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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 13 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the academic year 2005–2006. As usual, the first section contains articles based on MA theses or papers presented by our students at conferences. This year's thematic block arose from an international archaeological excavation project that took place in the summer of 2006 in Ravenna. The aim of the four co-operating teams from the Universities of Bologna/Ravenna, Barcelona, Leicester and CEU was a control excavation and re-interpretation of the late antique basilica of San Severo in Classe, the former port of Ravenna. Our department was represented by eight PhD students and our MA coordinator under the leadership of József Laszlovszky, assisted by our alumna Irene Barbiera as well as Gergely Buzás, archaeologist and art historian. The readers of the *Annual* will be the first to receive a concise report on the results of the excavation campaign by the four leaders of the project, as well as a more detailed presentation of the research carried out on the northern side of the basilica, the site of a Benedictine, Cistercian, and Camaldulian monastery. In addition, two papers are included on different aspects of continuity or discontinuity after the fall of the Roman Empire in present-day Western Hungary. They were presented as part of the discussion series connected to the Ravenna project at the workshop "Translatio, Transformatio" in Budapest in September, 2006. For more information on the excavation project and the associated events please visit http://www.ravennantica.net/.

Our guest article, written by four renowned scholars from the Center for Medieval Studies of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague, represents another major event of the previous academic year, a meeting entitled "Religion and State Formation: Comparative Perspectives from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages." This interdisciplinary workshop, hosted by our department and co-organized with the Religious Studies Program at CEU and the Center for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen, explored the role of religion in the formative stage of the establishment of various states. We hope that the material of the workshop will be published as a whole in the not-too-distant future.

Part II of the yearbook follows the practice of the previous volumes of the *Annual*; it describes the main events of the 2005-2006 academic year and offers a survey of our new graduates' work. For more information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, please consult our newsletter, the *Medieval News*, and our website (http://medstud.ceu.hu). We would also like to call our readers' attention to the intense publication activity of our department, which is reflected, among other works, by the hitherto

published nine volumes in the CEU Medievalia series, administered by CEU Press (www.ceupress.com).

This year the editors were helped in the most demanding tasks of copy-editing by a small but very efficient pair of PhD students which consisted of Brian McEntee and Csaba Németh. Besides 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

NYMPHAION: A BYZANTINE PALACE IN EXILE

Julia Jedamski

This article deals with the ruins of a Byzantine palace, dated to the thirteenth century, which is situated near Izmir in western Asia Minor, Turkey. The aim here is to analyze the architectural design of the building and to summarize additional written evidence about the site. Both examinations, framed by the method of *Residenzenforschung*, will help to place the building into the history of Byzantine Asia Minor after the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

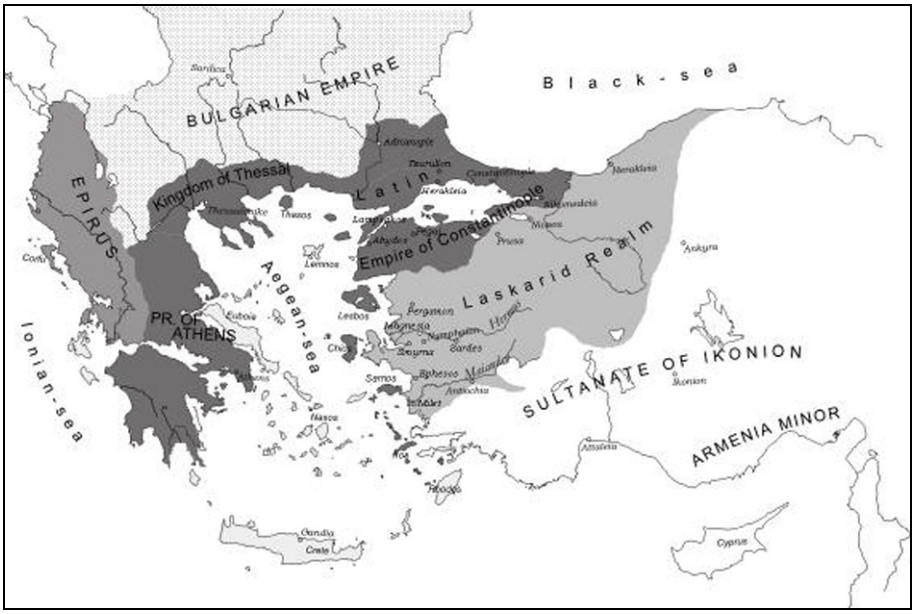
Historical Context

The disastrous event of the Fourth Crusade and the fall of Constantinople to the crusaders brought the Byzantine Empire to a temporary end in 1204. Based on its Roman heritage, the empire was, in every respect, centered upon its capital; thus, with the loss of its head, the unity of the Byzantine territory fell apart. The capital had been the guarantor of safety and the symbol of self-identity; the sudden loss of Constantinople was a situation that had never been expected. There was absolutely no experience of how to organize—how to live in—the empire without the imperial center. The surviving Byzantine elite had to flee to various parts of the provinces, where smaller Byzantine realms emerged during the following years.

In Asia Minor, Constantine and Theodore Laskaris immediately started to organize resistance against the crusader army, first from Nicaea, close to Constantinople. Here, in 1208, Theodore re-established the Byzantine patriarch and was crowned emperor, which is why this Byzantine realm is usually known as "the Empire of Nicaea," which lasted from 1204 until 1261. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, John III Vatatzes (1222–1254), who secured the realm in Asia Minor and led it into a short period of flourishing prosperity. Most likely under his reign, an imperial residence was built at Nymphaion, in the southern part of the territory, some four hundred kilometers away from Nicaea and close to the city now called Izmir. The ruin is standing even now in quite good condition, although it has not yet been integrated thoroughly into the history of the thirteenth century.[1] In the long run the emperors of Asia Minor

[1] Semavi Eyice, "Le Palais byzantin de Nymphaion près Izmir," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses, Munich 1958*: 150–153; an extended version of this paper was published in: *Belleten* 25 (1961): 1–15; Tatiana Kirilova Kirova, "Un palazzo ed

prevailed against their rivals in Epiros and Trapesunt (Trabesond) for the reconquest of Constantinople. Under the usurper Michael VIII Palaiologos the city was reconquered in 1261 and the Byzantine Empire re-established, which marks the end of the period in exile.



Map 1. The Laskarid realm around 1215.

Methodology

The aim of the research presented here was to integrate the so-called palace of Nymphaion into the history of the Laskarid period.[2] To achieve this goal, the architectural design of the building was analyzed and accounts in written sources were examined in order to gather information about its purpose and usage. The

una casa di età tardo-bizantina in asia minore," *Felix Ravenna* 103–04 (1972): 275–305; Hans Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979): 263–296. (Henceforth: Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture.") These articles focus on art historical analysis, but neglect the function and meaning of the building in the Laskarid period.

[2] This paper is based on my MA thesis of the same title submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest, in 2006.

method of *Residenzenforschung* was applied, which made it possible to combine written and archeological sources and to assess not only the architectural design, but also its function and meaning, within the realm. *Residenzenforschung* was developed by Western medievalists in order to understand sovereignty based on *Reisekönigtum*—itinerant kingship—in medieval kingdoms. It focused on places that were regular stations on the *itinera* of a ruler and examined what activities and events the ruler organized during his stay and how he built up his residence both physically and institutionally. At first sight, it does not seem to fit the Byzantine world, since Byzantine rule was not based on itinerant kingship and sovereignty was not located in several places of a territory. In Byzantium, imperial power resided in Constantinople, but exactly this location was lost for almost sixty years. Thus the question can be posed: How was a reign organized in Asia Minor during the period in exile, when the former imperial center was out of reach?

The topographical organization of Laskarid sovereignty has not yet been analyzed thoroughly. Nymphaion with its Byzantine palace is an excellent starting point because the choice of Emperor John III Vatatzes to settle there might reveal how the realm was structured differently than before. By the choice of Nymphaion as one imperial residence, the emperor and the patriarch, who remained in Nicaea, were separated from each other by around 400 km. It was the only period in Byzantine history when the two main branches of the empire were not settled in the same city. *Residenzenforschung* is a new approach that has not been used before in this context. It can provide a framework to examine the period from a fundamentally different perspective, not focusing on the final result (the reconquest of Constantinople), but on the intermediate period of exile itself in an analysis of the system of rule that was practiced in this Byzantine realm. It is known that the new situation lasted for more than two generations. What new system of rulership was invented and where was it centered, if it was centered at all?

Two monographs have focused on the Byzantine realm in Asia Minor. Alice Gardner's account of the political events from 1204 until the recapture was written in 1912; Michael Angold, writing in 1975, concentrated on the society and administration system in the period of exile.[3] In neither perspective on the Laskarid period were archeological sources an essential part of the research. Applying *Residenzenforschung* to this particular building shows that the

[3] Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea: The Story of the Empire in Exile* (London: Methuen, 1912; reprint, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964); Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

evaluation of archeological sources adds a new perspective on the Laskarid period which might change somewhat the general impression of the "period in exile."

Setting

Turkish Kemalpaşa lies 30 km eastwards of Izmir, the ancient harbor city Smyrna, on the rim of a valley; to the west rises the mountain slope of Ulu Dağ.[4] Not much is left of the Byzantine site Nymphaion and no excavation has ever been done there. The remains of a Byzantine fortress complex consisting of ruins of towers, walls, and a gate stand here on a hill which rises above the modern settlement to the south. In contrast, the so-called palace of John III Vatatzes is situated in the level area of the town center on the main road that comes from Izmir. It was discovered and first identified as a Byzantine monument by Edwin Freshfield in 1886.[5] He suggested, based on the account of Georgios Akropolites, that this building was the palace of Nymphaion built by Emperor John III Vatatzes (1224–54)—an interpretation which has been widely accepted among scholars.[6]

The building was conceived as a simple, rectangular hall with a ground floor and three upper levels. It has survived in quite good condition: three walls are still standing partially up to the third floor.[7] The ground floor seems to have

[4] The descriptions are based on my visit to Kemalpaşa in May, 2005. The pictures presented here were taken by myself during this survey.

[5] Edwin Freshfield, "The Palace of the Greek Emperors of Nicaea at Nymphio," *Archeologica* 49 (1886): 382–390 (henceforth: Freshfield, "The Palace"). For him it was easy to connect the spot with the description of Akropolites, since due to the remaining Greek population it still had preserved its Greek name: "About fifteen miles or thereabout from Smyrna, a little to the right of the high road on the northern slope of Tactalu, is a village called by the Greeks Nymphio…" Edwin Freshfield, "The Palace," 382. It was renamed Kemalpaşa only during the shaping of the modern Turkish state, after the last Greek inhabitants had departed.

