.⁸ Yet the punishment of madness, when it comes, is rooted in Hercules' own psychological complexities. His former heroism turns to pride and delusion, and he plans to attack the heavens. This is a driven Heracles, who has sought out tasks for himself and does not know how to stop. He is also more doggedly attached to the idea of suicide after the mayhem, and it takes all Amphytrion's devotion as well as Theseus's love to bring him back from the brink. The sequel, *Hercules Oetaeus*, resumes the story with Deianeira and the poisoned love charm. Hercules meets his end on the pyre on Mount Oeta, displaying at last that fortitude and endurance so dear to the Stoics, once he learns that it is a worthy

⁶ *Heracles*, tr. Arrowsmith, lines 1341–46.

⁷ Quoting Sophocles's version of Hercules' agony on Mount Oeta, Cicero asks, "Can we scorn pain, seeing that we find the mighty Hercules bears it so impatiently?" *Tusculan Disputations*, tr. J. E. King (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1971), II, 22.

⁸ Amphytrion was not the real father of Hercules, but Jupiter, who turned one night into three to prolong his dalliance with Alcmene, Amphytrion's wife.



foe (the centaur) who has caused his downfall.⁹ Finally, he is carried to heaven; his divine nature takes its place among the stars and his disembodied voice is heard proclaiming his immortality, “now has my valour (*virtus*) borne me to the stars and to the gods themselves,” and the point is confirmed twice more before the play ends.¹⁰ Seneca shows us Hercules as benefactor of mankind, as a man of lusts and appetites, as sufferer and endurer, and finally as a god. But it is also clear that his Hercules is a symbol. Seneca’s plays enjoyed a real resurgence in the Renaissance; they were widely available in Italy and were in the Corvinian library.¹¹

Cicero, who had been even more sparing in his attitude towards divinity, nevertheless treats Hercules with great respect, acknowledging that “human experience and general custom have made it a practice to confer the deification of renown and gratitude upon distinguished benefactors” of the human race.¹² Hercules represents the personification of valour, a quality to be encouraged,¹³ though Cicero cannot help pointing out with some sarcasm that Hercules seems to be meeting Odysseus in the underworld while supposedly feasting with the gods on Olympus, a problem neatly solved by later writers through the device of a distinction between his soul and his *idolum*.¹⁴ Cicero also wryly observes the dangers inherent in allowing a great crowd of new deifications “admitted to celestial citizenship in recent times, by a sort of extension of the franchise!”¹⁵

But it is the Hercules of the poets that dominated the Latin tradition of the medieval world. Virgil describes one of his labours in a prolonged digression of

⁹ Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, lines 1468–87.

¹⁰ Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, lines 1942–3, 1971 and 1983–88. Behind Seneca’s choice of words is perhaps a conscious reference to Virgil’s famous phrase “sic itur ad astra;” see also on Virgil below. Seneca maintains in his philosophical works that the proper function of philosophy is to show the way to heaven. See *Letters from a Stoic*, tr. Robin Campbell (London: Penguin, 1969), 98–99.

¹¹ Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 352.

¹² *De natura deorum*, II, 62 tr. H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1951, reprinted 1994).

¹³ *De natura deorum*, III, 50.

¹⁴ Based on Plutarch. See Michael J. B. Allen, “Life as a Dead Platonist,” in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, his Philosophy, his Legacy*, ed. M. J. B. Allen and V. Rees with M. Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 169. For a full history of the Greek Neoplatonic interpretations of Hercules, see Jean Pépin, “Héraclès et son reflet dans le Néoplatonisme,” in *Le Néoplatonisme* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971), 167–199.

¹⁵ *De natura deorum*, III, 39.



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great drama in Book 8 of the *Aeneid*. He relates the tale of Cacus' theft of the oxen of Geryon, and how Hercules found and crushed this monster in his lair. He also describes the nature of the cult that had grown up around Hercules, allowing us to appreciate the symbolic significance of the hero: it is human potential, *virtus*, that is the path to the divine.¹⁶ Virtue (*virtus*) may be understood as the essential quality of being a man (*vir*) as, for example, when Apollo congratulates Ascanius on arriving at that manhood which will raise him and his offspring to the level of the gods:

*Macte nova virtute, puer: sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos.*¹⁷

Virtue is only seen in action, and it brings renown or glory:

*stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis,
hoc virtutis opus.*¹⁸

Here, in language unmistakably appealing to Renaissance sensibilities, is that heady combination of virtue and glory to which Matthias Corvinus and most other Renaissance rulers aspired.

Ovid likewise stresses the ultimate ascendancy of the divine in Hercules' nature. As the roaring flames consume Hercules' body, Jupiter declares,

He who has conquered all things shall conquer these fires which you see; nor shall he feel Vulcan's power save in the part his mother gave him. Immortal is the part which he took from me, and that is safe and beyond the power of death, which no flame can destroy.¹⁹

His Hercules also questions how anyone can possibly believe in the traditional gods:

*et sunt qui credere possint
esse deos?*²⁰

¹⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 288–306.

¹⁷ *Aeneid*, IX, 641–642,

¹⁸ [Each has his day appointed; short and irretrievable is the span of life to all: but to lengthen fame by deeds—that is valour's task]. These are the words from Jupiter to Hercules, in the heat of battle, *Aeneid*, X, 468–9. Tr. H. R. Fairclough. (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, revised edition, 1978).

¹⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9, 250–253. Hercules is the major subject of over three hundred lines of Book 9.

²⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9, 203–204 (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 3rd edition, reprinted 1984).



Since the works of Virgil and Ovid never ceased to be read, and those of Seneca at least found new favour in the Renaissance, one can safely conclude that the classical Hercules never went out of fashion. What is remarkable is that he kept this favour even in a deeply Christian age. In fact, he was claimed as a pious hero by Boethius, as a model for endurance in the face of suffering. In the *Consolation of Philosophy* Boethius briefly recites the well-known list of labours, and concludes:

Go now, ye strong, where the exalted way
Of great example leads. Why hang you back?
Why turn away? Once earth has been surpassed
It gives the stars.²¹

The labours of Hercules had been recounted time and again until the original twelve expanded by variation and accrual. Even Virgil refers to a thousand,²² and Hercules gained in moral and intellectual powers, too, especially through another strand that became interwoven with the main myth. This was the tale deriving ultimately from Prodicus, but transmitted through both Xenophon and Cicero, that placed Hercules at the crossroads, making the choice between pleasure and virtue.²³ This cross-current to the main stream became particularly fruitful when Hercules was accepted as a proto-Christian figure. Just as Christ was God made man, now the long-suffering Hercules, his virtues magnified and his vices eclipsed, was man made god, and therefore seen as an adumbration of Christ.²⁴ This helps to explain how Hercules was chosen to replace St. John on the seal of Florence in the thirteenth century, how he appeared on the baptistery pulpit in Pisa (c.1260), on the campanile of the cathedral in Florence (c.1300) and its mandorla doorway (c.1400).²⁵ Around 1380, the chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutati embarked on an exploration of the Hercules theme as allegory. His *De laboribus Herculis* began as a

²¹ Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, IV, 7, tr. V. E. Watts (London: Penguin, 1969), 144–146.

²² *Aeneid*, VIII, 291.

²³ The writings of Prodicus have not survived, but he is quoted often in Plato, and in Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, 2, 21; Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, 32 (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1923 and 1913 respectively).

²⁴ Marcel Simon charts the medieval adoptions and adaptations of Hercules in *Hercule et le Christianisme* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1955).

²⁵ For a detailed discussion of these decorations see Marlis von Hessert, *Zum Bedeutungswandel der Herkules-Figur in Florenz* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1991) 7, 26–29 and 34–44. See also Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).



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commentary on Seneca's two Hercules plays, but it grew in scope, remaining unfinished at the time he died in 1406.²⁶ Nevertheless, his work was known and discussed in Florence from the 1390s onwards. He treats the entire Hercules myth as a celebration of man's capacities, focussing especially on the courageous pursuit of virtue and how this may raise man to the level of the stars, or rather to divinity.²⁷

In Ferrara, the revival of the name Hercules (Ercole d'Este, 1431–1505) produced a sudden vogue for representations of Hercules in the second half of the fifteenth century, with small bronzes by Bertoldo di Giovanni²⁸ and Antonio Pollaiuolo.²⁹ Pollaiuolo also produced Hercules pieces for Florence, including three large canvases of Hercules for the Medici palace which have not survived, but two small panels of tempera on wood are thought to be copies he made of them.³⁰ The *Hercules and Antaeus* bronze now in the Bargello Museum is also connected with this room.³¹

Thus it comes as no surprise to find Hercules as a champion or defender in the writings of the Florentine philosopher Marsilio Ficino. Ficino also found in Damascius, sixth-century commentator on Plato, ample justification for

²⁶ *De Laboribus Herculis*, ed. B. Ullman (Zürich: In aedibus Thesauri mundi, 1951). This was the first printed edition of the work, but it is known to have circulated in manuscript in Florence at the time. See R. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 217–219.

²⁷ *De laboribus Herculis*, passim. For discussion, see Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 212–226.

²⁸ See Wilhelm Bode, *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, tr. J. Haynes, 2nd ed. revised by F. L. Rudston Brown (London: Methuen, 1928), 185–187. Bode queries whether some of these are really Hercules or simply “wildmen.” One undoubted Hercules by Bertoldo is now in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, Inv. 64/89. See Hessert, *Zum Bedeutungswandel*, Plate 12. Another fine and unmistakable Hercules on horseback by Bertoldo is in the Galleria Estense in Modena, Inv. 2265. (illustrated in *Renaissance Florence: The Age of Lorenzo de' Medici 1449–92*, ed. Cristina Acidini-Luchinat (Milan: Edizioni Charta, 1993), 127.

²⁹ Now in the Frick Collection, New York, Accession no. 16.2.5. See Hessert, *Zum Bedeutungswandel*, Plate 13. Connections between Florence and Ferrara were strong, and between Ferrara and Hungary they became especially close after 1476, when Beatrix of Aragon, sister of Eleanora of Aragon, Ercole's wife, married King Matthias.

³⁰ Pollaiuolo's panels, *Hercules slaying the Hydra* and *Hercules and Antaeus*, are now in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence Inv. 1890, 8268 and 1890, 1478. See Patricia Lee Rubin and Alison Wright, *Renaissance Florence: the Art of the 1470s* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1999), 90. On the lost canvases, Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, tr. George Bull (London: Penguin, 1987), II, 75 and Hessert, *Zum Bedeutungswandel*, 51–53.

³¹ Rubin and Wright, *Renaissance Florence*, 91.



regarding Hercules as a figure representing liberation, a necessary step in the soul's proper journey through life and back to its homeland:

Like Kore, the soul descends into genesis, like Dionysus she is scattered by generation, like Prometheus and the Titans she is chained to the body. She frees herself by acquiring the strength of Hercules, gathers herself together through the help of Apollo and of Athena the Savior; i.e. by truly purifying philosophy, and she elevates herself to the causes of her being with Demeter.³²

Ficino attaches the name of Hercules to King Matthias in the very first letter he sends to him, the dedication of two books of his letters containing, amongst other things, his *Life of Plato* and some aids to the study of Plato.³³ Naturally, in considering how Ficino addresses the king, it is important to remember that he is not wholly exempt from the conventions of Renaissance oratory.³⁴ However, since the topic under discussion is itself a question of propaganda, it will be sufficient to look at the imagery and ideas that are being used.

Overtones of Transformation

Whereas Salutati had considered Hercules in a strictly republican setting, Ficino was quick to see the connection with kingship on a heroic scale. Ficino hardly travelled beyond the borders of the republican state of Florence and might be thought to have had little first-hand knowledge of kingship.³⁵ Yet it would be a

³² Ficino studied the manuscript of Olympiodorus and Damascius while preparing his *Platonic Theology* in the years prior to 1482. Although he ascribed the entire set of three commentaries to Olympiodorus, this section was later discovered to be by Damascius. *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, Vol. 2, Damascius, ed. L. G. Westerink, (Amsterdam, Oxford, New York: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1977) 81–82 (I, 130). I am grateful to Jozef Matula for providing this reference.

³³ See my “*Gloriam per saecula*: Marsilio Ficino and the Development of a Platonic Tradition in Hungary” in *Florentine Platonism and Central Europe*, ed. Jozef Matula (Olomouc: Palacky University Press, 2001), 11–29.

³⁴ On the whole Ficino is a relatively truthful writer. For a discussion of the problems see my “Aspects of Praise in Marsilio Ficino” in *Laus Platonici Philosophi*, ed. Stephen Clucas, Peter Forshaw and Valery Rees, (forthcoming).

³⁵ It is not clear whether he ever studied medicine in Bologna, as records are missing for the years in question. He certainly took some courses at the *studium* in Florence, and taught there in 1469. See Jonathan Davies, *Florence & its University during the Early Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 191–92. Ficino's own travels appear to have been



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mistake to consider his views to be limited by personal experience, for he lived in a remarkably cosmopolitan city. Not only was he deeply steeped in the philosophy and literature of two millennia, but the household of the Medici family to which he belonged was continually host to emissaries from all over Europe. In 1468, Ficino translated Dante's *Monarchia* from the Latin original into Italian for the benefit of his less educated friends.³⁶ He also explored the Platonic concept of a philosopher-king (which of course transcended political structures and could be applied to any leader) both through the study of Plato's words³⁷ and through direct dealings with the numerous princes to whose problems and challenges he addressed some of his finest letters.³⁸

In 1482, in a long letter on caring for the health of scholars that later became the first book of Ficino's *De vita* (published in 1489), he says that Hercules may be called upon by seekers of truth and wisdom to overcome the monsters that stand in their path.³⁹ In the *Apologia* which accompanied the *De vita*, Ficino called on his friends to defend the work, which had come under suspicion of heterodoxy for its discussions of talismans and magic. Poliziano is

restricted to the short distances between Florence and Careggi, Fiesole, Maiano, Celle for most of his mature years. For biographical information see Raymond Marcel, *Marsilio Ficino* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1958), 179–234, corrected by more recent information in Paolo Viti, “Documenti ignoti per la biografia di Marsilio Ficino” in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone: Studi e documenti*, ed. G. C. Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1986), I, 251–283 and *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone: Catalogo*, eds S. Gentile, S. Niccoli and P. Viti (Florence: Casa Editrice le Lettere, 1984), 165–201.

³⁶ The translation is dedicated to Bernardo del Nero and Antonio Manetti, both active participants in Florentine political life. Interestingly, in II, 9 Dante uses Hercules' struggle with Antaeus as the example for trial by combat where God has strengthened the weaker party. *Dante's Monarchia*, tr. Richard Kay (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 170.

³⁷ Ficino's interest in Plato began by 1456, even before he learned Greek. From 1462 he was working on the translations of Plato's dialogues for Cosimo de' Medici, and it remained a main platform of his work right through to the publication of the second edition of his complete translation of the entire works of Plato, with commentary, in 1496.

³⁸ See “Ficino's Advice to Princes” in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, his Philosophy, his Legacy*, ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees, with Martin Davies, Leiden: Brill, 2002, 339–357.

³⁹ *De Vita*, I, 7. See Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, ed. and tr. C. V. Kaske and J. R. Clark (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1989), 122–129. The “monsters” Ficino is referring to include apathy, melancholy, sexual distractions, gluttony and staying up too late at night!



now his “Hercules.”⁴⁰ Though Poliziano was not entirely happy with the epithet, it was clearly a term laden with meaning and associations for all concerned.⁴¹

In the preface to the second version of his commentary on Plato’s *Philebus* (1491), Ficino recalls Hercules’ choice at the crossroads between pleasure and virtue, observing that in choosing virtue he “was never happy among men, but vexed perpetually with the work of labours.”⁴² This may seem familiar to overburdened academics, and only to be expected in what Ficino often called “this malign region of the universe.”⁴³ But the search for happiness is a legitimate one, indeed it is the main theme of the *Philebus* commentary and of many of his other works. Philebus, unlike Hercules, has to choose between wisdom and pleasure, rather than virtue and pleasure; but Ficino combines the two in a threefold model of choice where the third, the life of pleasure, can be quickly dismissed as an unsatisfying option, and he indicates a leaning towards the contemplative life of wisdom rather than the active life of virtue. When the preface reappears in his collected *Letters*, it is in fact clearly labelled as a choice between the contemplative life, the active life, and the life of pleasure.⁴⁴ Hercules represents the active life, an entirely appropriate model for one aspect of kingship. Matthias’s role as bulwark and protector against the Turks renders it especially applicable.

But not far behind, in Ficino’s thoughts at least, is the accompanying idea of a philosopher-king, who strikes the balance between the contemplative and the active life that always eluded Hercules. As Cicero had pointed out, “it is more in accord with Nature to emulate the great Hercules and undergo the greatest toil and trouble for the sake of aiding or saving the world ... than to

⁴⁰ Kaske and Clark, *Three Books on Life*, 394–400.

⁴¹ For Poliziano’s view of the epithet see Jill Kraye, “Ficino in the Firing Line: A Renaissance Neoplatonist and His Critics” in *Marsilio Ficino: his Theology, his Philosophy, his Legacy*, 377–397, at 382.

⁴² Ficino produced an early version of this work in the 1460s for Cosimo de’ Medici. The later version was published in a printed edition in 1496. Michael J. B. Allen, *Marsilio Ficino: The Philebus Commentary*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975, reprinted Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 479–483.

⁴³ E.g. in *Letters*, 4, 12 and 40 (19 and 55).

⁴⁴ Ficino collected his letters into books, gave them titles, and circulated them in manuscript. The first printed edition was in Florence, 1495. Page references to the Latin are, however, generally to the Basel edition of his *Opera Omnia* of 1576 which is more widely available having been reprinted several times in Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus (1959, 1962, 1979, 1983) and in Paris: Phénix Editions (2000). This letter is entitled “Pallas, Iuno, Venus, vita contemplative, activa, voluptuosa,” Ficino, *Opera*, 919.



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live in seclusion.”⁴⁵ Thus Ficino kept Hercules as a model for kingly conduct. This is partly because, as even Cicero admits, there is nobility in service to one’s fellow human beings. But it is rather Boethius that Ficino has in mind, with his insistence that valour provides a path to the heavenly world. He cites Boethius on this no less than four times. The first is in a letter extolling the solar qualities of Hercules, who conquered his twelve labours as the sun daily conquers the twelve zodiacal signs.⁴⁶ In January, 1494, he quotes Boethius’s words in the *Apologia* for his *de Sole et Lumine* while galvanizing support against attacks on its content, and says that Filippo Valori often has these words on his lips. He adds that Hercules did his twelve labours “for true glory, and for the splendour of truth, which is the very office and duty of the Sun.”⁴⁷ Again in August, 1494, he uses Boethius’s words to rouse Poliziano to assist in the controversy that has arisen over his uses of astrology; the fourth time is in his commentary on Plato’s *Laches*, commending Herculean fortitude.⁴⁸

In the 1490s Ficino is clearly very engaged with solar properties. In the *Philebus* dedication mentioned above, where his purpose is to promote a way of life that combines virtue, pleasing gifts, and wisdom, it is a solar metaphor that unites them: the three goddesses Pallas, Juno, and Venus are all seen as being subject to Apollo, who himself symbolises light, life, and inner illumination.⁴⁹ Hercules by association is another symbol of solar power, just as mankind in general is said to be a solar being.⁵⁰

These solar gifts far outweigh any human shortcomings with which Hercules might be charged, a side less often alluded to in the Renaissance than by the more forthright Greeks, though Ficino, concerned with all aspects of the care of the soul, does at one point ask,

Is there anyone who, upon due reflection, is not truly astonished at
... how bravely Hercules, the bravest of the Gentiles, overcame every

⁴⁵ Cicero, *De Officiis*, III, 5.

⁴⁶ In Book X, which is not yet published in translation, *Opera*, 920–21. Undated, but from 1489. See also Michael J. B. Allen, “Homo ad zodiacum: Marsilio Ficino and the Boethian Hercules,” *Forma e parola: Studi in memoria di Fredi Chiappelli*, ed. by D. Dutschke, P. M. Forni et al. (Rome: Bulzoni 1992) 205–221, and reprinted in *Plato’s Third Eye: Studies in Marsilio Ficino’s Metaphysics and its Sources* (Aldershot & Brookfield VT: Variorum, 1995).

⁴⁷ Book XII, *Opera*, 949.

⁴⁸ Ficino, *Opera*, 1309.

⁴⁹ Ficino, *Opera*, 919–920 and see note 17 above.

⁵⁰ E.g. Ficino, *Opera*, 895, 908, 984; *De Vita*, III, 14; *De Amore*, IV, 4.



danger, no matter how great; yet how weakly he placed his neck under the yoke of pleasure?⁵¹

Thinking perhaps of Iole, or his feasting in the house of Admetus,⁵² Ficino observes that prosperity “fills men’s spirits with the breeze of abundance and that this abundance makes them unrestrained and neglectful.”⁵³ Pleasure is a danger not just because it may conceal future pain, but because it deflects us from the real path of life, yoking us to the world of the senses, and cutting us off from our appreciation of the divine. In the same year Ficino wrote to Antonio Cocci on patience, ranking the difficulties of acquiring that virtue as even greater than the labours of Hercules, and just as important, “for impatience alone causes adversities, which could relate merely to external things and to the body, to pass right through to the soul as well.”⁵⁴

The remedy, he suggests, is to remove our separation from God, which is done through love, the prime activity that links us in an unbroken circular flow between God and the creation. Even more than strength of intellect it is love that allows us to rise to our true stature. This is the only path that leads to “eternal life, full knowledge of all things, unlimited bounty, total service and perfect happiness.”⁵⁵

One of the most widely circulated of Ficino’s letters on the Hercules theme was the letter of 1477 to Giovanni Nesi, sent also to Lotterio Neroni and made accessible to a much wider audience through translation into Italian as one of the *Sermoni morali della stultitia e miseria degli uomini* published in 1478.⁵⁶ The letter, entitled “That the soul is immortal. And why, though it be divine, it often leads a life similar to that of a beast,” puts us firmly within the traditional Hercules ambit. It also echoes the principal concerns and the language of the opening sentences of *Theologia Platonica* of the same period, Ficino’s major work on the immortality of the soul, uniting the Christian and Platonic traditions.

Were there not within us divine power, and were our minds not of heavenly origin, we could in no way acknowledge the insufficiency of

⁵¹ *Letters*, 4, 49 (letter 34 c. 1478) The letter is entitled “Our use of prosperity is even more perverse than our use of adversity” and is addressed to two leading churchmen, Cardinal Riario and Archbishop Salviati.

⁵² In Euripides’ *Alcestis*, Hercules is the drunken guest until he finds out what has happened and rushes off to the burial ground to rescue Alcestis from Death.

⁵³ *Letters*, 4, 49.

⁵⁴ *Letters*, 4, 55 (Letter 40).

⁵⁵ *Letters*, 4, 56.

⁵⁶ Nesi was an educator, philosopher and influential man of affairs. Neroni was an old and trusted friend, excluded from public office but also influential.



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mortal things and we should certainly never reason beyond, or pursue anything above, the physical level. No one would exert himself at all, even in the smallest matter, to resist the body for we should be satisfied with earthly riches. And all men, or certainly the great majority, would rest content with this middle region of the universe as their natural birthplace and home. But as it is, since our condition is very different, I believe – and with no empty faith – that we are of divine origin. Yet if we are divine, why do we often lead a life similar to that of a beast?⁵⁷

Citing Plato's figure from *Republic*, 9, 588, he proposes that we are actually made up of one man and many beasts, some tame, some wild, the heart of a lion, and the form of a man. The man should have mastery, or he will be starved of life by the lion and the beasts:

he should tend the many-headed monster like a husbandman, cherishing the tame heads, giving them water and food, but instantly cutting off the wild ones, making the lion's nature his ally in this; and in common care of them all, he should reconcile each one with the others in mutual goodwill towards himself.⁵⁸

He links this with two other Platonic descriptions of the soul, the tripartite division of the soul in *Timaeus*, into reason, passion, and desire,⁵⁹ and the representation of reason as charioteer, controlling the other two powers of the soul as horses.⁶⁰ All this sets the scene for an allegorical explanation of three of the labours of Hercules:

Reason within us is called Hercules: he destroys Antaeus, that is the monstrous images of fantasy, when he lifts Antaeus up from the earth, that is, when he removes himself from the senses and physical images. He also subdues the lion, meaning that he curbs passion. He cuts down the Hydra with its many sprouting heads; that is he cuts off the force of desire which, as passion, is borne not into a few things, and those of great importance, but into anything whatsoever, or rather into innumerable things, by means of an insatiable whirlpool. But while our Hercules is cutting down the Hydra of the liver with his sword, heads instantly sprout again because the fuel for

⁵⁷ *Letters*, 3, 59 (Letter 27).

⁵⁸ *Letters*, 3, 60.

⁵⁹ Plato, *Timaeus*, 69C–72C.

⁶⁰ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246, 253DE.



new heads is still there. But when he consumes the Hydra by fire, he utterly destroys the fuel and so nothing is born from it again.⁶¹

The warning is not to cut off one sensual desire simply to feed another, because they will be endless. But the human being is not “a monster with more heads than Typhon, more full of fire and fury.” He is rather “a simpler and calmer being, sharing in some divine and favourable destiny, partaking in a quiet understanding.”⁶²

Whether Ficino considered the hero to have any special powers above and beyond the normal human being is worth considering for a moment. Ficino makes special pleading for heroes in two letters that he chose not to include in his published collection of letters, but which are preserved in manuscript.⁶³ Defending Pico della Mirandola after a notorious escapade involving another man’s wife, an armed chase and several people injured, he suggests that heroes are not subject to normal constraints of behaviour, being demi-gods. He is following the hierarchy of Iamblichus, in which heroes rank above normal souls, being “thoroughly superior in power and excellence, beauty and grandeur.”⁶⁴ His aim is clearly to bail Pico out of serious trouble by some sort of defence however fantastical, and he admits as much by casting the first of these letters as a fable. Far more important through the rest of his writings is his enthusiasm for that Iamblichan view that allows the ordinary, non-heroic, soul the capability of purification and participation in the highest levels of divinity.

So when Ficino calls Matthias “Hercules” in October 1480, when the Turkish threat seemed from the Italian perspective to be at its height, we can be reasonably sure that he meant it as praise of his already proven might and valour as a man of action, and as encouragement to further deeds of virtue that would bring him the stars. In the context of all the other correspondence that soon began to flow between Florence and Buda, such ideas of transformation and the starry heavens are particularly apt, though they were attendant upon the development of wisdom and contemplation, the strengthening of love and reason, the qualities of a Platonic contemplative rather than a muscular Hercules. But through his apotheosis, Hercules was able to stand as a symbol

⁶¹ *Letters*, 3, 61.

⁶² *Letters*, 3, 61 quoting Plato, *Phaedrus*, 230A.

⁶³ They have been included in the recent translation of the *Letters*, 7, 32–33 (Letters 27 and 28).

⁶⁴ Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, I, 5, tr. Emma Clarke, John Dillon and Jackson Hershbell (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Ficino sent Matthias translations of Iamblichus and other Neoplatonists as he completed them in 1488, and part of the Plotinus translation (which was not published in full until 1492).

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for both worlds, and in using the name of Hercules to address the king, Ficino is surely suggesting that such transformation is not beyond his reach. He considers the king to be a resourceful and charismatic human being who, like Hercules, is aware of his divine half. Though addressing him in 1480 as *felicissimo regi*,⁶⁵ Ficino more regularly adopts the formula *serenissimo Pannoniae regi Matthiae semper invicto*.⁶⁶ While one might ascribe this to conventions of court usage, it is at least possible that Ficino, who weighed his words with care, was making a deliberate choice reflecting his mental picture of the king. For *serenitas* was a quality ascribed to emperors, but was also the quality of the light of the heavenly realms, of the Elysian fields, clear, pure, and unclouded.⁶⁷ That is precisely the condition of the heart and mind that philosophy can bring if Matthias will follow the precepts of Ficino's teaching.

Themes of Transformation Echoed in Hungary

That Matthias had a real interest in such teachings seems beyond doubt. The image of him presented by Antonio Bonfini, presiding over philosophical discussions, pleased him greatly.⁶⁸ The invitation to Ficino to come and teach in Buda, where Matthias hoped to gather the most outstanding teachers of Europe, came through Nicholas Báthory, but appeared to have the personal approval and encouragement of the king.⁶⁹ His designs for a university have been much discussed, and his library displays an unmistakable commitment to higher learning, with philosophy well represented.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *Opera* 721, 1 October, 1480 (*Letters*, 2, Proem.).

⁶⁶ *Letters*, 7, 178, 181 (*Letters* 52 and 61), *Opera*, 896, 902. Reflected too in letters to Báthory and Bandini e.g., 3, 78 (Letter 39 written in 1479) and 7, 40 (Letter 30).

⁶⁷ The use of *serenitas* as a title appears to have been reserved for imperial honours in the medieval period. Its use in Classical times as a personal epithet suggests a person full of calm assurance, but it is applied more often to a clear, bright sky, as, for example, in Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 707.

⁶⁸ Antonio Bonfini, *Symposion de virginitate et pudicitia coniugali*, ed. S. Apró (Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1943). Although Bonfini wrote this before arriving in Hungary, he was both well-informed in advance, and well rewarded subsequently. See also Klára Pajorin, "La Rinascita del Simposio Antico e la Corte di Mattia Corvino" in *Italia e Ungheria all'epoca dell'umanesimo corviniano* ed. S. Graciotti e C. Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 179–227.

⁶⁹ See *Letters*, 3, 78–9 (Letter 39) and 7, 55 (Letter 48) for Ficino's response.

⁷⁰ The most recent discussion of Matthias's plans for a new university in Buda is in Alessandro Scafi, "Filarete e l'Ungheria: l'utopia universitaria di Mattia Corvino," in



In 1480, Ficino is asking Matthias to look upon the books he is sending “with the joyful and lively rays of your eyes,” so that they may be transformed into something “altogether brighter and more joyful.” He raises the idea of philosopher-king, and requests that the works of the Platonic tradition be restored to light and life through Matthias’s support, not only on the library shelves, but also in action. The letter ends by invoking divine blessing on all this, and a prophecy of unbounded power.⁷¹

The king’s interest in Ficino’s programme of personal transformation through philosophy is attested by continuing signs of favour both to Ficino himself and to Francesco Bandini, his friend and the king’s close personal adviser, which are mentioned in Ficino’s correspondence.⁷² It also underlies Matthias’s unrealised aims for the transformation of the city of Buda, including a model academy for the liberal arts.⁷³ The extraordinarily lavish home he had in mind for the liberal arts reflects the part each one of those arts had to play in the training of the mind and soul,⁷⁴ while the heart is attuned to love of God through praise and the practice of religion.⁷⁵ Ultimately, the intellect and the will must be united in their operation.

That Matthias also gladly embraced the Hercules symbolism is attested by the claims made by his historians Johannes Thuróczy and Antonio Bonfini for

Storia dell’arte, Florence: Nuova Italia Editrice 81, 1994, 137–169. See also Tibor Klaniczay “Egyetem Magyarországon Mátyás korában” in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 94, no. 5–6 (1990): 575–612. On his library, see Csaba Csapodi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1967; Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969, and revised Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1981); *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973.).

⁷¹ “On you alone almighty God will confer command without limit. That supreme God, who has appointed the Sun in the heavens as King of sky and stars, also appointed under the Sun Matthias alone, who should set Ocean as the shores of his sway and the stars as the limits of his glory.” Ficino draws on Virgil’s famous lines, regarded as allusions to the Emperor Augustus, *Aeneid*, I, 279 and 287, but he enlarges upon the solar metaphor.

⁷² See Ficino’s letters to Bandini in volumes 3, 5, 6, and 7, and note on 7, p. 190. Bandini’s letters to Ficino have not survived. His extant writings have been published by Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, I (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969), 395–435.

⁷³ See Scafi, “Filarete e l’Ungheria,” note 69 above.

⁷⁴ Ficino, *Letters*, 1, 189 (Letter 123).

⁷⁵ See especially *Letters*, 6, 32–34 (Letter 18) but also throughout the letters.



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direct descent from Hercules through Scythian blood.⁷⁶ It is also evident in the decorative schemes adopted for the two principal royal residences. At the castle in Buda, Bonfini describes three large bronze statues: two figures of heroes stood at the drawbridge of the gate, but the dominant figure was Hercules on a pedestal of red marble in the main ceremonial court.⁷⁷ The Hercules theme was continued in the main entrance to the palace. A double flight of stairs led up to an ornate marble doorway, with doors of bronze panels depicting the twelve labours of Hercules. By 1488 these doors also bore an epigram of Bonfini's own devising, claiming immortal fame for the king:

*Atria cum statuis ductis ex aere, foresque,
Corvini referunt principis ingenium.
Matthiam partos tot post ex hoste triumphos
Virtus, es, marmor, scripta, perire vetant.*⁷⁸

In the hall to which these doors led, on the ceiling, "the planets were dashing along wonderfully in their carts through the sky"⁷⁹ perhaps suggesting a continuation of the Hercules theme to the heavenly realm.