[6] So far no final proof for the identification of the building has been assembled. Although all the clues suggest a firm connection between the building and Emperor John III Vatatzes, this can only be considered a hypothesis based on the historical context of that area and stylistic elements of the monument.

[7] Whether more annexes were attached to the building is not known. Since modern houses erected in the last decades now surround the monument, the chance of finding further Byzantine remains in the neighborhood is diminished. Even if one agrees with the observation of Freshfield's report (from the 1880s) saying that "all that is left of the palace is the central hall" (Freshfield, "The Palace," 386), it cannot be excluded comp-

the greatest inner height; the upper floors diminish in height slightly towards the top. The long sides of the hall are oriented roughly east-west, the short sides north-south. The roof and interior construction have collapsed and today fill the whole ground floor up to the first floor. At first sight one sees the typical dominant Byzantine masonry mixture of equal-sized stone and brick-mortar layers, which gives the building its regular striped appearance. The rows of windows of the three upper floors, incorporated into the eastern and western walls, are symmetrical both horizontally and vertically and add to the strict regular character of the façade.

Architectural Analysis

Façades (Figs. 1–3)

At first sight, as detectable on the ground plan, the architectural design is quite symmetrical and clear: two axes, one north-south and the other east-west, provide a simple structure. The longitudinal sides of the building, approximately 25 meters, are a little more than twice the length of the narrow sides, about 11.5 meters. Four windows are set symmetrically in each longitudinal side, opposite each other; they are open to the outside in narrow apertures of only 2–3 centimeters and widen toward the interior. At ground level in the central space of the longitudinal eastern side, a break measuring around three meters in height, between three and four meters at the bottom and slightly narrower at the top, is presumably the indication of the former entrance of the building. The original frame of the entrance door has not survived.[8] The northern wall has collapsed down to ground floor level due to an inner stairway, which created a hollow space inside the wall (*Fig. 2*). Otherwise the design of the interior on the ground floor level cannot be analyzed, since the other three walls are standing and the interior is filled with rubble and earth up to the first floor.

The three upper floors are done in alternating layers of stone and brick, but the ground-floor façade consists of massive white ashlars (*Fig. 2*). The western façade is the best-preserved (*Fig. 3*). The narrow window openings on

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letely that other Byzantine buildings were erected around the remaining one. What should be stressed here is that further buildings, if they ever existed, did not survive, probably because their execution was of lower quality than that of the palace.

[8] A similar gap can be found on the opposite side in the western wall, differing from that on the eastern wall in shape: it is triangular, the peak oriented toward the top, with a wall filling remaining in the gap. Due to lack of space I will not explore the suggestion of a double entrance here.

ground-floor level can hardly be detected from a distance; the windows integrated into the upper levels, on the other hand, are quite striking.[9] Two windows to each side and one double window, a so-called *bifora*, are set into the masonry of the first floor. This window-pattern seems to have been repeated at the second level as well; although this cannot be established with certainty since the upper frame enclosing the windows has not survived. The third floor cannot be examined, since the collapse of the roof affected the structure of what seem to have been formerly existing windows. Probably there was a repetition of both the middle *bifora* and the outer single windows, or possibly six equal-sized windows in a row. No frame, arcade or the like emphasizes any of the windows on the whole façade; apart from the opening itself the façade is plain and the layers of stone and brick are the only decorative elements.

The eastern façade survived in its entirety only up to the first floor; only a small remnant of the second floor remains. The window solution of the western façade was not mirrored on the first floor: six windows were placed into the wall equidistant to each other; a *bifora* can be excluded here (*Figs. 1* and *4*).

The narrow southern façade still exists on the ground and first floor levels, but on the second and third levels only the corners are still standing (*Fig. 4*). This is the only part of the building where a *spolium* can be seen: a marble plate incorporated into the closing layer of the ground level in the southwest corner.[10] Two huge windows dominate the first floor; the frames are no longer intact, but compared with the inner surface the construction is clearly visible. On both corners the masonry projects up quite high, whereas the space above the windows of the first floor has collapsed.

[9] It can be seen on the photographs that although the place and shape of the windows can be identified, none has survived intact, meaning that the frame of each window has already been destroyed. One can still see the thick masonry between the outer windows and the broken remains of what was the frame of the central windows—probably separated only by a small column. Thus, a *bifora* can be suggested based on the remaining structure of the central windows.

[10] This detail has not been mentioned so far in the literature. Further investigation was not possible because of the height and the fence construction in front of the building, but from the pictures I have taken it seems that the present bottom side of the plate is carved. Whether this might be a helpful indication concerning the dating, or other aspects, must remain open at this point.

Fig. 1. Palace of Nymphaion, eastern façade.

Fig. 2. Palace of Nymphaion, interior from the north.

Fig. 3. Palace of Nymphaion, western façade.

Fig. 4. Palace of Nymphaion, interior facing the southeastern corner.
(All pictures taken by the author)

*Interior (*Fig. 4*)*

The materials used for the inner walls are the same as those used for the outer ones: stone, brick, and mortar. However, the arrangement of these materials differs depending on the construction. Bricks and mortar were used for several vaulting solutions, whereas small stone and brick layers form the plain surfaces of the inner walls. The huge stone ashlars that were the flooring for each level, and also incorporated into the important carrying frames such as pilasters and the inner wall of the staircase, can still be seen.

Although the triangular windows can be seen on the ground level, the frame constructions around them are heavily damaged; it is impossible to reconstruct the inner space without excavation. However, a part of the central space on the ground floor can better be observed since the level of rubble is lower there.

Two remnants of narrow arches can be seen on the eastern wall between the probable entrance on the ground floor and the central windows of the first floor, which according to their shape are remnants of cross vaults (notice the arches above the entrance on *Fig. 4*). In the space between these two arches stands a remnant of an extensive arch which is approximately 2 meters wide and leads to the interior of the building in the form of a tunnel vault. A similar construction is visible below the *bifora* of the corresponding western side, which suggests that a complex vaulting system covered the entrance space on ground level. What is clearly visible on the photographs is that the level of the three arches does not correspond with the flooring of the first level. In other words, here, above the east-west axis, the height of the flooring is somewhat higher than on the southern and northern parts due to the arches: One needed to climb up some stairs to reach the central space from the northern or southern spaces.

On first floor level, two features catch the eye of the viewer immediately: huge arches cover the central windows on the long east and west sides, as well as the two windows to the south. From the setting of the bricks it can be seen that these are traces of a barrel vault along the north-south axis and a cross vault covering the east-west axis.

Since this building is considered the temporary residence of a Byzantine emperor, the question of a throne or other imperial seat is implied. If the flooring on the first floor had a pedestal along the east-west axis as described above, the preferred place for an imperial seat would have been the space above the entrance on the first floor on the eastern side. As the wall at this place is quite plain and the space between the windows wide enough, the back of a chair would have fit the space there. In front of the seat the opposite *bifora* opens towards the outside and would also have emphasized the space. Pilasters protrude from the wall between the two outer windows to the north and south on each long side. They carried smaller underpitch vaults that fit into the barrel vault.

On the first floor, the northern wall contains the remains of a vaulted staircase. Embedded in the northwestern corner at the height of the second floor, a narrow sloping vault formed of brick and mortar in a small niche indicates the location of the staircase. Its direction points upward, but there are not enough surviving remains from the vaulting to reconstruct its exact course. A similar corresponding construction, although somewhat lower, is detectable on the opposite side; here the structure is more destroyed. As Buchwald has already suggested, a staircase here with two flights seems possible, one flight integrated into the northern wall and the other parallel inside the building.[11] Since the first floor is quite high, two flights even seem to be necessary to use the staircase without too much effort. How the staircase on the following level continued is impossible to say due to the structural damage. Pilasters can be detected in parts of the second floor, which indicates that this level was also vaulted. However, the preservation of this level is too poor for an accurate analysis.

Remnants of the third floor that have survived on the western side show that no pilasters were elaborated here; the surface between the windows is plain. Therefore a vaulted ceiling can be excluded. As this was probably the last level, the solution of a light ceiling construction made out of timber seems likely.[12]

Evaluating the façade of the building, the austere, pure geometrical appearance is striking at first sight. Red and white colors dominate the walls; the regular horizontal stripes are not interrupted by any usual features like blind arcades or variations in the arrangement of brick and stone. Sober simplicity and architectural modesty prevail in this edifice. The fact that the building is a single construction, judging by the plain surfaces, never connected to any other structures or walls, adds to the modest architectural character.

The building was erected in one single phase and the use of different materials was connected to static reasons or indicates a decorative usage. Arches and pilasters that indicate the vaulting system are incorporated into the masonry in such a way that it is clear they were not later additions; the same is true for the staircase. From the planning and construction phase on, each vaulted ceiling and the staircase was already part of the building.

Written Evidence

The additional examination of written sources is crucial for deriving a more complex picture of Nymphaion and the function of the building, including its place in the Laskarid realm. The work of Georgios Akropolites will be used as

[11] Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," 265, especially note 19.

[12] Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," 266.

the primary history for the Laskarid period. He was born in 1217 in Constantinople and moved to the Laskarid realm in 1233, where he was John III Vatatzes' protégé.[13] The chronicle of Akropolites covers the whole period in exile from 1204 until 1261 and must have been written in the 1260s after the reconquest of Constantinople.

All in all, Nymphaion is mentioned in seven different contexts throughout his work: One pertains to the reign of Theodore I Laskaris; four pertain to the reign of John III Vatatzes, one to the reign of his son Theodore II Laskaris and one further to the dominion of the usurper Michael VIII Palaiologos.[14] In none of them is Nymphaion as a town or the palace itself the focus of his report; the only place it comes up is embedded in issues related to the emperors. Yet, by evaluating these side remarks a characterization of Nymphaion can be based on solid ground. To summarize his remarks in an overview, the passages will be surveyed here thematically.

It is striking how often Akropolites mentions that the emperor returned to Nymphaion for the winter period. It should be emphasized here that this habit is reported not only for one, but for three out of the four emperors of the period in exile.[15] After campaigns, the emperors preferred to return to winter quarters at Nymphaion and remain there until spring. Once, Akropolites even explains the travel to Nymphaion with the remark that this is the usual practice of the emperor during the winter period. From this it can be inferred that the ruler and his entourage moved back not only in those cases when it is mentioned, but they came to Nymphaion regularly. Additionally, one should keep in mind that the emphasis on Nymphaion as a winter residence also means that other places might have been used during other seasons of the year on a regular basis. Otherwise Nymphaion would have appeared in the chronicle simply as *the* residence.

Nymphaion is mentioned twice as the place to celebrate Easter; one passage pertains to the report of the death of John III Vatatzes (which will be given below), the other to Michael VIII Palaiologos.[16]

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[13] Due to lack of space, other historians and charters which add to the impression given by Akropolites are omitted here.