At the summer palace in Visegrád, the fountain of the main ceremonial courtyard features Hercules slaying the Lernaean hydra. By its novel conflation of two distinct episodes in the traditional Hercules canon, showing an infant Hercules grappling with a monster from his adult exploits, it perhaps also confirms that the conflation of the Herculean myth with that of the Christ child

⁷⁶ Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, ed. E. Galántai and J. Kristó, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985) vol. 1, I, 5, 26, based on *Herodotus*, IV, 9; Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, ed. I. Fögel, B. Iványi and L. Juhász (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1936), I, 1, 32.

⁷⁷ Bonfini, *Preface* to his translation of Antonius Averulinus *De Architectura*, also quoted in an excellent discussion of Matthias's artistic programme, Rózsa Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism in Hungary in the Age of Matthias Corvinus*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 123. Nothing survives of these three works of art which were taken by the Turks in 1526 and eventually melted down for ordnance.

⁷⁸ [Halls and gates with statues drawn out from bronze bring back the spirit of Corvinus. His virtue, bronze, marble and writings will not allow Matthias (and) so many triumphs won afterwards from the enemy to perish.] Bonfini, *Decades*, IV, 7. However, the immortality that Ficino speaks of is of a higher nature, closer to that expressed by Ovid for himself, echoing his own Hercules narration, "In my better part I shall be borne immortal far beyond the lofty stars and I shall have an undying name." *Metamorphoses*, XV, 875–6 tr. F. J. Miller.

⁷⁹ Bonfini, *Decades*, IV, 7.



is well and truly established.⁸⁰ The water spouting from the hydra's wounds is no longer the hydra's venom but as founts of water (or sometimes wine) has come to symbolise the abundance that flows from the valiant deeds of a human hero who remembers that the real homeland of his soul is in the supercelestial world, and who strives to return there.⁸¹

Finally it should not be forgotten that Matthias had earned great respect for his military achievements. They enabled him to claim the Hercules epithet for his own. He had established his rule against armed opposition, won back the crown from the emperor, gained significant victories in Bohemia and Austria, and by one means or another had succeeded in maintaining the border defences established by his father against the Turks, even though buffer states fell. Yet more significant for his reputation in Italy was the timely intervention of his troops in 1481 to free Otranto after a Turkish force had captured the town.

Hercules was not the only hero to whom Matthias liked to be compared: the military hero, Alexander the Great, was also a favourite. But no other hero possessed the wealth of multivalent qualities that I have tried to show were present in the image of Hercules, who therefore held a unique place in Matthias's self-fashioning. Matthias appears to have been a man of considerable intelligence and independent thinking, decisive and unafraid. A recent assessment of his character asserts that he always acted with "resolution, swiftness and determination," qualities well fitted to a Herculean image.⁸² Pál Engel further indicates a very real sense of transformation. At his accession, Matthias

found himself at the head of a disorganised, crisis-stricken kingdom. At his death, he was the highly respected ruler of a considerable empire. Yet it not his political achievement but his role as an open-handed patron of Renaissance art that best shows the inborn sovereignty of his personality.⁸³

This is why the question of self-fashioning is of real importance.

⁸⁰ The infant Hercules strangled two serpents in his cradle. Slaying the Lernaean hydra was one of the twelve labours he undertook for Eurystheus as an adult.

⁸¹ See Gergely Buzás, *The Hercules Fountain of Giovanni Dalmata*, 49–53. For the use of wine in the fountain channels, see Nicholas Olahus, *Hungaria*, ed. Colomannus Eperjesy and Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 11.

⁸² Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 299.

⁸³ Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 318.



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Conclusion

Ficino's Christian Platonism and the humanist-inspired decorative arts programme in Hungary combined to support the idea that Matthias was a king who combined unequalled strength and power in this world with a glorious immortality hereafter. This is a high ideal for kingship in any era, and certainly represents a transformation from the low esteem in which the monarchy was held before the election of Matthias, during the rebellions of his early years and again after his death. Without the force of his own personality, and his considerable skills as a ruler, the Hercules image would have carried no weight. That he was able to use the imagery of Hercules, with all its symbolic references, and to evoke praise rather than criticism from contemporaries in so doing is a mark of his success in transformation and self-fashioning.




Nomads at the Frontiers of Christian Europe





NOMADIC PEOPLES REVISITED

Balázs Nagy 

Although the study of Nomadic peoples and especially the Mongols has a long and impressive tradition in East Central European historiography, it still offers scholars fresh inspiration and new questions to be answered. This is manifested by the recent publications of monographs¹ and also by research topics submitted by new candidates applying to the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU and by a number of defended MA theses and ongoing PhD projects.²

The recently growing interest in the cohabitation and conflicts of different medieval civilizations has also given a new impetus to this field of study. This was well reflected in the attention the special thematic strand “Clashes of Cultures” raised at the International Medieval Congress held in Leeds in July 2004. This key topic was put forward on the occasion of the eight hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, but of course this subject provoked discussions on other similar questions as well, such as conflicts among different religions, peoples and social strata.

The CEU Department of Medieval Studies initiated sessions at the 2003 and 2004 International Medieval Congresses in connection with this issue. In the earlier congress in the session entitled “The current modeling of the Middle Ages: aspects of economic and social history,” the contributions concentrated on the dichotomy of destruction and reconstruction caused by the attack of the Tartars and on the interpretation of the devastation as an economic crisis. The 2004 sessions offered a much wider thematic overview. Papers included theoretical analyses of the effect of climatic changes on nomadic societies (Professor I. Blanchard), the role of the Cumans in the second Bulgarian state (A. Nikolov) and the Pechenegs in Byzantium (T. Krumova). Zsuzsanna Papp and the author of this introduction focused on the perception of the Tartars in English and Central European historiography.

The rising interest in the study of the interactions of Christian and nomadic societies in the Middle Ages is underlined by the fact that a recent volume of collected sources and essays on the Mongol invasion of Hungary

¹ István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and Pagans in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

² The preliminary results of some of them are published in the following thematic block.

published several new studies on the different aspects of the events.³ Here I would like to call our readers' attention especially to those contributions which represent new approaches to this old topic and were printed for the first time in this volume. Zsolt Barta investigated the survival of the memory of the invading Tartars in Hungarian folklore.⁴ Andrea Kiss examined the influence of climatic factors on military actions.⁵ József Laszlovszky surveyed the scarce archaeological evidence of the Mongol invasion of Hungary whereas Tünde Wehli used art historical material to shed light on the situation in mid-thirteenth-century Hungary.⁶

The study of the confrontation of the Mongol and other nomadic armies with the Christian societies of medieval Europe is still a rewarding research topic for a historian at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Although the course of the military events has been accurately reconstructed by historiography from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, there are still plenty of issues to be clarified and new questions may provoke new approaches to the matter. Another favorable aspect of this field of study is the relative abundance of written sources. Besides a good number of narrative sources the collections of contemporary correspondence create a source base that could be used more extensively in the future. The advance of the Mongols to the borderland of mid-thirteenth-century Christian Europe caused a significant wave of communication, not only between royal courts, but also among monastic communities and other smaller social units. The Tartars' incursion affected several smaller historical regions of Eastern and East Central Europe, among others Kievan Rus', Little Poland, Silesia and Hungary. Comparative studies would be welcome to shed better light on the different effects of these campaigns.

The following collection of essays discussing different aspects of the history of the Nomadic peoples in the *longue durée* perspective may give further impulse to research in the future. There is still much to be learnt about this issue.

³ Balázs Nagy, ed., *A tatárjárás* (The Mongol invasion) (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).

⁴ "A magyarországi tatárjárás legendáriuma" (The legends of the Mongol invasion of Hungary) 300–307.

⁵ "Ecce, in hyemis nivis et glaciei habundantia supervenit..." – Időjárás, környezeti krízis és a tatárjárás" (Weather conditions, environmental crisis and the Mongol invasion), 439–452.

⁶ József Laszlovszky, "A tatárjárás és a régészet" (The Mongol invasion and archaeology) 453–468; Tünde Wehli, "A magyarországi művészet helyzete a tatárjárás körüli években" (The situation of art in Hungary in the years around the Mongol invasion), 468–483.



CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE NOMADIC SOCIETIES OF THE TRANS-PONTINE STEPPE¹

Ian Blanchard 

Until their confinement on reservations and eradication by the Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the nomadic peoples occupying the extensive pastoral lands of the Trans-Pontine Steppe had enjoyed a long-established, environmentally-determined, high-productivity economic regime² and stable form of social structure. Its organisation was, at root, resource based in character. In the extensive grasslands stretching eastward from the Carpathians to the Urals and beyond, forces, transmuted into soft and subtle influences in the temperate environment of Western Europe, stood out in stark relief in what was essentially a climatically marginal area. Each change in temperature and precipitation, which resulted from a cyclical movement of the characteristic Central Asian summer low-pressure weather-system and a counter-cyclical process of climatic change in the lands of Khorāsān, south of the Māzandarān uplands, altered dramatically the economic potential of the region and the relationship of the indigenous populations to their environment.³ Successive climatic cycles, spanning the period c. 950–1450, accordingly witnessed dramatic changes within the nomadic societies occupying the lands of the western Trans-Pontine steppe. Environmental changes were at the root of these conjunctural changes in the nomadic societies.⁴

¹ This article is an edited version of the paper given at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2004, under the same title.

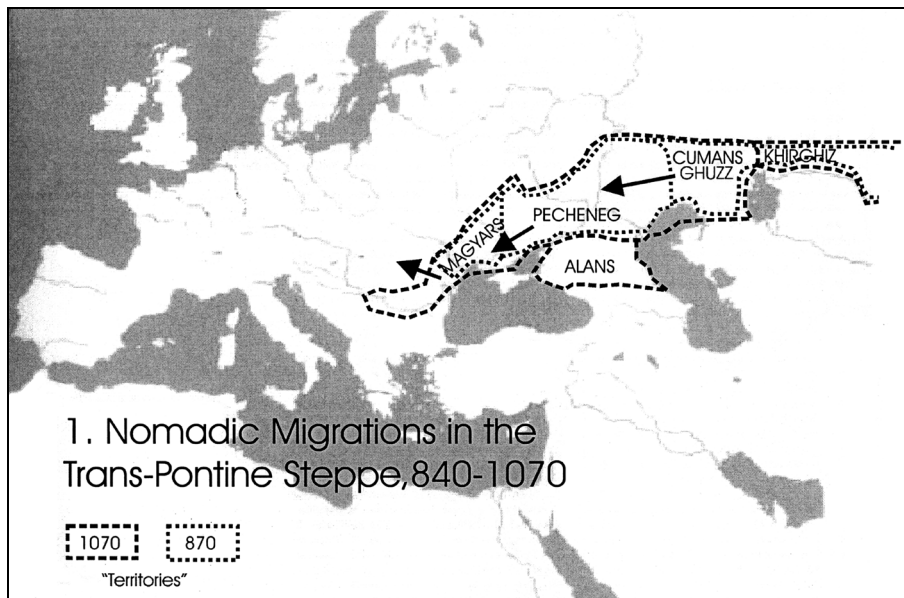
² Ian Blanchard, *Russia's 'Age of Silver'. Precious Metal Production and Economic Growth in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 222–224.

³ On patterns of climatic change see Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*, four volumes, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001–), Vol. 1. *Asiatic Supremacy, 425–1125*, chapter 3, 37–102 (henceforth: Blanchard, *Mining*).

⁴ The description is based, unless otherwise stated, on materials contained in the monumental H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, 4 parts in 5 vols (London, 1878–1927). The successive phases of climatic cycles are indicated in the following manner: the indication of the period of amelioration (e.g. 1335/60) is followed by the terminal date (e.g. 1411) of the phase of deterioration.

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The Climatic-Economic Cycle of 850–950/1070 (*Map 1*)



During the years 850–950, the Central Asian summer low-pressure weather system began on the first stage of a movement towards the south. This caused a climatic deterioration in the lands of the Mongolian steppe and that region was accordingly thrown into a state of turmoil with repercussions which were to be felt far to the west. In the Asiatic steppe lands, the approach of the new phase of climatic change was heralded in 840 by the defeat and decimation of the eastern (Uyghur) Horde of the T'u-chüeh on the Orkhon by the Kirghiz. The remnants of the erstwhile Uyghur horde scattered in various directions. Towards 860, one group displaced the Tibetans at the garrison town of Panjikath (Bish-Baliq or Pei-t'ing), and adopting the name of "Toghuzghuz" established themselves in the eastern T'ien-shan.⁵ Carrying forward their attack on the Tibetans, they took from the latter during the years 860–873 Si-chou (Yarkhoto) and Lun-

⁵ V. V. Bartold, *Ocherk' istorii Semirech'ya* (Essay on the History of the Semirechyé) (Verniy: Pamyatnaya knizhka Semirechenskago oblastnovo statisticheskago komiteta na 1898, t. 2. 1898), reprinted with corrections and an introduction by A. N. Bernstam, Frunze, 1944. An English translation by V. and T. Minorsky entitled *History of the Semirechyé* was published in V. V. Bartold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (Leiden, 1956), 15. (Russian Translation Project Series of the American Council of Learned Societies, XVIII).



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t'ai (Urumchi).⁶ They thereby created a kingdom which spanned both northern and southern slopes of the eastern T'ien-shan. The chief group of Uyghurs seems in 844 to have gone to Kan-Su. At a later date it was found in Kan-chu where it gained recognition from the Chinese Emperor Hsüan (847–859). The rest retreated to Tibet and An-hsi. No less significantly, the Kirghiz in the aftermath of their victory on the Orkhon occupied the former Uyghur territories, extending from the Altai in the west to China in the east and penetrating deep into the lands of the Toghuzghuz and Qarluq in the south.

This resulted in a displacement of other indigenous peoples in a southward and westward direction. Pressed by the Kirghiz from the north and by the fleeing Uyghurs from the east and weakened by protracted struggles with them and the Yaghmā (Qarakhanids), the Qarluq finally, towards the end of the prevailing phase of the climatic cycle in 943 succumbed. From that time they were merged into the Qarakhanids' rapidly expanding "empire." To the west the Kirghiz pressed on the Kimäk, a Western Siberian people, living north of the Irtysh up to the Ob. As a result the Kimäk began themselves to press on the eastern borderlands of the Rūs in the Ural mountains.⁷ Similar pressure was exerted by the Kirghiz on the Ghūz, a nomadic people who already in the mid-eighth century, when the Qarluq had taken the Semirech'ye, had been displaced westward towards the Yayıq (Ural) River, beyond which lay the lands of the Pechenegs. In 893, however, simultaneously with the Khazars, they attacked the Pechenegs, who were driven out of their "territory." The Pechenegs' lands were then occupied by the Ghūz. By the close of the prevailing phase of climatic change accordingly the lands of the Ghūz extended between the Irtysh, where the "Wooden Village" marked their frontier with the Kimäk,⁸ the Volga, the Caspian and Dih-i nau on the Jaxartes (Amu-Darya), the winter residence of the Ghūz king.⁹ They even, when the river was frozen, raided across the Volga.¹⁰

⁶ "T'ang-shu," (History of the T'ang Dynasty), transl. Iakinf Bichurin, in *Sobraniye svedeniy po istoricheskoi geografii Vostochnoi i Sredinnoi Azii*, (Collection of Information concerning the Historical Geography of Eastern and Central Asia) ed. L. N. Gumilev and M. F. Khvan (Chegboksary, 1960), I, 424.

⁷ *Hudud al-'Alam*. "The Regions of the World." *A Persian Geography 372 AH-982 AD*. Tr. and explained by V. Minorsky with a preface by V. V. Bartold (Oxford: E J W Gibb Memorial. New Series, XI. 1937), § 5/19.

⁸ *Hudud al-'Alam*, § 6/42, 18/5.

⁹ *Hudud al-'Alam*, § 26/29; Ibn Hauqal, Abu al Quasim, *Kitab Surat al-ard* (Configuration of the Earth), intro. and tr. into French by G. Wiet and J. H. Kramers, 2 vols (Paris: Collection UNESCO d'oeuvres représentatives. Série arabe, 1964), II, 462.

Their new neighbours to the north, the Bashqirds, were accordingly forced to maintain constant patrols to prevent their encroachment into their territories. The Pechenegs,¹¹ driven out of their “territory” between the Volga and Ural rivers, settled in a new country located somewhere to the north of the Azov Sea, shunting its previous residents, the Magyars, westward to new lands called Atelkuzu/Etelköz (“between the rivers”) stretching between the Dnepr and Sereth rivers. Shortly before 900, however, a new advance by the Pechenegs pushed the Magyars beyond the Carpathians. This allowed the Pechenegs to take possession of lands extending from a place opposite Distra¹² on the lower Danube in the west to Sarkel, the Khazar fortress on the Don in the east.

The continuing southward movement of the prevailing weather-system during the years 950–1080 and resultant deepening of the climatic crisis in the Semirech’ye and Mongolian steppe threw the whole of that region into turmoil. To the north, the great empire of the Kirghiz lasted until about 917, when the K’itai united under their aegis northern China and Mongolia. In Sinkiang equally fundamental political changes were taking place which signalled the demise of the existing Tibetan hegemony over the region. The focus of this threat to the Tibetan hegemony lay in the lands of Yaghmā. These were in the tenth century located in the Central- and Western T’ien-shan.¹³ In 943 the Yaghmā, at the head of a confederate army, including Chigil and Tukhsi, had conquered Balāsāghūn in the Chu valley and invaded Transoxania.¹⁴ As a result the resident Qarluq had then been merged into the new kingdom whose *Ordu-kand* (army cantonments) lay at Kāshgar.¹⁵ By the reign of Satuq in the 990s the Yaghmā were waging war with the king of Khotan. The mention of their presence on the road between Kāshgar to Khotan at that time, moreover, may, be a portent of their final absorption of the latter place towards 1000.¹⁶ With the final submission of Khotan the Tibetans had finally been forced to retreat beyond their pre-800 frontiers. The Yaghmā, whose rulers now adopted the title Ilāk- or Qara-khans, established there hegemony not only over the Transoxanian lands

¹⁰ Al-Mas’udī, Abu al-Hasan ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī, *Kitāb muruj al-dhahab, wa-ma’adin al-jawahir* (Meadows of Gold), tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Les prairies d’or* (Paris, 1861), II, 49.

¹¹ C. A. Macartney, “The Pechenegs,” *The Slavonic Review* 8 (1929), 342–353.

¹² Distra=Durustulum=Silistria.

¹³ *Hudud al-‘Alam*, § 6/21.

¹⁴ Nizam al-Mulk, *Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat nama*, (The Book of Government or Rules of Kings) transl. into English by Hubert Darke, third edition (London, 2002), 215, 218.

¹⁵ Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (London, 1907), 47–72.

¹⁶ *Hudud al-‘Alam*, § 9/18, 11/20.



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north of the T'ien-shan, but also over the erstwhile Tibetan possessions in the western Sinkiang and all along the new Tibetan frontier, south of the Tarim river. By 990 the Saminids of Mawara'an-nahr were hard pressed by the Qarakhanids and in 999 the army, led by its Turkish-general, revolted, overthrew their Saminid master and seized the vacant throne-establishing the Ghaznavid dynasty (999–1055). A new political order had been created in the lands of the Asiatic steppe.

No less significant were the changes taking place in the Trans-Pontine steppe. At the close of the previous stage of the climatic cycle in ca. 950 the Principality of Kiev (Kūyāba) had reached the apogee of its power, when it came to occupy the whole of the territory between the Danube and Don. The Kievan duke Sviatoslav then in 963 captured the Khazar fortress of Sarkel, before in 968/9 marching along the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov to the Caucasus and Itil and other Khazar cities where he defeated the Khazar army and plundered the country.¹⁷ The Rūs subdued all the peoples on the river Itil (Volga) such as Khazar, Bulghār and Burtās. All the people of the town of Itil fled. Some went to the island of Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend), others of them to the island of Siyāhkwāh in the Caspian Sea.¹⁸ In the political vacuum created by the collapse of Khazar power, moreover, a diminutive Rūs settlement—Tmutarakan (Maṛarha)—located in the vicinity of present-day Rostov-on-Don, replaced Samkird, becoming the military and commercial base of a new Rūs Khanate. It is most probably from this base that the Rūs, taking the road through the Don and Volga rivers, undertook their incursions on the coast of the Caspian Sea. In 987/8 they appeared near the town of Bāb al-Abwāb to support the Muslim āmir of the town against his opponents.¹⁹ In 1030–1032 they attacked the Muslim principalities in Transcaucasia where they penetrated as far as Baku.²⁰ The impetus of Rūs expansionism thus continued, in spite of Sviatoslav's ignominious death in a Pecheneg ambush in 972, but the onus of maintaining it passed on that occasion to the Rūs Khanate of Tmutarakan. The events of 972, however, revealed the fragile nature of the Rūs "polity." It seems to have comprised little more than a loose confederacy, embracing in the mid-tenth century Novgorod, Kiev and Tmutarakan, which could trace its ancestry to the time of Oleg and Igor. As the deepening of the climatic crisis undermined the pastoral base of the northern Trans-Pontine steppe, moreover, internecine

¹⁷ G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia* (Oxford: 1959), 274.

¹⁸ Ibn Hauqal, *Kitāb Surāt al-ard*, II, 384.

¹⁹ V. Minorsky, *Istoriya Shirvana i Derbenda* (History of Shirvan and Derbend) (Moscow, 1963), 21.

²⁰ Minorsky, *Istoriya*, 23.



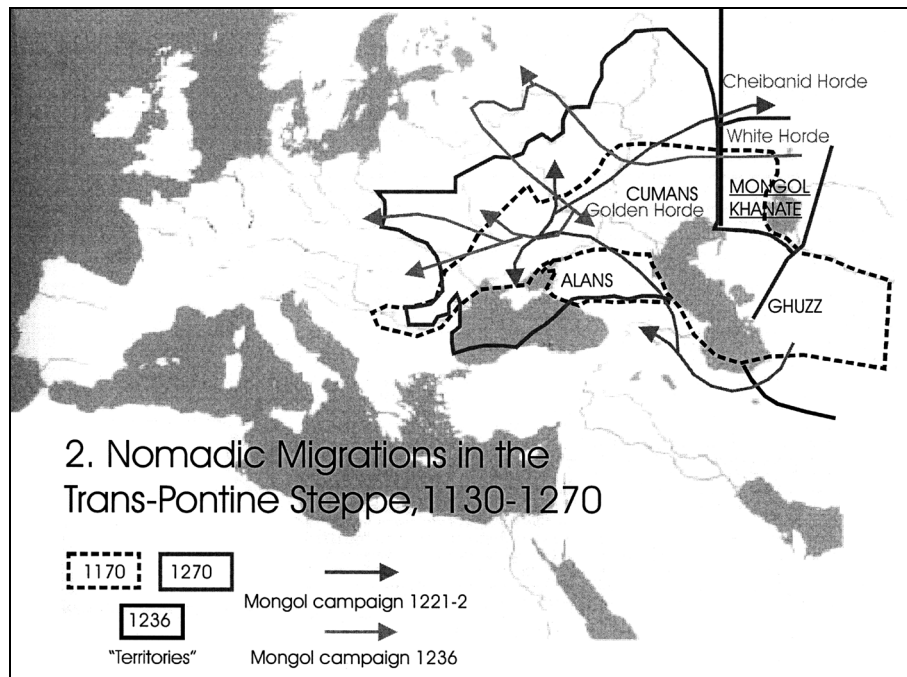
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struggles tended to tear that “polity” apart. On the death of St. Vladimir in 1015, the region descended into a state of warfare. Peace was only achieved in 1024 by the division of the country between the princes of Novgorod and Chernigov—the latter also holding Tmutarakan—while the backwater of Polotsk retained its independence. Unity was ephemerally restored in 1036 when the prince of Chernigov died. It only lasted, however, eighteen years until 1054, during which time the principalities comprising the Rūs “polity” were theoretically ranked in a strict order, with the Great Principality of Kiev taking precedence and exerting a degree of overall control which varied with the personality of the incumbent. In such circumstances the “territory” of the Rūs fell prey to foreign incursions. Whilst the Rūs tore themselves apart, the Trans-Pontine steppe lands became the object of Byzantine imperial ambitions with the aim of securing control over the Black Sea. Parallel with its elimination of the West-Bulghār “empire” in 1018 and the subjugation of the South Slavs on its North-western borders, Byzantium conquered in 1016 the Crimea, and in 1022 annexed the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan.

Far more ominous for both these Byzantines and the Rūs populations of the Trans-Pontine steppe, however, were the events of 1037, when a clan of mercenary Ghūz revolted from Ghaznavid employ. A new power—the Seljuk Turk—had been born. By 1055 they had expelled the Ghaznavids from Persia and had conquered the Buwayyids. Their appetite for war and conquest unabated, both the Byzantines, who were unable to prevent the loss of Transcaucasia, and the Fatimids, whose Syrian dependencies were invaded, watched their eastern frontiers with concern. Repeated raiding of Byzantine Armenia by the Seljuk Sultan, Alp Aslan, stimulated an Imperial response, but in 1071 at the battle of Manzikert, in which the Rūs fought alongside the Imperial forces, the Byzantine army was totally destroyed. There was now no-one to oppose the Seljuk advance and only the Bosphorus saved the Empire, whilst the Turkish tribes, bypassing the Armenians of the uninviting Taurus, flooded into Anatolia, filling the vacuum that Manzikert had created. The history of the Ghūz cannot, however, be monopolized by the story of the Seljuk clan’s activities, for in 1060 the main, heathen part, of the Horde moved into the Trans-Pontine steppe, pushing the Pechenegs before them and in 1068 defeating the southern Rūs princes. As the century drew to its close, the “Cumans,” as the Ghūz were called by the Byzantines, destroyed Tmutarakan and their belligerence threatened the prosperity even more than security of the cities of the southern Trans-Pontine steppes.



The Climatic-Economic Cycle of 1130/70–1250 (*Map 2*)



As the characteristic Central Asian summer low-pressure weather-system again moved northward during the years 1130/70–1170, increased rainfall resulted in more verdant grass growth to Mongolia, the Semirech'ye and the Trans-Pontine steppe. At the same time there seems to have been a countervailing movement in the weather system of Khorāsān, as an environment of increased rainfall and vegetation growth progressively moved southward, bringing new life to the margins of the "Great Desert" (Dasht-e-Kavīr). In these circumstances the martial instincts of the nomadic peoples of the region—the "Cumans," whose "territories" extended from the Aral Sea to the Carpathians, and the Pechenegs on the Lower Danube before their destruction at the hands of the Byzantines in 1122, were curbed. They now engaged in a buoyant animal husbandry and active livestock trade and from reciprocal access to the "Great Silk Road" which during the years 950/1030–1230 again passed due west from China, traversing through Mānisā (Turkmenia) and Tukharistan (northern Khorāsān). It then skirted the southern shores of the Caspian, before entering the eastern marches of the Byzantine Empire en route to Constantinople. At Tukharistan, some merchants turned due south. After taking passage through one of the passes of



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the Hindu Kush, they arrived at the Indus Delta to lade their wares on ships bound for the Persian Gulf, from whence they were transported either across Mesopotamia to Armenia and Byzantium or to the Red Sea and Egypt. Amongst these traders' wares, however, there was now but little Central Asian silver. With the collapse of mining production there they carried gold, which, as the debasement of the Transoxanian coinage fostered a major eastward export boom, flowed from China to Central Asia, and from thence was transported either south to India or west to the Caliphate and Byzantium. At Byzantium by ca. 1085 supplies of such gold were sufficient for the Emperor Alexius I to once more mint a restored nomisma—the hyperpyron (= "pure"). This enjoyed a wide circulation not only in the lands of the truncated Empire, but also in the lands of the Pecheneg and "Cuman" beyond.²¹

When, however, during the years 1170–1250/70 the characteristic Central Asian summer low-pressure weather-system again moved southwards, diminished precipitation resulted in an increased aridity in Mongolia, the Semirech'ye and the Trans-Pontine steppe. At the same time there seems to have been a countervailing movement in the weather system of Khorāsān, as an environment of declining rainfall and vegetation growth pervaded the margins of the "Great Desert" (Dasht-e-Kavīr). Once again this resulted in the development of internecine struggles for the available sparse grasslands of Mongolia and, at the beginning of the thirteenth century the emergence of a new power there, the creation of the Mongol chief, Temujin, who fused the warring tribes into a formidable fighting machine. This was initially deployed to make in 1211–1213 deep incursions into China and to undertake in 1217 the annexation of the Kara-Khitai Khanate. Then in two merciless campaigns in 1220 and 1221, he smashed the Khwarizm Shahdom. During this latter war, moreover, he detached a corps under Subutai and Chepe westward, which utterly defeated Georgians, Alans, Cumans and the south Russian princes in 1221–1222. On Temujin's death in 1227, these latter gains were abandoned. His "empire", which stretched from Korea to Persia, however, continued intact and from this base yet another campaign was mounted in 1236 by Ogotai Khan westward. One after the other the Volga Bulgars (1237), the great Principality of Vladimir (1238), the Cuman and Alan (1239) and the south Russian principalities (1240) were overrun. Then the Mongol Army split in two. The northern force defeated the Poles and the Teutonic Knights, the southern the Hungarians; but no permanent conquest was made as the Mongols withdrew on the death of their Khan. Disputes arose over the succession and Batu led the army back to their old base on the Lower Volga in the winter of 1242/3. From here he held sway over the wide

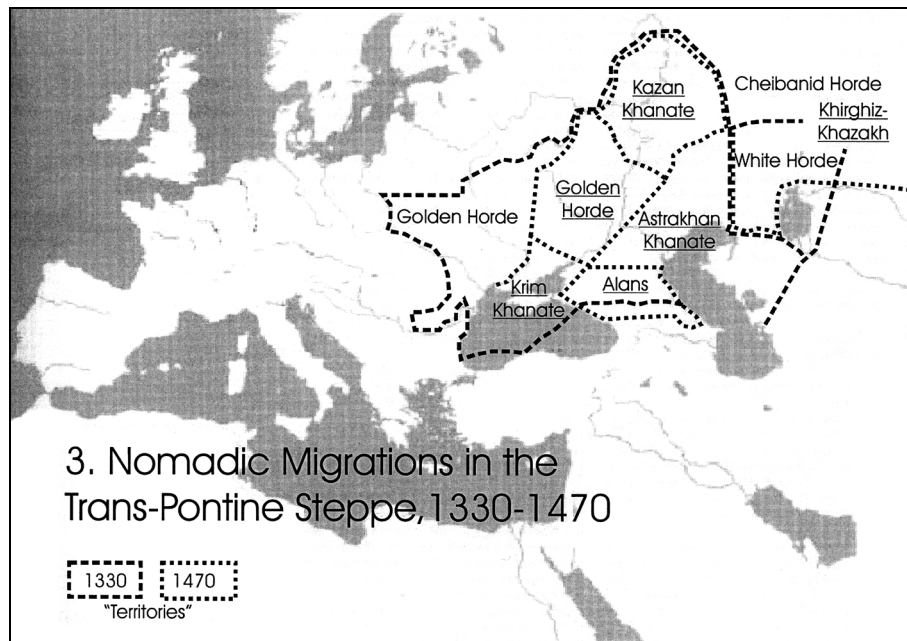
²¹ Blanchard, *Mining*, vol. I, 274–292, 307–334.



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steppes of the “Cumans,” which became his camping grounds, whilst the various Russian princes became his tributaries, *de facto* independence of the “Golden Horde” becoming *de jure* on the death in 1259 of Möngke Khan.

The Climatic-Economic Cycle of 1260/1360–1486 (Map 3)



Thereafter, as climatic amelioration produced a verdant grazing in the lands of the “Cuman” Steppe, successive khans, Bereke (d. 1265), Mangu Timor (d. 1280), Toktu (d.1313) Uzbeg Khan (1313–1340) and his son Janibeg (1340–1357), were able to maintain their overlordship over the Golden Horde. Its constituent tribes continued to pasture the whole territory of the Volga–Don between the Caspian on the south and the town of Ukek located on the former border of Bulghar, a territory contemporaneously occupied by Chuvashes, Cheremises, Votiaks and Mordvins, on the north. As such, the horde continued to form a unitary whole at least until ca. 1360. Then, as local disputes over grazing rights wrought internecine tensions and a new spirit of independence amongst the constituent khanates the whole edifice fell apart, opening the way for Timur’s invasion of these lands. His expeditions in search of plunder and fame, in 1387, 1389, and 1395, wrought havoc in the lands of the western steppe



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and the wholesale displacement of their inhabitants by members of the “White Horde” passing westward in the wake of the conqueror.

From ca. 1437–1486, moreover, as further local disputes over grazing rights wrought internecine tensions and a new spirit of independence amongst the constituent khanates, the whole edifice fell apart. A misguided attempt by Ulugh Mohammed to dissipate these tensions by encouraging foreign adventures, moreover, merely served to accelerate the descent into anarchy. Dispatching one Nurus, son of Idiku, to liaise with his rival, Kuchuk Mohammed, in a southern campaign, he created a formidable fighting force. This force, having marched on Astrakhan then proceeded by way of the Don steppe to the Sea of Azov and returned to Serai where they defeated their overlord, allowing Kuchuk Mohammed to displace his erstwhile master. The reality of the new ruler’s position as head of the ‘Golden Horde’ was, however, very different from that of his predecessor. His true power base, and subsequently that of his family, was largely restricted to Serai-Astrakhan, two of the six autonomous khanates which came to dominate the steppe at this time. Ulugh Mohammed, following his defeat in 1438 laid the foundations of another. Fleeing before his conqueror he sought Lithuanian protection in present-day Tula before again traversing the country, to pass through the lands of the Mordvins and settle at Kazan, where he ruled until his son Mahmudek murdered him in 1446.

This act of patricide again served to throw the newly reformed khanate into turmoil. Civil war prevailed. Mahmudek successfully secured his position and that of his family. Two of his brothers, however, were forced to flee to Cherkask and Muscovy, becoming staunch allies of the Russians and in 1452 acquiring Gorodetz on the Oka in Ryazan where they formed the small independent Kasimov khanate. To the south of this khanate there was another at this time, occupying the lands between the Dnepr and Don, which was ruled over by one Seyid Ahmed (ca. 1438–1455), son of Tash Timur and brother of Hadj Girai, who introduced the Nogais to this region and Europe. Here the khan and subsequently one of his sons, Maniak, with their allies pursued a glorious but relatively short course before the horde was extinguished in the 1470s, its remnants together with its erstwhile Nogais allies henceforth becoming assimilated into the Astrakhan horde. The lands on the right bank of the Don which they vacated were now incorporated into the ‘territories’ of the Serai-Astrakhan hordes who at this time wandered from steppe to steppe, sometimes on the borders of the Dnepr, sometimes in Circassia near the Kuma river. With the descendants of Ulugh Mohammed fully occupied in the North, the Serai-Astrakhan hordes during the closing years of the climatic-economic cycle had once more established their hegemony over the steppe. They even



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actively intervened into the affairs of the last of the independent hordes born of the fifteenth-century crisis recession—the Krim tartars.

This independent khanate, the creation of Hadj Girai, a son of Tash Timur and nephew of Ulugh Mohammed,²² due to internal politics, played little part in the changes taking place on the steppe to the north during the years ca. 1437–1486. Under its founder, who was little more than a protégé of Vytautas of Lithuania and after his death in 1430 a faithful friend of his successors Lwładislas and Casimir,²³ the khan's attention was primarily focussed on the Crimea, then a Genoese possession, to the south of the horde's grazing lands. On occasion, as in 1442, this involved him in military posturing²⁴ but normally during his reign (d. 1466) and those of his sons (Nuraulet, 1466–9 and 1473–4; Mengli Girai, 1469–1473, 1478–1485) manoeuvring, within or without the prevailing Genoese polity, sufficed to achieve their objectives. By the accession of Mengli Girai, this polity had long before established a stable form. Kaffa was governed by a consul sent annually from Genoa who administered the colony with the help of two locally-elected councillors. The neighbouring district was, however, ruled by four judges. They were subject to an official appointed by the khan. It was through this latter post, accordingly, that the khan exerted his influence within the Crimea and, as events in 1474 were to prove, it was also a post through which external influence could be brought to bear on the affairs of the region. In that year the incumbent of the office, Mamai, had died, setting in motion a tri-partite struggle for control. In the event the incumbent's son, Seidek, was elected to the post but not for long. Almost immediately the khan's brother Haidar removed Seidek from office and blockaded Kaffa, seizing two Genoese vessels on their way to raise the siege of the city.²⁵ Yet even as negotiations were underway in relation to this bi-partisan struggle, it was submerged in world politics. In the next year Eminek and his partisans, who had been supported as candidate by the khan before being dropped in favour of Haidar's protégé, Kara Murza, acknowledged Turkish suzerainty, prompting an

²² J. Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der M. Russland*. (Pest–Vienna, 1840), 399–400; *Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes* edited, translated and annotated by V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, 2 vols (St. Petersburg, 1860–1862), I, 44.

²³ V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, *Scheref-nameh*, I, 21.

²⁴ Stritter, J G Freiherr von, *Izvestiia vizantiiskikh istorikov ob iznaniushchiiu rossiiskuiu istoriiu drevnikh vremen i pereseleniia narodov* (Information of Byzantine historians about Russian history in ancient times and the migration of its peoples) 4 vols (St. Petersburg, 1770–1775), III, 1189; S. Siestrzencewicz-Bohucz, *Histoire de la Tauride* (Brunswick, 1800), 331.

²⁵ Siestrzencewicz-Bohucz, *Histoire de la Tauride*, 333–5.



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invasion of the Crimea. The capture of Kaffa was quickly followed by the fall of Sudak, Balaklava and Inkermann.²⁶ Tana, a mart of the Venetians, was pillaged and razed and Mengli was transported to Constantinople.²⁷ The political order was transformed. Previously the Tartars were suzerains of the Genoese but not occupants of the Crimea: their camps were located outside of the peninsula, the chief one being near Perekop. Now they reigned supreme over both the peninsula and the steppe. During the subsequent decade, however, that control was more nominal than real. In 1476–8 Ahmed of the ‘Golden Horde’ managed to insert one of his nephews, Janibeg, on the throne of the khanate, and even though the latter was then expelled by Mengli, in 1485 the Crimea was once again overrun by the troops of the Golden Horde.²⁸ In spite of the dramatic events of 1474–5, which were chronicled all over Christendom, the Krim khanate was in reality only a marginal player in the events, which during the years from ca. 1437–86 were transforming the economy of the trans-Pontine steppe.

Throughout the period ca. 1437–86 as enhanced aridity resulted in increasingly sparse grazing, a new spirit of independence pervaded the khanates of the steppe. Each ruler attempted to extend the nomadic wanderings of his horde, and, as peoples encroached on each other’s “territories,” increased martial activity ensued which soon evolved into an economic pursuit in its own right.

For most of this period Seyid Ahmed and Kuchuk Mohammed dominated the increasingly sparse steppe grazings. In 1434 they ruled conjointly therein under the overlordship of the khan Ulugh Mohammed and from 1438 maintained co-operative but independent lordships over their lands, which marched together along the line of the Don. Their positions within these territories were largely unassailable. In 1455, however, Haji Girai intercepted Seyid Ahmed, returning from a raid towards Podolia. He was defeated and forced to retire. The great khan was then handed over by his Lithuanian “friends” to the Poles who imprisoned him at Kovno. He died miserably there

²⁶ N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva rossiiskogo* (History of the Russian State) (Moscow, 1988, VI, gl. VI, 107).

²⁷ Veliaminov-Zernov, *Scheref-nameh*, 8.

²⁸ “De l’histoire des khans de Crimée, depuis l’an 880 jusqu’à l’an 1198 de l’hégire,” tr. M. Kazimirski; revu par M. Amédée Jaubert. *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* 12 (Oct. 1833): 353–5; *Travels to Tana and Persia by Joseph Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, tr. from the Italian by William Thomas and S. A. Roy and edited, with an introduction by Lord Stanley of Alderley (London: Hakluyt Society, XLIX, 1873), 30.



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in that year.²⁹ In the power vacuum created by the death of Seyid Ahmed, the other hordes now tried to gain advantage.

The incursion of the Krim Tartars in 1455 developed in the 1460s into a protracted struggle on the banks of the Don between Haji Girai and Kuchuk Mohammed's successor, Ahmed khan. This conflict was further complicated in 1472 by the intervention of Daniyar, the son and successor of Kasim the founder of the Kasimov khanate. In 1474–6, however, internecine struggles in the Crimea removed any threat from that quarter.³⁰ Accordingly, it was Ahmed khan who carried the day. During the closing years of his rule and in the reigns of his sons the lands on the right bank of the Don, which had been vacated on the disintegration of the western horde, were incorporated into the "territories" of the Serai-Astrakhan hordes. Its members at this time wandered from steppe to steppe, sometimes on the borders of the Dnepr, sometimes in Circassia near the Kum.

The aestival wanderings of the Great Horde each year, as Contarini described in 1476, dispatched them far and wide in search of fresh pastures, the range of their nomadic migrations extending from Astrakhan towards the confines of Russia. Inevitably such regular interactions between Tartars and Muscovites in the grazing of the frontier lands could often lead to misunderstandings and disorder which could rapidly escalate into major disturbances and even outright war. Regular disorders were thus intermittently interrupted by major military campaigns as the Tartar forces of both Seyid Ahmed and his son Maniak and Kuchuk Mohammed and his successors swept over the lands of Muscovite, Lithuanian and Pole. In the North their incursions focussed on the line of the Oka and particularly on Ryazan, which was attacked by Kuchuk Mohammed in 1437–8, 1442, 1445, 1449, 1455 and by his son Ahmed in 1460, 1467, 1471 and 1480–1. On occasion, however, penetration went far deeper into the Muscovite lands. Thus in 1450 Kuchuk Mohammed, having taken the line of the Oka, passed on into Moscow province advancing towards Kolomna before being defeated and deflected towards Podolia. In the next year the initiative passed to Seyid Ahmed who dispatched his son Masofsha north on an expedition which reached Moscow in July where the suburbs were fired before the force again retreated into Podolia. Nor did the death of Seyid Ahmed in 1455 stay the operations of the western horde on the northern frontier. In 1459 Tartars of this horde crossed the Oka and again advanced on Kolomna. Against a background of endemic tensions on Muscovy's steppe frontier, the region experienced approximately one year in four a major Tartar incursion. A similar

²⁹ Von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, 397.

³⁰ Siestrzencewicz-Bohucz, *Histoire de la Tauride*, 335–6.



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situation prevailed in the West where the hordes' incursions were focussed on Podolia. The province was directly attacked by the western horde of Seyid Ahmed and his sons in 1438, 1445, 1453, 1455 and 1457 and indirectly in 1450 and 1451 received the attention of Kuchuk Mohammed and Seyid Ahmed, respectively, after expeditions directed by them to Muscovy were deflected thence. Once again on occasion these raids penetrated far beyond Podolia: in 1445 and 1451 they attained Lemberg (Lvów, Lviv) and in 1453 and 1469 they extended deep into the surrounding Polish territories. On each of these occasions in both Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, as the chroniclers relate, the Tartars secured quantities of booty. The northern army alone in the campaign of 1453 seized 9,000 young men and maidens and 10,000 in that of 1469.

In these circumstances, whilst the denizens of both the western and eastern branches of the Great Horde managed to stabilise their incomes, the members of the other khanates—Kazan, Kasimov and Krim—were marginalised and forced to evolve alternative strategies to ensure their survival. In the case of the Kazan khanate this involved an emulation of the behavioural patterns of the dominant hordes as Ulugh Mohammed exploited the opportunities opened up by incursions into the Muscovite lands from the South to further his own martial ambitions. In 1439 he marched on Moscow, and although unable to take the city, plundered the neighbourhood before moving on to Kolomna, which he burnt before retiring. This show of force was seemingly sufficient for the khan to occupy Nizhnii Novgorod and its environs where he may be discerned over-wintering in 1444/5 before mounting another major incursion in the spring of 1445. On this occasion he advanced on Murom from whence he dispatched two of his sons, Mahmudek and Yakub, to attack the Muscovites. Little was achieved in that year but in the next the Muscovite army was totally destroyed and the Grand Prince Vasili taken, the Tartars thereafter retiring with their illustrious prisoner to Kurmuish. As a result of this victory, the Tartars of Kazan, whilst forced to cede Vladimir and Murom in 1446, were able for some twenty years to extend their grazing grounds. Each summer they migrated from their winter residence on the Volga to the bend of the Oka where, in the aftermath of the 1449–51 incursions from the South, the Russians stayed any further advance from the east by establishing the client Kasimov khanate.

Excluded from access to the northern steppe by the annual northward migrations of the eastern branch the Great Horde, Ulugh Mohammed had from 1439–45 extended westward into the low undulating hill country between the Volga and Oka. Thereby he created a pastoral empire over which his son, Mahmudek, was to rule until his death in 1467. The survival of the khanate was entirely predicated, however, on its ability to hold these newly annexed lands



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against the Russians. When the latter, taking advantage of the internal disorders following the death of the khan, invaded and after three successive expeditions in 1467–9 managed to detach these territories from the grip of the khan it marked the beginning of the end. The Kazan Tartars might again take the initiative in 1478 when Ibrahim khan, son and successor of Mahmudek, invaded Vyatka but this merely revealed the contemporary weakness of the horde. It invoked a counter-incursion by the population of Vyatka-Ustiug, which burnt the villages on the Kama whilst another Russian force pursued a similar course as it advanced along the Volga to besiege Kazan. The climatic-economic cycle thus drew to its close. It was followed from 1486–1510 by a more pacific phase in Muscovite-Kazan relations. This was characterised on the whole by palace intrigues rather than military action. The Russians were able to install at Kazan their clients, Muhammid Amin (1487–96 and 1502–15) or his brother Abul Latif (1497–1502 and 1515–8), the last descendants of Ulugh Mohammed.

The strategies evolved in the Kasimov and Krim khanates in response to the establishment during the years 1438–86 of the hegemony of the Great Horde over the steppe were quite different to that of the Kazan khanate. When in 1446 his son Mahmudek murdered Ulugh Mohammed, two of his other sons, Kasim and Yakub, subsequent founders of the Kasimov khanate, had fled to Cherkask. From thence they had passed to Muscovy, where from 1446–1452 they entered directly into the service of the Grand Prince, receiving his pay and deploying their forces in his service against Muslim and Christian alike. With the establishment of the Kasimov khanate in 1452 this relationship did not change, although under both Kasim (1452–69) and Daniyar (1469–86) subsidies replaced pay as the reward for their services. Nor was the situation very different in the Krim khanate. Haji Girai, the founder of the dynasty, his successors Nurdaulet (1467–9) and Mengli Girai (1469–1473) at least initially followed in the same course. The events of 1474–5, however, totally altered the political alignment of the horde. It was now, as a feudatory of the Sultan that Mengli Girai resumed the office of khan (1478–1485). Once again, however, on his investiture the terms of his service were defined: in the case of war the Sultan would pay 120 purses for the khan's guards and 80 for the Kapikuli mursas, provide all provisions for the Tartar contingent and allow them to keep any booty they made.³¹ Subsidies were thus made once again a major element in the income of the denizens of the khanate.

³¹ C. de Peyssonnel, *Observations ... sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube et du Pont-Euxine; suivies d'un voyage fait à Magnésie, à Tyratire, à Sardes, &c* (Paris, 1765), II, 228–230; L. M. Langlès, *Institutions politique et militaire de Tamerland, proprement appelé Timour, écrits par lui-même en Mongol, & traduit en François, sur le version Persane d'Abou-Taleb-*



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Throughout the period ca. 1360–1486, therefore, as enhanced aridity resulted in increasingly sparse steppe grazing, each ruler therein had attempted to extend the nomadic wanderings of his horde. The prize of establishing a hegemony over the steppe grazing fell to the Great Horde, and each year its constituent peoples and their flocks and herds took passage from their winter quarters at Azov and Astrakhan-Serai to summer grazing on the banks of the Dnepr and Oka respectively. Inevitably such regular interactions between the Tartars and their westerly Lithuanian-Polish and northerly Muscovite neighbours in the grazing of the frontier lands led to misunderstandings and disorder. These soon escalated into martial activity which was pursued as an economic pursuit in its own right, yielding the nomads quantities of booty, high-ranking prisoners for ransom and innumerable captives to be sold into slavery. As the returns to animal husbandry diminished, the denizens of the Great Horde were thus able by their martial pursuits to achieve a cross-cyclical equilibration of incomes. In the process they also provided the environment for the marginalised khanates of Kazimov and Krim to develop new survival strategies, supporting falling pastoral incomes with subsidies from Ottoman, Muscovite or Lithuanian-Polish rulers intent on employing these hordes as a countervailing force in their defences against the Great Horde.

Al-Hosseini, avec la vie de ce conquérant, d'après les meilleurs auteurs Orientaux (Paris, 1787), 403–6.



PECHENEG CHIEFTAINS IN THE BYZANTINE ADMINISTRATION IN THE THEME OF PARISTRION IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Teodora Krumova 

Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to shed light on the situation on the Lower Danube at the time of the mass arrival of the Pechenegs in the eleventh century. This article will not follow all the changes the group or groups of Pechenegs underwent upon their settlement in the theme of Paristrion,¹ since this is a part of a larger work.² It will, however, attempt to follow those transformations that led to a shift or change in their identity and the way these changes were reflected in the political participation of Pechenegs in the Byzantine theme of Paristrion. The shift in identity will be discussed in the context of a frontier situation: Was it integration, assimilation or transformation? The approach towards these questions will be based on archaeological evidence backed by written sources.

In order to build an objective picture of the situation on the Lower Danube, the article will try to find answers to two sets of questions. First, how did these people perceive themselves? How did they act in regard to their own people and in regard to other ethnic groups? Second, how did the Byzantine administration perceive these people and their chieftains? Or, in other words, was the prevailing concept “we among the Others” or “the Others among us?”

Background Information

At the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, political changes in the Balkans led to a serious re-making of the political map. The

¹ A debate in the scholarship was initiated in the 1970s concerning both the time and place of establishing the new theme. For more information see: Vassilka Tâpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav – granichna zona na vizantijskia zapad* (The lower Danube: A frontier zone of the Byzantine west) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Balgarskata Akademiana Naukite (hereafter: BAN), 1976), 34–70 (hereafter Tâpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav*).

² My doctoral dissertation project on “The Migration of the Pechenegs and Distribution of Stylistic Elements in their Fine Metalwork” (to be defended at Central European University, Budapest).

changes were marked by the end of the independent Bulgarian state under the power of the Byzantine Empire and numerous raids by different nomadic tribes. Consequently, at the end of the tenth century the Byzantine administrative system was established and developed in the former Bulgarian lands. The theme of Paristrion was established between the Balkan Mountains, the Black Sea and the Danube (*Fig. 1*). Because Paristrion was a frontier zone for the Byzantine Empire, it soon turned into a territory with weak administrative power left to the mercy of the nomadic newcomers. This also led to serious demographic changes: the inner parts of Dobrudzha were depopulated and abandoned. The local population that survived the invasions preferred to emigrate to better-defended territories such as the Balkan Mountains and the fortresses along the Danube and the sea coast.

The Pecheneg raids in Misia (Paristrion) started in the 1020s. Scylitzes-Cedrenus and Zonaras describe a Pecheneg mass invasion in 1026 (or 1027), directed towards the western Bulgarian lands, which largely depopulated these parts of the new Byzantine provinces. In 1034 the Pechenegs reached Thessalonica; the next year they devastated the theme of Macedonia. Three more raids were registered in the following year (1036) alone, when probably one of the victims was the island of Păcuil lui Soare.³

One can imagine the dimensions of the Pecheneg invasion based on coin-dated fires in Capidava, Dinogetia, Skala, Odartzi, Drastar, and so on.⁴ This was the time when all the fortified settlements in the inner parts of Dobrudzha and northeastern Bulgaria were abandoned. Some of the fortresses along the Danube had a similar fate, the dating also supported by coin distribution. The latest coins found in those territories are anonymous Byzantine follises class A-2 (978–1030/35) and class B (1030/35–1042),⁵ which means that life in these

³ Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav*; Georgii Cedrini Compendium Historiarum, 2 vols., *Patrologia Graeca* 121 (1864), 498₁₃–488₁₀, II, 512₂₋₄, II, 514₁₇–515₅, in *Gratzki izvori za balgarskata istoria* (hereafter GIBI) (Greek sources for Bulgarian history) 7 (Sofia: BAN, 1965), 299–300; Th. Buttner-Wobst, *Joannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri XIII – XV*, Corp. Bonn, 1897, 571₉–572₂, 589₁₁–590₈, GIBI 6, 190–191.

⁴ Georgi Atanasov, “Etnodemografski promeni v Dobrudzha (X–XIV v.)” (Ethno-demographic changes in Dobrudzha from the tenth to the fourteenth century), *Istoricheski pregled* 2 (1991): 79–80 (hereafter Atanasov, “Etnodemografski promeni”).

⁵ The appearance of the anonymous Byzantine follises is connected with the reign of John I Zimisce, when the first coins of this type were minted. The major characteristics of the type are that neither the depiction nor the name of the sovereign are given. Instead, they are replaced by the bust of Christ giving a blessing (in later versions the Mother of God replaces Christ). Alexius I Comnenus is the last emperor who cast anonymous follises in the period before monetary reform (1092). In the theme of

fortresses ceased at the very beginning of distribution of follises class B, in the early 1040s.⁶ At the same time, the fortified settlements along the Danube and the Black Sea coast did not share the same fate and continued to exist.⁷

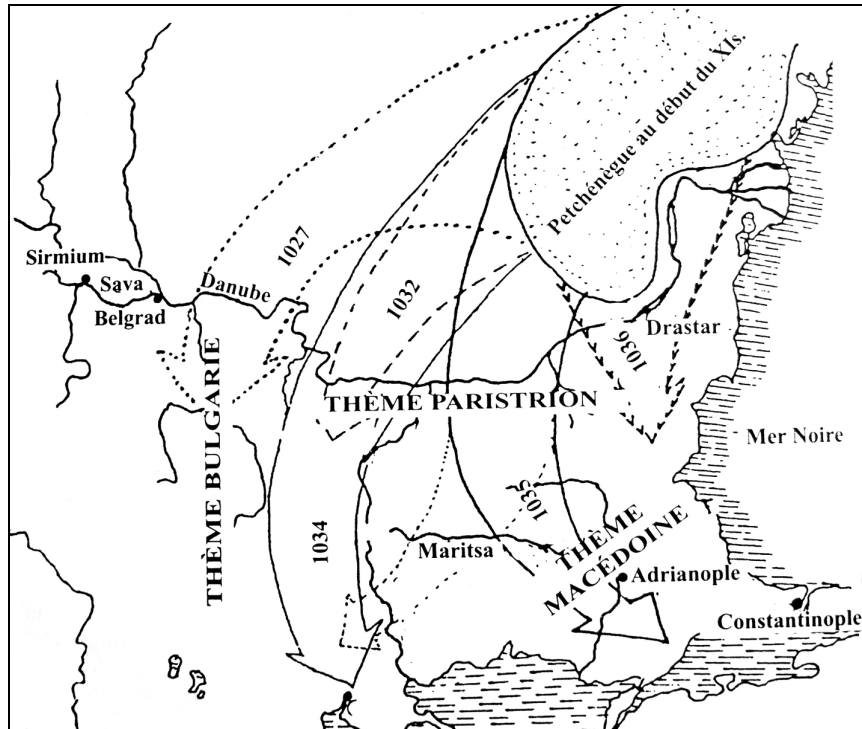


Fig. 1. Map of the Byzantine theme of Paristrion in the eleventh century (after Atanasov, "De nouveau pour la date initiale", map 2).

Paristrion the nomadic invasions are usually connected with the distribution of follises from classes A (976–1028), B (1030/1035–1042), and C (1042–1050). For additional information on the distribution of follises see Georgi Atanasov, "De nouveau pour la date initiale de folles Byzantins anonymes classe 'B'," in *Numismatique et sphragistique: contributions à l'histoire de la monnaie byzantine* (Numismatic and sphragistic contributions to the history of the Byzantine coinage) Acta Musei Varnaensis 2 (2004), 289–298.

⁶ Georgi Atanasov, "Nov pogled kam demografskite y etnokulturnite promeni v Dobrudzha prez srednovekovieto" (A new look at the demographic and ethnocultural changes in Dobrudzha during the Middle Ages), *Izsledvania v chest na chl.-korespondent professor Strashimir Dimitrov* (Studies in honour of Professor Strashimir Dimitrov), (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov," 2001), 185–214.

⁷ Atanasov, "Etnodemografski promeni," 80.

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Kegen, the “Archon” of the Pechenegs in Paristrion

The nomadic raids were accompanied by the steady settlement of nomadic groups. This is the case of Kegen, one of the Pecheneg chieftains. Kegen and his 20,000 people (according to Cedrenus) appeared under the walls of Drastar asking for Byzantine citizenship.⁸ He insisted on becoming a Byzantine “foederatus.” As a result, following the traditional Byzantine policy towards barbarian newcomers, Kegen was baptized and awarded the title of *patrikios* (εις πατρικιότητά τε ἀνήχθη). In addition, he received three fortresses along the Danube (φρούρια τρία).⁹ In this case the written sources are supported by archaeological data: a lead seal of Kegen (Fig. 2) found a decade ago shows the assignment of his new position.¹⁰ The seal was found in Silistra and its reading and interpretation have been facilitated by a similar find from a private collection in Germany. On the front side one can see a depiction of John the Baptist holding a cross in his left hand and giving a blessing with his right. The inscription on the reverse side says:

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ε)] Ἰω(άννη) μαγιστρ(ω) (καί) ἄρχ(ο)ντ(ι)
Πατρί(ι)νακ(ι)α(ς) τω Κ(ε)γέν(η).

“God, help John Kegen, Magistros and Archon of Pechenegia”

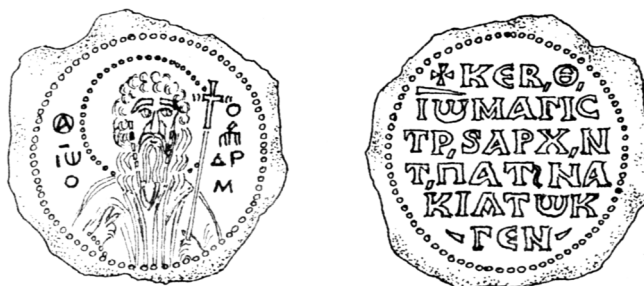


Fig. 2. The seal of Kegen, “Magistros and Archon of Pechenegia”
(after Yordanov, “Pechati na Yoan Kegen”)

⁸ Georgii Cedrini Compendium Historiarum, 581₂₀ – 590₆ – GIBI 6, 312–313.

⁹ Georgii Cedrini Compendium Historiarum, 581₂₀ – 590₆ – GIBI 6, 313.

¹⁰ Plamen Pavlov, *Buntari i avantyuristi v Srednovekovna Bulgaria* (Rebels and adventurers in medieval Bulgaria) (Veliko Turnovo: IPK “Sv. Patriarh Evtimij Patriarh Turnovski,” 2000), 138–139; Ivan Yordanov, “Pechati na Yoan Kegen, magistar i arhont na Pechenegia (1050–1051)” (Seals of John Kegen, Magistros and the Archon of Pechenegia (1050–1051),” *Numizmatika i sfragistika* 1 (1998): 96–101.



Pecheneg Chieftains in the Byzantine Administration

One has to bear in mind a discrepancy in the title of the Pecheneg chieftain in the written sources and on the seal. While in Scylitzes-Cedrenus he is called *patrikios*, the seal clearly states that he is *magistros* and *archon*. If he was really assigned the latter title, it means that he was provided with autonomous power over his fellows settled in the territory of the empire.¹¹

What was his place, however, within the Byzantine administrative system? Did he turn into a loyal imperial citizen or was assigning the aristocratic title only a temporary solution to a pending problem? At the same time other questions can be posed: What was the attitude of the surrounding population? What was the attitude of his fellows? Answers to these questions are presented below, after a brief survey of the characteristics of the population that inhabited the region where Kegen settled.

Regarding the events of that time, one must also consider the role of another person, Kegen's rival, Tirah. Tirah was the supreme chieftain (ἄρχων)¹² (whatever that meant at that time) of the eleven Pecheneg clans that were left in the steppes of "Pechenegia." In the winter of 1048–1049 (or 1046–1047),¹³ Tirah followed Kegen in quest of new lands for his people. The former took advantage of the frozen Danube, crossed the river and tried to settle to the south of it, fighting Kegen. The behaviour of the Byzantine authorities in this case shows that in spite of the situation in the frontier zone, Kegen was accepted as an imperial subject and received support as such. Byzantine troops from eastern Thrace were sent to help him. As a result, Tirah was defeated and his people¹⁴ resettled in the area of Sofia, Nish, and Ovche Polje.

¹¹ Yordanov, "Pechati na Yoan Kegen," 100.

¹² *Joannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri...*, 641₄ – 644₁₂, GIBI 7, 197.

¹³ The dating of the invasion of Tirah's Pechenegs is based on the letter written by Michael Psellus in the name of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus addressed to Kegen (K. Σάθας, *Ιστορικοί λόγοι, ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέκδοτα, Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, V, ἑν Βενετίᾳ, 1876). Vassilka Tâpkova-Zaimova, Ivan Dujchev and other Bulgarian scholars date it to 1048 (see translation and comments in GIBI 6, 122–123). At the same time, Kazhdan refers to the year 1047 and dates Tirah's invasion to 1046 (see A. Kazhdan, "Ioan Mavropod, pechenegi i russkie v seredine 11 veka" (John Mauropod, Pechenegs and Rus in the middle of the eleventh century) *Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauke, Vizantoloshki institute* 8, no.1 (1963), 181. I will not go into details in this discussion since it is not relevant for the content of the article.

¹⁴ According to Scylitzes, Tirah's Pechenegs numbered 800,000 people. This, however, is probably an overestimate, as is the case later with the Ghuzz. They numbered 600,000 according to Attaleiata (*Michaelis Attalioe Historia*, ed. Bonn, 83₂ – 90₃, in GIBI 6, 175–176, but this was corrected to 60,000 by the twelfth-century historian Zonaras (*Joannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri...*, 713₁ – 714₂, GIBI 7, 200). In any case, the territory of

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The Byzantine power had no other choice to cope with the new Pecheneg threat but to make it part of the system; thus, the empire's tried and true "ethnic" strategy was applied again. 140 Pecheneg chieftains, led by Tirah himself, were taken to Constantinople and baptized there. They received aristocratic titles and a place in the administrative system of Paristrion. If one can rely on the reading of a lead seal found in Vetren, in the Silistra region, Tirah received the high military dignity of *protospatharios*.¹⁵

To sum up the situation, a system similar to the former *stratiotes* system was established in the frontier zone of Paristrion.¹⁶ The Pecheneg chieftains received places within the administration of the theme, preserving their independence to a great extent. In addition, their autonomy within the tribal groups was preserved. These people were defenders of the borders, but only to the point when this coincided with their own interests. This can be clearly observed in several events from the history of the eleventh century and shows the weakness of Byzantine power in the region. Moreover, non-Byzantine elements (including nomads) managed to penetrate even the higher ranks of the military hierarchy. The names of Kegen, Tirah, Selte, and so on are often mentioned in the sources when problems arose in the theme of Paristrion. Yet, at the first sign of trouble the support of the Pecheneg chieftains was sought against their fellows. This creates the impression that Byzantine power alone was unable to deal with the situation in its Danubian borderland. At the same time, the position of the same Pecheneg chieftains was never consistent; from Byzantine allies at the beginning of an event they often ended as the emperor's major enemy. This is another sign of the regression of Byzantine power in the region, as was the "turkization" of the eastern *acrites* regions where Byzantine power also gradually weakened.¹⁷

At the time of the arrival, movement, and settling of the nomads, dynamic interactions took place between the local people and the newcomers. This resulted in the appearance of a new group of people defined in Byzantine

the northeastern Bulgarian lands was threatened by a serious demographic blow that could have changed not only the character of the local population but the political situation as well.

¹⁵ Georgi Atanasov, I. Yordanov, *Srednovekovniyat Vetren na Dunav* (Medieval Vetren on the Danube) (Shumen: Izdatelska Kasta "Slavcho Nikolov i sie," 1994), 41, 63, table XIII-118. The seal is only partially preserved and only the last two letters of the name can be read: AX or HX. The reading of the inscription provided by the authors is: [+K(ύρι)ε β(ασι)λ(ε)υ(ς) Τυ]ρ[άχ] Τουτ[άχ] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρχ)ω) κ(αί) επ[άρχω].

¹⁶ Petar Mutafchiev, "Etnografski promeni po Dolni Dunav prez XI vek" (Ethnographic changes on the Lower Danube in the eleventh century), in *Silistra and Dobruža*, (Sofia, 1947), 103–105; Tâpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav*, 89.