[14] *Georgii Acropolitae Opera,* ed. August Heisenberg, ed. and corr. Peter Wirth, vol. I, Historia, Breviarium historiae, Theodori Scutariotae Additamenta (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978) (henceforth: Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg) §15, §41, §47, §48, §52, §60–61, §84.

[15] Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg: §41 and §47 (John III Vatatzes); § 60 and 61 (Theodore II Laskaris); §84 (Michael VIII Palaiologos).

[16] Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg, §52 reports the celebration of Easter within the last half year of John III Vatatzes; §84 connects diplomatic negotiations of Michael VIII

The only passage that mentions the imperial palace at Nymphaion itself can be found in the account of the death of John III Vatatzes; it provides the *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the building.[17] At the beginning of this passage, in 1254, the emperor was staying in Nicaea, having just returned from the East. During the night he had an apoplectic stroke and lost his ability to speak. After suffering two nights in Nicaea, despite his bad state he urged his subordinates to bring him back to Nymphaion for the procession of Palm Sunday. Akropolites reports that he reached Nymphaion in time for the procession and for Easter; he stayed in his palace in Nymphaion the whole summer. He had further strokes, sometimes in his palace; his servants set up tents for him in the imperial garden. He died at the beginning of November and was buried in the monastery of Sosandra, which he had founded, close to Nymphaion.[18] Akropolites closes this passage with the acclamation of his son, Theodore, as his successor, who then went eastwards from Nymphaion.

The emperor's strong desire to return to Nymphaion is quite remarkable, which can be explained by his imminent death: He wanted to prepare himself in the most pleasant place. The arrangement of tents outside of the palace could indicate that he did not want to be carried by his servants in the building, which, with four levels and quite a narrow staircase, may have been painful for him, as well as degrading for a powerful emperor, to die in such a way. Arranging the burial place near Nymphaion stressed the area around even more, an alternative burial place could have been Nicaea, where the seat of the patriarch was situated and where Theodore I Laskaris had been buried. It was also at Nymphaion that the new emperor, the son of John III Vatatzes, was acclaimed.

To sum up: Akropolites reveals several important aspects connected to the imperial usage of Nymphaion during the period in exile within the framework of

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Palaiologos with his staying at Nymphaion, from where he moved on after celebrating Easter. It can only be assumed that Easter marked the end of the winter period and was therefore celebrated at Nymphaion customarily.

[17] Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg, §52.

[18] This is not reported by Akropolites in this context, but in Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg, §74, describing the death of his son and successor Theodore II Laskaris, who was buried at the same place four years later. Although August Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905): 160–233 (concerning Sosandra, see 166–171), discussed a possible location of the monastery and Buchwald, "Laskarid Architecture," 263, especially notes 8–10, tried to find it in the hills between Izmir and Kemalpaşa (see these articles for the relevant sources for Sosandra), the monastery could not be located. At the time of preparing this study Sosandra is only known as a foundation of John III Vatatzes and as burial place for him and his son through written testimony.

Residenzenforschung. He reports that Nymphaion from the reign of John III Vatatzes was a common winter and resting location, where a palace was standing at least at the time of John III Vatatzes' death. Nymphaion was a possible location for the celebration of Easter, the acclamation of a new emperor, and its neighboring imperial monastery served as a burial site.

Seeing it from a wider perspective, Nymphaion played an important role for certain imperial actions, for Nymphaion was like other sites in the Laskarid territory that served as important locations for the emperors of the realm. This cannot be elaborated here at length, but at least an impression can be given. In one passage, where Akropolites states that Nymphaion was the usual winter residence, he also mentions Lampsakos—reconquered by John III Vatatzes in 1224–1225—as being the place for the emperor during the summer.[19] This was probably due to the military campaigns on the sea route to the Hellespont, for which Lampsakos was the starting point. Lampsakos was further a meeting place between the emperor and the Bulgarian tsar; the marriage between Theodore II Laskaris and the Bulgarian Princess Helena was also celebrated here.[20]

Similarly, at Pegai, situated next to Lampsakos on the Sea of Marmara, a marriage was arranged between the granddaughter of John III Vatatzes and the son of his opponent, Michael of Epiros. It is reported in another context that John III Vatatzes and Michael VIII Palaiologos spent part of the year at Pegai.[21]

John III Vatatzes moved his imperial mint from Nicaea, where it had been situated since Theodore I Laskaris, to Magnesia near Nymphaion. The patriarch, on the other hand, remained in Nicaea, where the imperial school was also settled—the one Akropolites himself attended on the recommendation of John III Vatatzes.

Within this context, it becomes apparent that Nymphaion held a crucial position within the Laskarid territory, but it was not necessarily the only place from which the emperor acted as a sovereign. Thus, the function of Nymphaion as an imperial residence can only be understood in the context of the political landscape within the whole Laskarid territory.

Conclusion

The main aim here has been to widen the scope of studies focused on the palace of Nymphaion and to reintegrate the building into the history of the Laskarid realm by applying an interdisciplinary approach. Since *Residenzenforschung* includes

[19] Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg, §41.
[20] Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg, §33.
[21] Acropolita, ed. Heisenberg, §49.

aspects that had not even been asked yet in the context of the palace of Nymphaion, it seemed fitting in this particular case.

Referring to the written evidence for Nymphaion, it can be stated that this site had a clear and important position within the Laskarid realm. It was built soon after the Laskarid territory was established as the imperial winter residence and used as such by three emperors until the reconquest of Constantinople. It seems that the emperors developed a regular travel route through their territory and rested in several defined locations at certain periods of the year. Nymphaion can therefore be considered as one major site among several others. This means that for the first time in Byzantine history imperial power was not concentrated in one place, but was exercised through imperial itinera.

The common title of the realm as the "Empire of Nicaea" therefore seems more and more misleading. Nicaea was certainly an important city within the territory, since it housed the patriarch during the period in exile, but it was not the single center within the realm like Constantinople was before 1204.

The building itself, although formally erected as an imperial residence, does not show features that are commonly associated with Byzantine imperial architecture. The emphasis was given to safety and modest architecture—no wings, no balconies, no atrium inside, no colonnade—the list of what the architecture of the Nymphaion palace does not provide is quite long. The concept of the palace—simple architecture, efficient, but far from being a wasteful, luxurious imperial residence—seems to fit the image of John III Vatatzes. His behavior and attitudes show a Byzantine ruler who differed from the usual image of Byzantine emperors. Anecdotes like the fourteenth-century report of Gregoras, who tells about the chicken farm of John III Vatatzes and the "egg-crown" of the empress, bought from the profits of the farm, loom large in the historic view of this unusual Byzantine emperor.[22] When were the Byzantines at any point in their history led by a ruler who played at being a farmer, pushing his nobles to do the same? The Laskarids created a new type of imperial Byzantine dominion, small in territory and moderate in self-representation. The design of the palace adds to this impression.

The framework of *Residenzenforschung*, combined with textual and archeological evidence, illuminates the winter residence at Nymphaion. The palace offers a key to understanding the territorial organization of Laskarid sovereignty during the period in exile and beyond.

[22] *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, 2, 6, 2, ed. and tr. into Latin by Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, vol. 1 (Bonn: Weber, 1829).

ROLE PLAYING STRATEGIES IN DEMETRIOS KYDONES' LETTERS TO MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS

Florin Leonte

In contrast to the harsh political conditions during the last two hundred years of the Byzantine state, scholars were still spread quite widely over the empire. Gravitating around the Constantinopolitan court or getting protection from wealthier patrons, they rarely enjoyed a stable situation. This reality compelled them to find multiple ways of maintaining themselves socially and, as a result of this search, they established connections either among themselves or with the centers of power which could afford them an economic basis for their livelihood. In this way they constituted themselves into a distinctive social group[1] with activities that had ramifications in the political sphere. It is against this background that the present study will attempt to offer a close-up examination of the multifaceted relationship between a fourteenth-century intellectual, Demetrius Kydones, and Manuel II Palaiologos, his disciple and friend, the Byzantine emperor after 1391.

Preliminaries

What is now called the Palaiologan Renaissance in Byzantium resulted from the combined action of specific factors and conditions. Starting with the reign of Michael VIII, attempts to revive Classical patterns of education as part of a program for rehabilitating the prestige of the Eastern Roman Empire after the disaster of 1204 become more and more visible.[2] Intellectuals participated in scholarly activity dominated in the first years by the efforts of those who circulated works of ancient Greek authors and later by the theological debates opposing the Palamites to the promoters of a union with Rome.

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[1] Ihor Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century," *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 69–70. For a discussion of intellectuals as a social group see Franz Tinnefeld, "Die Gruppe der literarisch Gebildeten in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft," in Peter Matschke, Franz Tinnefeld, ed., *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001), 221–385.

[2] C. N. Constantinides, "Higher Education at Constantinople (1261–1282)," in *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–1310)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982), 31–49.

Even if their activity did not have a significant impact on the impoverished Byzantine society in general, there were a number of individuals who, through their achievements, were more influential than others. Among these one can reckon Demetrios Kydones, who was not only a prolific writer[3] but also a state official active in the turmoil of the fourteenth century.[4] During his service he emerged as a strong advocate of the union between the Byzantine and the Latin Churches[5] and as a fierce opponent of any kind of alliance with the Ottomans. His deep involvement in Byzantine politics and his willingness to establish more durable connections between the Latins and the Byzantines ultimately resulted in his conversion to Catholicism.

What makes him such an interesting case is the fact that he constantly included his personal judgments on Byzantine politics in his writing. The core of his *œuvre* is represented by his massive collection of letters, one of the largest in the entire Byzantine literature, which, because of this, can be used as evidence for the social reality of that period when, seemingly, establishing relations through epistles was a process which played an important part in the aggregation of a community of literati.

Kydones' collection of letters

Kydones' correspondence consists of 450 letters preserved in several manuscripts.[6] Some of them were selected for publication by the author himself,[7]

[3] Kydones translated extensively from Latin authors: Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Anselm of Canterbury, Peter of Poitiers, Ricoldo da Monte Croce, etc. He was also the author of a Platonic treatise (*De contemnenda morte*), of many *prooimia* to imperial chrysobulls, and panegyrics addressed to John VI and John V.

[4] Very early, in 1347, he became *mesazon* in John VI's court, and continued to hold the same position with some interruptions during the reign of John V Palaiologos until 1386.

[5] Frances Kianka, "Demetrius Cydones (1324–1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century" (PhD Dissertation, Fordham University, 1981).