¹⁷ Tâpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav*, 89



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sources as the *μιζοβάρβαροι*, (*mixobarbarians*, semi-barbarians). The written sources do not provide information about the demographic situation in the theme of Paristrion at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century and the way the mixobarbarians appeared because there was no strong administrative power in this region to register these processes. Archaeological evidence from the eleventh century, however, allows us to draw some conclusions about the development of this group of people and the changes the Pechenegs underwent after settling on the Lower Danube, including their interaction with the local population and their contribution to the local political power. The gradual mixing of the local and new populations resulted in the creation of new administrative structures, which is registered by a number of seals and the appearance of new numismatic types: the anonymous follises class A and B.

The Mixobarbarians

In the eleventh century (usually dated around the time of the riot of Nestor in 1074), Byzantine authors already speak of the population in the theme of Paristrion as a group of people not belonging completely to the “civilized Byzantine population.” They use the term *mixobarbarian* as a *terminus technicus*.¹⁸ At the same time, they mention the mixobarbarians in the towns as people possessing the characteristics of a settled population. The ethnic characteristics of this mixed population have already been discussed extensively in the literature by E. Stănescu, Vassilka Tâpkova-Zaimova and others.¹⁹ However, some observations can be added to the existing picture. Although nominally the territory belonged to the Byzantine Empire, situated on its fringe, the Byzantine administration and authors never referred to these people as integral parts of the empire’s population. The term *βάρβαροι* indicates that they persisted in being different from the core of the Byzantine population: different in language and *modus vivendi*, conveying cultural dissimilarities. In his *Historia* Michael Attaleiata points out that “the Scythians brought the Scythian way of life” (Σκῦθαί τὸ

¹⁸ *Michaelis Attaliothae...*, 204, GIBI 6, 183.

¹⁹ Tâpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav*, 71–96, E. Stănescu, “Les ‘mixobarbares’ du Bas-Danube au XI^e siècle,” in *Nouvelles Etudes d’Histoire publiées à l’occasion du XII^e Congrès des Sciences Historiques*, (Bucharest, 1965), 45–53; Hélène Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner: The Case of the Nomads,” in *Studies of Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998 (hereafter Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts”).

πρότερον τὸν Σκυθικὸν ἐπιφέρουσι βίον).²⁰ The consistent use of the term *μυχοβάβαροι* for the population of Paristrion shows that the Byzantine administration admitted its failure to cope with the existence and penetration of new (different) political ideas and institutions. A clue to this conclusion is the fact that Byzantine authors did not use *foederati* for the Pechenegs although they came and were resettled as such. Instead, the nomads were soon “melted” into the general term *μυχοβάβαροι*. The Pechenegs were only called *foederati* at the beginning, when they were assigned this position within the military and administrative system of the empire, but they soon became only the *μυχοβάβαροι* since they failed to become true *socii populi Romani*. Moreover, Obolensky points that “this term applied equally to Byzantine citizens who were forgetting their civilized habits and becoming contaminated by contact with true ‘barbarians,’ and to foreigners who had gone some way towards absorbing Greek civilization.”²¹

Doubtless, the “mixed” part of *μυχοβάβαροι* was former nomads who had settled and already changed their way of life. Pecheneg traces can be detected in this mixed population in the archaeological evidence. This is seen not just in the so-called “nomadic” pottery (clay cauldrons which can hardly be regarded as simply Pecheneg), but also other objects found in settlements and cemeteries, slight changes in burial rites and grave goods, types of weapons, the distribution of coins, and so forth.

Several examples may serve to illustrate the material culture of the mixobarbarians. Charcoal was found covering the skeletons in graves No. 121, 123, and 278 in the cemetery of Odartzi (northeast Bulgaria). Placing charcoal or lime in the graves was a typical feature of nomadic (Pecheneg) burial rites in the south Russian steppe regions. Two other graves from the same cemetery (No. 1 and 495) were marked by small stones. The burial rite of the cemetery bears Christian characteristics,²² but with numerous deviations: trephinated skulls, bodies under stone slabs, stones framing the grave pit, charcoal all over some skeletons, and so on.²³ The excavator, Doncheva-Petkova, defines the popu-

²⁰ *Michaelis Attaliothae Historia*, 201₁ – 210₂₃, GIBI 6, 183.

²¹ D. Obolensky, “The Byzantine Frontier Zone and Cultural Exchanges,” in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe*. Variorum Reprints (London: Ashgate, 1982), Vol. 1, 310.

²² This is also the opinion of the excavators.

²³ L. Doncheva-Petkova, “Srednovekoven nekropol pri s. Odartzi” (A medieval necropolis near the village of Odartsi), *Dobrudzha* 10 (1993), 134–144; L. Doncheva-Petkova, “Adornments from an Eleventh-Century Pechenegs’ Necropolis by Odartsi Village, Dobrich District (North-Eastern Bulgaria),” *Archeologia Bulgarica* 2, no. 3 (1998): 126–138, as well as personal communication from the excavator.

lation of the cemetery as one “converted to Christianity not long before their burials ... still keeping the old burial practices tenaciously,” and infers its Pecheneg ethnic identification.²⁴

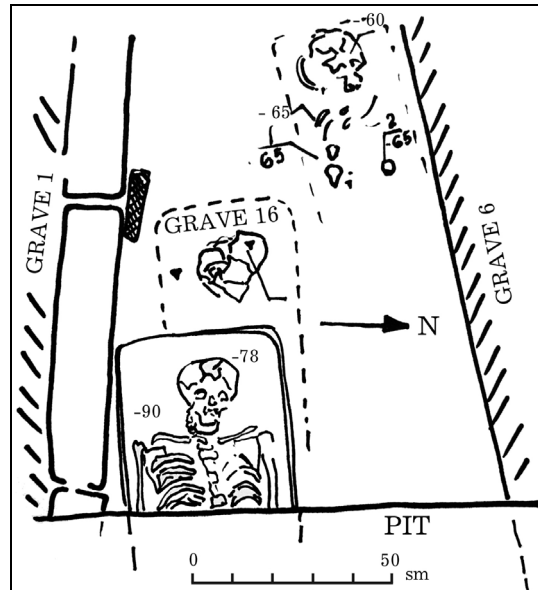


Fig. 3. Pliska, the cemetery in front of the Eastern Gate
(figure provided by the excavator Yanko Dimitrov)

The situations in the cemetery in front of the Eastern Gate of Pliska and around the church of Mostich (Preslav) are similar. In Pliska the graves are situated around a church from the end of the tenth to the eleventh century. Some of them were contemporaneous with the church, but a great number of them were made after it was destroyed, using its building material for the grave constructions. Remnants of pagan behavior can be suggested in the basic Christian rite of the people buried in this cemetery: the contracted or semi-contracted positions of the skeletons, brick or stone chambers, deliberately damaged skeletons, and so on (*Fig 3*). Although the excavator, Yanko Dimitrov, does not state any firm ethnic interpretation of the cemetery, he points out analogies for these deviations in the necropolis of Odartzi.²⁵ Moreover, the data

²⁴ Doncheva-Petkova, “Adornments,” 136.

²⁵ Yanko Dimitrov, “Tsarkva i nekropol vav Vanshnia grad na Pliska (kraia na 10–11 vek)” (A church and a cemetery in the External City of Pliska), *Pliska – Preslav*, vol. 7 (Shumen: Arheologicheski Institut s Muzej, Filial Shumen, 1995), 45.

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from coins show that the church ceased to be used between 1030/35 and 1040/42, during the first wave of a Pecheneg mass invasion.²⁶ The forty graves of the cemetery were dug into a layer formed by the destroyed city wall. The necropolis is dated to the eleventh century, when Pliska was devastated by the Pechenegs.²⁷

The necropolis in Preslav consists of twenty graves,²⁸ fifteen of them found east of the church. Stones, bricks, and spolia from the church surrounded some of the grave pits. The graves destroyed three buildings from the eleventh century. The burial rite is similar to Christian rites, although bridle bosses (originally used on horse harness)²⁹ were found around the skull of a child in grave No. 7 (Fig. 4).

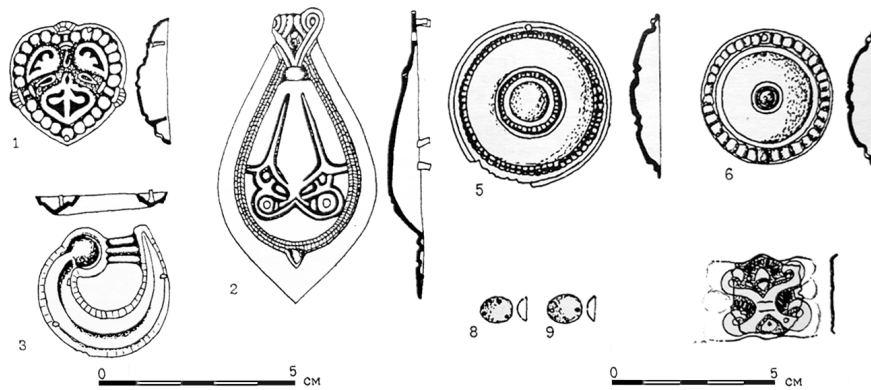


Fig. 4. Objects from the cemetery in front of the Eastern Gate of Pliska
(after Dimitrov, “Tsarkva i nekropol vav”)

The picture from the settlements and the fortresses of Paristrion is similar. A new population inhabited the fortress of Skala in the last stage of its existence. This last stage is marked by traces of fire and changes in the material culture

²⁶ Dimitrov, “Tsarkva i nekropol,” 51.

²⁷ Vera Antonova and Stoyan Vitlianov, “Pliska. Zapadna krepotna stena – sektor Sever (Arheologicheski razkopki 1973–1975)” (Pliska. The western fortification wall – north sector: Archaeological excavations from 1973 to 1975), *Pliska – Preslav*, vol. 4 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1983), 65–67.

²⁸ I thank Prof. Kazimir Popkonstantinov (SS Cyril and Methodius University of Veliko Turnovo) for providing me with information about this necropolis.

²⁹ For additional information on the usage of bridle bosses see Teodora Krumova, “Secondary Usage of Pecheneg Bridle-Bosses as Dress Decoration,” *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 3 (2001): 65–70.



Fig. 5. The strap-end
from Stan

previously typical for the settlement.³⁰ Doncheva-Petkova infers that the settlement of Odartzi was devastated by the Pechenegs between 1032 and 1036, and supports this with the data from the excavations: traces of a great fire, coins, and fatal trauma on some of the buried skeletons. In addition, she states that the Pechenegs were next to inhabit the settlement.³¹ This statement is supported by data from another site: the village of Stan (Novi Pazar region, northeastern Bulgaria). This is approximately the place where a strap-end (a stray find) (Fig. 5) was found that can be related to the Pechenegs. The composition on the surface of the strap-end, organized in rhombic figures connected to each other, is dominated by the longitudinal axis. A typical feature of the decoration of the object that relates it to Pecheneg material culture is the combination of an interlaced design and a ribbed background. The same feature can also be seen on objects from bridle sets from Sarayly Kiyat, Novo Kamenka, and Kalanchak. Preliminary research in the

area registered a cultural layer from the tenth and eleventh century with contexts similar to those at Skala. Several pits with traces of fire were found, which points to the existence of a settlement there, destroyed at the beginning of the eleventh century.³²

If, in the middle and the second half of the eleventh century, these former nomads were already settled and on such good terms with the local population that they could form an integral part of it, this means that they belonged to the

³⁰ Georgi Atanasov and Ivan Yordanov, *Srednovekovnia Vetren na Dunav* (Medieval Vetren on the Danube) (Shumen: Slavcho Nikolov i sie, 1994); Valery Yotov and Georgi Atanasov, *Skala, krepost ot 10 – 11 vek do selo Kladentsi* (Skala, a fortress from the tenth and eleventh centuries near the village of Kladentzi) (Sofia: Pensoft, 1998), 37–45, 54.

³¹ L. Doncheva-Petkova, Lazar Ninov, and Veselin Parushev, *Odartsi: Seliste ot Parvoto balgarsko tsarstvo* (Odartsi: A settlement from the First Bulgarian Kingdom), Vol. 1 (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo “Prof. Marin Drinov”, 1999), 139–140.

³² The preliminary field research was carried out in 1986 by Todor Balabanov (National Archaeological and Historical Reserve, Preslav) and Georgi Atanasov (Regional Museum of History, Shumen). Besides the traces of pits they registered material that can be related to the Late Nomads and dated to the beginning of the eleventh century. Probably the strap end from Stan is also connected to this settlement in some way. The excavations have not been published to date.



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first waves of the Pecheneg invasions or to the sporadic raids to the south of the Danube in the tenth century. Of course, it is likely that other nomadic tribes also contributed to the mixed character of the semi-barbarians, but it is beyond doubt that the Pechenegs were the prevailing group and the facts mentioned above support this statement.

Tatush and the Mixobarbarians' Political Power in the Theme of Paristrion

In 1072, when the Danubian frontier (*acrite*) population rose against the official Byzantine power, the Byzantine chronicler Michael Attaleiata mentions that “the local people paid little or no attention to the Roman Basileus and surrendered the power over the fortress (Drastar) into the hands of their chieftain Tatush.”³³

Tatush (Tatos) or Hallis is rather a curious personality. He appeared on the political scene in connection with the riot of Nestor in Drastar. The written sources do not point out an explicit connection of Tatush with the Pechenegs. He is described merely as belonging to the local mixobarbarians. Moreover, he is distinguished from the rest of the Pechenegs who resettled in the 1050s. Barthold has noted that in Central Asia the term “tat” was used to define “people of settled culture.” Moreover, he is called also by the name of Hallis, which coincides with the ethnonym *ballisi*, used for the inhabitants of Choresm who were of Iranian origin and allies of the Pechenegs. In the sources he appears as a unifying figure of the residents of Drastar, one of the most important Paristrionian cities at that time. He was legitimized (at least by the local population) as a representative of the local (not Byzantine) authorities. As such, he appeared a real menace to Byzantine sovereignty in the region, which required decisive actions on behalf of Emperor Michael VIII, and this led to the riot of Nestor. Later he appears in the sources connected with another riot, that of Travel the Paulician.³⁴ In both events he was supported by a number of Pecheneg chieftains, but at the same time there was a clear distinction between the settled “civilized” Tatush and his fellows who were camping in the fields of northeastern Bulgaria.

Bulgarian scholarly literature connects Tatush with the Pechenegs coming from the region of Choresm. Furthermore, he may have belonged to the first wave of nomadic invasions, since in the second half of the eleventh century he was part of the “urban element” in the Pecheneg community, which had already

³³ *Michaelis Attaliothae Historia*, 205, GIBI 6, 183.

³⁴ *Annae Comnenae Porphyrogenitae Alexias*, rec. A. Reifferscheid, 2 vol., Lipsiae, 1884, VI, 14, GIBI 8, 54.



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found its place in the ruling local mixobarbarian structure.³⁵ The still-nomadic or semi-nomadic Pechenegs, although acting independently, recognized Tatush as a leader (or representative of official power) when a wider organization was needed, and at the same time accepted him as “one of us.”

The development that took place in the theme of Paristrion in the eleventh century exemplifies the processes in a frontier zone. After migrating to the Balkans, the Pechenegs kept up a connection with their heritage, but adapted and applied their traditions to their new environment. In the tenth and eleventh century the political situation in the Balkans was not stable; thus, the local population was more open to the innovations of the newcomers. The local group had more deeply rooted historical traditions and culture than a nomadic people, which helped the easier adaptation of the Pecheneg groups while at the same time introducing new elements into the mixed Balkan culture.³⁶ For the Pechenegs, the periphery of the Byzantine empire was a new territory; they were already aware of it, but it was new to them as a place where they could (and did) settle down. At the same time, for Byzantium this was not a new territory, but one outside its law (therefore, Byzantines continued to call its inhabitants *βάρβαροι*, a keyword to describe “a quintessential cultural otherness”³⁷). The situation becomes more complicated when we introduce the third point of view, that of the Balkan population (non-Byzantines), for whom the periphery was also already an established “core.”

Two factors facilitated the interaction between the newcomers and the local population. The first factor was the participation of the former nomads among the local authorities, whom the Pechenegs recognized as their own representatives no matter how much their material culture and way of life had changed. Tatush is just one example; the sources also mention Seslav, Sacha, Chelgu, and so on. The second important factor was the common need for defense that unified the local and new populations. Both perceived Byzantium as the “common enemy.” When the new waves of nomads arrived, the Pechenegs, who had already settled some time earlier, played the role of

³⁵ Plamen Pavlov, “Belezhki za niakoi lichnosti ot balgarskoto srednovekovie s ogled istoriyata na Dobrudzha prez XI–XIII vek” (Remarks on some individuals from the Bulgarian Middle Ages with reference to the history of Dobrudzha from the eleventh to the thirteenth Century), *Dobrudzha* 9 (1992): 169–177.

³⁶ For more information on the historical situation in the Balkans see Tâpkova-Zaimova, *Dolen Dunav*; Atanasov, “Etnografski promeni,” and also Georgi Atanasov, “Pogled kam Dobrudzhanska Dunavski briag ot 11–15 vek” (A look at the Danubian shore in Dobrudzha during the period between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries), *Istoricheski pregled* 8 (1992): 13.

³⁷ Ahrweiler, “Byzantine concepts,” 11.



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facilitators for the infiltration of the newcomers. The former were already integrated and even occupied significant administrative positions but they were not yet assimilated, preserving elements of their former material culture and some connections with their fellows.

On the other hand, discussing the relationships between the different nomadic groups, especially those who settled at different times, one should not rely too much on the “interethnic ties” among them. One should treat these relations cautiously, bearing in mind the theory of Jonathan Skaff on political allegiance in a frontier zone, referring to another border zone—that of western Inner Mongolia:

For ethnically Chinese and Turk commoners, loyalty depended upon a political leader’s capacity to ensure stable economic and social conditions. ... For the social elite, loyalty was contingent upon a ruler’s ability to provide political patronage. In neither case does it appear that ethnic affinity was a primary determinant of political allegiance.³⁸

Several examples allow us to apply this theory to the territory of Paristrion. Not just Kegen and Tirah acted against each other, but a number of Pecheneg groups fighting for or against the Byzantine army, depending on the situation.

The Attitude of the Byzantine Empire

Like the local situation in Paristrion, neither can the attitude of the Byzantine central administration towards the population of the theme and the coming nomads be seen as homogeneous. One can register a different attitude to the resettled Pechenegs from one side and the mixobarbarians from another. If one observes the formulas used in the written sources regarding the position of Kegen and Tirah, one sees that they had not been allowed to enter the Byzantine family of peoples, although in the beginning Kegen is treated as independent. He is called archon and a letter sent to him and Michael, the governor of Paristrion, is mentioned by Scylitzes with the term γράμματα (“letter to an equal”).³⁹ In addition, according to Jasmine Moysidou, before

³⁸ Jonathan Skaff, “Survival in the Frontier Zone: Comparative Perspectives on Identity and Political Allegiance in China’s Inner Asian Borderlands during the Sui-Tang Dynastic Transition (617–630),” *Journal of World History* (June 2004), <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jwh/15.2/skaff.html>> (last accessed: 5 February 2005).

³⁹ Georgii Cedrini *Compendium Historiarum*, 581₂₀ – 590₆, GIBI 6, 314.



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entering the borders of the empire the Pecheneg leaders were referred to as *οι ἄνεξάρτητοι ἄρχοντες των πατρίων* (“the independent chieftains of the Pechenegs”).⁴⁰ No matter that the sources are clear that both Kegen and Tírah were baptized, they are never assigned the title of a “spiritual son (πνευματικῶν υἱῶν) of the Emperor” as the Bulgarian *tzar* was called, for instance.⁴¹ Moreover, the Byzantine authors continued to call the Pechenegs *Scythians*, *barbarians* or just *Pechenegs*. Nevertheless, the Byzantine authorities were forced to accept the authority of strong figures such as Tatush, since he was the strong one in a territory where the Byzantines were the weaker party.

Conclusions


The situation in the Byzantine theme of Paristrion emerged as the result of complicated relations between the different groups that inhabited it. From one side there was the local population, which had to accept and survive the new-coming nomadic groups. Since Byzantine political and administrative power was weak in the borderlands, the local population had to cope alone with the nomads. The strategy they chose was to form an alliance with them against the common enemy: the Byzantines. The co-existence of the different ethnic groups soon left room for the penetration of new elements in the local administrative structure. This further resulted in changing the characteristics of the population itself and acquiring new elements from the nomadic material culture. Thus a new category of population appeared: the *μιχοβάραροι*. For the central Byzantine administration, however, they remained as alien as they had been in the first years of Byzantine rule in the new territories. Regarding the threat of the arriving nomadic mass of Pechenegs, the empire tried to apply the old traditional Byzantine practice of making the newcomers *foederati*, and thus subjects of the empire. In this case, they did not succeed; therefore, the Byzantine officials decided to make a compromise. They preferred to perceive the leaders of the newcomers rather as their own officials (as a bridge between the local population and the official Byzantine power) than to admit that these were the chieftains of their enemies which the empire could not cope with.

⁴⁰ Jasmine Moysidou, *Το Βυζάντιο και οι βόρειοι γείτονές του τον 10^ο αιώνα* (Byzantium and its neighbours during the tenth century) (Athens: Historikes Ekdoseis St. D. Vasipoulou, 1995), 227 and following.

⁴¹ Moysidou, *Το Βυζάντιο*, 247.



CUMANI BELLATORES IN THE SECOND BULGARIAN STATE (1186–1396)

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In his famous work *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*¹ Jacques le Goff quotes the classical formula of the tripartite division of medieval society—*oratores, bellatores, laboratores*—which is found in the poem of Bishop Adalberon of Lens (circa 1020), dedicated to Robert the Pious, king of France. The layer of *bellatores* represented the military aristocratic elite, often descendants of groups of warlike migrants or mercenaries.

In the region of Central Eastern, and especially Southeastern, Europe migrants frequently filled the role of this warlike and skillful military elite from the Eurasian East. In certain cases, such medieval Hungary and Bulgaria, these migrants were able to create stable state formations which lasted for centuries and enabled a successful synthesis between the tradition of the local sedentary population and newly settled Eurasian nomads.²

The aim of this article is to find where and how a specific nomadic group, the Cumans, were integrated and assimilated into a sedentary society on the Lower Danube, the so-called Second Bulgarian State (from the end of the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century). In my opinion this topic still has not been well enough researched and clarified.

The Cumans (also called the Kipchaks) formed the last large wave of north Turkic nomads who followed the centuries-long road from Inner Asia to the Pontic steppe region of Eastern Europe. They appeared in the lands north of the Black Sea around the middle of the eleventh century, slowly pushing their Pecheneg and Ghuzz relatives westwards. Thus, the Cumans (Kipchaks) played a significant role in the development of a broad region from the end of the eleventh century until the Mongol conquest of Eastern Europe and the subsequent Mongol attack on Central Eastern Europe and the Balkans.³ Even

¹ Jacques Le Goff, *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 1997), first published in 1965. Quoted from the Bulgarian translation: *Civilizacijata na srednovekovnija Zapad* (Sofia: Agata-A, 1998), 299.

² On the statehood of Eurasian nomads see Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 233–263.

³ See for detailed accounts: András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), 7–27, 39–54 (hereafter Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs*); Peter Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz,

later, after the Mongol conquest of the Pontic area and the foundation of the Golden Horde, they continued to be the bulk of the population of this western Mongol state. In both Western and Oriental sources one finds names like Cumania and Desht-i-Kipchak as synonyms for this Mongol state.⁴

The military skills of the Cumans made them widely popular. Many Cumanic mercenaries were hired in the Russian principalities, where they merged with the local political and military elites. Such a case also happened in Egypt, ruled by the Kipchak dynasty of the Kalavunids, which had its origin in the Mamluk guard, recruited widely from the Pontic region through the slave trade.⁵

In this period (the end of the twelfth through the fourteenth century), Central Eastern Europe and the Balkans continued to develop as a border region between sedentary European societies in their Latin or Slavo-Byzantine modifications and the turbulent world of nomadic Eurasia. Thus, the Hungarian Kingdom and the Byzantine Empire were forced to develop a specific policy towards the migrants from the East, which could not be restricted to purely military countermeasures. They had to deal with groups attempting to penetrate the borders of the Latin or the Byzantine world, not only with predatory goals, but often to obtain new homelands and protection.⁶

Hungary used different approaches in dealing with its nomadic neighbors and the groups which tried to settle within the borders of the kingdom. In order to prevent a new *bonfoglalás* ("landtaking") in the Carpathian basin, the Hungarian state skillfully defended its borders with the sword and the cross. The country slowly developed the image of a *propugnaculum fidei catholicae* against schismatics and pagans from the East, nevertheless keeping in contact with these areas. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Hungarian Kingdom

1992), 270–77; László Rásonyi, *Les Turcs non-islamisés en Occident (Pécenégues, Onghes et Qipchaqs) et leurs rapports avec les Hongrois* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970); Svetlana Pletneva, *Polovtsy* (The Polovtsians) (Moscow: Nauka, 1990).

⁴ For more details see German Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoj Evropy pod vlastju zolotoordinskich hanov* (The nomads of Eastern Europe under the rule of the Golden Horda khans) (Moscow: Nauka, 1966); Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965).

⁵ Peter M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades. The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*. (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1986).

⁶ Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 80–117 (hereafter: Stephenson. *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*).



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recruited small groups of migrating nomads as auxiliary troops, described as *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwachter* in the famous book of Hansgerd Göckenjan.⁷

The development of mendicant, mostly Dominican, missions at the beginning of the thirteenth century added another aspect to this policy. Thus, a Cumanic bishopric was established in the town of Milkó, aimed at extending the Hungarian influence further east, deep into the problematic Pontic steppe region.⁸ This can probably be regarded as an attempt to contribute to the creation of a buffer “Mixobarbarian” society along the eastern borders of the Latin world. On the one hand it would prevent direct contact with the dangers of the Eurasian world and on the other hand facilitate cultural and economic contacts between eastern Central Europe and the steppe region. The Mongol explosion, however, rapidly changed the situation. Hungary was forced to find a way to integrate and assimilate a large mass of Cumanic refugees. This process had ended more or less successfully by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century through the Christianization, sedentarization, and assimilation of the Cumans. They became an integral part of the military structure of the Hungarian Kingdom and their clan elite gradually became part of the Hungarian aristocracy. Nevertheless, the Cumans were not able to become the main actors in the political development of the kingdom. They were finally forced to accept strict conditions, put into specific legislation known as *Articuli Cumanorum*, and to abandon to a great extent their previous way of life—a process recently described in detail by Nora Berend in her famous book *At the Gate of Christendom*.⁹

In the first decades of the eleventh century, the mighty Byzantine Empire of the Macedonian dynasty found itself in the situation of the famous King Pyrrhus of Epirus after his victories over the Romans. Its rival in the Balkans, Bulgaria, was totally destroyed, but several decades after the glorious victory of Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer, the empire again had to deal directly with Eurasian

⁷ Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwachter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972).

⁸ Nikolaus Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz von ihrer Gründung bis zur Tatarenverwüstung 1241–1242*. (Zürich: Gebr. Leemann, 1913); Ioan Ferent, *Cumani și episcopia lor*. (The Cumans and their Bishoprics) (Blaj: Tipografia seminarului Teologic Greco-Catolic, 1933); Vladimir Pashuto, “Poloveckoje episkopstvo” (The Polovtsian Bishoprics), in: *Ost und West in der Geschichte des Denkens und der kulturellen Beziehungen. Festschrift für Eduard Winter zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Steinitz and others, 33–40 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1966).

⁹ Nora Berend, *At The Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and “Pagans” in Medieval Hungary, c.1000–c. 1300*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 68–74 (hereafter: Berend, *At the Gate*).



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nomads migrating into the area of the Lower Danube. These new migrants created specific new problems in this area for the weakened Byzantine administration.¹⁰

In her article “Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner: The Case of the Nomads,” Hélène Ahrweiler¹¹ presents the mechanisms of integration and assimilation of the nomadic migrants and captives in Byzantium. She describes the complicated perception of “otherness” in the Byzantine tradition, dating back to late antiquity and the Roman and Hellenic past. In a multiethnic and multicultural society such as Byzantium, there was a broad variety of terms and attitudes towards the “Other.” At the same time one can see flexible mechanisms of assimilation and integration of various ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities based on a highly elaborated legislative system. On the scale of “otherness,” however, nomads and infidels occupied the lower parts. To quote Ahrweiler again: “The terms *barbaros* and ‘nomad’ had resonance for Byzantines as key words to describe a quintessential cultural otherness.”¹² Nevertheless, especially in the Balkans, the Byzantines had to deal with vast groups of nomads, pastoralists, and various semi-nomadic groups which felt quite independent during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in certain areas of the Byzantine Balkan provinces. The interaction of the new settlers from the Eurasian steppes and the local sedentary, semi-nomadic pastoral population consisting mainly of Slavo-Bulgarians and Romance-language-speaking Vlachs resulted in the creation of a typical frontier society in the Lower Danube borderlands. This society was described in the sources as *Mixobarbaroi* or even *Mixhellenes*; to quote Ahrweiler once again:

The term ‘Mixobarbaroi’ refers to cultural issues, and is used for those who filtered across the Danube and whose nomadic way of life interacted with sedentary traditions. However, the terms ‘Mixhellenes’ and ‘Mixobarbaroi’ used by the Byzantine authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries should be studied in connection with the practice of mixed marriages in that area, which was inhabited by Christianized nomadic groups.¹³

¹⁰ Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier*, 47–80.

¹¹ Hélène Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner: The Case of the Nomads,” in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, eds H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou, 1–15 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks 1998). (hereafter: Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts”)

¹² Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts,” 11.

¹³ Ahrweiler, “Byzantine Concepts,” 13.



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Of course, Byzantium tried to resist the new migrants and to protect its territories on the Lower Danube. Some of the nomads were defeated and settled in various areas of the Byzantine *Dysis*. There was even an attempt to sedentarize the newly captured and baptized *stratiotai* of North Turkic origin in mountain or semi-mountain areas of modern western Bulgaria and Macedonia in order to change even the natural conditions around the newcomers from the steppe region. Another option were the vast forests between Niš and Belgrade, known to the crusaders as *Sylva Bulgarica* or *Deserta Bulgariae*, where they had to suffer attacks by such *Grenzpächter*, who were recruited not only by the sparse local population but also by newly settled *stratiotai* of North Turkic origin.¹⁴

In both Hungary and Byzantium there was only one immediate option for sedentarization and assimilation of the nomads. It was their inclusion in the layer of the *bellatores*—the only class of a medieval society which was able to accept them without great difficulties. The nomads lacked the skills to be *laboratores* because of their way of life, in which agriculture had a lowly position compared to stock-breeding and war. Being in the best case newly baptized, they were also not able to penetrate the *ordo* of *oratores*. Thus, the only rational option for the authorities was to let them to enter the military class, of course, its lower parts. This enabled them, however, to keep to a certain extent their ancient traditions and clan structure and permitted them to play an independent political role in certain periods. Thus, in Hungary around the time of and after the Mongol attack Cumans were able to provoke a series of internal conflicts within the kingdom in an attempt to build up a strong pro-Cumanic lobby in the Hungarian court, especially successful in the reign of Ladislas IV the Cuman (1272–1290). Yet finally the Cumans lost this battle against the Hungarian nobility and the Church and were forced to accept strict rules for their integration into medieval Hungarian society.¹⁵

The Byzantine authorities took a different approach. They tried to disperse the nomadic settlers or captives in smaller units, to mix them with the local population, nevertheless using them in the only possible effective way—as

¹⁴ Vassilka Tâpkova-Zaimova, “Les Mixobarbaroi et la situation politique et ethnique au Bas-Danube pendant le seconde moitié du 11^e siècle,” in *Actes du 14^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, eds M. Berza and E. Stănescu, 617–619 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei SRR, 1971); Krassimira Gagova, *Krystonosnite pobodi i srednovekovna Bylgarija* (The Crusades and Medieval Bulgaria) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sveti Kliment Ohridski,” 2004), 9–118.

¹⁵ Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs*, 68–85; Berend, *At the Gate*, 87–93.



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soldiers. They never let them, however, penetrate the higher circles of the imperial elite, keeping them in the status of *stratiotai* or as small *pronoïars*.¹⁶

Despite this policy, the Byzantine Empire was not able to control its borderlands effectively on the Lower Danube. Here, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a semi-independent Mixobarbarian society developed, whose links with Constantinople were very dependent on the balance of power between the center and the periphery.¹⁷

Thus, the revolt of the Assenides in 1185, which was followed by the foundation of the so-called Second Bulgarian state on the Lower Danube, was a product of a slow development of the local Mixobarbarian elite, in which already settled Cuman clans played an important part. The provincial society of Paristrion, being rather heterogenous by origin and culture, including Slavo-Bulgarians, Vlachs, and North Turkic (Pecheneg and Cuman) elements, was ripe for independence from the weakened center. Its attempt to revive the glorious tradition of the First Bulgarian State was regarded as a dangerous challenge to the Byzantine authorities. In their understanding, Bulgaria was an imperial province between Belgrade and Ohrid, constituted by Basil II himself, and its population only could be designated as Bulgarians. The Assenides and their followers were pejoratively called Vlachs in the sense of semi-nomadic shepherds, or in the best case *Mysoi*, thus restricting their influence to only north of the Balkan range.¹⁸

Finally Byzantium was forced to accept a new political reality and the emergence of a new “Bulgarian” state on the Lower Danube. This state was based on the local Mixobarbarian society, which chose Bulgarian identity not only because of the tradition, but also because of its anti-Byzantine content. Being of Cumanic or Vlacho-Cumanic origin, the Assenides, despite their clearly Bulgarian royal ideology, continued the active partnership with the large Cumanic diaspora north of the Danube, even after the success of their revolt. The Cumans, being mercenaries and allies, played a significant role in almost all the successful military campaigns of the Second Bulgarian state. They were also

¹⁶ Angeliki E. Laiou, “Institutional Mechanisms of Integration,” in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of Byzantine Empire*, 161–181.

¹⁷ Petre Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei SRR, 1978).

¹⁸ Genoveva Cankova-Petkova, “La liberation de la Bulgarie de la domination byzantine,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978); Petyr Petrov, *Vъзстановяване на българската държава, 1185–1197* (Restoration of the Bulgarian State, 1185–1197) (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985); Robert Lee Wolff, “The ‘Second Bulgarian Empire.’ Its Origin and History to 1204.” *Speculum* 24 (1949): 167–207; Nicolae Tănăsoca, “De la Valachie des Assenides au Second Empire bulgare,” *Revue de des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* 3 (1981): 581–594.



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able to capture the emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, in the famous battle by Adrianople (1205). People of Cumanic origin were in the highest circles of the Second Bulgarian State: the royal wife of the Tsars Kaloyan (1197–1207) and Boril (1207–1218) was of Cumanic origin; the Assenides themselves had clearly Cumanic names such as Asen, Boril, Belgun.¹⁹

After the Mongol attack in 1241 the position of the Cumans in Bulgaria was even strengthened. New waves of Cumanic refugees found shelter on Bulgarian soil, slowly forming a significant part of the local aristocracy. In the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century one could find influential Cumanic families to rule large principalities, vaguely dependent on the capital Trnovo, with centers in Branichevo, Vidin, Krn-Kopsis, Karvuna. Two influential Cumanic families: the Terters and later the Shishmanides ruled the country as tsars almost without a break from 1280 to 1396. They were able to maintain a complicated alliance with the strong Golden Horde, sometime interpreted as “Tatar hegemony”—a term which does not present clearly the whole complexity of relations between Bulgaria and the Golden Horde, two countries with a strong Cumanic presence.²⁰


Thus, in my opinion, the Second Bulgarian state represents a mixed model of how nomadic settlers could be integrated and assimilated into a sedentary society. As in Hungary, the Cumans settled *en masse* in the territories where the Second Bulgarian state was created. They formed not only a significant but a leading part of the aristocratic military elite, compensating in this way for the lack of a fully developed local military class. Unlike Hungary, there was no pressure or special legislation which forced the newcomers to take on Bulgarian identity. After their Christianization they merged with the local elite without difficulty. This is reminiscent of the integration of foreigners and nomads in the Byzantine Empire, where the acceptance of Orthodoxy was a strong step towards a Byzantine identity. The Second Bulgarian state—a product of the social development of a frontier Mixobarbarian society between the steppe region, the Byzantine and the Latin worlds—succeeded in filling a gap of power in this problematic end of the Pontic corridor for more than two centuries, until the Ottoman conquest, which changed the political realities in a vast region for a long time.

¹⁹ Ivan Bozhilov, *Familijata na Asenevtsi (1186–1460)* (The Family of the Assenides) (Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo, 1981); Plamen Pavlov, *Srednovekovna Bylgarijai i kumanite, 1186–1241* (Medieval Bulgaria and the Cumans) (Veliko Trnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo, 1989).

²⁰ Vassil Zlatarski, *Istorija na srednovekovnata bylgarska dържавa* (The history of the medieval Bulgarian state), vol. 3 (Sofia: Marin Drinov, 1994); Petyr Nikov, *Bylgari I tatari през srednite vekove* (Bulgarians and Tatars during the Middle Ages) (Sofia: Prosveshtenie, 1929).



TARTARS ON THE FRONTIERS OF EUROPE: THE ENGLISH PERSPECTIVE

Zsuzsanna Papp 

This article will examine the image of the Mongol invasion in Europe as reflected in contemporary English sources. Understanding this brings us closer to comprehending the medieval frontier concept, at least the way it was reflected in contemporary historiography. The relevant records in English chronicles reveal little about the actual historical events of the East Central European region in the thirteenth century but say a great deal about the perception and knowledge of a core country about the periphery of Western Christianity. “A frontier implies a center, just as a periphery implies a core:”¹ core and frontier are relative, self-definitive terms which often do not correspond with geographical or political boundaries. England, a core country of Christian Europe, implies the existence of frontier where Western Christianity meets non-Christian regions. On this premise, the kingdom of Hungary, as I will point out in the conclusions, was seen as a frontier in the specifically medieval sense of the word.

It appears that the authors of thirteenth-century English sources worked in relative ignorance of the Eastern end of Europe even though some of them definitely had access to information about the region, as is more or less noticeable in their works. Generally speaking, their attention turned towards the region in times of great cataclysms when the shockwaves were expected to reach England at some time. The Mongol invasion was such a series of events, which shook an unready Europe in the middle of the century amid the growing popularity of apocalyptic expectations for 1250.

The increased intensity of references to the East Central European region is an apt terrain for examining the underlying characteristics of the Anglo-Hungarian relations of the age as well as the knowledge and perceptions of the two countries, which in turn can be a basis for further conclusions about the concept of frontier and the complex nexus of core and periphery. The study of

¹ Robert Paynter, “Surplus Flow between Frontiers and Homelands,” in Stanton W. Green and Steven Perlman ed., *The Archeology of Frontiers and Boundaries* (London: Academic Press, 1985), 165. More on medieval concepts of core, periphery, and frontier can be found in Owen Lattimer, *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers 1928–1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay, ed. *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); David Abulafia and Nora Berend, ed., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002).



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Anglo-Hungarian relations looks back to a long series of publications.² This examination of the contemporary perceptions of a major trauma on the eastern end of Europe is the analysis of only a tiny segment in the line of such works.³ However, as such an inquiry provides another building block in our understanding of the medieval concept of frontier and periphery, it is indeed interesting to embark on a close analysis of the English records.

The temporal focus here will be the years directly prior to and after the Mongol irruption into Hungary and Poland around 1241. Kiev fell on 6 December 1240, but the turning point for Hungary (and for the English chroniclers) came in the early spring of 1241. On 12 March 1241 the main wing of the Mongols entered the confines of Hungary, annihilated the troops defending the Verecke pass, and marched on towards Pest. These troops had been sent there by the Hungarian king upon the news of the fall of Kiev.

Meanwhile, after the Mongol plunder of Cracow and Wrocław, Henry of Silesia lost the battle and his life at Legnica (Liegnitz) on 9 April 1241 to the northern wing of the Mongol army. Following this victory, the northern wing set off to catch up with the main wing marching into Hungary. Another strike came on 11 April 1241, at Muhi, halfway between Verecke and Pest; the Mongols won the battle and continued their progress to the north and east of the Danube and the Hungarian king had to run for his life. On the way to Trogir (Trau) in Dalmatia he sent out a large number of letters pleading for help. The news of the Mongol invasion reached the European courts, including

² The most extensive, albeit somewhat conceptual, literature on the topic comes from the 1930s and 1940s. The most prolific authors on the subject were Alexander Fest, Stephen Gál, Lajos Kropf, Jenő Horváth and the scholarly circle of Arthur Yolland. See e.g. Alexander Fest, *Skóciai Szent Margittól a walesi bárdokig: Magyar–angol történeti és irodalmi kapcsolatok* (From St. Margaret of Scotland to the Bards of Wales: Hungarian–English literary and historical contacts), ed. Lóránt Czigány and János H. Korompay (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2000); Stephen Gál, *Hungary and the Anglo-Saxon World* (Budapest: Officina, 1947).

³ More up-to-date publications and indices include: György Kurucz, *Guide to the Documents and Manuscripts in Great Britain Relating to the Kingdom of Hungary from the Earliest Times to 1800* (London: Mansell Publishing, 1992), József Laszlovszky, “Angol–magyar kapcsolatok Szent Istvántól a 13. század elejéig” (Anglo-Hungarian contacts from the age of St. Stephen to the beginning of the thirteenth century), PhD dissertation, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem 1992), Attila Bárány, “A joint effort for a new Europe in the early 15th century: political relations between Emperor Sigismund and Henry V of England,” in *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. Tillmann Schmidt and Péter Gunst (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2000), Zsuzsanna Papp, “Perceptions of the Kingdom of Hungary in Thirteenth-Century English Sources,” MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2004).



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those of the pope and the emperor, yet no one came to help. Conrad IV, son of Emperor Frederick II, gathered troops against the pagans, but when the Mongol invasion halted, the troops were dismissed. The Mongols crossed the frozen Danube in February, 1242. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture the king, in May, 1242, Mongol troops left the country by different routes; some went across Serbia to unite with Batu's main army in Bulgaria, other divisions went through the Carpathian passes.

An article about the English perspective on the 1241–1242 Mongol invasion is inevitably an article about the perspective of one particular contemporary chronicler, Matthew Paris, and his *Chronica Majora*. Born around 1200, Matthew became a monk at the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans on 21 January 1217, where he lived and worked until his death in 1259. He knew Henry III and his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, personally and it is suggested that he acquired a wide acquaintance with the details of contemporary foreign affairs from them. As will be discussed below, he probably had access to more information than is shown in his chronicle at the first superficial glimpse.

The first part of his most important work, the *Chronica Majora*, is an abridged version of Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, which he then continued until his death. Matthew's chronology is generally reliable. Although some of the materials were obtained and inserted later than the actual date of the incidents, the chronology within the chronicle is more or less precise to the year:

On the whole, Matthew is careful with chronology, and few events and documents are badly misdated. Information seems to have been entered up on rough drafts more or less as he received it, and copied thence into the *Chronica Majora*, so that an approximate chronological order was usually achieved.⁴

Besides Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, some other contemporary English chronicles have sporadic mentions of the Mongol invasion: the Waverley Annals, the Tewkesbury Annals and the Burton Annals. Later accounts, namely the Osney Annals and the Worcester Annals, deal with later developments, especially those in the Holy Land.

Tracking the invasion across contemporary English sources, two distinct phases are conspicuous, the dividing line being the year of the irruption of the Mongols into Hungary; the records show a distinct change in tone after 1240–1241. In the following pages I will analyse the characteristics and possible sources of the most important English records before and after the invasion and

⁴ Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 136.



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draw attention to some features that show the characteristics of a peculiarly distorted image of the Mongol invasion.

Before 1241: News about *Hungaria Major* and the Appearance of the Tartars on the Frontier of Christendom

The ideas of Westerners about the Mongols were quite favourable up until the 1240s, when Western Europe, too, learned about their deeds. The people emerging from the haze of the far Orient were first identified with Prester John, and the Christians had high expectations of them crushing the Saracens in the Holy Land. Matthew Paris himself was aware of the legend of Prester John. In his copy of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, a colourful crown is drawn in the margin of an 1181 letter from Pope Alexander III to the "King of India" and the rubric *Nota de Johanne presbytero rege Indiae* scribbled in Matthew Paris's hand next to it.⁵ However, the arrival of the first less-than-flattering descriptions of the Mongols brought about a formidable change in their reputation in Europe. Among the pre-1241 records the most interesting is by Matthew Paris from 1238.

The first mention of the Mongols is intertwined with an intriguing question in the *Chronica Majora*; Matthew Paris seems to have had a fairly precise idea about *Hungaria Major* and was aware of the information known to the West from the Hungarian Friar Julianus' reports. The entry comes from 1238 and the validity and time of the event it relates are corroborated by two letters of the English king from June and July 1238, preserved in Rymer's *Foedera*.⁶ Matthew reports that Saracen envoys related the Mongol threat to Louis IX, mentioning among the first things in their account that *Hungaria Major* had been depopulated. Matthew states that the envoys were Saracens, chiefly on behalf of the Old Man of the Mountain (*Saracenorum legati...*, *principaliter ex parte Veteris de Monte*). Daftary claims that the visit Matthew recorded was a joint mission from the Isma'ili ruler of Alamut and the Abbasid caliph,⁷ but that is debatable.

In 1238 both rulers had a great deal to fear. The Mongol campaign the Saracen envoys were reporting on was surely not the 1220s campaign of Ghengis Khan, sweeping across the empire of Khwarizm Shah and plundering

⁵ Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 283 (hereafter: Lewis, *The Art*).

⁶ Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, (Conventiones,) Literae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica inter reges Angliae*, (London: J. Tonson, 1727), 235–236.

⁷ Farhad Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma'ilis* (London: L. B. Tauris & Co., 1995), 59.



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Rayy, about 150 kilometers from Alamut, the centre of the Isma'ilis.⁸ The campaign that made the Isma'ilis and the Abbasids uneasy was that of their old enemy, the Mongols, who were preparing to strike again. They were alarmed by the news coming from the area plundered and destroyed in 1236 before the horde moved on towards Moscow. This area was *Hungaria Major*. In 1238, threatening letters about planned campaigns and accounts of the destruction were beginning to circulate in the Middle East. The same news arrived in Europe, too, as early as 1237. The harbinger was Friar Julianus, a Hungarian Dominican. The 1238 entry by Matthew Paris combines the information arriving from both Easts: the 1237 news from East Central Europe and the 1238 news from the Saracens of the Middle East.

I propose that Matthew Paris had a fair idea about *Hungaria Major* in the Volga region, and that his notions probably originated not only from the Saracen mission to Louis IX, but from an account in the Julianus report. I infer this from Matthew's use of the Latin name *Hungaria Major* and the mention of Mongol threatening letters. Both peculiarities feature relatively early in the *Chronica Majora* and are unique among other sources. The analysis of Matthew's 1238 entry and its background will shed light on Matthew Paris' sources and how he used the information that he alone seems to have possessed among his fellow chroniclers.

The historiography of the question of the whereabouts and inhabitants of *Hungaria Major* is long and ambiguous. As Györffy points out, the legendary concept of the origin of Hungarians found in most contemporary chronicles, Hungarian and non-Hungarian alike, is in striking contrast with the Danubian Hungarians' precise knowledge about Eurasian Hungarians. Muslim writers as late as the twelfth century reported on how the Hungarian court kept in touch with the other branches of the Hungarian people.⁹

A different written tradition, entirely oblivious of the living contact between the Danubian and the Eurasian Hungarians, was fossilised in Latin chronicles. One of the most persistent theories was Regino's Scythia legend;

⁸ Ibn al-Athir describes the route of the Mongol campaign of the 1220s in detail and mentions the following places: Turkestan, Kashgar, Balashagun, Transoxania (the Central Asian region north of the Oxus river, roughly present day Turkestan), Samarkand, Bukhara, Khurasan, Rayy (east of modern-day Tehran), Hamadan, the Zagros mountains, Azerbaijan, Arran, Derbent, Shirvan, Qipchaq, Ghazna (in present-day Afghanistan), Seistan (Sijistan), and Kerman in India, *Chronicon, quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, quoted in Bertold Spuler, *History of the Mongols*, (New York: Dorset Press, 1968), 30–31.

⁹ György Györffy, Foreword to *Julianus barát és a Napkelet felfedezése* (Friar Julianus and the discovery of the East), (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1986), 16–17.

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another was the Hun analogy speaking of the Meothide marshes.¹⁰ The first documented official Hungarian inquiry into the matter was that of four Dominican friars lead by Otho in 1232, whose aim was to find the *priores Ungari* somewhere in the East. The Dominican Julianus and his companions were the first to actually reach *Hungaria Major*. His first journey in 1235 was documented in the so-called Riccardus report, which was registered immediately upon receipt in the *Liber Censuum*, the collection of the most important papal documents.¹¹ The second journey was recorded by Julianus himself and it is one of the earliest surviving Latin sources about the Mongols.¹² The clerical and secular literates disseminated the content of the report on Julianus' second journey all across the Latin West within a very short period of time.

After Julianus there were several other important missions to Asia. By the time of the journey of William of Rubruck in 1253, the name *Hungaria Major* had begun to fade again; in the *Itinerarium* one can see Volga Hungarians living in *Paskatur* (Bashkiria), and a couple of decades later the idea of an Eurasian "Old Hungary" sank into oblivion completely. Eighty years after Julianus, the Hungarian Friar Johanca journeyed into the region on a mission to Christianize the Mongols.¹³ He makes no mention of Hungarians in the region. Czeglédy assumes that by that time they must have been subdued and annihilated by the Mongols.

¹⁰ The Greek name of the Azov Sea.

¹¹ Seven manuscripts of the report have survived. The most recent publication of the text appeared in Heinrich Dörrie, *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionreise des Fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957) (hereafter: Dörrie, *Drei Texte*). For a detailed bibliography of the texts and the relevant literature see the reprint edition of Emericus Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938; reprint, Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999) (hereafter: SRH).

¹² Despite the seemingly intensive afterlife of the texts, only three manuscripts have survived, out of which one disappeared shortly after its publication in Joseph Freiherr von Hormayr-Hortenburg, *Die goldene Chronik von Hobenschwangau, der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstaufen und der Scheyren*, (Munich, 1842). This lost manuscript seems to be the most complete. It is reprinted in Heinrich Dörrie, *Drei Texte*. For a detailed bibliography see the reprint edition of SRH.

¹³ Károly Czeglédy, "Magna Hungaria," *Századok* 77 (1943): 12.



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Veszprémy and Szovák¹⁴ suggest that as soon as the Julianus report was put down in writing it was handed over to Salvius de Salvis, at the beginning of 1238 at the latest. Matthew Paris, Rubruck, and Plano Carpini probably also knew about the contents of the report. The information could have reached St. Albans as early as 1238, the nominal date of the first Mongol-related entry by Matthew Paris. The other argument suggesting that Matthew learned about the existence of *Hungaria Major* from the Julianus report first is of a linguistic nature. Arabic and Persian sources unanimously call the Middle Volga region Bulghar, not *Hungaria Major* or Greater Hungary.¹⁵ The widespread appellation of “Greater Hungary” could not have come from the “Saracens.” It was the Julianus report that drew attention to the former abode of the Hungarians and the variants of its Latin name. In Matthew Paris’ time, the report was a fresh and vivid reminder of *Hungaria Major* and the facts contained therein came into the public domain among the learned or at least Matthew Paris and his circle.

The other feature pointing towards the Julianus report is the question of Mongol threatening letters, to which Matthew repeatedly refers. These and his description of the khan correspond with the authentic threatening letter contained in the Julianus report. Later, in 1240s records, Matthew asserts again that the Hungarian king (1241: *Quorum rex deses et nimis securus per Tartarorum nuntios et literas requisitus, ut si suam vitam cuperet et suorum, per suam et regni sui deditionem eorum gratiam festinus praeveniret*),¹⁶ the Armenian king, and some Saracen sultans (in an entry following the 1244 account of Peter, archbishop of Russia: *Similique modo significatum est a praedictis Tartaria regi Armaniae, et quibusdam potentibus Saracenorum Soldanis. Quid autem ab eis renuntientur, ignoramus*)¹⁷ received threatening letters and knew about the forthcoming invasion.

In a first-hand copy of one such threatening letter to the Hungarian king, the khan (whom Sinor identifies as Batu Khan) appears exactly as Matthew

¹⁴ László Veszprémy and Kornél Szovák, postscript to *SRH*, 798. Page citation is to the reprint edition.

¹⁵ E.g. Juvaini, “The History of the World Conqueror,” quoted in László Balogh, “A mongol támadások a Volga vidéki népek ellen: 1222–1236,” (Mongol attacks against the peoples in the Volga region: 1222–1236) in *II. Medieviztikai PhD Konferencia* (2nd PhD Conference of Medieval Studies) *Szeged, 3 April 2001*, ed. Gyula Kristó. (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely: 2001), 16, or the *Al-Kamil fi ‘t-Tarikh* from 1231 by Izz ad-Din Ibn al Athir quoted in William E. Watson, “Ibn al-Athir’s Accounts of the Rus’: Commentary and Translation,” *Canadian/American Slavic Studies* 35, no. 4 (2001): 6–38.

¹⁶ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* in *Rerum Britannicorum Scriptum* 57 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1877, reprint, Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1964), Vol. 4, 113 (hereafter: *CM*).

¹⁷ *CM* 4, 390.



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describes that the *dux se nuntium Dei excelsi affirmat, ad e[do]mandas gentes sibi rebelles*.¹⁸

Ego Chaym nuncius regis celestis, cui dedit potentiam super terram subicientes in se exaltari et deprimere adversantes. Miror de te, rex Ungarie, quod cum miserim ad te iam tricesima vice legatos, quare ad me nullum remittis ex eisdem? sed nec nuncios tuos vel litteras mihi remittis. . . . Intellexi insuper, quod Cumano servos meos sub tua protectione detineas. Unde mando tibi, ne eos de cetero apud te non teneas, et me adversarium tibi non habeas proper ipsos, facilius est enim eis evadere, quam tibi, quia illi sine domibus cum tentoriis ambulantes, possunt forsitan evadere, tu autem in domibus habitans, habens castra et civitates, qualiter effugies manus meas?¹⁹

This letter was intercepted by Grand Duke Yuri Vsevolodovich of Vladimir-Suzdal, who, in turn, informed Julianus. The Latin translation of the Mongol threatening letter is included in Julianus' report, in which he summarised his second journey, undertaken in 1237–1238 for Salvius de Salvis, the papal legate to Béla IV and the Bulgarian tsar. The repeated mention of threatening letters from the Mongols corroborates my argument that accounts in the Julianus report may have been one of Matthew's sources.

Apart from the question of how and in what form the report reached St. Albans, there is another point here; there are no references to *Hungaria Major* in other contemporary English chronicles. To answer these questions, however, the presently available evidence is not sufficient.

The next phase of the Mongol campaign is documented by two important sources containing copies of letters from a Hungarian bishop to the bishop of Paris. The Waverley Annals, written in the Cistercian Waverley Abbey in Surrey between 1066 and 1292, contain an entire letter, also to be found in a slightly truncated form in the *Additamenta*²⁰ of the *Chronica Majora*. The dating of the letter is possible from the comment that the Tartars are waiting for the Dnieper River (*aqua Damai*) to freeze over (*volentes expectare hyemem ut possint supradictam*

¹⁸ CM 3, 488–489.

¹⁹ Denis Sinor, "The Mongols in the West," *Journal of Asian History* 33, no. 33 (1999): 1–44.

²⁰ Matthew Paris' compilation of authentic material was appended to the end of the *Chronica Majora*, probably between 1254 and 1257. Matthew developed a system of symbols to refer to pieces of the *Additamenta* in the main body of the chronicle. Much of it can be found in other sources with few alterations (e.g. the letter of the Hungarian bishop), which supports the idea that Matthew rarely included seriously amended, edited or false material among these letters and reports.



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aquam transire in glaciē). Since the Mongols crossed the river in the winter of 1240, the letter must have been written in the summer or autumn of 1240.

The annalist retained the last paragraph of the letter, which suggests that at least two copies were sent out by the Hungarian bishop. While the version in the *Chronica Majora* is probably copied from the one sent to Guillaume of Auvergne, that quoted in the Annals is probably copied from another duplicate of the letter which was sent to a French archdeacon, a former fellow student of the Hungarian bishop.²¹ The last paragraph, included only in the Waverley Annals, not only reveals that the letter was sent out in several copies, but also contains a warning, which is fairly unusual to find before the actual irruption of the Mongols in 1241. The other peculiarity of this document compared to the other accounts is the amount of first-hand information; actual, easy-to-identify geographical places (Hungaria, Russia, *aqua Damaii*—in the *Chronica Majora*: Deinphir), personal names (Churcitan—in the *Chronica Majora*: Zingiton), and the names of various peoples (Turci—in the *Chronica Majora*: Ungarii et Comanii, Mordani). Below it will be shown how uncommon this is in the richest storehouse of Mongol-related news, the *Chronica Majora*.

I would call this a “dividing-line letter;” before this letter there are accounts of the Mongols ravaging distant eastern lands, afterward comes the phase of graphic descriptions of the barbarian plunder and the plight of Christians. A large number of graphic accounts describe the unnatural cruelty of the pagan Mongols after the spring of 1241. Hungary at the time was already a Christian kingdom of consequence on an international scale and her plight was disseminated all across Europe by word of mouth, letters, reports, and other means. Written records right on the eve of the invasion of Hungary are less common. Despite the cruelties committed against Christians in Kiev, based on information from contemporary continental sources, for the English, the Mongols breached the confines of Latin Christianity only when they entered the frontier kingdom of Hungary in 1241.

Among contemporary English records, this is the earliest document reporting the imminent threat to Christianity. Though it is not known when exactly the letters reached England, this document can safely be praised as one of the most authentic, detailed, “real-time” pieces of information reaching England, a prelude to the series of the horrendous Tartar-related articles in the *Chronica Majora*.

²¹ Alexander Fest, “Egy magyar püspök levele volt Párizsi iskolatársához” (The letter of a Hungarian bishop to his fellow schoolmate from Paris) *Levéltári Közlemények* 12 (1934), 223–225; see also: Lajos Tardy, *Régi híriünk a világban* (The our old reputation of Hungary in the world) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1979), 7–13.



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The last two entries that belong to the pre-1241 records are one by Matthew Paris²² and one in the Tewkesbury Annals.²³ Matthew's 1240 entry is the first graphic account of the barbarian ways of the Tartars, although it is still presented in a stereotypic setting; there are no references to actual places or people, except for *Saracens passim*. The other is a false piece of information probably entered in hindsight: The Tewkesbury Annals record an ambiguous entry in which the Duke of Bavaria is said to have destroyed the Tartar army at an unidentified river (*Sed dux Baverensis multos interfecit et in fluminis rivo praecipitavit*). The Duke of Bavaria, Otto II (1231–1253), was nine at the time; his father Louis, his predecessor in the Bavarian court, was assassinated in 1231, so it is quite unlikely that either of them engaged in any battle around 1240.

Regardless of their validity, these small notes are interesting, especially the reference to the Bavarian duke; the threat was gradually extended to the Western parts of Europe, too. Both records can be seen as prefiguring the vast amount of blood, murder, and mayhem which would later fill the blank parchment leaves of the chronicles.

1241: The Mongol Irruption into Hungary, the Eastern Frontier of Christianity

The Mongol irruption eventually happened in the spring of 1241. The series of dramatic records and letters begins with the letter by Count Henry of Lorraine to the Duke of Brabant containing the “emperor’s letter.” It not only gives an account of how the Hungarians were defeated, but also includes the first contemporaneous English image of Tartars. The marginal drawing is evidently based on the generic image of the barbarian horsemen described in the texts next to it, especially the emperor’s letter to the king of England, which is suggested by Suzanne Lewis to have been the invention of Matthew Paris himself.²⁴

The peak of the intensity of records is the collection of letters in the *Additamenta* in the *Chronica Majora*, all dated to 1242 by Matthew. The English historiography of the Mongol invasion is mostly shaped by a number of letters by literates of lesser status describing the horrors and asking for help rather than by correspondence at the highest socio-political levels. Matthew Paris collected

²² CM 4, 77–78.

²³ Tewkesbury Annals, *Rerum Britannicorum Scriptum* 36, Vol. 1, 118.

²⁴ Lewis, *The Art*, 283.



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and copied six dramatic pieces into the *Liber Additamentorum*,²⁵ and diligently recorded three of them in the *Chronica Majora*²⁶ as well.

The turbulent times in Central Eastern Europe brought about an increase in correspondence, where the papal court acted both as initiator and as transmitter. Letters and reports reaching the court often contained a note that stated the distribution of the same letter to other royal and ecclesiastical persons. The answers were disseminated likewise. The factual information in such letters contributed a great deal in the Occident to the general perceptions of the Mongol invasion. The relatively small number of letters commemorating direct contacts suggests that written information about the Mongol threat was more likely to have been obtained from letters reporting news in the region, e.g. those sent from or via the papal court.

The possibility of one example of such fertile interaction, the Julianus report, was noted above, in which case information from the papal court was likely to have made its way to Matthew Paris and his chronicle in a short period of time. As is seen in the case of how the contents of the Julianus report may have reached England and been precipitated in written form, the English were generally in touch with continental events. Another good example of such information flow is the account about the Tartars by Peter, Archbishop of Kiev.²⁷

²⁵ (1) N. Landgrave of Thuringia and Saxony to the Duke of Brabant and Boulogne; (2) the Hungarian abbot of St. Mary's to all Christians, (3) Jordan, a Minorite vicar of Poland to the rest of the brethren, (4) Richard of the Preachers and Jordan of the Minorites to all brethren, (5) G., warden of the Cologne Franciscans enclosing the letter of (presumably the same) Polish Brother Jordan and A., the warden of Pinsk to Henry, Duke of Brabant; (6) Yvo of Narbonne to Gerald, the bishop of Bordeaux.

²⁶ Henry, Count of Lorraine, to the Duke of Brabant in 1241, Frederick II to Henry III in 1241, and Yvo the Narbonne to Gerard, archbishop of Bordeaux in 1243.

²⁷ Piotr Akerovich was the igumen. (originally a priest-monk who was the superior of a monastery, but in the Russian church this is more often a title of honour given to priest-monks. An igumen ranks below an archimandrite; a monk supervising several monasteries or the superior of an especially important monastery) of the Spas Monastery in Kiev-Berestov until Mihail Vsevolodovich came to the throne of Kiev and made him *metropolita* (archbishop). Peter arrived in Hungary with Mihail's son Rostislav, who married Anne, the daughter of the Hungarian king. From Hungary he traveled to Italy, then to the Council of Lyon, where he gave a report based on ten questions. His answers were recorded on the spot and reached England in a seemingly uncorrupted form. There are no other surviving sources of his report.



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The Burton Annals include the report concerning the Mongols given by Peter at the Council of Lyons,²⁸ in a slightly different form than Matthew Paris recorded under the year 1244. While Matthew's account is flowing and verbose, the material of the Burton Annals is brief and precise. Similarly to the letter in the Waverley Annals, this document can be seen as a source of first-hand information from the afflicted areas. It gives a detailed account of the Mongol ravages prior to their arrival at the Hungarian border.

Peter's report was one of the most important sources of information about the Mongols after Julianus and before Plano Carpini. His answers were influential on a grand scale; each detail started an avalanche of its own, e.g. the (false) statement that after ravaging Russia, Poland, and Hungary, the Mongols united their powers in the middle of Syria, upon which the pope promptly sent missions to the Mongols from Syrian territories.

The most important feature besides this and the surprising accuracy of the data (compared to other entries in England around the same time) is the fact that this report seems to have been the one that triggered a transformation of attitude in the papal court. Peter's most important message was that the threat was not yet gone. He emphasized the desire of the Mongols to subjugate the whole world as a means of divine punishment. As for the report's influence on the English perspective, it seems that it was definitely thought to be worth recording, even though it came much later than the peak of intensity of Mongol-related information, which was already dwindling at the time of the Council of Lyon. Judging from the lack of any documents or records from the same time, I infer that by 1245 Peter's report did not stir the English as much as it did the continent. Should it have raised the same fears as overseas, there would surely be some surviving accounts of responses or measures taken to prepare against the Mongols.

Despite Peter's warnings about a new Mongol threat to Europe, the Tartar-related entries of the *Chronica Majora* turn to the Holy Land from this point on, and the number of references to Hungary or East Central Europe dwindles. Apart from a few notes, mentions of Hungary in the *Chronica Majora* always return to referring to the Mongols in Europe. It was the cataclysm around the Eastern frontier of Christianity that attracted attention to an area otherwise scarcely mentioned.

²⁸ *Annales de Burton*, RBS 36/I, 324–325, (CM 4, 386–8; EH 2, 28–31).



The Mongol Invasion as Seen from England: A Distorted Image

Reading contemporary English sources, the major milestones of the Mongol campaign can be traced as a rough sketch; the outlines of the campaign are shown by the sequence of entries recording the Mongols ravaging closer and closer to the frontier of Christian Europe. However, what is missing in these sources is what the continental chroniclers like Guilelmus de Nangis, Andrea Dandolo, Thomas of Spalato or the authors of the Heiligenkreuz Annals (mostly in hindsight) thought worthy of note: the situation and circumstances in the afflicted countries.