[6] Cod. Vat. Gr. 101, cod. Urbin. Gr. 133, cod. Urbin. Gr. 80, cod. Burneyan. Gr. 75, cod. Paris. Gr. 1213, cod. Gr. 202 (Monastery of Barlaam, Meteora, Greece), cod. Oratorian. XXII-I (Library of Girolamini, Naples), cod. Laurent. Gr. LIX-24, cod. Gr. 437 (Library of the Synod, Moscow), cod. Barberin. Gr. 181, cod. Barberin. Gr. 584, cod. Baroccian. Gr. 90, cod. Gr. 261 (National Library of Vienna), cod. Angelic. Gr. 25 (Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome), cod. Vallicelian. Gr. F. 83 (Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, Rome), cod. Gr. B. V. 33 (National Library, Turin). See R.-J. Loenertz, *Les Recueils de*

while after his death the effort of editing them was undertaken by his disciple, Manuel Kalekas. Many problems of precise dating or identifying the addressees persist, however, to this day.

This collection of letters reflects the author's connections to people belonging to different social layers, from members of the apparatus of government[8] to fellow scholars[9] and intimate friends.[10] Quite often these circles intercrossed each other, that is to say, many of his correspondents could be, like him, scholars employed in an administrative position. Accordingly, Kydones' correspondence illustrates a wide variety of matters from the political situation in late Byzantium to personal concerns. This was not a peculiar situation for a Byzantine intellectual who used letter-writing both for instrumental purposes and for maintaining or cultivating friendships.[11]

As far as style is concerned, Kydones adopted the formal canons and conventions current in Byzantine epistolography, i.e., the rules already established by the rhetoricians of Late Antiquity.[12] As a result, most of his letters, written in an Atticizing idiom[13] replete with Classical allusions, fit easily

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lettres de Démétrius Cydonès (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947), XIII. (Hereafter: R.-J. Loenertz, *Les Recueils de lettres*.)

[7] According to Loenertz, Kydones started to publish his letters in chronological order beginning with 1374, during his first period of retirement from John V's service (see R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils*, 4). The edition I refer to in the present study is that of edited by R. J. Loenertz: *Démétrius Cydonés*, *Correspondance,* 2 vols. (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957–1960). Hence I will use in the following the abbreviation "L."A complete translation of Kydones' letters was made by Franz Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones. Briefe,* 7 vols. (Stuttgart: A. Hirsemann, 1981–2003).

[8] In addition to the emperors themselves, Kydones also corresponded quite intensively with members of their courts: secretaries, *primikerioi*, *protobestiarites*, etc. He also wrote to other members of the ruling families: John VI's sons (Manuel and Matthew, both governors of Morea), and John V's sons (Theodore, Andronicus and Michael).

[9] Among his addressees are both Palamites (Patriarch Isidore, Neilos and Nikolaos Kabasilas) and anti-Palamites (Nikephoros Gregoras, John Kyparissiotes, Maximos Chrysoberges).

[10] Such as Rhadenos, Tarchaneiotes, George Synadenus Astras or his brother, Prochoros.

[11] See the discussion in Margaret Mullett, "Byzantium: A Friendly Society?" *Past & Present* 118 (1988): 3–24.

[12] G. L. Kustas, "Function and Evolution of Byzantine Rhetoric," *Viator* 1 (1970): 55–73.

[13] In L 432.12 he states: ἢ τίς λόγων ἐραστὴς οὐκ ἂν ἥδοιτο ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν κάλλος καὶ πλῆθος ἀκούων ("or which admirer of literature would not enjoy listening to the beauty and the abundance of the Attic words?"). The use of Latinized or vulgar

into the formal categories defined by Aphthonius, Hermogenes or Libanius. Based on the study of the *topoi* recurrent in Byzantine texts, one can easily determine the character of letters as either friendly (e.g., L 23, 432, 445, 447), consolatory (e.g., L 220, 249, and 348), praising (e.g., L 262, 312, 306), instructive (e.g., L 21), of thanks (e.g. L 259), or of recommendation (e.g., L 231).

The ease with which he applied these rhetorical requirements not only reflects Kydones' deep knowledge of Classical norms, but is also coterminous with his ability to establish different types of relationships, either instrumental or intimate. As was only to be expected, in order to deal successfully with these relations, Kydones adopted different social roles according to the nature of the connection and the position of the addressee. As a consequence, it emerges from his correspondence that, in constructing a relation with another individual, he shifted frequently from one social role to another. In terms of modern theories of social networking this issue can be transposed to the category of *multiplexity*, a concept coined by the Manchester anthropological school, which refers essentially to the fact that two individuals can be linked simultaneously by more than one type of relationship: kinship, friendship, work, neighborhood, etc.[14] This notion is generally used by sociologists dealing with network analysis to assess varying degrees of social complexity in both modern[15] and pre-modern societies.[16]

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forms is very rare; one possible exception is a λεγάτον in L 327.4, but even in this case the term is rather a technical one.

[14] William Downes, *Language and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 118. See also the discussion on "multiplexity" as "the extent to which a link between two actors serves a multiplicity of interests" in Martin Kilduff and Wenpin Tsai, *Social Networks and Organizations* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 33.

[15] See for example Alain Degenne, *Introducing Social Networks*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 45–54.

[16] For its use in the study of Byzantium, see Margaret Mullett, "The Detection of Relationship in Middle Byzantine Literary Texts: The Case of Letters and Letter-Networks," in *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Actes de la 16e Table ronde organisée dans le cadre du XXe Congrès international des Etudes Byzantines*, ed. W. Hörandner and M. Grünbart (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2003), 70.

The Relationship(s) with Manuel II as Expressed in Kydones' Epistolary Corpus

A straightforward case of a multiplex tie seen inside a limited group of letters is that which Kydones established with Manuel II Palaiologos, son of John V.[17] Approximately a quarter of Kydones' entire epistolary *corpus* is addressed to him;[18] therefore a statistical survey of the letters should form a basis for questioning the types of changes occurring in this particular part of his epistolary corpus.

As the information provided by the letters concerns mostly the nature of the relationship itself, it is crucial to find a way of decoding the significance of the themes and concepts circulated in the individual epistles. There are two ways to approach the data under investigation here. One is to track the adjectives and the nouns denoting the status of the addressee; the other is to discover the meanings associated with the literary topoi and themes utilized in shaping the relationship in the letters.

Once having gathered these types of data, the attributes of the addressee and the meanings embedded in the letters of Kydones to Manuel, a plurality of roles played by the sender emerges. The roles were not confined exclusively to a strict chronological course, but sometimes they were expressed in one and the same letter. Thus, three major roles Kydones played can be detected according to the type of relationship which he established: teacher-disciple, subject-emperor, and friend-friend. These three types are constructed corresponding to three different spheres of activity in Byzantium: intellectual, official, and intimate.

The roles Kydones played were influenced by varying sets of themes or concepts also recognizable in other letters. Thus, a teacher-disciple relationship is identifiable in L 437 addressed to Manuel Kalekas.[19] Much better represented is, understandably, the subject-emperor type: almost all the twenty-three letters

[17] On Manuel II as a political figure there exists an extensive monograph by John W. Barker, *Manuel Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1969). A more recent overview of his activity is to be found in Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 296–338.

[18] L 21, 23, 79, 80, 82, 84, 120, 132, 192, 203, 212, 214, 218, 220, 231, 236–239, 243, 244, 247, 249, 250, 253, 258, 259, 262, 271, 276, 277, 282–284, 294, 299, 302, 394, 306, 308, 309, 312, 315, 318, 320, 326, 327, 342, 348, 363, 365, 367, 368, 370, 372–374, 379, 380, 381, 383, 388, 391–393, 395–398, 401, 401*, 410, 424, 429–432, 444, 445, 447, 450.

[19] See, for instance, the didactic encouragement in line 15: τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς κάλλος σαφῶς παρεδείκνυ ("for you have clearly shown the harmony of the letter").

addressed to John VI and John V contain allusions to the correspondent's status often associated with encomiastic phrases.[20] Furthermore, this category is articulated on elaborated rhetorical structures[21] or by assuming various traditional concepts of traditional Byzantine political thinking such as the representation of the emperor as an embodiment of the highest virtues,[22] the only hope for the people's salvation,[23] or the *lex animata*.[24] Finally, the correspondence with Rhadenos brought into play a friend-friend pattern constructed by using a subjective tone present in all thirty letters sent to him.[25] In comparison to such letters, those sent to Manuel display first of all a much larger diversity of themes and subject matter. Therefore, in order to detect the changes that affected the two men's relationship one has to tally carefully the different types of data mentioned above.[26]

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[20] See, for instance: δικαιότατε βασιλέων – "you, the most righteous of emperors" (L 117.30), πραότατε βασιλέων – "you, the mildest of emperors" (L 117.8), ἄριστε βασιλέων – "you, the best of emperors" (L 139.8).

[21] καί σοι συγχαίρουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ νῆσοι καὶ ἤπειροι, καὶ τὴν μὲν σὴν φύσιν ὑμνοῦσι. ("peoples and cities and islands and lands rejoice with you in your dominion and praise you")

[22] L 6.23: ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσται τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παράδειγμα. ("the emperor should be a model for the one he rules"). This entire letter fits in the category of praising letters as defined by Libanius.

[23] L 8.21: ἐλπὶς μία σύ, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐντεῦθεν μόνον ἐλπίζεται τὸ σωθῆναι ("there is only one hope: you! and only from you can the public good/state hope for salvation").

[24] L 7.4: παρὰ θεοῦ μὲν εἰς σ έ, παρά σου εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκε τά εἰωθότα ("the laws came to you from God, and to us, from you").

[25] In spite of the numerous letters Kydones sent to Rhadenos, little is known about the latter. As most of the information is preserved in these texts, we know that he was born, like Kydones, in Thessalonica around 1350. One of Kydones' favorite disciples, he later traveled to Constantinople, Lesbos, and Thessalonica where he entered the service of Manuel II Palaiologos during the siege of the City between 1382 and 1387. See *Prosopographische Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 10 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 192–193, and Franz Tinnefeld, "Freundschaft und Paideia: Die Korrespondenz des Demetrios Kydones mit Rhadenos (1375–1387/8)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985): 210–44.

[26] These elements can also be understood in terms of the tripartite division of data current in social network analysis: *attribute data*: status, attitudes, opinions, and behavior of agents, *relational data* comprising information on contacts, ties and connections, and *ideational data* regarding meanings, motives, definitions, and typifications; see John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 2–3.

Concerning the status and education of the two, the available sources leave little room for interpretation. Kydones steadily followed the typical political career of a high functionary. Manuel, as a member of the ruling house of the Palaiologoi, held the office of despot until 1373, when he was appointed co-emperor. He rebelled in Thessalonica (1383–1387) and for a short period lost much of his power, being exiled to Lemnos, and choosing afterwards to live for a time on the island of Lesbos. From 1391 he became emperor of Byzantium and remained in power until 1425. Given these circumstances, the long period covered by the letter-exchange between Kydones and the Palaiologan emperor also favors the study of a development inside the relationship, from more formal to more intimate.

a. The *teacher-disciple* relationship

The first contacts between Kydones and Manuel, John V's son, were established very early in their lives because Kydones, as a member of the court with a thorough Classical education, was entrusted with Manuel's education. It is probable, therefore, that many of the future emperor's rhetorical works are indebted to the influence of his early preceptor. Nevertheless, epistolary traces of this relationship are not frequent, partly because the pedagogical context in which the two met presupposed non-mediated contacts and partly because Manuel entered a public position at a young age. Even if it is difficult to assess this type of tie, at least one letter offers a good image of what such a relationship implied. L 21, sent to Manuel in his early youth, is constructed around a series of traditional values held up as paradigmatic for the younger addressee. The vocabulary in this case was carefully selected and the ideas do not diverge in any significant way from official Byzantine ideology or common customs. The emphasis falls on providing models of behavior appropriate for a younger person: σὺ καὶ ἄρχειν οἶσθα καὶ ὑπακούειν ἐπίστασαι (4) ("you know well both how to rule and to submit yourself"). Then Kydones set two main landmarks for the emperor's son: νόμιμον βασιλεῖ πείθεσθαι καὶ γονέας τιμᾶν ὅσιον (8–9) ("it is lawful to obey the emperor and a sacred duty to honor your parents"). Finally, an exhortation to a pupil is indicated in paragraphs 18–19 by the use of the verb διδάσκειν ("to teach").

b. The *subject-emperor* relationship

The first signs of constructing the role of an imperial subject in relation to Manuel appear after 1373, the date of his coronation as emperor. In L 82.64, probably written in 1373, Kydones addressed his younger correspondent by

referring to his status as βασιλεύς[27] ("emperor"). Such a way of addressing, sometimes cast in religious terms, is recurrent in the collection and confined especially to the ending of letters, as in L 214.92, L 220.29, L 262.90, L 294.31, L 306.57, or L 309.67. Rarely does the vocative of βασιλεύς appear in the incipit, as in L 283.4, or in the body of the letter, as in L 238.35. In addition to the vocative case, Kydones also used indirect references, like in L 312.27[28] and L 401.18.[29]

Alternative appellatives circumscribed to the same type of relationship are used in L 244.20,[30] sent in 1382, that is, at the beginning of Manuel's stay in Thessalonica, and in L 192.55–57,[31] where he introduces a stronger religious tone by equating divine with imperial power.[32]

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[27] δὸς δή, Σῶτερ, τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐν οἷς λέγει τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους φωνήν, τήν δε τοῦ Μακεδόνος τύχην ἐν οἷς στρατηγεῖ. (O Savior, give the emperor in everything he says the voice of Plato and Demosthenes, and in all his military undertakings the fortune of [Alexander] the Macedonian").

[28] γένοιτο δέ, Σῶτερ, πολλοὺς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι τοὺς μιμουμένους τά σά ("May it come to pass, O Savior, that many be born among us who will imitate your deeds!").

[29] τὸν θαυμαστὸν βασιλέα ("the wondrous emperor").

[30] ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείην ἴδοιμεν, Ἐλευθέριε, τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ στεφανώσομεν τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ δημοσίᾳ θύσομεν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας Θεῷ. ("May we see, Eleutherios, the day in which we will crown the angels and we will offer sacrifice to God for our freedom!")

[31] εἴη δέ σοι, Σῶτερ... οὕτω γάρ ὅμοιος ἔσῃ Θεῷ, πρὸς ὃν βλέπειν ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν φαίην εἶναι προσῆκον ("May you be granted, o Savior, so that in this way you will become similar to God, towards whom one may say it is very much an emperor's duty to look").

[32] The idea of equating divine and imperial power is very old in Byzantium and it survived until the end of the empire, at least in the ceremonial address to the emperor. Its origins can be found in Hellenistic ideology; the first one who introduced it seems to have been Eusebius, who attached it to the idea of the Old Testament's fulfillment of prophecies. The argument is that because the empire of Constantine is the imitation of the Kingdom of Heaven and God appoints only one emperor, there has to be a strong connection between them. For a discussion of this notion see Donald M. Nicol, "Byzantine Political Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought,* ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 52–53 (henceforth: Nicol, "Byzantine Political Thought"). For the use of such concepts resulting from the combination of Hellenistic and Christian ideas see also Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–10 and Averil Cameron, "How Many Rhetorics," in *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 15–46.

However, if one compares the occurrences of βασιλεύς statistically in the correspondence to Manuel with those in the letters to John VI or John V, a very different picture emerges; in this latter case, such a use appears to be more restricted. The situation must once again be placed in the context of political changes, since the letters containing explicit mention of Manuel's status are mostly those sent before and during the latter's stay in Thessalonica. After 1387, when even Kydones disapproved of some of the emperor's actions, this manner of address almost disappeared, surviving only in indirect references like that in L 383.5: ὡς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς ἀπαιτεῖν ("that one may ask for a letter from the emperor"). Attached to the nouns denoting the status of the emperor are adjectives which do not raise problems of interpretation as they contain no particularities when compared with the traditional manner of address and they are also used for the other two emperors. This is the case with L 220.30 and L 249.32, where the emperor is addressed with βασιλέων ἄριστε ("you, the best of emperors"), or in L 424.4: κράτιστε βασιλέων ("you, the most powerful of emperors").[33]

The themes and the abstract notions used by Kydones in addition to the direct naming of imperial status are more interesting, however, for the construction of this relationship. One way to add meaning to his assertions was, as in many other cases, the use of Classical allusions. Comparisons with Alexander the Great or other ancient heroes were common for Kydones.[34] The most instances when Kydones used a large number of topics connected directly with his understanding of the emperor's role can be found in the group of letters sent during Manuel's stay in Thessalonica between 1382 and 1387. This segment of Kydones' correspondence deserves special attention since it is actually the most extended in the whole collection of eighty letters to Manuel, comprising thirty-one pieces.[35] These letters seem to record a certain amount of indirect information[36] concerning the evolution of the ongoing military activities in which Manuel was involved; this situation was also reflected in the use of topics such as that of the emperor as a model for others (παράδειγμα).

[33] In the same category can be included the official form of address found in L 282.4: πρὸς τὴν σὴν κεφαλήν ("towards your [noble] person").

[34] See L 397.27 or L 82.65.

[35] L 80, L 203, L 243, L 244, L 247, L 249, L 250, L 253, L 258, L 259, L 262, L 271, L 276, L 277, L 282, L 283, L 284, L 294, L 299, L 302, L 304, L 306, L 308, L 309, L 315, L 318, L 312, L 320, L 326, L 327, L 342.

[36] R.-J. Loenertz, "Notes sur le règne de Manuel II à Thessalonique," *Byzantinische Zeitsschrift* 50 (1957): 391–396.

The first occurrence of this topic in this group is in L 203.11–14.[37] In this case the model theme is given more strength through contrast; on the one hand, Kydones speaks about παράδειγμα τῆς ἀνδρίας ("a model of bravery"), seen as the prerogative of mythical characters (L 203, 11: ἐν τῷ μύθῳ "in the myth"). On the other hand, Manuel is invested with the power of they intellect, which shapes human actions and influences state decisions even more than physical force (τὴν δικαιοσύνην...τὸ σὸν σύμβολον "righteousness is your identifying mark"). The same theme is developed in the following passage in terms of an imperial authority based on the superior use of rhetoric as a tool for action.[38]

The issue of rhetoric as an instrument of power is connected with the prevalent idea of human excellence expressed in the repeated appeal to the royal ἀρετή (virtue); but Kydones uses it in the case of Manuel in a different way, obvious if one compares the use of ἀρετή in the letters addressed to John VI and John V. In the relationship with them, the *mesazon* used ἀρετή in a panegyric key.[39] In contrast, when addressing Manuel, he placed this notion in a more intellectually determined setting, populated by allusions to Classical themes and imbued with the idea of rational capacity added to military excellence. Thus, a particular kind of virtue becomes visible in L 220.29: καὶ ὅλως ἀρετῆς παράδειγμα τοῖς δυναμένοις ("and it is a model of virtue for the capable ones"). This sentence is part of a longer passage encompassing Manuel's qualities in both his state duties and his intellectual capacities.[40] The very same structure appears in L 249.30–33, when Kydones refers to the military situation in Thessalonica.

Apart from the presence of the *virtue* theme, it is important to bear in mind the reasons for the distribution and the different uses of the *paradeigma* topos; they concern the situation which Kydones had in mind when addressing

[37] Οἱ δ' ἰσχυρίζονται τῆς ἀνδρίας οὔπω καὶ νῦν τοσοῦτον εὑρῆσθαι παράδειγμα. Τὴν δικαιοσύνην δέ τις εἰπων τὸ σὸν ἔδοξε σύμβολον εὑρηκέναι. ("There are some who contend strongly that even to this day a similar model of manly courage cannot be found. Should one say 'justice,' well, then, that one has found your identifying mark!") παράδειγμα also appears in one of the early letters, L 23.37: γένοιτο σοι ... τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἀρετῆς παράδειγμα ("may it be so that you become a model of virtue for the ones to come")

[38] L 203, 13–16.

[39] See especially L 15.36 and L 221.50.

[40] τοὺς νόμους τηροῦντα, σώφρονα ἐν νεοτήτι, δίκαιον ἐν ἀπορίᾳ, μεγαλόψυχον ἐν χρήμασι, λόγους τιμῶντα, ἀμαθίαν ἐλέγχοντα ("Respecting the laws, self-restrained during the years of youth, righteous when lacking resources, generous with goods, respecting learning, censoring ignorance").

Manuel. As was noted above**,** the latter was caught during these years in the battles around Thessalonica. Although in the beginning Manuel seems to have been successful, soon afterwards the situation degenerated and subsequently the continuation of Manuel's career as leader of the Byzantine state was put in doubt, a fact reflected by Kydones' reluctant attitude.[41]

Another frequent theme which reveals the emphasis on Manuel's imperial status is that of freedom, ἐλευθερία, a crucial notion for the collapsing fourteenth-century Byzantium. This theme has a pervasive presence in the collection, for the first occurrence, in L 79.16 is followed by many others.[42] As in the case of the *paradeigma* pattern, this theme is confined especially to the letters sent during the siege of Thessalonica. Kydones seems also to have linked this idea to that of τύχη (fate), as an explanatory cause for the political difficulties which Byzantium was facing.[43] One explanation for the frequent occurrences of τύχη seems to be the increased interest of the Palaiologan authors in Greek Classical writers. The increased use of the aforementioned themes, signals, in my opinion, a decrease in the influence of traditional Byzantine political ideas which had a different consistency in the letters addressed to John VI and John V. Thus, the idea of the emperor as the incarnation of divine law does not appear when addressing Manuel; in such cases, for instance, νόμος ("the law") has a very low frequency[44] and δίκη ("righteousness") is used mainly in neutral contexts.[45]

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[41] R.-J. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès et Manuel Paléologue. Remarques sur leurs correspondances," *Échos de l'Orient* 36 (1937): 271–287 and 474–487. Hereafter: Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès."