The entries concerning the Mongols, disregarding those that are entirely wrong or misplaced, show a spurious historiography of the events of the 1240s: The Mongols emerging from the Northern mountains ravaged *Hungaria Major* (1238), then turned against Russia and Poland and eventually Hungary (1241). The king of Hungary was either too inept or simply left to his own devices in defending his country. After receiving threatening letters from the khan and frightful news from the Preachers and Minorites he set out to explore and he tried to move into the more fortified areas of the country. The Mongols arrived at the Hungarian border with devastating force and speed and killed everyone they found. The king managed to flee to Illyria and pleaded for help from Emperor Frederick II and the pope. Finally, several years later, Frederick embraced the wretched kingdom and brought peace in return for doing homage to him (1244). Later mentions of the Mongols have a decreasing number of references to Hungary and an increasing number concerning the Mongols in the Holy Land. The afflicted area was gradually relocated.

As is clear, the overall picture somewhat diverges from the historical truth in the account of the final events concerning the Mongol invasion. Matthew Paris's rare remarks about *Hungaria Major* reveal that he was relatively well informed in this matter. Other sources do not mention *Hungaria Major* or any Mongol activities before the Tartars threatening Hungary in 1241. As the story goes on, however, Matthew's writing becomes more and more stereotypical with regards to the Mongols and less exact about the afflicted countries. One common characteristic of Matthew Paris's accounts of the Mongols becomes increasingly conspicuous; even though he collected quite an impressive amount of first-hand data, most of the time he seems to have been unaware of the things he had included in his chronicle or the *Additamenta* earlier.

Eventually, the long series of accounts are closed by a fictitious incident (Frederick's liberation) and the flood of descriptions is reduced to a trickle of chronologically misplaced items about the Mongol ravages in Europe and finally their presence in the Holy Land. The last powerful entry, Peter's account at the



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Council of Lyon, comes from 1244 (*Chronica Majora*) or 1245 (the Burton Annals) describing the Mongols as the ultimate threat to the whole of Christendom, but this piece of news no longer seems to have been sufficient to create any reverberations in England.

What is missing in these chronicles is more revealing than what is contained therein. In the *Chronica Majora* there are no mentions of Eastern European place names or individuals (not even the name of the often-mentioned Hungarian king, for example), apart from the intitations of the letters copied into the *Additamenta*. No reference is made to the internal politics or the inhabitants of the afflicted countries, even though incidents like the Cuman settlement in Hungary and its consequences were echoing across Europe. And finally, there is no data about the Mongols ravaging other European peoples, apart from a very few remarks found in the copies of letters.

The most discernible trend is the opposite curve of the intensity of information. It is not by serendipity that the peak of frequency of Tartar-related material in chronicles and annals coincides with the low ebb of evidence for direct contacts, i.e. royal correspondence. The two curves, even if they cannot be seen as reciprocal, share the same cause: the Mongol invasion. While the creative minds of the chroniclers, especially Matthew Paris, found inspiration in the graphic accounts of the Tartar ravages and their cruelty towards a worthy Christian people for a while, the day-to-day affairs between the royal courts of Britain and the afflicted countries were more or less discontinued.

Although it cannot be safely assumed that György Kurucz's list of surviving thirteenth-century documents deposited in British archives and libraries²⁹ is complete, nor can the surviving body of evidence serve as an absolute representative sample of the original correspondence and documentation, the hiatus in letters from the middle of the century is clearly visible. Many letters were written concerning the Mongol irruption, however there is no sign of royal contact in this respect. The cataclysm in Europe seems to have dominated the outgoing correspondence of the Hungarian king and his circles.³⁰ Communication on any other issues was discontinued and Henry III of England was clearly not involved in this particular one.

²⁹ György Kurucz, *Guide to the Documents and Manuscripts in Great Britain Relating to the Kingdom of Hungary from the Earliest Times to 1800* (London: Mansell Publishing, 1992).

³⁰ Comprehensive Hungarian language collections of Mongol-related sources in Europe are Tamás Katona, ed., *A tatárjárás emlékezője* (Remembering the Mongol Invasion) (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1981) and Balázs Nagy, ed., *A tatárjárás* (The Mongol Invasion) (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2004). Other sources in the original language are found in *SRH*, György Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1831) or referred to in the index of



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This does not mean that the country was deleted from international affairs altogether. The predicament of Eastern European countries, including Hungary, and the proclamation of a crusade against the Mongols feature in papal and royal correspondence, except England somehow seems to be too distant to be involved. Contact, however, was quickly resumed after the direct Mongol threat had gone, and with the Angevin bond it actually seems to have been stronger than before.

The Peculiarity of the English Perspective Reflected in the Sources

In the previous pages, by briefly analysing some aspects of the most prominent records, I have summarised the main tendencies of how the Mongol invasion was reflected in contemporary English sources. The series starts from the scarce records of the pre-1241 period (e.g. Matthew's 1238 entry about the Saracen envoys and *Hungaria Major*), moves through the increasingly frequent and dramatic accounts of the barbarian ravaging in Christian Europe (e.g. the 1242 letter of a Hungarian bishop in the *Additamenta*) and gradually comes to a halt in a period of flagging interest (e.g. Peter's report in the 1245 Council of Lyon seemingly falling on unresponsive if not deaf ears in England). The peak is undoubtedly the collection of first-hand accounts in the *Additamenta* by Matthew Paris.

The arrangement and distribution of these texts in the surviving English sources suggest that although contemporary English sources seem to be altogether distant from the Mongol threat, chroniclers were curious and inquisitive about the "new" race appearing in Europe. Tracking the records, the point in time from which the chroniclers turned their eyes towards the Mongols can be pinpointed exactly; it happened when the first news arrived of the barbarians reaching the frontier of Christianity, i.e. Hungary. While the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241 was important for the English chroniclers, there are scarce remarks about ravaging Orthodox Kiev before the campaign in Hungary and nothing about the South Slavs afterwards.

In conclusion, the term "Christian frontier" needs to be reappraised in the context of the Mongol invasion. The progress of the Mongol campaigns was more or less documented in English sources from 1238 on. The necessity of including a definition of Hungary as a frontier crops up due to a visible change in attitude and the intensity of information after the Mongols had reached the confines of Hungary.

Albinus Franciscus Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae* (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937, reprint: Budapest: Nap, 2005).



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The frontier nature of the kingdom of Hungary in the thirteenth century was somewhat different than modern frontier interpretations. Medievalists like Nora Berend³¹ or Charles Halperin use the generic definition of frontier in modern medievalist historiography: “In general the frontier functioned as a zone across which mutual influences flowed rather than as a barrier or boundary.”³² This historiographical conception no doubt applies to medieval Hungary, with the Bogumils, Cumans, Iasians, Pechenegs, Ismaelites, and Jews in its midst. However, from the perspective of contemporary English sources the statement must be turned around. This concept of frontier must be closer to the original Turnerian vision³³ of the frontier theory in America: man’s fight against nature. The frontier of Christianity crossed by the pagan Mongols in 1241 was seen less as a buffer zone or an interaction zone or “middle ground,”³⁴ than as a more or less sharp dividing line between areas of Christian interest and the rest of the world.

³¹ Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–1300*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³² Charles J. Halperin, “The Ideology of Silence: Prejudice and Pragmatism on the Medieval Religious Frontier,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 3. (July 1984): 442–466.

³³ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 1–38.

³⁴ Richard White’s expression instead of frontier to emphasize relations and common consensus rather than two separate sides in *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).



PART II.

Report of the Year





REPORT OF THE YEAR

József Laszlovsky

After the celebration of our ten years as the Medieval Studies Department at CEU, the academic year 2003–2004 was not characterized so much by festive events as by hard work on academic and organizational matters. We prepared two important documents for accreditation; one was for the Middle States accreditation in the US and the other was for the Hungarian and EU accreditation. These long-lasting and time-consuming procedures were only successful in the next academic year, shortly before the publication of this volume, but the main goal was met in the previous academic year. These official documents also forced us to think about the character of our program, to discuss different issues such as recruitment targets, the structure of the doctoral program, and faculty development. One of the most important steps in this direction was to advertise a new position in Byzantine studies, which was also directly connected to the emergence of the idea of creating a new center dedicated to the problem of Hellenic traditions. The search for a new faculty member was combined with various academic programs and lectures, which are reported below in the detailed description of the events of the year.

The character of the new MA group, a standard part of the report of the year, can be summarized in two important phrases: representation of different countries and selection of topics. The student body was the usual colorful group of young, talented students from different parts of Central and Eastern Europe, with two large groups from Romania and Hungary; at the same time other countries of the region were also represented, such as Czech Republic, Croatia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. This is rather standard for our program, but the topic selection showed new elements. There seems to be a growing interest in studying questions in the period of late antiquity, which is a more recent addition to the academic interests of our program. Amongst these can be mentioned a thesis on the uses of *bullae* in late Classical Pannonia by a Hungarian student and a study of the floor mosaics in Stobi (Macedonia) by a young Macedonian scholar. A third topic was also connected to this period, but from the methodological point of view it belonged to a standard part of our curriculum, hagiographic problems. This thesis was dedicated to the early martyrs in medieval



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Zadar (Croatia). Issues connected to medieval material culture, discussed in an interdisciplinary methodology, were also characteristic for this year. One of our Romanian students studied the objects and iconography of knightly saints depicted on Transylvanian and Moldavian stove tiles. Another student compared late medieval Transylvanian weapons with images of such weapons in contemporary panel paintings. Textual approaches were also used, such as the analysis of a Latin rhyming decalog from the fifteenth century, and the perception of the Kingdom of Hungary in thirteenth-century English sources. In this way the topic selection of the students was quite balanced, although we faced a number of cases where either the lack of sources or the complexity of the problem made producing a final thesis difficult or only defensible in the following year.

According to our tradition, we started the academic year with a field trip to one historical region of Hungary, this time to the central eastern part of the country. In order to spend more time at sites and also to allow more opportunities for discussion between faculty members and students, we traveled in an area quite close to Budapest to see different types of monuments and institutions. The starting point was the spectacular ruin of Zsámbék, the church of the medieval Praemonstratensian abbey, a masterpiece of early Gothic architecture. This place allowed us to speak about architectural history, the cult of ruins, and the archaeological investigation of a monastic site. The visit to the new campus of the Catholic university in Piliscsaba offered a different kind of intellectual experience; Béla Zsolt Szakács introduced us to this new educational center. We also visited the medieval city center of Esztergom and took the ferry across the Danube to Vác, just as many medieval travelers did. On the second day we were able to discuss issues connected to medieval mining and foreign settlers at Nagybörzsöny and later heroic events of the Turkish wars depicted in contemporary and romantic nineteenth-century literature at Drégelypalánk. Finally, at Tar we visited the ruins of a manor house of a famous medieval figure at the court of King Sigismund, who visited the “Purgatory of St. Patrick” in Ireland. A similarly complex site was the small town of Pásztó, with the excavated remains of the Cistercian abbey and an excellent exhibition on medieval Cistercian life; an additional interesting item was the reconstructed small house of the medieval schoolmaster. Problems of managing cultural heritage and related issues of presentation were typical questions raised during these visits. The last site of our excursion was the baroque palace at Gödöllő, associated with the local cult of Sissy (Empress Elizabeth), which was refurbished after a long period of abuse by the Soviet army. The usual complexity of the excursion made a perfect methodological introduction for our students, many of whom were confronted with interdisciplinary approaches for the first time.



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The course structure of the fall semester followed the tradition of previous years, but with a new addition in research methods. The usual introduction to different methods and approaches in medieval studies, which is normally a lecture series offered by faculty members, was combined for the first time with a course where “doing” this kind of thing was the main issue. Students were divided into two groups according to their previous studies; one group focussed on non-textual research methods and the other on textual approaches. The first semester was introductory, while in the second semester the groups practiced more advanced techniques of methodology and analysis. The idea was to offer practical help for a wide range of methods, particularly those that could be utilized in the students’ MA thesis work.

At the same time, a rich selection of more theoretical courses was offered, like Alexandrian philosophy and topics in medieval philosophy and theology (István Perczel and György Geréby). The growing interest in late Classical topics was reflected in Marianne Sághy’s reading course on “Late Antique and Early Medieval Hagiography.” This course also offered students the opportunity to discuss problems of hagiographic sources, a standard part of our curriculum in previous years. Gábor Klaniczay was on sabbatical for the whole year, thus new aspects from the same circle of problems were addressed.

In the first semester we did not invite many guest professors because our experience shows that in the early phase of the year intensive work with resident faculty members is crucial for the development of the MA theses. In the second semester students can be exposed to different teaching methods as well as critical remarks of guests. In the first semester of this academic year, however, we had two very important invited guests. Peter Johanek (Münster), a leading scholar in medieval urban history and until recently the director of one of the most important research centers in this field, team-taught “Medieval Urban Culture” with Katalin Szende; Ian Blanchard (Edinburgh), a recurrent visiting professor, contributed to Balázs Nagy’s course on “Economic Transformations of Central Europe in the Middle Ages.” Courses on architecture, and material culture were also offered, just as in previous years. The extension of our program to new areas also resulted in new courses, for example, interactions between the Christian and Muslim world, a topic discussed by Aziz al-Azmeh. This raised the interest of students in different source languages, so beside the usual Latin and Greek courses, we were able to offer classical Arabic for a small but enthusiastic group.

The winter semester was characterized by a varied program offered by guest professors, all leading experts in their fields. Giles Constable (Princeton) discussed the problems of the Crusades; Patrick Geary (UCLA) addressed crucial issues in medieval studies in the framework of historiography. The image



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of the Other, a popular topic in our curriculum, normally offered by Felicitas Schmieder, was taken over by Nadia al-Bagdadi and Aziz al-Azmeh in the context of the Islamic world, while Felicitas taught "Prophecy as an Instrument of Political Propaganda." Several new courses were also developed by resident faculty members, such as the course on anthropological and historical interpretations of life-cycle changes based on modern concepts and medieval documents, team-taught by Katalin Szende and Judith Rasson.

In the short spring session, visiting guest professors offered courses on different aspects of medieval studies. The survey of medieval law by DeLloyd Guth (Manitoba) was a kind of panoramic overview of different legal ideas and practices as a way of introducing this topic. Nancy van Deusen (Claremont Graduate Center, CA), who dedicated much of her time and energy to helping the emergence of the Hellenic Center, also offered a course on cathedral manuscripts, a topic related to ecclesiastical, philosophical, and musicological issues. A significant group of students were working on Greek manuscript problems; for them the short but intensive course offered by Basil Markesinis (Leuven) was a great help in their MA or PhD projects.

The busy periods of courses and other academic programs were interrupted, as usual, by the academic field trip organized by the department. This year, just as in the previous one, we headed towards the Mediterranean, but focused on only one country: Slovenia. This choice of destination, however, allowed us to visit regions with different historical monuments and landscapes. The first part of the excursion led through southwestern Hungary; the program was dominated by small village churches with fresco decorations. We followed the oeuvre of John of Aquila, one of the most important fresco painters of late medieval Hungary, whose masterpieces can still be seen in present-day Hungary, Slovenia, and Austria. The churches at Óriszentpéter, Velemér, Martjanci, Selo, and Turnišče represented the most important iconographic programs decorating the walls of medieval churches. Another characteristic feature was the particular landscape setting of these churches; traces of old settlement and field system patterns were seen, including the protected areas of Órség. As we travelled south, we entered another geographical region and a different historical area where the most important center was Celje, the seat and residence of the Cilli, an important late medieval family who dominated the political scene in different countries of this region for many decades. The contrast in their two castles, a spectacular one on a hilltop and a more urban-type residential center in the town itself, offered a good illustration of late medieval power and representation. The present-day capital of Slovenia, Ljubljana, although not particularly rich in medieval monuments, was an important addition to our understanding of the Carniolan and Croatian Middle Ages. The rich museum collection of the



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National Gallery, with the expert guidance of Janez Höfler, displayed many contacts with different areas represented in art pieces. An additional interesting sight was an early modern prison transformed into a hostel by modern architects and designers which offered us accommodation in a very peculiar milieu.

After a long drive, we entered a totally different world—the Adriatic coastal zone—historically dominated by Venice. The strikingly different landscape, culture, and languages reflected the one-time medieval splendor of a power built on maritime trade and warfare. The Istrian towns of Koper and Piran introduced us to different problems related to ship building, Classical routes, and medieval Italian contacts. The warm and sunny days of early spring even allowed some of the hardest students and faculty members to enjoy the shock of swimming in cold sea water. The coastal zone of the Istrian Peninsula, with its urban character, contrasted with the areas inland, where rural settlements and a totally different landscape characterized the world in the Middle Ages, at that time also with a different language spoken by local people. The most striking experience for many of us was the small church of Hrastovlje, the most remarkable complex interior decoration of an ecclesiastical building in the whole region, depicting on the one hand complex religious scenes and, on the other hand, lively images from everyday life. The short but memorable Adriatic visit was followed by a longer journey in another inland area of present-day Slovenia, concentrating on castles, pilgrimage churches, and monasteries. Just as the church in Hrastovlje, the area of Postojna should remain in many of our memories as a symbol of the rich heritage of the Middle Ages. The most spectacular fortifications at Predjama were built in a cave under a huge cliff and even in their present-day form represent the archetype of medieval castle construction. The stories about robber knights connected to the site can be proved in this case on the basis of historical documents, but the site and the history caught the romantic imaginations of all of us. More down-to-earth medieval features were seen in the landscape surrounding the castle, where traces of deserted villages and field systems have been recognized. Similarly rich historical landscapes were presented for the students around the ruins of the Žižče Carthusian monastery, which was an intellectual and religious center of this monastic order for a significant period. Reconstructed buildings, gardens, and fish ponds allowed us to understand the complex monastic landscape and all the related problems of monument protection, presentation, and re-vitalization. This site of ruins was in contrast to the lively pilgrimage life of another medieval church—Ptujška Gora—frequently visited by religious groups even today. Škofja Loka was also a busy pilgrim center for many centuries, but today it is more often visited by specialists in medieval art whereas festive religious events only characterize a few days of the year.



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As can be seen from this long list of monuments, different and complex sites were selected for the excursion itinerary and background topics also fleshed out the excursion booklet prepared for this academic trip. Topics such as “Dances of Death” (related to Hrastovlje), “Istria and the Byzantine Empire,” “Travel on the Adriatic,” and “The Sunday Christ” enriched our understanding of the Middle Ages in this region and helped us to put them into the context of a larger Central and Southern European world.

After describing the MA program in this academic year, we can focus briefly on the PhD program of the Medieval Studies Department. The large number of defenses in the previous two years helped us to organize the final phase of PhD projects in a streamlined way. As a result, we had the highest-ever number of PhD defenses in this department, as well as at the university! All together, sixteen defenses were held between June, 2003 and June, 2004. Some of them finished a fairly long research period and writing process while others managed to organize their PhD studies so as to defend their dissertations a short time after completing their formal PhD studies. As usual, the defense committees represented high academic standards. We used the presence of guest professors and scholars visiting our other academic programs to serve on examination committees. Leading figures of medieval studies, such as Giles Constable, Patrick Geary, Anthony Luttrell, and Walter Pohl were invited to express their opinions on these dissertations, which re-assures us on the quality standard of our program compared to similar distinguished educational programs throughout the world.

The only change in the PhD program was the gradual introduction of a new element in the curriculum and in the requirements. In the Academic Practica scheme, PhD students have already been involved in teaching programs by preparing course materials or delivering lectures in reading courses. In accordance with the new university policy requiring PhD teaching practice, however, we started to develop a more intensive role for PhD students in our course structure. The first steps were made, but we planned to launch new courses only in the following year. At the same time, we encouraged students to teach courses at their previous home universities or other institutions they are attached to and we offered help in preparing such courses as well as requiring documentation about this teaching experience to fulfil the new university requirements.

The educational programs of our department were enriched by other academic activities such as international workshops, Curriculum Resource Center programs, and public lectures. Research projects carried out by the department or in cooperation with other academic institutions played a significant role in the organization of such programs. The interaction between medieval studies and



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policy issues was seen in the launch of a cultural heritage policy fellowship in cooperation with the CEU Policy Center and by the emergence of consultancy work connected to heritage issues. This latter was built on the intellectual capacity of the department and organized in the framework of the cultural heritage branch of the CEU consultancy company. We have competed successfully for projects in the area of cultural heritage development, including management and cultural tourism issues. Furthermore, two policy fellows were attached to these activities of the department, working on the problems of cultural heritage legislation and management plans for complex World Heritage sites.

International academic gatherings focused around two issues, the two falls of Constantinople and the potentials of source material from the Vatican Penitentiary records. Two important historical anniversaries, the two falls of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453, served to develop our ideas for the creation of a Hellenic Center, with the active support of Rafael Chodos and Nancy van Deusen (Claremont, CA) and the contribution of our colleague Evangelos Chrysos (Greece). Two workshops focused on the problems of continuity issues, addressing the questions of irruption, interruption, and interaction in these historical periods. A number of new contributions were made using different source materials and approaches connected to these historical events that were commemorated in a number of international gatherings throughout the world. Felicitas Schmieder, for example, discussed the problem of “The Greeks in Latin Eschatological Perceptions of History,” while Zaroui Pogossian focussed on the Armenian issues connected to the events in 1204. Crusader problems such as questions of language and the transformation of societies were also presented. Both in the fall and the winter semester a Curriculum Resource Center program was organized in conjunction with these events.

The international workshop on the Fall of Constantinople was also combined with the search for a new faculty member to teach Byzantine studies. Out of ten strong applicants we invited four scholars to deliver lectures at this meeting and to summarize their proposed educational programs for the department. After a complex selection process the job was offered to Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis (PhD Tübingen, Habilitation Berlin), a leading scholar in Byzantine literature and the interaction of Jewish, Muslim, and Christian cultures. He starts his activity at CEU from the next academic year.

Another interdisciplinary workshop was organized in January, 2004, connected to our international research project based on Vatican Penitentiary archive documents. The first research results were presented and the Central European cases were compared with similar problems in Scandinavia and other areas of Europe. The main results of this workshop were published in a volume entitled *The Long Arm of Papal Authority* in 2004. This workshop demonstrated a



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new type of international co-operation that is becoming more and more typical in our departmental activity. Based on the suggestions of our academic board and guest professors, we have identified research focus points and we concentrate our academic research activity around them, with the strong participation of our present PhD students and our alumni network. We hope that through these projects we can strengthen the academic output of the department in more and more scholarly publications based on these research projects. One clear sign of this is the growing number of new publications in the CEU Medievalia series, in which another volume was published on the problems of *Monotheistic Kingship—The Medieval Variants*, based on an earlier workshop and the connected research project. Another interdisciplinary volume in the same series was created with the help of the Summer University course of the previous year and resulted in the publication of the *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, a collection of essays based on historical, archaeological, natural scientific, and pictorial source materials.

Important public lectures were organized throughout the whole year, which helped acquaint our students with new trends in medieval studies and recent research directions for scholars. Guy Stroumsa (Jerusalem), Anngret Simms (Dublin), and Édouard Jeaneau (Paris) were amongst the speakers, discussing problems of patristics, medieval urban topography, and medieval philosophy.

International academic programs not only typified the semester period of the academic year, but two were organized over the summer. One of them was the third symposium of the International Hagiography Society on the problems of saints and patronage, attracting a large number of foreign scholars to Budapest. A significant part of the program was organized and presented by PhD students working on such issues under the guidance of Gábor Klaniczay, the main figure in bringing this meeting to CEU.

One of the most successful programs of the whole academic year and certainly a remarkable event was the Summer University course on “Changing Intellectual Landscapes in Late Antiquity,” directed by Peter Brown (Princeton) and organized by István Perczel. It brought together leading international scholars such as Aziz al-Azmeh (CEU), Averil Cameron (Oxford), Robert Markus (Nottingham), and many others. This program seriously contributed to our new approach to integrating late antiquity more and more into our standard curriculum as well as into our research foci. Lectures and seminars of the summer university course were combined with a public lecture series by these scholars, a popular and well-attended program even in the heat of summer. We hope that both the emerging Hellenic Center and the Department of Medieval



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Studies can build many further programs on the intriguing discussions and debates connected to this Summer University course.

Another Summer University-type program was organized by János Bak for undergraduate students from University of Wisconsin—Madison in May, 2004. Faculty members and PhD students introduced young American students to historical problems, research opportunities, and cultural heritage monuments of East Central Europe.

I finished last year's head's report by describing the festive events of our ten-year anniversary celebrations. Summarizing the academic year 2003-2004, I mention an equally important and festive event. This time it was not an anniversary that offered the opportunity for celebration, but the "harvest" of many years' work. After the usual defense period of our MA students, chaired by Patrick Geary, Marianna Birnbaum, and Nancy van Deusen, all faculty members were invited to the stage at the graduation ceremony because we needed everyone to escort all the PhD students receiving their doctorates. You can hardly imagine a more festive event than to see more than a dozen medievalists receiving their degrees for their hard work and perseverance.



MA THESIS ABSTRACTS

An Ordinary Monk of the Studios Monastery or a Holy Fool? The Image of Symeon the Studite in the Writings of his Disciples

Marin Cerchez (Moldova)

Thesis Supervisor: Istvan Perczel

External Reader: Basile Markesinis (Catholic University, Leuven)

This research focuses on the figure of Symeon the Studite, a monk of the monastery of Studios who lived in Constantinople in the tenth century. The reconstruction of the image of Symeon the Studite can also shed light to a certain extent on the figures of those who wrote about him and used him as a model of spirituality, or *vice versa*. Accordingly, the goal of this thesis is to answer the following questions: What is his image in the writings of his disciples? Why did the Studite become a stumbling block for the chief court theologian, Stephen of Nicomedia? Was the Studite a holy fool?

There are only a few sources from which we can obtain information about Symeon the Studite: a small number of his own writings, the writings of Symeon the New Theologian, and the latter's *Vita* by Nicetas Stethatos.

The first chapter analyses the evidence about the Studite in the *Vita* of Symeon the New Theologian by Nicetas Stethatos. The second chapter examines the collection of the New Theologian's writings. In the third chapter I have carried out a threefold comparison between the monastic tradition of the Studios monastery, the tradition of holy folly, and the Studite. For the comparative analysis I used the paradigms of *Imitatio Christi* and *Imitatio Diogeni* based on Derek Krueger's investigation of the *Vita* of Symeon the Fool.

The conclusion is, first, that both Nicetas Stephatos and Symeon the New Theologian create an image of a modern saint as proof that the ideal of an absence of passion and sanctity could still be achieved at that time. Second, I have come to the conclusion that the Studite was not a holy fool, because there is no evidence on his part of any *Imitatio Diogeni*, which is a characteristic feature of holy fools. Third, the conflict between Symeon the New Theologian and



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Stephen of Nicomedia over the commemoration of the Studite was based *ab initio* on personal enmity between them, since they were representatives of two different theologies. Hence, the Studite became a *casus belli* to attack the New Theologian. The secondary reason for the conflict was the process of the formalisation of canonisation in Byzantium at that time.

Trade Relations between Western Europe and the Muslim East in the Eighth and Ninth centuries

Zulfia Fayzullina (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Aziz Al-Azmeh
External Reader: Patrick Geary (UCLA)

Interactions between the Christian West and Muslim East after the Arab invasions are an interesting but very complicated issue which has far-reaching implications for a better understanding of both civilizations. Many scholars have worked on the problem, but because of the shortage of sources it still remains unexplored in many aspects. Taking one of these aspects as a research perspective, namely economic relations between Western Europe and the Muslim East after the Arab invasions, the thesis argues for the existence of intercommunications between the Abbasid Caliphate and Frankish Kingdom at the time when they reached the peak of their powers. In an attempt to achieve this purpose, I have integrated the analysis of the literary sources and data of numismatic material on the issue. Also, I correlate evidence from source materials with the scholarly discussion provoked by the famous work of Henry Pirenne.

The Holy Heat: Knightly Saints on Transylvanian and Moldavian Stove Tiles

Ana Maria Gruia (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende
External Readers: Adrian Andrei Rusu (Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj-Napoca), Elek Benkő (Institute of Archaeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

Stove tiles depicting knightly saints have never been studied as a group. The main purpose of this study is to analyse the differences and connections in the



depictions of knightly saints on stove tiles in late medieval and early modern Transylvania and Moldavia.

The similarity is that in both provinces the knightly saints were regarded as embodiments of chivalric culture. Still, there is a difference in accent; in Transylvania the accent is put on the knightly values and in Moldavia on the saintly attributes. I analyse the possible ways of explaining the diffusion of the iconographic type of Ladislav on horseback and I conclude that it was transmitted from Transylvania to Moldavia. I suggest that it might have been transmitted on coins.

The study also discusses questions of chronological, social, and archaeological distributions, comparing the two Romanian provinces. It takes into consideration the possible composition of stoves, issues of workshops and copying. The larger context of the study takes into consideration social, religious, and cultural milieus in late medieval and early modern Transylvania and Moldavia.

**“National Art Histories”
Czech, Austrian, and German Conceptions of the Beautiful Style
Sculpture**

Luba Hédlová (Czech Republic)

Thesis Supervisors: Béla Zsolt Szakács and Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Hana Hlaváčková (Charles University, Prague)

The sculpture of the Beautiful Style was a subject for different “national art histories.” Czech, Austrian and German scholars claimed to possess the origin, development, and continuity of this sculptural material in their respective artistic productions. The primary assumption is that various results which were formulated throughout the twentieth century with the help of methods used for defining the national character of art often reappear today. With the help of the analysis of selected texts from the twentieth-century historiography of art as well as chosen examples of sculptures, the argumentation follows the continuity of past historiographic myths about the mutual conditionality of art and nation.



Revisiting the *Secretum*: Linearity and Circularity in Petrarch's Dialogue

Zsuzsanna Kiséry (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sággy and Marcell Sebők

External Reader: László Szörényi (Institute of Literary Scholarship, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

The *Secretum* is one of the most researched Latin works of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca). At the same time it has provoked the most contradictory interpretations. One group of scholars has applied a biographical approach, trying to use the *Secretum* to gain information from Petrarch's text concerning his life, or, vice versa, trying to understand his work based on what they supposed that they knew about his life. They did not take into consideration the fictive character of the text. The other way to approach Petrarch's work has been to treat it as literature, that is, to analyze it by finding the literary context, embedding the work in literary traditions.

It seems that one aspect of the work has also been neglected by the latter studies: they have not asked the question about the purpose of the text. In my thesis, I offer a new and different approach to the *Secretum*, claiming that the question about its purpose has to be seen as fundamental. By analyzing the narrative strategies of the *Secretum* and its possible readings, I try to answer the following question: What kind of audience might be inferred from the text? According to the two positions of the author in the text (hiding and keeping a distance), two parallel interpretations of the *Secretum* can be established: "linear" and "circular." Consequently, the question of reading, which is also the central topic of the dialogue, should generally be interpreted in both the linear and the circular way. In the linear interpretation it has a moral function, by which it can be justified, while according to the circular interpretation it is an autotelic process that has its use in itself. The clash of these two contradictory interpretations in the text has the function of providing a paradoxical justification of the unjustifiable: that is, poetry. As for the audience, one has to infer the existence of a group of intellectuals on the same cultural level as Petrarch who were able to decipher the message under the *integumentum*, which hid (and hides) it from those who did (and do) not have the same cultural equipment.



**Case Studies on the Problem of the Centre and
Periphery in Western Christendom:
Uppsala and Spalato in the Time of Pope Alexander III (1159–1181)**

Márta Kondor (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay and János M. Bak (CEU); Endre Sashalmi
(University of Pécs)

External Reader: Piroska Nagy (Université de Rouen)

Scholarship frequently applies the terms center and periphery to different parts of Western Christendom, but there is no consensus on exactly which lands can be characterized by these terms. Since *Latinitas* was an expansive and internally changing entity, no model can describe its inner structure throughout the whole Middle Ages. Therefore, the time covered by this research was first limited to the important period lasting from 1073 to 1216, and then further to the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–1181).

The thesis aims at approaching the center-periphery problem in Western Christendom through two case studies. The archbishoprics of Uppsala and Spalato, both lying on the rim of the Latin West, were chosen as the objects of the analysis. On the basis of papal letters from the time of Pope Alexander III the intensity and nature of contacts between the Holy See and these “faraway places” were studied. The main question addressed was what perceptions the Roman Curia had of these territories in the second half of the twelfth century.

The analysis revealed similarities as well as significant differences in the place of the two archbishopric sees in Western Christendom. Compared to dioceses located in France or in England, the intensity of correspondence was considerably lower in both cases. Comparing them with each other, however, it was discovered that different topics were dominant in the correspondence, which suggested that the papal court had a different view of the place and position of these two archdioceses in *Christianitas*. On the Adriatic the large number of judicial cases indicates that the papacy was basically successful in exercising its authority there—usually through legates. In the North, numerous complaints concerning the status of the Church, the non-payment of tithes or still-functioning pagan customs suggest a lower level of integration into the Christian West. At the same time, Uppsala was considered a base for “just wars” against the neighboring pagan peoples. As a consequence, on the basis of this curial approach, it seems reasonable to consider Spalato as “semi-periphery” and Uppsala as “periphery” in the framework of the center-periphery model.

In my opinion, there are two main reasons lying behind the difference. First was the historical development prior to the twelfth century: The influence



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of the Roman and Frankish empires very much determined the formation and the later structure of Western Christendom. Second, lying on the border of two rival cultural-political worlds, i.e. Byzantium and the Latin West, Spalato's geopolitical position provided it with a role different from that of Uppsala (perhaps similar to that of the archbishoprics on the Iberian Peninsula). In the actual political situation this special position was emphasized and Spalato proved to be politically more important for the papal court.

Animal History: Patterns of Authority in the Middle Ages

Alexander Marinov (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Luuk Houwen (Ruhr-Universitaet Bochum)

Isidore's *Etymologiae* were created at the dawn of the Middle Ages and soon became widely popular and influential in various fields of knowledge. Book XII, *De Animalibus* (On Animals), exerted its authority over the literary genres and natural philosophy works on animals. One such work is the *Hortus Sanitatis*, the *Tractatus de Animalibus* in particular, written at the end of the fifteenth century. International scholarship has dealt with both works individually and generally with animal history and the transmission of authority in the Middle Ages. This paper aims at giving definitions of the phenomenon of authority and its transmission in the field of animal history by means of a comparative analysis of the two works. The research is carried out from the philological point of view, but tools of other disciplines have been borrowed in an attempt to approach the problem in an interdisciplinary manner. The results of the study reflect the transformation of authority through the Middle Ages. The shift towards practically oriented and thematically specified authority in the fifteenth century from the wider use of the term in Isidore's time is reflected through a general analysis of the authors' setting as well as with individual examples taken from the text.



Pseudo-Dionysian Excerpts in the Athonite Florilegium Iviron 281

Nadezhda Vladimirova Miladinova (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: István Perczel

External Reader: Basile Markesinis (Catholic University, Leuven)

The work on my MA thesis was marked by interesting results and showed that working with manuscripts can always bring unexpected outcomes. The thesis also demonstrated that every manuscript, even late and fragmentary, deserves attention. A short report on the findings can be presented in three major points: a new identification of the manuscript, the important consequences of this new identification, and an *editio princeps* of several scholia to *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

The thesis examined four Pseudo-Dionysian excerpts and their hitherto unknown scholia. According to the catalogue description by Lambros these excerpts come from an unknown anonymous fragment from the fourteenth century. The data in the catalogue permitted identifying the provenance of the excerpts and, thus, provided the inventory of manuscripts of *Panoplia Dogmatike* with one more witness.

Panoplia Dogmatike or *Dogmatic Armory* is a refutation of all existing heresies, composed by Euthymius Zigab(d)enus, who was the court theologian of Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118). Compiling the *Panoplia*, Zigabinus included the most authoritative texts of the Church Fathers. It is not yet clear whether he took excerpts directly from manuscripts containing the whole text of *Areopagitica* (the direct tradition) or derived them at second hand from earlier anthologies (the indirect tradition). Nonetheless, the collation of the Iviron excerpts with the critical edition of *Corpus Dionysiacum* demonstrated that the indirect tradition, as presented in the *Panoplia* itself, can be useful for editing ancient texts because it may provide important variant readings not attested in the main stream of the direct tradition.

The text of the Iviron manuscript is not the same as the edited *Panoplia*. It contains less and more. Many of the edited texts are missing in the fragment, while the latter's text is different in many respects. In the case of the Dionysian fragments treated here, while the edited text contains some variants against the Iviron fragment (or *vice versa*), the main difference is the commentaries, of which, as far as I can judge, this thesis presents the *editio princeps*.

The research showed that these commentaries are older than the Pseudo-Dionysian text in the manuscript and, independent of the variant readings in the main text, witness a different stage of text transmission. In other words, the commentaries do not comment on the text in the manuscript but on a different and earlier version. The analysis established that their source is *Ambigua ad*



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Thomam written by Saint Maximus the Confessor during the Monothelite controversy in the seventh century.

Based on Saint Maximus' commentaries on the *Areopagite*, the commentaries in the Ivron manuscript seem to comment on already-existing commentaries. These commentaries were the main focus of the study, or to put it in other words, *volens-nolens* the thesis itself became included in the chain of successive interpretation of the *Corpus Dionysacum*. It also showed how important a critical edition of Zigadenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica* would prove to be not only for Byzantine but also for Patristic studies.

The Margery Kempe of the 1990s. A Microhistoriography

Lidia Negoï (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak

External Reader: Grethe Jacobsen (Royal Library, Copenhagen)

The Book of Margery Kempe has been the object of controversial debate since its discovery in 1940. The first autobiography in English, the history of this work written by a fifteenth-century laywoman is not only a token of the religiosity at the end of the Middle Ages, but also presents an interesting case of how twentieth-century historiographical discourse uses and perceives the past.

This essay focuses on 1990s narratives on *The Book of Margery Kempe* in Anglophone historiography, more specifically on a certain volume of essays, *Margery Kempe. A Book of Essays*, edited by Sandra McEntire in 1992. Connecting the items with other studies on Margery Kempe, the image revealed by this discourse is that of a Margery Kempe who corresponds and answers rather to the needs of the postmodern time than to the fifteenth century.

A Latin Rhyming Decalogue in Fifteenth-Century Central Europe. Textual Analysis in an Intellectual Context

András Németh (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: László Veszprémy

External Reader: Edit Madas (*Fragmenta Codicum* Research Group, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

The thesis provides a critical edition and investigation of a late medieval text, a Latin rhyming version of the Ten Commandments, a significant topic in the late



medieval period. The Decalogue became a basic text after the introduction of obligatory annual confession in 1215. From then on it was a significant element of the catechism, education, and preaching. This thesis summarises these fields, emphasising the role of didactic poems in medieval schooling with the example of the Decalogue and the Esztergom Cathedral School.

The text is a didactic summary of the Ten Commandments expanded with additional teaching of the catechism. Originally it was composed at the end of the fourteenth century for educational purposes, probably by Florian Mokrski, the first rector of the University of Cracow. The evidence of the manuscripts testifies that monastic and cathedral schools used this rhyming Decalogue text for educational purpose and monks and secular priests used it for preaching on virtues and vices.

This rhyming Decalogue has been preserved in ten codices in Central Europe. The description of these codices reveals the different users of the poem. The edition of the text, based on eight manuscripts, intends to combine the advantages of the classical way of editing texts and the concept of New Philology and to avoid the disadvantages of both approaches. A textual commentary following the edition analyses the variants of the manuscripts. The multiple approach in investigating the text provides a strong basis for locating it in the intellectual life of fifteenth-century Central Europe.

The Perceptions of the Kingdom of Hungary in Thirteenth-Century English Sources

Zsuzsanna Mária Papp (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky

External Reader: Martyn Rady (School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University College London)

There is an immense amount of literature on national stereotypes, “the image of the other,” perceptions, and other similar interdisciplinary fields and much of it is concerned with medieval material. My thesis deals with a less often analysed segment of the palette: the perceptions of Hungary in England as reflected in the contemporary written sources by thirteenth-century Englishmen. The purpose of this paper was to discover whether there was a pool of data available for English literates in the thirteenth century consistent enough to form specific stereotypes of the country and its people or whether their ideas about Hungary were vague and stereotypical as one of the frontier countries far-off overseas.



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The thesis argues that the references found in contemporary sources can be divided into two distinct groups: records of indirect information (where the author has no first-hand knowledge about Hungary) and evidence of direct contact. Whereas my working hypothesis, that the cataclysm of the Mongol invasion brought about the increase in frequency and depth of information about Hungary, was demonstrated in the case of indirect information, in the case of records of direct contacts a reverse tendency was found, which, in turn, can be explained with the contrary effects of the Mongol invasion.

The sources were peculiar with regard to the study of perceptions. On one hand, indirect records which could transmit the perceptions of their author have hardly any factual information about Hungary. On the other hand, those documents which reveal a profound knowledge about the country, the formal official letters, leave no room for the author's perceptions.

The other observation concerning the distribution of references across both types of sources was that there was no thematic overlap between the two groups. The segment of the literate society that had access to first-hand information about Hungary was a very limited circle and apparently had no contact with the rest of the intellectuals. The conclusion concerning the perceptions of Hungary is that the available information was generally not sufficient to form consistent perceptions among thirteenth-century English literates.

Sanctifying Virtues: Saint Sophia and Her Daughters, Their Image, and Their Role in Late Medieval Hungary

Judit Sebő (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Béla Zsolt Szakács and Gerhard Jaritz

External Reader: Barbara Newman (Northwestern University, Evanston, IL)

The representation of Saint Sophia with Her Three Daughters appears on a great number of late medieval altarpieces from Little Poland and the former Upper Hungary. It was revealed that these four figures, who are the personifications of Divine Wisdom, Faith, Hope, and Charity, began to be venerated as saints in the early Middle Ages and had a cult place in Alsace. The specific type of composition in which they were depicted in most cases was probably developed in Poland at the turn of the fourteenth century. It resembles the iconography of Saint Anne with Mary and the Child and of other enthroned figures. In this study, I discuss the origins of this group of saints, who have an intermediary status between Byzantine and Western cultures, and the beginnings of their cult in the early fifteenth century. I compare their representations to



earlier ones, such as *Sapientia* enthroned, and explain their roles as holy helpers in need and an exemplary mother and virgins, focusing on the Hungarian evidence.

The Meaning and Use of *Bullae* in Late Classical Pannonia in Their Imperial Context

Magdolna Szilágyi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Alice Choyke

External Reader: Paula Zsidi (Aquincum Museum, Budapest)

The aim of this thesis is to make a comprehensive analysis of *bullae*, the globular amulet capsules of the Romans, and their use in Pannonia with special regard to Aquincum. I use three types of sources in the thesis: 1) the actual surviving objects, 2) their representations on statues, reliefs, and paintings, and 3) written sources mentioning the *bullae* in various contexts. Each of these three sources reveals different aspects of how the *bullae* was used by the Romans. The questions I attempt to answer in the thesis are: What are the characteristics of *bullae* made in Pannonia, and are they different from those made in other provinces of the Roman Empire? Who did the *bullae* belong to? Is it possible to point out patterns in the use of the *bullae* in different periods? To aid in answering these questions I have prepared a catalogue of Pannonian *bullae*, a catalogue and a database of graves, and also a list of Classical texts mentioning *bullae* with an English translation for each passage. Having evaluated the available data, I found that *bullae* were used as markers of social status, age, and material status, and also they had an apotropaic function throughout the Roman Empire. From these in Late Roman Pannonia, the amuletic function of the *bullae* seems to have been the most characteristic.

Borrowed Images: Classical Imagery on the Christian Floor Mosaics at Stobi from the Fourth to the Sixth Century

Anita Vasilkova (Macedonia)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy

External Reader: Árpád Nagy (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

Mosaic pavements comprise a major corpus of archaeological finds at Stobi, Macedonia, in the period from the second half of the fourth century to the



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second half of the sixth century AD. They are found in secular buildings (luxurious houses) and basilicas and most of them are well preserved. All the mosaics belong to early Christian art and most scholars have considered them in the framework of the art of that period.

This thesis argues that the widely accepted opinion that early Christian art was partially made from “pagan” imagery can be seen in the mosaics from Stobi. This problem is approached in three ways: 1) the decoration is treated as simple objects of art and analogies with other examples are made, especially with neighboring archaeological sites; 2) the mosaics are put into a social context (workshop, public, and religious life); and 3) stylistic developments in the mosaics are contextualized in the general stylistic development of early Christian art and elements of local influence.

Martyr and Knight: the Cult of St. Anastasia and of St. Chrysogonus in Medieval Zadar

Trpimir Vedriš (Croatia)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy

External Reader: Claire Sotinel (Université Michel Montaigne de Bordeaux)

This work inquires into the making of a cult of the two principal patron saints of Zadar, a Dalmatian city, between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. After clarifying the obscure history of the cults before their introduction into Zadar, I point to some issues from the town's history such as an unbroken tradition of urban living since antiquity and the importance of the bishop in the Early Middle Ages. With the later fragmentation of the spiritual and secular authority, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus came to play a major political role, its abbots opposing the authority of the archbishops of Zadar and actively participating in the resistance to Venice. All these tensions found their expression in devotion to the patron saints of the communities in conflict. While the cult of St. Anastasia, venerated in the city cathedral, was much more important in the early Middle Ages, the cult of St. Chrysogonus came to play an important role in city politics only with the growing power of the monastery in the High Middle Ages. Venerated in the early period as a monk, Chrysogonus came to be represented as a knight, whose image as a charging horseman came to symbolise the pride and self-confidence of the commune of Zadar. With the upgrading of the bishopric to the archbishopric level in the mid-twelfth century, the position came under the strong influence of Venice, leading eventually to the introduction of Venetian bishops in the following centuries. At the same time, the



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monastery developed strong relations with the Croatian and Hungarian court, becoming the political power known as the “king’s party” in Zadar. The aim of the research is to show how the cults of St. Anastasia and of St. Chrysogonus reflected these tensions, and how the social and political circumstances led to the replacement of the city’s principal patron saint, St. Anastasia, and established St. Chrysogonus as the new principal patron of the commune.



PhD DEFENCES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2003–2004

The Slavic Destiny of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares: Dissemination and Use of the Code from the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Century

Victor Alexandrov (Russian Federation)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 4 May, 2004, consisted of Alfred J. Rieber (CEU, Department of History), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Heinz Miklas (University of Vienna); Ralph M. Cleminson (University of Portsmouth); the external reader was Predrag Matejić (Ohio State University).

The *Alphabetical Syntagma* is a Byzantine legal collection compiled by Matthew Blastares, a monk from Thessaloniki, in 1335 and translated into Church Slavic soon afterwards, by 1349. From that time onwards it enjoyed great popularity among the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians.

In this dissertation an attempt is made to outline the history of the Slavic translation of Blastares' code in the Orthodox countries situated north of Byzantium (subsequently post-Byzantine Greece) from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. I have taken into account all Balkan (that is, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian) manuscripts and the East Slavic codices produced not later than the seventeenth century. Not excluding other problems of the history of the Slavic *Syntagma* completely, I have laid special emphasis on the issues of provenance and dissemination of manuscripts and on the problem of the use of Blastares' collection.

The evidence discussed in the dissertation falls into three major parts. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 highlight the historical background and origin of the Slavic translation. Chapters 4, 5, and 7 are devoted to an analysis of the manuscript tradition of the code. Finally, in chapters 6 and 8 the references and quotations from the Slavic *Syntagma* are discussed. The text of the dissertation is followed by the "Chronologico-Geographical List of the Syntagmata," which is more



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than an appendix: chapters 4, 5 and 7 are the interpretation of the data found in this list and can be considered as a historical commentary to the list.

At least thirty-eight (or probably thirty-nine) Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian *Syntagma* have survived, dating from the period between the fourteenth and seventeenth century, and thus Blastares' code greatly outnumbers any other Slavic canon law collection used in the medieval Balkans. The twenty-two East Slavic manuscripts that I am aware of should be added to the Balkan *Syntagma*.

With regard to the details of the origin of the Slavic text, I rejected the idea that ideological reasons (the allegedly pro-Constantinopolitan partisan views of Blastares) played a crucial role in the translation of the *Syntagma*. The analysis of the relevant passages of the code demonstrates that the politico-ecclesiastical ideology of the *Syntagma* is complex and contradictory. Along with the pro-Constantinopolitan rulings, the *Syntagma* evidently includes the anti-Constantinopolitan ones. I have no clear explanation for this discrepancy, but in any event the extreme bias of Blastares in favour of the patriarchate of Constantinople is just a historiographic myth.

The sporadic Serbisms in the social and administrative terminology of the Slavic *Syntagma* reveal that probably the translation was made by a Serb. The origin of the Slavic *Syntagma* is connected with the general outburst of translation activity in the fourteenth century and with the strong Hellenising tendencies of the epoch. The good reputation of Blastares and the practical advantages of his code, although they were partially lost due to the disappearance of the alphabetical organisation in the Slavic translation, should also be mentioned among the possible reasons for the translation. The ideological considerations could only have been an additional reason for that choice. All of the data indicate the Holy Mountain or the southern regions of Dušan's state (modern Macedonia, Kosovo and the area of Serres) as possible places where the translation could have been made.

The greatest number of the South Slavic *Syntagma* come from the last decades of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, and from the second quarter to the end of the sixteenth century. However, the correspondence of this diffusion to the periods of the politico-ecclesiastical history of the Balkan Slavs should be treated very carefully, as the total number of the surviving South Slavic *Syntagma* is not sufficient to give convincing statistics. The provenance and circulation of most of the Serbian and Bulgarian *Syntagma* are or could be related to prominent literary centres, primarily to the important and privileged monasteries closely related to the sees of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops. This fact indicates the role of the *Syntagma* as the code for the high clergy's administration.



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Most of the Moldavian and Wallachian *Syntagma* of whose origin we are aware are related to the “courtly” monasteries and churches, primarily to the foundations of the families ruling in those periods. In the Moldavian and Wallachian Churches, the *Syntagma* appears to be, so to speak, the “official” canon law collection.

Favourable to the Church of Ohrid, Blastares’ position concerning the autocephaly of the Balkan Churches allowed the partisans of Ohrid to make use of the *Syntagma* in support of their territorial claims. Three cases of such a use are discussed in the dissertation.

In Rus’, one can find the earliest evidence of the circulation of the Slavic *Syntagma* only in the second half of the sixteenth century, but from the beginning of the following century the rapid dissemination of Blastares’ code started in Ruthenia and Muscovy. Most of the East Slavic manuscripts constitute a special version, completed with additional subheadings and an index and supplemented with penitentials. In Muscovy, the manuscript transmission of the *Syntagma* can be attested from the 1630s. In the middle of the seventeenth century this code was copied and deposited in several privileged monasteries closely connected with the court of the patriarch of Moscow. In the first half of the 1690s, a new translation completed by Evfimij of the Čudov monastery was prepared for print, but this project failed. In Rus’ the diffusion of the *Syntagma* was related to seventeenth-century Greek cultural influences and limited primarily to the Hellenophile milieu. Although in this period the *Syntagma* was well known in Ruthenia and Muscovy, in none of these countries was it as popular as in the Balkans.

In the dissertation, I also make suggestions concerning a new, highly desirable, edition of the Slavic *Syntagma*. My study is only an introduction to the history of the Slavic *Syntagma*. Future research could clarify the issues outlined in the present work or correct my conclusions.

Byzantine Iconoclasm (726-843): A Study in Theological Method

Vladimir A. Baranov (Russian Federation)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 12 May, 2004, consisted of István Bodnár (CEU, Department of Philosophy), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Gregory Lourie (Russian Academy of Sciences); György Geréby (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies); the external reader was David B. Evans (Bibbiena, Fresh Meadows).



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This study was aimed at reconstructing the theology of the Byzantine iconoclasts and identifying of their doctrinal sources. The controversy over images was theologically centred and had theological strata from the very outset. Comparison of the *Apologies in Defence of Images* of John of Damascus (dated to the initial stage of the debate) with later iconoclastic sources showed that many of the theological points attested in the later sources were discussed in the earliest stage of the controversy. The analysis of the form and content of the parallels presupposes the existence of an early iconoclastic source which John of Damascus attempted to refute and which was later used by the iconoclasts at the time of the Council in Hieria (754).

In the *Definition* of the Council the role of the soul of Christ as a mediating principle with the divinity is emphatically stated. This Christological scheme, derived from Christian Platonist Christology, must have conditioned the primary objection of the iconoclasts, the Christological dilemma. The iconodulic failure to render the soul of Christ on the icon results in a confusion or separation of natures, since it is the soul that holds the natures of flesh and divinity together. Since the icon cannot represent the soul of Christ, such an icon remains an inanimate piece of wood, and those who venerate it commit idolatry. This position also sets a theological framework for the iconoclastic application of the Second Commandment, and allows modification of the scholarly opinion that icons at the early stage of iconoclasm were simply rejected because of the crude and literal understanding of the commandment by the unsophisticated Emperor Leo III. Another Christological objection of the iconoclasts was based on the premise that the human flesh which Christ assumed into his hypostasis played for them a role similar to the general matter of the philosophers. Since this substrate is shaped according to the form which it receives, it cannot be distinguished by any portrayable features, thus if an iconographer depicts the traits of the flesh of Christ, the icon is not “verible” since any bodily features are assigned to him by an arbitrary choice of an artist.

In two places of the *Definition* the flesh of Christ is described in contradictory terms: in the Christological union the flesh is called “coarse,” whereas when Christ comes for the last judgement, his flesh is described as “God-like” and “out of coarseness.” This seeming contradiction is resolved if we take it as relating to different periods of Christ’s life: “coarse” flesh *before* Christ’s resurrection, and the same flesh becoming subtle, luminous, and deified after the Resurrection. Such a doctrine can be identified with the Antiochene teaching on two *katastases* or two states of reality—material, corruptible, mortal, and changeable—in which Christ existed before his resurrection; and immaterial, incorruptible, immortal, and unchangeable afterwards.



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This doctrine pre-conditioned the iconoclastic eucharistic theology. To “false” icons, the iconoclasts contrast the “true” one—the bread and wine of the eucharist consecrated into Christ’s body and blood. Since the real body of Christ after his Resurrection is spiritual and incircumscribable, is able to appear and disappear coming through closed doors (with Christ appearing to the disciples after the Resurrection perceived as similar to prophets’ visions in which the incorporeal God appeared to them in corporeal form), the circumscribable host of the eucharist may only be an image of such a body, albeit a consubstantial image. In this aspect, iconoclastic theology seems to have been influenced by the Antiochene sacramental theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia or his followers. According to the iconoclasts the process of consecration transforms the gifts from the realm of things “made-by-hands” into “not made-by-hands,” whereas icons without such a consecration remain in the realm of things “made-by-hands,” the term used for the description of pagan idols in the Bible. As an iconodulic reply to this doctrine, the term “not-made-by-hands” becomes attached to the anthropomorphic Edessa image of Christ.

The influence of Antiochene theology can also be traced in iconoclastic church programs. The substitution of secular images for cultic images in churches during the reign of Constantine V, in spite of its component of political propaganda, may be interpreted as an attempt to create a coherent image of the tabernacle where the altar, corresponding to the Holy of Holies, represents the noetic reality with the plain Cross, the symbol of the resurrected Christ, whereas *naos* stands for sensible reality. Thus the theology of iconoclasm in its main tenets can be identified as Origenist Christology embedded into a Chalcedonian framework with some clearly Antiochene elements.

Migration and Identity during the Lombard Invasions

Irene Barbiera (Italy)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 14 October, 2003, consisted of Francisca de Haan (CEU, Department of Gender Studies), chair; József Laszlovsky (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Walter Pohl (University of Vienna); Miklós Takács (Institute of Archaeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences); the external readers were Cristina La Rocca (University of Padova) and Tivadar Vida (Institute of Archaeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences); external consultant: †István Bóna (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest).



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According to the documentary sources, the Lombards ruled in Pannonia from around AD 510. Continuous conflicts with the neighboring Gepids led the Lombards to ally themselves with the Avars. When the Avars moved towards Pannonia, the Lombards left the region and invaded Italy. In the year AD 568 they entered the Friuli region and occupied it. Their first settlement was Cividale.

Archaeological documentation dating to the period of the Lombard occupation in the two areas, Hungary and Italy, has always been used, together with other sources, to clarify important questions about migration, identity and social construction of this Germanic group. In particular, starting from the 1820s, research was mainly oriented towards matters of ethnic identity as expressed through grave goods from cemeteries. Using categories of grave good types and styles, archaeologists tried to define the ethnic origins of the buried individuals and attempted to answer questions concerning integration between the German invaders and local communities as well as social changes within the migrating community. This approach presupposes that groups were coherent units and that this unity was expressed in funerary contexts through the deposition of grave goods whose style reflected a precise cultural “entourage.”

Historical literature has recently been devoted to reviewing the classical interpretation of migrating groups as coherent ethnic entities. The general idea which has emerged is that they were rather open micro-societies, whose identity was fluid and adapted to circumstances. It follows, then, that there is a question about the role of material culture and style in the expression of group identity and whether the production or use of artifacts was meant to express any kind of inter-group identity. Only very recently have archaeologists begun to debate the meaning of artifact type deposition in graves and its relation to the expression of identity in funerary contexts.

Within this premise, the research questions I raised in my dissertation revolved around trying to explain the meaning of multiple behaviors in funerary contexts, starting from a gender perspective. Questions were raised about the relation of grave goods and gender, age and social status, cemetery construction and migration, and whether different funeral behaviors were found in different areas and, if so, how this could be related to migration and integration between newcomers and natives, first in Pannonia and then in Italy. For these purposes, the methodology used to answer these research questions has been to describe and compare cemeteries dated to the Lombard period in two areas significant to the Lombard question. These are Hungary (here I considered the cemeteries of Hegykő, Szentendre, and Tamási) and the region of Friuli in Italy (S. Stefano in Cividale, Liariis near Ovaro and Romans d’Isonzo were studied here). The starting point of the investigation was whether grave goods’ deposition in graves



reflected gender and if so, what was its relation to age classes and cemetery organization.

Interestingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, different types of cemetery construction were found in the two areas investigated. The three Hungarian cemeteries display a very similar organization, corresponding to the distribution of artifacts in graves based on the gender and the age at death of the individuals. Women dying when they could be betrothed or married or could still bear children were buried with a complete set of female artifacts. Males could receive a complete set of weapons and other male artifacts if they died at an adult and/or mature age. Also, individuals of the same sex and age were often buried in groups of graves. This attitude seems to indicate an age-based status, reflecting a quite egalitarian funerary community. Thus, inter-familial social differentiation was not expressed in a funerary context, possibly because there was no marked differentiation among kin groups.

What is particularly interesting is the completely different organization apparent at the Italian cemeteries. There, and in particular at Cividale (S. Stefano), grave good selection did not reflect age at death. Instead, graves were arranged in clusters possibly corresponding to family groups. Each group developed around the graves of founder ancestors, mainly a male buried with weapons. The selection of the grave goods as well as the position of the graves also seemed to stress the membership of the buried individuals in the kin group. In addition, inter-group differentiation was marked, with one of the groups being particularly wealthy. It has been hypothesized that as new groups settled down, the acquisition of power by groups of newcomers, possibly the acquisition of land by the new ruling families, and the presence of a town like Cividale might have resulted in the kind of cemetery construction found at S. Stefano.

Not only did cemetery construction change, but also grave goods' selection, the type of graves, and space concepts between the two areas. Differences were greater than similarities so that one must ask whether the cemeteries from the two areas could actually belong to the same group, given that new funerary strategies were adopted in such a short time. It seems more plausible that, as has been pointed out elsewhere, groups were fluid and heterogeneous, so the way they reacted and adapted to new situations was also heterogeneous.



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Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387

Zsolt Hunyadi (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 11 March, 2004, consisted of László Kontler (CEU, Department of History), chair; József Laszlovszky (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Giles Constable (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton); Anthony Luttrell (Independent scholar, Bath, UK) Tamás Kőfalvi (University of Szeged); the external reader was Michael Gervers (University of Toronto).

The primary goal of this dissertation is to reveal the major characteristics of the history of the Hospital of St. John in Hungary from its appearance in the mid-twelfth century up to the end of the Angevin rulership (1387).

The general problem with the earlier monographs (from Georgius Pray to Ede Reiszig) is that they do not meet modern scholarly standards, although many scientific works (especially source editions) have stood the test of time. Re-thinking the questions about the Hospitallers is motivated by the fact that the exploitation of new sources and using new methods may yield more exact and reliable results, which will eventually channel the students of the field towards contemporary international standards. Accordingly, the thorough revision of Ede Reiszig's work on the Hospitallers in Hungary is not only justified by the period of eight decades that have elapsed since its publication. The historiography of the Hospitallers has also been burdened with a serious conceptual problem for a long time. In contrast to the Western European context, Hungarian and many Central European (Latin) written sources often use the term *crucifer* instead of the appropriate *frater hospitalis*, *miles Templi*, conceivably with reference to the cross depicted on their habits. This has led to confusion, as many scholars treated the houses and the landed properties of other orders of similar status (e.g., the Order of St. Anthony, the Order of the Holy Spirit, and so on) as belonging to the Hospital, and vice versa.

This dissertation is rather positivist in nature, but the premises noted above demanded the rigorous observance of the old imperative: *ad fontes*. It should be emphasized, however, that the sources at my disposal are inadequate for an entire reconstruction. I intended to maintain a certain equilibrium during the presentation and evaluation of the research presented.

In addition, I am fully aware (and have tried to act accordingly) that there are different themes in the (re)writing of the history of the Hospitaller Hungarian-Slavonian Priory. As a direct consequence of this state of research, the core of this dissertation aims at reconstructing the history of the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory. Nonetheless, while analyzing and evaluating the facts and train



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of events, I have also endeavored to reflect upon both the overall history of the Hospital and on several aspects of Hungarian society from the twelfth through the fourteenth century. This approach was a prerequisite for exploiting recent achievements of mainstream contemporary scholarship focusing on the history of the Order as well as new fields of interest concerning Hungarian social history. The dissertation attempts to correct arrears in research partly by briefly surveying relevant mainstream ideas as well as by pointing out the links between the Hungarian Priory and the Order as a network of priories and preceptories. In addition, an attempt was made to present and evaluate all the specific activities of the Order as well as the local characteristics of the Priory.

Besides the immediate results of the present dissertation, I am convinced that the outcome of this survey can be fully exploited by putting it into a wider context of comparative investigations. First of all, a similar analysis of the Templars in medieval Hungary would provide a solid basis for comparative research. A research project was recently launched aiming at such objectives, but unfortunately it has remained unfinished. As soon as it is completed there will be grounds for comparing the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the Hospitaller sources with special regard to the similarities or dissimilarities of the strategies of the orders and the effect they had during their presence in the kingdom of Hungary. Additionally, comparison of the local characteristics of the neighboring regions (Bohemia, Austria, Poland) would also yield important results and provide an opportunity for broadening the horizon of interpretation. Finally, the new picture drawn of the military-religious orders should be compared with those of other religious orders that settled in medieval Hungary. These future steps would complete a contribution to the recovery of medieval church history in Hungary which was driven into the background for many decades.

The full abstract of this dissertation is published in the annual of Szeged University: *Chronica* 5 (2005) (forthcoming).

The Fate of the Croatian Noble Families in the Face of Ottoman Advance

Ivan Jurković (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 9 March, 2004, consisted of Mária Kovács (CEU, Nationalism Studies Program), chair; János M. Bak (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Neven Budak (Zagreb University); Emil Heršak (Institute of Migration, Zagreb); István György Tóth (CEU, Department of History); the external reader was Paul Freedman (Yale University).



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This work is the first attempt to systematize the problem of the involuntarily displaced Croatian nobility during the Ottoman conquest. The destiny of particular displaced nobles, as well as the change in the social structure of different dislocated families who shared a migratory pattern at that time (1463–1593), is the focus of this dissertation. Thus, the purpose is to draw the attention of historians to the results achieved by other social sciences (in the first place by sociology) in the field of human migrations. Basic typologies and models of migrations used in sociological studies may be applied to almost all civilizations during the history of mankind because it does not seem that differences in behavior of people engulfed by *involuntary migrations* are significant regarding the space and time in which they occur. The example of the sixteenth-century Croatian refugee crisis is a good case in which cooperation among historians, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, demographers and scholars of kindred disciplines might result in high-quality studies of involuntary migrations (*forced* and *impelled*) in comparative perspective throughout history.

The dissertation is arranged in five parts. In the first, introductory, part, basic terms used in the thesis are explained: classification of displacees into four elementary types (*émigrés*, *refugees*, *exiles* and *defectors*), as well as the classification of territories covered by military operations (*occupied territory*, *the first zone of war peril*, *the second zone of war peril* and *the safe zone*). Here, a short review is presented of the sources used, dispersed in different archives of Croatia, Italy, Slovenia, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. A survey of previous scholarship regarding the fate of displaced Croatian nobility is also given (mostly included in reviews of political, military, economic, demographic, and religious development of sixteenth-century Croatia).