[42] L 244.20, L 247.38, L 259.10, L 262.32, L 284.41, L 302.20, L 320.13, L 327.21, L 365.11, L 398.6.

[43] L 82.65, L 203.29, L 243.11, L 244.6, L 247.5, L 249.10, L 250.14, L 259.11, L 262.74, L 277.8, L 299.26, L 306.18, L 312.6, L 342.99, L 348.11, L393.36. In the same context one could list the occurrences of the hope theme: L 203.30, L 220.30, L 249.50, L 294.28, L 299.71, L 306.46, L 348.19, L 365.18. These themes show Kydones' increased interest in the ongoing political process, which in his letters receives the treatment any politician trained as a rhetorician could offer; see L 203.30: ταύτην ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ πίθῳ μόνην ἐλπίδα ἡ τύχη κατέλιπεν, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον τοῖς τῶν πόλεων νοσήμασιν εὑρίσκομεν φάρμακον ("fate left us only this hope, and we can find no other remedy for the diseases that plague our cities").

[44] The use of νόμιμον ("legal, lawful") encountered in L 21 is rather singular in this group of letters.

[45] L 202.26, L 236.14/ L 220.26, L 231.9, L 237.8, L 244.29, L 249.9, L 262.10, L282.47, L 299.57, L 306.46, L 327.19, L 388.7.

Another component used in the crystallization of the subject-emperor pattern regards the person of the sender himself. In such cases, Kydones positions himself as a rather "humble" individual by making use of the modesty topos. In three instances the epistolographer shows himself especially diffident towards the significance of his own acts or sayings; as a result, in L 193 and 315 he refers to his problems as being μικρά ("unimportant"),[46] while in L 326.5 he speaks about what he calls τὰς εμὰς φλυαρίας ("our silly talks").

On the other hand, what makes the greatest difference in the approach to the three emperors is another sort of abstract value added to this position, which is thus extended in a totally different direction. This concerns the intellectual side of Manuel's activity, reflected in the use of the concept of "philosopher-king." The notion is plainly expressed in two instances; in L 259.23: …τὸν φιλόσοφον βασιλέα, ὃ μόνον Πλάτων λέγει παύσειν κακῶν ("the philosopher king, about whom Plato says that he is the only one capable to put an end to the evils"), and L 239.14, immediately after Manuel's return from Thessalonica: καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν σαυτὸν, ὃν ηὔξατο Πλάτων ἔδειξας, τὸν φιλόσοφον βασιλέα ("and now you showed yourself in our eyes as the one whom Plato wanted, the philosopher king").

Kydones' correspondence challenges this concept through another one, that of the rhetor-king, a reflection of the intellectual environment in which both correspondents were active. In L 309 he clearly replaces the virtues of the philosopher with those of the orator in an attempt to persuade the king concerning a political decision.[47]

One finds displayed here an important principle that Kydones tried to follow in his political endeavors, that of combining the Byzantine need of political salvation with the need of the politician to have a more active scholarly life. This emerges most clearly in the letters which he sent to the young Manuel

[46] L 193.53: ταῦτα σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἀνεισφέρω μικρὰ μὲν ὑπέρ μεγίστων ("I report to you, emperor, these unimportant events instead of the significant ones") and L 315.4–5: μικρὰ περὶ μικρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων οἰόμενος ("I have small thoughts about my own small affairs").

[47] "Regarding the exhortation to stay and not to move there is a piece of advice appropriate both for an emperor and a rhetor; for a rhetor could take from here many good reasons, telling the citizens that they must preserve the faith in their country, and an emperor, who has the duty to save the cities, what other kind of reasons more appropriate to him could he choose than those by which he persuades the citizens to stay in town and confront the dangers and prefer to take the risks together with him instead of fighting abroad. Taking such advice you proved a skillful orator, and, as an emperor, you showed great care for the cities."

in the last years of the Thessalonica siege and immediately after his defeat. The latter's conflict with John V, especially his exile to Lemnos, is, according to Loenertz, first recorded in Kydones' correspondence.[48]

c. The *friend-friend* relationship

The introduction of a strong intellectual dimension in a rather official relationship is a plain indication that the tie between the two sometimes took on a different consistency. In this connection, the frequent references to contemporary scholarly issues are the consequence of an increase in the degree of intimacy between the correspondents. This relationship is not, however, as easy to reconstruct as the official one. Several lexical structures are helpful, as for example the indirect reference to Manuel's role in L 250.28: δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ὅπλοις κρατεῖν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους εὐεργεσίαις νικᾶν ("For you must vanquish enemies by means of arms, but you must conquer your friends through benefits").

If one looks at the quantity and the quality of the abstract content included in the epistolary text, however, a friendly relationship can surely be reconstructed. Referring only to this intellectual aspect and indicating the common interests which linked the correspondents in a relationship which surpassed the official sphere, one needs to consider the common cultural idiom in circulation identifiable by the ubiquitous Classical quotations.

The most valuable information for assessing this relationship comes from the analysis of the changes in tone and attitude perceptible in the collection; thus, a more intimate tie is usually expressed by means of subjective statements. In many cases the messages Kydones sends to the emperor contain direct references to his personal situation. This is expressed especially when he speaks about his personal journeys. Thus, L 382 contains a long introduction where the prevailing information concerns the writer himself, who starts in first person narrative style: ἐγὼ χθὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἀπὸ σοῦ... ("after I left you yesterday...") and continues in the same style. Subjectivity becomes more visible in the last letters, written after 1390, where the epistolographer devotes much more space to private facts than to questions of public activity.

Another concern which emerges from this group of letters regards Kydones' health problems. Such subject matter was not a novelty in Byzantine epistolography, as it recurs in early Byzantine epistolography. At some points, like for example in the eleventh century, sickness was rather a constructed epistolary theme than a real fact, representing a common element in an epistle

[48] Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès, 119.

and having the role of stressing separation or friendship.[49] Was this situation the same in Kydones' correspondence to Manuel? Rather not, possibly because of the different circumstances in the fourteenth century when, in his role of high official, Kydones enjoyed freedom of movement without coming up against major obstacles. Whatever the reason, references to medical issues are not so frequent in the whole epistolary corpus.[50]

Therefore, the two letters addressed to Manuel in which Kydones describes his sufferings are rather unique among the epistles addressed to the emperor. Both associate sickness with an intense expression of friendship.[51] L 410 proceeds thus from a very detailed description of the physical situation[52] to an expression of great affection for the emperor.[53] L 445, starting with the dramatic exclamation, ἰοὺ, ἰού ("alas"), even using an image with a touch of self-irony: γέλωτα κινήσω τοῖς θεαταῖς, οὕτω παρὰ μέλος βαίνων καὶ νωθρῶς τὰ μέλη κινῶν ("I will provoke the laughter of the spectators walking in this way and sluggishly moving my limbs") (35–36). In this case the relationship between sickness and the absence of his friend is underscored by the meaning of the medium by which it is transmitted: the epistle.[54]

L 445 reflects Kydones' preoccupation in the correspondence to Manuel with the nature of the letter as support for his message. The inclusion of this

[49] Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid. The Letters of an Archbishop* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 104–105.

[50] G. T. Dennis gives an analysis of all these instances, focusing on the descriptions of illnesses in L 73. 16–19, L 78.9, L 108.4, L 110. 31–46 and on the letters mentioning doctors (5.119, 73.14, 108.5, L110. 44 etc): "Reality in the Letters of Demetrius Cydones," in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos *et al.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 402–403.

[51] A parallel to this can be found in L 100, where Kydones uses the medical vocabulary with a reversed meaning: ἡμῖν ἐν γράμμασι συμμαχίαν κατὰ τοῦ πάθους ("we found in the letters an ally against suffering").

[52] L 410.6–13: οὕτως ἡ κάκιστ᾽ ἀπολουμένη με διέθηκεν ὀφθαλμία καὶ ἡ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην ὅλον μου τὸ σῶμα καταβαλοῦσα κακοχυμία...καὶ κάθημαι δὴ κατακεκλεισμένος, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς λίθους ἀκίνητος ("and thus the worst and devastating eye-illness affected me and, after it, a bad disposition struck my entire body; and now I lie here enclosed, motionless as the stones").

[53] L 410.23–24: εἰ δέ τινος εἰρήνης καὶ τὸ σῶμα μοι τύχοι, ὄψομαι σε κἀν τοῖς πόνοις κἀν τοῖς στεφάνοις. ("if I had a body without any trouble, I would see you both amidst labors and amidst triumphs")

[54] L 445.11: νῦν δὲ τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἐπιστολῆς εἰς ἔργον ἐξέβη ("and now this wonder became reality through your letter").

kind of discourse, which I would call meta-epistolary, has to do with strengthening the intimate relationship between the two. Letters as mere objects thus play an important role in Kydones' discourse, being held not only as neutral media of communication, but also as a pretext for the expression of his personal stylistic choices. This situation arises from a series of similar assertions, recurrent in many sections of the collection, which introduce a much more personal tone into the letter; letters are thus praised for their power to bring people together by means of their natures. Once, the letter is γενναία ("noble"),[55] other times Kydones praises its virtues, as in L 304.14, τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς κάλλος πολλῆς ἡσυχίας τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτῆς ἀπολαύειν ἐβόα ("for the harmony of your letter suggests that its writer enjoyed much tranquility") or declares in L 309.7: ἀλλά με τὸ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς κάλλος ἔπεισεν ("but the artistry of your letter persuaded me"). Letters are also used in the *topos* of regretting the absence of any news from his friend, as in L 244.14: ἀλγοῦμεν δὲ μήτ' ἀγγέλων μήτε γραμμάτων ἐκεῖθεν ἡκόντων ("we suffer because neither messengers nor letters come from there"); for, as he says in L 388.7, addressed to Manuel, sending letters is a παρὰ σοῦ φιλεῖσθαι τεκμήριον ("a proof of your love").

Conclusion

Reading the letters, one can grasp a continuous process of constructing various ties. The existence of such ties is attested, on the one hand, in other letters addressed to other people from Kydones' network; the evidence coming from such texts fits very well into the category of relational data which supports the configuration of the subject-emperor type of relationship. Not a few cases pose problems of referentiality; in L 106.22, an epistle sent to Demetrius Palaiologos in Thesalonica, Kydones refers to Manuel, at that moment still a despot (local ruler), as ὅλως πάντα ἄριστος δεσπότης ("the very best despot"). At other times the epistolographer speaks about the young emperor[56] or simply about the emperor, to whom he applies the conventional epithets.[57]

[55] L 276.5. See also L 244.19: νικηφήροι ἐπιστολαί (victory–bringing letters), L 304.16: Διὸς ὄρνις ("Zeus' bird").

[56] L 133.6 (addressed in 1373 to a friend in Constantinople).

[57] L 133.21, L 134.22 (θειότατος βασιλεύς ("most divine emperor"), L 137.36, L 138.12, L 143.4 (ὁ πάντα ἄριστος βασιλεύς ("the very best emperor"), L 166.21, L 167.14, L 270.19 (ὁ θαυμαστὸς βασιλεύς ("the wondrous emperor"), L 93.55

On the other hand, Manuel's epistolary corpus records in its turn these types of ties in the letters he sent to Kydones.[58] His twenty-two letters attest in this case exclusively the friend-friend relationship, for Manuel's correspondence seems to focus on the intellectual side of the relationship. Thus, the emperor seems to use the epistolary form as support for his many reflections, theological or philosophical, in most of his letters.[59] The emperor also speaks frequently about the friendly relationship they have, but in a rather over-intellectualized phrasing.[60]

All in all, the data furnished by Kydones' letters reflect the existence of different bases for developing a certain relationship. Each of these ties can be evaluated and ascribed to a particular sphere of social activity: intellectual, official, and intimate. They indicate not only the mobility of a scholar-politician, but also his flexibility in approaching individuals in a historical and social context which required a series of concerted efforts to acquire concrete results. Kydones, as an active *zoon politikon*, was compelled to operate in this way.

(ὁ θαυμαστὸς βασιλεύς, L 334.18, L 335.19, L 421. 34 (addressed to Theodore Palaiologos: ἀδελφὸς καὶ βασιλεύς ("brother and emperor")

[58] Manuel II Palaialogos, *Letters*: 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 36, 38.

[59] One interesting feature of this correspondence is that it partly records the circulation of books between the two correspondents. See Letter 3 and 4 about one of Plato's manuscripts.

[60] "You said, as you know, and you said it very correctly: for those who have arrived at perfection nothing further can be added. Still, there are wise men who assert that nothing in life remains absolutely unchangeable. Granted that our friendship has reached perfection, and that you are right in saying that nothing further can be added, is it not likely that this friendship will of necessity decline" (*Letter 3*, tr. G. T. Dennis).

THE IMAGE OF THE FOREST IN THE *CARMINA BURANA*

Svetlana Tsonkova

Ever since its discovery in 1803, the poetry of *Carmina Burana* has fascinated and challenged scholars. A great deal of research has been dedicated to different aspects of this collection of medieval goliard poetry, especially to the love songs which made it justly famous. It seems, however, that with advancing research problems and questions continue to arise concerning the *Carmina Burana*. Surprising as it may seem, certain elements of the love songs have not yet been taken into consideration. The representation of the forest appears to be one of them.

In this paper I examine the imaginary and mythical image of the forest and of sylvan space in two love songs of the *Carmina Burana*. It seems that the forest (called either *nemus* or *silva*) had both positive and negative aspects for medieval poets.[1]

What are the positive and the negative features in the image of the forest? This question provides an opportunity to study the forest from an inter-disciplinary point of view, not only on the basis of medieval poetry, but also of philosophy, mythology, and mentality. The idea of the mythical forest as an imaginary space is present in many mythologies around the world. Is the idea of the primeval forest present in the *Carmina Burana*? Apart from the literary presentation and analysis, I will examine this question in the context of the medieval history of ideas and cultural models set against the broader intellectual panorama of twelfth-century poetry.[2]

The Collection and Its Authors

Discovered in the Benedictine monastery of Benediktbeuern south of Munich during the secularization of the Bavarian monastic houses in 1803, the *Carmina Burana* is the most extensive and the most famous collection of Latin poetry that

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "The Imaginary World of Carmina Burana," (Budapest: Central European University, 2006).

[2] For the twelfth-century Renaissance, see Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 154 (hereafter: Haskins, *The Renaissance*).

has survived from the Middle Ages.[3] Strangely enough, the manuscript is not mentioned in any of the existing catalogues of Benediktbeuern abbey. Neither it is known when nor how the book appeared there.[4]

Johannes Andreas Schmeller published the first edition of the manuscript in 1847, rearranging the text and calling it *Carmina Burana* ("Songs from Benediktbeuern"). In 1901, Wilhelm Meyer discovered and published missing leaves under the title *Fragmenta Burana*. Between 1930 and 1970, Alphonse Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernhard Bischoff published the critical edition of the entire *Carmina Burana*, restoring the original sequence of the poems.[5] Since the first edition, many publications have been dedicated to the *Carmina Burana*.[6] Especially Peter Dronke's research made an important contribution to the study of the collection.[7]

The *Carmina Burana* belongs to a group of manuscripts containing secular (usually love and satirical) poetry.[8] These collections show a similar thematic and stylistic structure, but the individual poems are different. The *Carmina Burana* manuscript contains 119 leaves and over two hundred texts, divided into four groups: love songs (*Amatoria*), moral-satirical verses (*Moralia et Satirica*), drinking and gambling songs (*Potatoria et Lusoria*), and two short religious dramas for Christmas and Easter. A supplement of more varied texts was added, probably between 1230 and 1250. The majority of the texts are in Latin, but some of the poems are in Middle High German or with snatches of Old French, Provençal, Italian, and even a little Greek. This paper is focused on the analysis of the love

[3] *Codex Latinus Monacensis* 4660 and *Codex Latinus Monacensis* 4660a are now kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

[4] F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 256 (hereafter: Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*).

[5] Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 257.

[6] For comprehensive bibliographies on the *Carmina Burana,* see Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 353 and Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 591.

[7] Mainly with his books *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), *The Medieval Lyric* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), *The Medieval Poet and his World* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), and *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). See also C. S. Lewis with his book *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), and *The Carmina Burana: Four Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones (London: Center for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000).

[8] Similar collections are known from the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, the British Museum MS. Arundel 384, the Vatican collection MS. Vat. Lat. 4389, and manuscript D IV of the University Library at Basle.

songs (*Amatoria*), which comprise more than one hundred songs. In fact, half of the poems in *Carmina Burana* deal with the issue of love.

The problem of the authorship of the *Carmina Burana* is a fascinating topic in itself. About half of the texts are known only from this manuscript, but some of the texts have been identified through comparison with other codices. These compositions appear to be a product of famous and admired twelfth- and early thirteenth-century poets.[9] The intellectual milieu of the book and its authors was probably clerical-scholarly, at least according to the manuscript and the content. The *Carmina Burana* poems are not a monastic product,[10] but were composed in the student world of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, around 1150 to 1230, when the earliest universities were established.[11]

The *Carmina Burana* reflects the privileged, ambitious, mobile and independent-minded youth culture blossoming in the twelfth-century universities. More than a half of the texts are love poetry. At the same time, it was a Latin-based culture. The students' attention was focused on the Classical authors, in combination with the studies of the Church Fathers and the Bible, and with influences of ideas about contemporary courtly love. As a result, the sacred and the profane were combined to an unusual degree.

Despite the fragmentary information about authors like the Archpoet, Hugo Primas, Peter of Blois and Walter of Châtillon, most of the poets of the *Carmina Burana* still remain anonymous, like the majority of poets from the twelfth century in general.[12] These authors stand in the shadows and their identity still provokes debate. Who were these people? Did they belong to some specific intellectual circle? Were they organized in certain way? In one of the poems in the *Carmina Burana* a certain *Ordo Vagorum* is mentioned. This "invisible order"[13] is exactly the opposite of the real monastic orders within the Church. It was a company of people especially fond of a bohemian way of life, a group of wandering scholars, the so-called *Vagantes* or Goliards.[14] Szövérffy

[9] Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 278 and Anne J. Duggan, "The World of the *Carmina Burana*," in *The Carmina Burana: Four Essays*, ed. Martin H. Jones (London: Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2000), 1 (hereafter: Duggan, "The World of the *Carmina Burana*.").

[10] Duggan, "The World of the *Carmina Burana,*" 2.

[11] Duggan, "The World of the *Carmina Burana,*" 4.

[12] Haskins, *The Renaissance*, 161.

[13] Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 278.

[14] The name has several rather uncertain etymologies—from the Biblical Goliath or from the Latin *gula* or the French *gueule*, both meaning, "throat." A real historical Golias, the mythical founder and leader of the order, has yet to be identified.

claims that the *Ordo Vagorum* and its legendary head, Golias, are fiction and a joke created by poets, skillful in imitating ancient or contemporary models.[15] According to Raby, the entire story of the Goliards and their "movement" is just an expression of the new humanism that "got out of control."[16]

According to Anne J. Duggan, the young clerics, "who wrote, sang or listened to the *Carmina Burana*" felt that their careers were uncertain; therefore their poetry combines vibrant optimism and self-confidence with bitter satires and the age-old knowledge that life is short and Fortuna controls everything.[17] Jacques Le Goff has expressed the opinion that the Goliards were a "strange group of intellectuals,"[18] but also vagabonds, ribalds, jongleurs, bohemians, students and pseudo-students. One thing is sure—the Goliards were a mobile and highly educated group of intellectual wanderers who found a place in the new town intellectual centers.

Sylvan Idyll: the Positive Image of the Forest

In the love songs of the *Carmina Burana* two Latin words are used for designating the forest—*silva* and *nemus*.[19] Usually one song contains only one of the terms, but in several cases both the *silva* and *nemus* figures can be seen in the same poem. I present one such poem, as it gives the opportunity to examine the different aspects of the representation of the forest.

De Phyllide et Flora (CB 92) is one of the masterpieces of the collection. Two girls are discussing the advantages and disadvantages of knights and clerics

[15] Joseph Szövérffy, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages* (Concord NH: Classical Folia, 1996), 443.

[16] Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 278.

[17] Duggan, "The World of the *Carmina Burana,*" 12.

[18] Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1993), 84.

[19] Both terms had specific nuances during the entire classical antiquity. *Silva* bears the connotations of a mystical and terrible place very often inhabited by hostile tribes *(Silva Ciminia* in Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita,* 9.36; *Silva Litana* in Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita,* 23.24; *Silva Hercynia* in Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico,* 6. 24). It is also closely connected with *Mars Silvanus* (*Silva Arisia* in Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 2.7). Hence the term covers the darker and chaotic aspects of forest imagery. Etymologically *silva* is connected with the Greek ὑλη "forest, wooden material." Concerning *nemus*, in antiquity it has almost always been a forest space with prevailingly sacred functions, closely connected with reproduction deities. The word with a capital letter was used especially for the sacred grove of Diana in Aricia. Cf. Gk. νέμος, Old Irish *nemed* "holy place" and Welsh *nant* "valley".

as lovers. Early in the morning, Phyllis and Flora, two beautiful creatures compared to queens,[20] take a ride on a nice sunny day.[21] Phyllis and Flora arrive at a lovely place by a stream;[22] sit under a tree and start chatting in its comfortable shade (*fuit iuxta rivulum spatiosa pinus venustata foliis*).[23] Their conversation is described in thirty-five stanzas, followed by a colorful description of Phyllis' mule and hawk and Flora's horse and falcon in seventeen stanzas. Then Phyllis and Flora continue their ride and arrive in another beautiful place: a forest full of pleasant fragrances and sounds.[24] The next seven stanzas elaborate on the music and the scents. The girls enter the most secret part of the forest, where *Amor* lives, surrounded by a large group of mythological figures.[25] It is the god of love, *Amor* himself, who will cut the girls' debate: *Amor* declares the cleric the better lover. The god's decision marks the end of the poem.