The second part of the dissertation presents a short “Historical Background” of the events in Croatian lands, from the military (“The Military Situation along the Croatian and Slavonian Frontier”), the economic (“The Economic Condition in Croatia during the Second Half of the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Century”) and the political (“The Political Position of Croatia”) points of view. An account of the place and role of displacees in these events is also included.

In the third part of the dissertation, the histories of seven Croatian noble families caught up in the process of involuntary migration are described (the Berislavići, Keglevići, Kružići, Draškovići, Križanići, Ugrinovići, and Jurjevići). For all of these families there is clear evidence that they had to withdraw in the face of the Ottoman advance. The basic criterion for the choice of these families in particular among innumerable similar involuntarily displaced noble families is the possibility of studying a family through three generations from the moment of its displacement. Other criteria for the choice of these noble families



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include, for example, success in preservation of social status, and also the choice of the place of immigration, which played an important role in the history of all of these families. The strategies employed in attempting to survive the Ottoman onslaught are particularly emphasized when discussing each of the case studies, likewise the attempts at preserving their old identities during the times of settling into their new surroundings.

In the fourth part of the dissertation methods of sociology and—as far as possible—a comparative approach are applied. The results of the case studies are used to give a more precise insight into three basic topics: the types and models of migrations, the status of displaced Croatian nobles in different areas of immigration, and the attitudes of people in their surroundings towards them and their self-image. Each topic is elaborated and explained relying on the case studies, supported by other examples connected with different displaced families with a similar fate, those that were not included in the basic corpus of case studies.

The fifth part of the dissertation closes with conclusions (“Instead of a Conclusion”) and the lists of the published sources and secondary literature (“Bibliography”) quoted and used in the dissertation.

In order to better explain the main ideas and the results of the research, a number of supplementary materials are offered, such as six maps included in the main corpus of the dissertation. Besides these maps, there are nine more maps in the appendices, where there are also three graphs, two tables, eight genealogical charts, four textual supplements, a chronological list, a glossary of the less well-known terms used in the dissertation and a gazetteer of place names.

The *Epistula Abgari*: Composition, Redactions, Dates

Irma Karaulashvili (Georgia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 11 June, 2004, consisted of Susan Zimmermann (CEU, Department of Gender Studies), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Bernard Outtier (Bibliothèque du Caucase, Saulien); György Geréby (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies); the external reader was Zaza Alexidze (Tbilisi State Institute for Manuscripts).

The subject of this dissertation is the apocryphal legend of King Abgar, which includes his famous correspondence with Christ, and several legendary stories, such as those on the Christianisation of Edessa and those on the miraculous appearance of the *acheiropoietos* Edessan Icon of Christ (known in subsequent



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literature as *Mandylion*) and its copies (*Keramidia*). The dissertation treats one of the Greek versions of the Abgar legend, namely the text of the *Epistula Abgari*, which earlier scholarship had dated to 1032 and which was considered to reflect the latest stage of the legend's development. I believe that by using a scrupulous methodology I was able to arrive at some radically new conclusions concerning this apocryphon. I present strong evidence that the texts of the letters, with all their variants, do not represent any new translation made from Syriac in 1032 AD, but rather a gradual development of the Greek text.

In order to clearly distinguish the apocryphon bearing the title *Epistula Abgari* from other versions of the legend which also contain the correspondence of Abgar with Jesus, Chapter 1 first establishes a typology of the different versions of the Abgar legend. This provides a clear assessment of all the different types of sources used. Then, bearing in mind that the text represents a compilation of different parts that were created, most plausibly, at different times, the text was divided into several separate parts, and separate chapters devoted to each of them.

Chapter 2, "The Texts of the Letters within the Main Body of the *Epistula Abgari*," presents the text of the letters. The variant readings of these letters make it possible to distinguish several redactions of the text of the letters of Abgar and Christ.

In Chapter 3, "The Apotropaic Expressions in the Greek and Oriental Traditions," the Nessana Papyrus and different versions of the *Epistula Abgari*, together with various multilingual versions of the letters of Abgar and Christ made it possible to reconstruct the process of the gradual expansion of the texts of the letters, that is to say, the enlargement of the text with the inclusion of the apotropaic sentences and the addition of the Seven Seals and their explanation. A study of the apotropaic part of the letter permitted distinguishing its typology and differentiating the Byzantine and Oriental traditions in the formulation.

Chapter 4 discusses "The Closing Part of the Letter of Christ in the *Epistula Abgari*: the So-called Seven Seals and their Explanation." These Seals that were initially attached to the letter of Christ in analogy to the "ineffable name" of God, were later increased to seven in number and received the form of the "attributes of God." The introduction of the Seven Seals and their explanation, in their analogy to the Mosaic Tablets, pre-conditioned the appearance of the motif of the *ἀχχειροποιητος* icon of Christ.

Chapter 5 examines "The Story of the Edessan Icon of Christ within the Main Body of the 'Epistula Abgari'." A comparative analysis of the terminology applied to the icon, as represented in the different versions (Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian), allowed me to reconstruct the earliest terms used to denote the icon of Christ. Moreover, a comparative analysis of the different



texts pertaining to the icon in early Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian sources made it possible to obtain further material in favour of the hypothesis, proposed earlier by Kathleen E. McVey, that a famous passage of the Syriac “Hymn of the Great Church of Urha,” which speaks about an “image not made by human hands,” does not refer to the Icon known from the legend of Abgar, but is a symbolic representation of the Heavenly Tabernacle.

The analysis of different later texts dealing with the Edessan Icon has allowed me to reconstruct the formation process of different stories, written—according to my thesis—after the *Epistula Abgari*. Namely, that the discovery of the Icon during the Persian siege of Edessa in 455, as preserved in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Evagrius, two redactions of the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus*, and the *Narration on the Divine Image of Christ Not Made By Human Hands*, was attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus.

Chapter 6 relates “The Story of the Edessan Icon: Different Versions.” The Greek, Georgian, and Slavonic versions of the *Epistula Abgari* allow us to conclude that two versions (with regard to the act of delivery of the Image), with two variant readings (with regard to the way the Holy Face was imprinted on the Cloth) were in circulation. Moreover, the story of the Icon, as presented in one of the manuscripts, allows us to conclude that at least two Greek redactions of the apocryphon with regard to the Image were spread.

Chapter 7, “Yahyā of Antioch and the Georgian Translation of the *Epistula Abgari* in the Alaverdi Four Gospels,” is entirely devoted to the analysis of the Georgian text and its comparison with the parallel Greek, Arabic, and Syriac versions of the Letters. The inclusion of this last section was prompted by the fact that the received dating of the apocryphon—established by Ernst von Dobschütz in 1900—was based on the testimony of Yahyā of Antioch and that the only version of the text that displays similarities with the one presented by Yahyā is the Georgian translation of the *Epistula Abgari* included in the Alaverdi Four Gospels, dated to 1054 AD. The conclusions of the chapter are that the testimony of Yahyā cannot be used for the dating and the Alaverdi translation of the apocryphon represents a compilation of several different sources and cannot be regarded as the translation of a lost original.

In the Conclusion, the analysis of the different versions of the *Epistula Abgari* extant in diverse languages compels me to say that there are cases, such as that of the *Epistula*, when an attempt to make a “universal” critical edition of a given text is doomed to inevitable failure. In such cases it is always better to look for and distinguish different redactions of the text, and establish a separate critical apparatus for each of them. Then, comparing the critical texts of the versions thus obtained may reveal a much more significant picture than any attempt to squeeze out a single “original” from all the existing versions of the text.



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**Transformations of Philosophical Metaphors in Text and Image:
From Plotinus to John Damascene and Christian Iconography**

Irina Kolbutova (Russian Federation)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 17 February, 2004, consisted of István Bodnár (CEU, Department of Philosophy), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; István Bugár (University of Debrecen); György Geréby (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies); the external readers were Levan Gigineishvili (Tbilisi State University) and Edouard Jeaneau (PIMS Toronto; C.N.R.S., France).

The overall structure of my thesis is arranged in three parts, with the first two constructed so that they have a symmetrical structure, where the first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the particular problems of Plotinus and the rest of the chapters deal with closely connected problems or the reworking of the Plotinian ideas in Christian authors. The third part has a completely different structure, based on the use of the iconographic sources as well as closely related or more remote literary sources.

The choice of the iconographic monuments was more or less strictly determined by the iconographic version of the two Platonic metaphors from *Phaedrus* and *Timaeus*. As I tried to demonstrate in the second part of my thesis, the same two metaphors of Plato were preserved and elaborated by the Christian tradition as an exegesis on Eph. 3:18, “May be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height,” as the cosmic cross, and an exegesis on Ezekiel’s vision of the chariot of the four Living Creatures and the appearance of a man (Ez. 1:4-28). An important stage in the development of these two exegetical trends was reached, it seems, when Pseudo-Dionysius united the Plotinian and the preceding Christian tradition of the interpretation of the Platonic metaphors from the *Phaedrus* and the *Timaeus* into one system, thus making their utilisation possible in Christian iconography.

On the other hand, Plotinus incorporated the real, hand-made Egyptian symbols into his philosophical system, functioning as the border between the sensible and intelligible universes, comparable to the formative principles by means of which the Soul, instructed by the Intellect, shapes matter. The germ of the intellectual principle in these Egyptian symbols allowed Plotinus to compare them with the visual symbols—*agalmata*—in the souls of wise men, who reach the stage of a non-discursive knowledge, higher than the discursive thinking fixed in a written form by means of the phonetic writing system. Non-discursive thinking, or vision, in the human soul seems immediately to touch the lowest unfolding of the thought of the universal Intellect, that is, the formation of the



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matter by the universal Soul by means of the formative principles. This process can be considered as the “language” in the universal Soul, expressing the thought in the universal Intellect. Similarly, in the human soul the language unfolds the *agalmata*—concepts, or “intellectual acts”—into words, and at the same time human memory reflects as a mirror and keeps the contents of what was unfolded by means of the representations in the image-making power.

In the context of Christian theology, Pseudo-Dionysius determined the place for the Plotinian mirrors (*agalmata*) on the lower edge of the created intelligible universe, where they function as the intelligible symbols into which the Ray, that is, the Christ-*Logos*, unfolds the contents of His other aspect, the Intellect, for the sake of the knowledge of God by human minds. Pseudo-Dionysius enriched his construction by the theory of the *charagmata* from different Christian and philosophical traditions. They are the graphic symbols, including the Divine Names, placed by this theologian on the upper edge of the intelligible universe, accessible only to the higher ranks of the angelic hierarchies. The grades of knowledge correlate in Pseudo-Dionysius with the symbolism of the sacraments, including the elements of architectural symbolism, where the sacrament of baptism, connected with the *naos* (the Temple), symbolises the ascent from the sensible to the intelligible symbols, the sacrament of *synaxis*, connected with the sanctuary, is related to the meaning of the intelligible mirrors (*agalmata*), and the sacrament of *myron* with its fragrance symbolises the direct descent of the Ray onto the ecclesiastical highest intellects.

The core of Dionysian theological symbolism of the architecture of the Church was developed into a complete system by Maximus the Confessor. St. Maximus counterbalanced the Dionysian correlation of the *charagmata* and *agalmata* with his theory of the *logoi*, namely, images and concepts at the same time, which have been incarnated both in the letters of the Scriptures and in the visual variety of the material created universe.

The same tradition, it seems, laid the foundation for the development of the language of Christian iconography. An appropriate “reading and understanding” of this language can allow scholars to use Palaeo-Christian and medieval iconography as valuable sources providing additional information besides the literary sources or even filling in the gaps in the reconstruction of contemporary religious life and the development of theological thought.



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Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century

Előd Nemerikényi (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 23 March, 2004, consisted of László Kontler (CEU, Department of History), chair; László Veszprémy (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Edit Madas (*Fragmenta Codicum* Research Group, Hungarian Academy of Sciences); Giles Constable (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton); the external reader was Barbara A. Shailor (Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University).

The principal thesis of the doctoral dissertation is the following: the Latin classics had a stronger impact on the formation of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary than has been acknowledged before. The Introduction elaborates on the relevance of the methods of the disciplines of Classics and Medieval Studies and locates the scope of the dissertation in the field of the philological study of Medieval Latin and the Classical tradition in the Middle Ages. Justification for the subject is provided by the definition of the Latin classics, *classici* in Roman antiquity and *auctores* in the Middle Ages—a distinct category of the standard Latin author. The selection of the four major sources from the fragmented evidence is based on their value for carrying information on the various channels of influence. These four sources serve as points of departure for the four chapters of the dissertation. By exploring the complex system of filters but avoiding over-interpretation, the dissertation aims at opening new insights on the reception of the Latin classics in medieval Hungary. A disclaimer explains the exclusion of sources such as charters, law codes, historical and hagiographic accounts, and liturgical texts.

Chapter One, on “The Cathedral School,” departs from the letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs about the Latin grammar of Priscian. It examines the role of Priscian’s comprehensive grammar as a mediator of the Latin classics in the medieval curriculum as well as the features of Fulbert’s and Bonipert’s career relevant to the sending of the grammar from the cathedral of Chartres to that of Pécs. Giving an overview of the grammatical holdings of cathedral schools in Central Europe, the chapter concludes that Bishop Bonipert’s book request aimed at teaching advanced Latin in the cathedral school of Pécs.

Chapter Two, on “The ‘Admonitions’ of King Saint Stephen of Hungary” is a Latinist analysis of an anonymous mirror of princes. Examining the influence of Biblical Latin, it provides an overview of the Carolingian antecedents with special reference to Classical influence on the literary genre of the mirror of princes. The adaptation of the organic metaphor to the



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representation of the bishops and the use of the medieval concept of Rome in the work show a degree of Classical Latin influence on its composition. A set of direct and indirect textual parallels to Classical, patristic, and medieval works is also appended.

Chapter Three, on “The ‘*Deliberatio*’ of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád,” offers a detailed philological study of the Classical aspects of an exegetical treatise. Highlighting some of the relevant medieval glosses in the manuscript, the chapter examines the author’s patristic sources and Classical quotations. His ambivalent approach to the seven liberal arts and especially his use of the technical terms of ancient rhetoric are subjected to careful discussion. The lexical and stylistic peculiarities of Book One provide a case study for the textual analysis of the author’s Latinity—as well as his use of various literary conventions, such as the way of addressing a fictive audience. A set of direct and indirect textual parallels to Classical, patristic, and medieval works is also appended.

Chapter Four, on “The Monastic School” is devoted to the Classical items in the book list of the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma: Cicero, Lucan, Donatus, and the *Dicta Catonis*. It examines the role of these school authors in the late antique grammatical tradition as well as in the patristic, Carolingian, and medieval curriculum. Giving an overview of the Classical holdings of monastic schools in Central Europe, the chapter concludes that the Latin classics served the purpose of teaching elementary and advanced Latin at the monastic school of Pannonhalma.

The “Conclusion” finds that the material raises complex questions that are to be solved in their complexity. Among the general findings, it highlights the average training in Latin and the second-hand knowledge of the Latin classics compared to the major centers of learning in the West. While the principal thesis of this dissertation is proven correct on the basis of the philological study of the four major sources, it shall be tested in the directions of further research that embrace the notion of imported mainstream culture, study of the sources excluded, and the broadening of the chronological and geographical scope.

The Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility: Examples of Split, Trogir and Zadar

Zrinka Nikolić (Croatia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 25 May, 2004, consisted of Ayse Caglar (CEU, Department of Sociology), chair; János M. Bak (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Neven Budak (University of



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Zagreb); Katalin Szende (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies); the external readers were Diane Owen Hughes (University of Michigan) and Carol Lansing (University of California, Santa Barbara).

In the period between the end of the eleventh and the middle of the fourteenth century, the Dalmatian urban elite changed from a social-economic category to a legally closed stratum of the urban nobility that monopolised local government, excluding all others who themselves, or whose ancestors, were not members of the Great Councils. Although the development of the elites in Mediterranean urban society has attracted attention of scholars for a long time, the development of the elites in medieval Dalmatia has not yet been extensively studied, particularly the area of the three cities (Split, Trogir and Zadar) in the aforementioned period. This dissertation explores a number of possible aspects that could have enabled the families of the urban elite of these three cities to successfully find and maintain a place among the local urban elite, and thus enter the circle of urban nobility constituted in the fourteenth century.

The chapter on the *memoria* of the urban nobility shows that by the fourteenth century the perception of noble origin and identity stemming from antiquity on the part of the urban nobility as a group was fully developed only in Split, where the only story of the origin of an individual family is also recorded. Church foundations and patronage rights seem to have played a part in developing a *memoria* among the nobility, emphasising the image of antiquity and awareness of mutual kin relations. However, these rights did not contribute to the strengthening of noble lineages, since they were also inherited by descendants of women, in accordance with the old perception of family borders before the establishment of the lineage. In the chapter on the Dalmatian urban elite before 1100 it is emphasised that due to the presence of this old perception of the family it is difficult to connect genealogically the Dalmatian families appearing in the sources before and after 1100.

The chapter on the social and political influence of external factors (consisting of the Croatian noble kindreds and kings of Hungary and Venice) on the formation of the Dalmatian nobility reaches the conclusion that these factors were irrelevant for the establishment of the noble standing of Dalmatian families. However, the powers of the hinterland (Croatian magnates such as the Šubići along with the Angevin kings of Hungary) could significantly influence the prosperity of their Dalmatian clientage, particularly from Zadar, and thus establish them as the leading families within their local class.

The chapter on officeholding shows that the majority of the Dalmatian nobles from the fourteenth century had descended from the holders of the highest communal offices available to the local elite during the previous two



centuries (ca. 60% in Split and Trogir, and more than 80% in Zadar). The status of these families as nobles was already established by the fourteenth century and at that time could not be jeopardised by their potential economic or demographic decline. The minority of councillors who did not belong to these old families, but were accepted as nobles in the fourteenth century, were still prevented from holding the highest offices up to the end of the fourteenth century.

The chapter on the relations with the Church shows that service in the Church did not influence the noble standing of the family. Attachment to church offices or institutions also does not appear to have been a long-term policy of Dalmatian families.

The chapter on the economic status of the Dalmatian urban nobility shows that this social group was primarily, with rare exceptions, constituted of those families who had made their fortunes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their economic advantage was based on the possession of most of the land and exploitation of valuable sources of income of the period—salt pans and mills—as well as city furnaces and oil-mills. The participation in trade and certain aspects of banking activity was also important, but by the fourteenth century it no longer sufficed for rising to the circle of nobility.

The chapter on family structure shows that by the fourteenth century the Dalmatian noble families were constituted in term of patrilineal lineages. This process is shown especially by the gradual exclusion of women from the right to inherit on terms equal to those of men. However, in the fourteenth century, cognatic ties were still considered important and played a great role in the integration of Dalmatian families into the local noble societies.

The chapter on social topography presents the use of urban space by the elite. This included partial privatisation of urban walls and their use as private towers, bestowing prestige and giving the families a potential means of control; placing of residences in the prominent part of the city; intentions to group the family property but without the presence of any monopolisation of city quarters.

Finally, the chapter on the influence of the Black Death on the formation of noble society in Dalmatia shows that, along with other disasters—most significantly the Venetian persecution of the Zaratín nobles—it did not influence the constitution of the noble class, since the factors of social affirmation did not change nor were new factors introduced. The conclusion summarises the results of previous chapters. Holding the most important communal offices, controlling the main local economic resources (primarily land, salt pans and mills, and to a lesser extent trade and financial activities) as well as establishing family connections with other distinguished local families were crucial factors of the formation of Dalmatian nobility. Those families who



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had fulfilled these requirements by the fourteenth century constituted the majority of Dalmatian nobility. In these aspects the nobility of Zadar preceded the nobility of Split and Trogir, since they had established themselves earlier and showed a greater cohesion of their stratum as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.

**The Trade of Sibiu in the Sixteenth Century:
The Evidence of the Town's Customs Registers**

Mária Pakucs (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 27 May, 2004, consisted of Katalin Péter (CEU, Department of History), chair; Balázs Nagy (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Erich Landsteiner (University of Vienna); Bogdan Murgescu (University of Bucharest); the external reader was Teréz Oborni (University of Pécs).

The main objective of the dissertation is to reconstruct the commercial traffic reflected by the account books of the customs of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) from the sixteenth century (1500–1597). Chapter 1 consists of a detailed description of the twenty-two extant Sibiu customs registers according to their external characteristics as well as their contents. Special emphasis was put on identifying the typology of these primary sources with respect to their composition and constituent parts. One particularity of the Sibiu customs registers which influences and determines all investigations based on them is that they record in detail only the “oriental trade” (the flow of specific oriental goods such as Ottoman textiles, spices, Ottoman leather products, dried fruits, and rice coming into Transylvania via the overland routes of the Balkan Peninsula).

The further limitations of the Sibiu customs registers are discussed in Chapter 2. Working with medieval units of measurement and moneys of account was a difficult task. However, the definition of the measures applied at the customs of Sibiu in the sixteenth century, as well as the equivalencies between these measures, was established. The most suitable approach to the question of the money of account (florins and denars) was the conversion of the florins of account into florins of gold and to operate with the values of the gold coin. The customs duties at Sibiu were collected in cash and, for the oriental goods, in kind at 5% of the value or the amount of goods.

Chapter 3 aims at offering an insight into how Sibiu became an important trading center in the late Middle Ages after obtaining the staple right in 1382.



Another relevant aspect investigated in this chapter concerns the history and functioning of the customs point in Sibiu. The commercial practices that emerged in the trading relations between Saxon and Wallachian merchants engaged in the long-distance trade with oriental goods are studied according to certain key concepts such as reputation, honesty, and information. Delayed payments and credited buys were the most convenient forms of commercial transactions, especially when money was short.

Chapter 4 focuses on the secular trend of the trade through Sibiu as it can be reconstructed on the basis of the customs registers. A new schematization of this trade is put forward, based on the division between long-distance trade on one hand and regional trade on the other. The long-distance trade consisted of the conveyance of Western manufactured products southwards and of oriental goods into the Hungarian kingdom. Because of the nature of the registers, for most of the sixteenth century the analysis of the trade is built upon the dichotomy of oriental and non-oriental trade. This chapter also aims at comparing the trade of Sibiu with that of Braşov and other customs points of the region. Years with overlapping registers are, however, rather exceptional. The main conclusion of this chapter is that the trade routes passing through Sibiu and Braşov continued to function. For Braşov there was a dramatic decrease of the commercial traffic by the middle of the century, whereas for Sibiu the registers show a different trend: the 1540s brought a doubling of the recorded trade compared to 1500.

Chapter 5 presents in detail the composition of the oriental trade according to categories of products: textiles, spices, leather products, clothes and footwear, foodstuffs, dyestuffs, textile products, and miscellaneous products. Although the basic composition of the oriental trade remained the same, one of the most striking developments in the second half of the sixteenth century was that the leading role of the luxury textiles and spices was taken over by cheaper mass-consumption products: cotton textiles, footwear, leather boots, headscarves, dyestuffs and alum.

Chapter 6 discusses the merchants recorded in the customs registers of Sibiu. These sources testify to the growing presence of Balkan-Levantine merchants in the oriental trade of Sibiu and of Transylvanian during the second half of the century. These traders, generically called “Greeks” by the contemporary sources, replaced the Saxons and the Wallachians in the distribution of the Levantine oriental goods. The conclusion sums up the main findings of the thesis and sets tasks for further research. Appendix I and Appendix II comprise tables with data from the customs registers, on goods and merchants, which were not introduced in the main body of the text. Appendix III contains the transcription of the unpublished customs registers of Sibiu from 1537 to 1597.



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Medieval Nobility in Central Europe: The Himfi Family

Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu (Romania)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 14 June, 2004, consisted of Susan Zimmermann (CEU, Department of Gender Studies), chair; János M. Bak (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Patrick J. Geary (UCLA); Martyn Rady (SSEES, University College London); the external reader was Adrian Andrei Rusu (Romanian Academy of Sciences).

The choice of this subject was influenced by the latest developments in the historiography of medieval elites from Central Europe. I chose the Himfi, a family with a complex history and relatively important achievements in the fourteenth century, as well as a unique source material. I used as a model the monograph of Erik Fügedi dedicated to the development of one single noble family (the Elefánthy), juxtaposed against a survey of the social, political, and juridical aspects of the life of a Hungarian nobleman.

Unlike other more important noble families in medieval Hungary whose records are now lost, the Himfi's activities are preserved in approximately one thousand charters issued between 1270 and 1500. The investigation sought to reconstruct the genealogical tree of the family between 1270 and 1440, trying to identify its members, describe their activities, political careers, estate growth and conflicts. The thesis consists of two main parts: the first part takes the form of a narrative rendering of the development of this family through six generations. The second part is analytical and discusses some general aspects in greater detail.

Based on the Himfi case, presented at length in the first six chapters of the first part, the *familiaritas* is discussed in further detail in the first chapter of the second part of the dissertation. I analyze the significance of this institution for the political and economic development of the Himfi and their careers as *familiars*. Their position on the "ladder of service" as patrons, the extraction of the individuals that were recorded in their service, and finally how *familiaritas* was conceived by their contemporaries is presented in a separate section.

The second chapter is dedicated to the investigation of the status of noblewomen. I approached the question of the filial quarter and the slow changes that seem to have affected the status of women. In the third chapter, I address the question of the solidarity of the kindred and the form of the noble group. As previous research has shown, the noble group varied between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century. It developed from *genus* or *generatio*, a larger group of nobles related through blood ties, towards a narrower group, what Martyn Rady called *parentela*, usually consisting of the sons of one father. The Himfi's development displays a similar trend. From the second generation



onwards they were in practice organized as a *parentela*. However, the kindred did not disappear, although certainly its role was reduced. In the same chapter the importance and position of other types of kinsmen, namely the *affines* and the *proximi* are examined.

The fourth chapter contains a discussion of conflicts and litigations. A few examples of litigations inside and outside the kindred are examined. The conflicts took various forms ranging from open conflicts, violence, killings, plundering and destruction of properties to court disputes. The causes of this enmity are not always transparent; however, in many cases the origin lay in conflicting claims to land. The violence was sometimes directed toward the nobles, and very often to their dependents, *familiares*, servants, and tenant peasants. Although violent trespass was considered a high crime, punishable by death, there are many such accusations in my records.

Noble economy (revenues, expenses, incomes) is discussed in the fifth chapter. I have tried to assess the structure of the incomes of a noble household by investigating the records of the Himfi. Although their estates were important, the total amount of revenue is hard to establish. The Himfi possessed herds of horses and cattle in various villages. They were also involved in the wine trade, money lending, and gold mining. The revenues of the royal *honores* seem, however, to have more importance than the incomes of their estates.

In the sixth chapter, I address the question of noble literacy, taking it as the ability to read and write as well as the use of writing among the nobility. The Himfi sent and received letters to and from each other, apart from the royal written mandates, which suggests the existence of scribal skills within this layer of the nobility. Although the idea that nobles at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century widely employed writing for purposes of communication is very tempting, there is no possibility to prove that they themselves could read and write at this time.

“... from my body I behold God” (Job 19, 26): A Contribution to the Revaluation of the Theoretical Background of the Origenist Controversy

Ágoston Schmelowszky (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 11 May, 2004, consisted of Ferenc Huoranszki (CEU, Department of Philosophy), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Guy Stroumsa (Hebrew University of Jerusalem); Monika Pesthy (Apor Vilmos Catholic College); the external readers were Alexander Golitzin (Marquette University) and Maurice Kriegel (EHESS).



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As is evident from the title, the focal point of my work is the Origenist Controversy. The first chapter presents the debate, its historical background, and the main theoretical issues at stake. Following the guidelines of the most recent scholarship, I argue for a deeper understanding of the origin of the antagonistic theoretical positions, namely, those of the Origenist anti-anthropomorphite and the anthropomorphite parties.

Accordingly, the thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part deals with the early Jewish visionary mystical tradition, for, following the footsteps of Gedalyahu Guy Stroumsa and Alexander Golitzin, I hypothesise that the anthropomorphite position goes back to early Jewish mystical motifs, which directly or through Jewish-Christian literature, made a deep impact on the Egyptian monks. I try to give a coherent interpretation of the material, of its genesis, and of the main theoretical issues lurking in it. For doing this, it was inevitable to enter the much broader question of the nature of mystical experience. Using current literature of the history of religion and of psychology, I sketch out a typology which is useful in understanding the genesis and significance of the material under consideration. I argue that the trigger for the genesis of this special type of mysticism was the destruction of the Second Temple of Jerusalem. In my work I use pertinent parts of the *Mishna* and the *Tosephta*, those of the *Gemaras*, some *midrashim*, and the *Hekhaloth* literature (the Measurement of the Body included). I also treat the Book of Creation (*Sefer Yetzirah*) as a different paradigm. Archaeological evidence, a magical gem (the *Anguipede*), is also treated in this context.

The second part of the thesis is a new interpretation of Origen. Its novelty stands in the fact that I treat Adamantius consistently as a creative visionary mystic and as an ingenious disciple of the early Jewish visionary mystical tradition. I argue that his mystical approach differed from his Jewish peers in that he fused the mystical visionary quest with the interpretation of the Scriptures. Interpreting Origen, I used the pertinent works of three modern scholars (Henri de Lubac, Jean Daniélou, and Henri Crouzel) as guidelines. In order to understand Origen, it was inevitable to also turn my attention to the *logos* tradition, especially to its most salient representative, Philo the Alexandrian.

Returning to the historical point of departure, after these tendentious but nevertheless tenable interpretations, the question is still open: From a theoretical point of view, how could the Origenist Controversy take place? Taking into consideration the fact that Origen's mystical universe can be better understood by a parallel reading of contemporary Jewish visionary motifs, his anti-anthropomorphite stance needs a more balanced revaluation. How and why, then, did his name become associated with the anti-anthropomorphite party in the Controversy? My theoretical inquiry cannot answer these questions but can



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formulate them in a more characteristic manner. My thesis can be classified as intellectual history using philological, philosophical, psychological, and historical theories and methods.

**The Tocco of the Greek Realm
(Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)**

Nada Zečević (Serbia)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on 2 March, 2004, consisted of Sophia Howlett (CEU, Dean of SEP), chair; János M. Bak (CEU, Department of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Radivoj Radić (University of Belgrade); Felicitas Schmieder (University of Frankfurt am Main); Anthony Luttrell (independent scholar, Bath, UK); Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis (University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau); the external reader was Ljubomir Maksimović (University of Belgrade).

The aim of my thesis was to study the history of the Tocco family, who ruled the region of the Greek Ionian islands, Epiros, and some parts of the Peloponnese during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The fact that this family, originating from southern Italy (Benevento/ Naples), were foreign to the Greek region they governed is additionally significant because their domain was constantly exposed to the direct interests of many “super-powers” of the time (Venice, the Neapolitan Angevins, the Byzantine Empire, etc.). My interest in the Tocco, who played an important political role in this region of frequent conflict, was also strengthened by the absence of current critical scholarly work on all the “Greek” generations of this family. Among other factors that significantly shaped the research on this topic was also the growing scholarly demand for re-examination of the existing “national” approaches. The family has, even nowadays, been largely seen as an oppressive group of foreign (Latin/Italian/“Frankish”) Catholic conquerors in opposition to the subjected and oppressed local Greek Orthodox population.

Given these circumstances, the thesis focused on four major questions: the chronology of the Tocco advancement, the socio-political circumstances of their ensconement in Greece, and the consequences of their rule, both for the members of the family themselves and the world around them.

In methodological terms, the research was done through the basic methods of historical research, that is as a chronological analysis of the events recorded for the Tocco by the remaining source evidence. To some extent, I dealt with some functional issues (the structure of the family), as well as with



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certain phenomenological topics (e.g. their self-perception). My focus on these topics, however, was largely limited by the evidence of primary sources which is scarce and fragmentary, revealing only some aspects of the Tocco life in Greece.

The major conclusions of my thesis are the following:

a) The Tocco rule in Greece can be regarded as a five-stage evolution: “preparation” by Guillelmo (1320s), settlement on the Ionian islands by Leonardo I (1320s–c. 1375), further propagation of power in Greece by Carlo I (c. 1375–1429), gradual decay under Carlo II (1429–1448), and final retreat from the region by Leonardo III (1449–1479) due to the Ottoman conquest.

b) The most important circumstances that prompted the Tocco success in Greece were their attachment to the Angevins who ruled Naples, excessive military might under Carlo I, a skillful strategy of family alliances that comprised sophisticated tactics such as loyalty to several “super-powers” at a time, marriage attachments to the prominent regional figures, cunning diplomacy, and even forgeries.

c) Although their power was based upon open segregation, the Tocco undoubtedly experienced a certain degree of integration into the world they governed. Therefore, the thesis ends with an overall conclusion that this family played the role of an interactive rather than conflictive factor in the region of the time.



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Compiled by Petra Mutlová

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