De Phyllide et Flora makes several remarkable points about the forest. The sylvan space is closely connected with the spring season and the mild weather. *Anni pars florida* is the blossoming part of the year, when reborn nature starts another cycle of life. The image of the warm season prepares the reader for the image of the forest.

The spring season is connected with a specific place, as the girls sit and chat on the stream bank, where *locus erat viridi gramine festivus*. The spring is surrounded by flowers (*florida)*, and the place next to the stream is festive

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[20] *Erant ambę virgines et ambę reginę*…(CB 92, 3). All the *Carmina Burana* quotations are from the edition of A. Hilka, O. Schumann, and B. Bischoff, ed., *Carmina Burana.* (Heidelberg: 1930–1978). The abbreviation used is CB, followed by the number of the poem and the number of the stanza.

[21] *Anni parte florida, cęlo puriore,*
picto terrę gremio vario colore,
dum fugaret sidera nuntius Aurorę,
liquet somnus oculos Phyllidis et Florę. (CB 92.1).

[22] *…locus erat viridi gramine festivus,*
et in ipso gramine defluebat rivus
vivus atque garrulo murmure lascivus. (CB 92.6).

[23] CB 92.7.

[24] *Parvo tractu temporis nemus est inventum.*
Ad ingressum nemoris murmurat fluentum,
ventus inde redolet myrrham et pigmentum,
audiuntur tympana cythareque centum. (CB 92.60).

[25] *Circa silvę medium locus est occultus,*
ubi viget maxime suus deus cultus;
Fauni, Nymphę, Satyri, comitatus multus
tympanizant, concinunt, ante dei vultus. (CB 92.69).

(festivus) because of the abundant green foliage. The flourishing season constitutes the first level of the picture, the lusty green stream bank forms the second level, and the pine tree completes the image of a *locus amoenus*. The adjectives used confirm the idea of revival and joyfulness: *florida, viridus, festivus, vivus, lascivus, spatiosa, venustata.* There is only one level left, and that is the image of the forest in its two variants, *nemus* and *silva.*

Nemus est inventum:[26] Phyllis and Flora enter the sylvan space, looking for Love (*ad Amoris destinant ire paradisum).*[27] The forest is compared to Paradise. This is a key verse—not only for this poem, but for all the love poetry of the *Carmina Burana*. The *locus amoenus* becomes a *locus sacer*. This is the highest evaluation of sylvan space. It is a part of the divine universe, both pagan and Christian.[28] This verse has close parallels in Bernard Silvestris' concept of the *nemus*. For Bernard this aspect of the forest is the incarnation of an earthly paradise, full of pleasant aromas and numerous animals. If *silva* is primeval, a magnificent and horrifying forest, *nemus* is a pleasant and calm grove. Bernard does not make an absolute distinction between the two terms. Both of them bear in themselves simultaneously the aspects of the generating matrix and the lost Paradise. Yet, *nemus* in *De Phyllide at Flora* is not only Eden-like, but also *thalamus Amoris*, the much desired secret abode of Love.[29] Its attributes (bird songs,[30] music,[31] water's murmur,[32] and fragrances[33]) echo the *topoi* not only of the Classical *locus amoenus*, but of the sacred grove and of the heavenly realm.

What is this forest like? Internal and mystical. At the beginning of the poem the tree by the stream constitutes a *locus viridus et festivus*. At the end of the poem we are in a *locus occultus circa silvę medium*.[34] *Silva* has all the spring sounds, fragrances and colors, and all the joyful inhabitants. At the same time, however, there is something dramatic in the forest. *Silva* is the cult place of the god who makes a judgment about the knight and the cleric. Apart from being a place of

[26] CB 92.60.
[27] CB 92.59.
[28] See Bernard Silvestris, *Cosmographia,* III, 216–217; III, 339, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) and Étienne Gilson, "La cosmogonie de Bernardus Silvestris" in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* (1928): 6.
[29] CB 92.64.
[30] CB 92.63.
[31] CB 92.61.
[32] CB 92.60.
[33] CB 92.66.
[34] CB 92.69.

pleasure, the forest is also the location of a judge. If the *nemus* is idealized as *amoenum*, the *silva* is idealized as *sacra*.

Nemus and *silva* in *De Phyllide et Flora* correspond to two aspects of the forest. The *nemus* functions as the *locus amoenus*: the place by the stream, where the girls stopped at the beginning of their journey. Even if the pine tree and the green stream bank seem to be realistic, they soon become an imaginary place, full of divine music. *Nemus* represents a dimension of the forest described as the Garden of Nature in Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*[35] and in Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars Versificatoria*.[36]

The magical forest is the logical end of the girls' journey. Only gods can make the final judgement and dissolve the controversy about love. Gods live in another world, in a magical mythological forest. The first step towards this forest is the *nemus*, the *locus amoenus*. The *nemus* represents the ideal of eternal joy and happiness.

But what is the meaning of *silva*? It represents another dimension of the forest. *Silva* is not a *locus amoenus*, but a *locus occultus et sacer*—the throne of the god, the heart of an imaginary universe. If *nemus* is the pleasant place with all its colors and fragrances, standing at the border between profane and sacred, *silva* is like a sacred and mystical temple. This is the primordial womb—the only place, where the primeval controversy about love can be decided. In his *Cosmographia* Bernard Silvestris described the forest as *silva*. This is the archetype of the World (*archetypus mundi)*, the place where trees and plants are born and at the same time the whole world is born.[37] In the *De Phyllide et Flora, silva* is the archetype of Love (*archetypus Amoris)*, the center of the realm of love, where *Amor* gives his judgment.

In this poem *nemus* and *silva* have different meanings, just like in the works of Bernard Silvestris and Alan of Lille. While *nemus* is a beautiful place of music and joy, *silva* is the occult sacred grove, home and temple of the god. Even though there is nothing frightening about this forest, it still represents the primeval womb, sheltering the god and being divine in itself. The poem *De Phyllide et Flora* offers a complex and integrated imaginary space in the *Carmina Burana*. This imaginary space is not an ornament, but forms part of the narrative.

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[35] Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, I, 55–56. See Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry,* 15–23.

[36] Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars Versificatoria*, I, 111, ed. Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII et du XIII siécle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1971).

[37] Bernard Silvestris, *Cosmographia, Megacosmus,* X, 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978).

The concept of the forest presented in this poem goes back to Classical poetry, but it is also influenced by the new philosophical ideas of the twelfth century.[38]

Sylvan Seduction: The Negative Image of the Forest

The second example is another masterpiece in the book—the bilingual *Ich was ein Chint so wolgetan* (*I was such a wonderful little girl*, CB 185). Every stanza's first and third lines are in German, the second and fourth lines and the refrain are in Latin. This song is a dialogue between a young maiden, who tells about the adventure of her seduction, and the man who seduced her.

Concerning the forest, there are three important points in this poem. Firstly, there is an opposition between two locations: the forest (*nemus*) is set against the meadow (*wise*). The girl is talking about the meadow[39] and the man is talking about the forest.[40] This configuration corresponds to the opposition between the maiden and the man themselves: a place, regarded pleasant by the man, is unpleasant for the girl. The man sings about beautiful linden tree,[41] and the girl curses the same tree in the refrain.[42] Seduction can happen only after the two characters finally go to the linden trees, the man's territory.[43] The entrance in this territory is rather aggressive: the sylvan space becomes hostile for the girl.

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[38] Gerhart Ladner, "Terms and Ideas of Renewal," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 56.

[39] *Ia wolde ih an die wisen gan*
flores adunare,
do wolde mich ein ungetan
ibi deflorare. (CB 185.2).

[40] *Er sprach, "vrowe, gewir baz,*
nemus est remotum". (CB 185.5).

[41] *Iz stat ein linde wolgetan*
non procul a via,
da hab ich mine herphe lan
tympanum cum lyra. (CB 185.6).

[42] *Hoy e oe, maledicantur tilię*
iuxta viam positę. (CB 185.Rfr.).

[43] *Do er zuo der linden chom,*
dixit "sedeamus",
diu mine twanch sere den man
ludum faciamus. (CB 185.7).

Secondly, *nemus* is exclusively a secret and hidden place.[44] There is a delicate paradox here. The linden trees are near the road (*iuxta viam positę)*, while the forest is far away (*nemus est remotum)*. The emphasis is on the remoteness of the forest. This localization bears negative connotations. A *nemus* is not only hidden and secret, but marks physical remoteness and deviation. There are no adjectives describing blossoming nature. The only indication for a particular season is the presence of the green linden tree. The focus is not on the forest as a blossoming green *locus amoenus*, but on the forest as an ambiguous *locus remotus*. To a certain degree this image reminds one of the secret garden of *Natura*, depicted in the works of Alan of Lille.[45] The secret place of *Ich was ein Chint so wolgetan* is not a secure abode of a god, but the location of a realistic love scene. Thus the forest takes all the positive and negative nuances of the girl's and the man's interrelations.

Thirdly, there is no trace of a god's presence. There are only two people in the forest. The sylvan space becomes an arena of specific human relations, the place of a concrete love affair. If a conflict is to be dissolved, it is not the abstract controversy about the knight and the cleric, but the real-life dialogue between a woman and a man. *Nemus* becomes a poetic, but ordinary, part of daily life and as such has its negative side. The sylvan space is not sacred anymore; it is a human, not a divine location. The forest is connected with emotions, but on a more realistic human level.

This poem presents a rather different image of the forest. The sylvan space is ideal, but this time for seduction and this fact makes it ambiguous. Both the act of seduction and the forest are perceived from two different perspectives. The girl says that *I was such a wonderful little girl, while I was a virgin (Ich was ein Chint so wolgetan, virgo dum florebam)*[46] and repeats *cursed be the linden tree by the road* (*maledicantur tilię iuxta viam positę)* in the refrain. At the same time the man sings *There stands a beautiful linden tree* (*Iz stat ein linde wolgetan).*[47] *Nemus* is still a *locus amoenus*, a magical and idyllic world, yet it is also a hidden, obscure, dramatic place. According to the girl, *nemus* is not a secure and joyful playground. In this sense, this poem is unique, as it depicts the only relatively negative image of

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[44] *Er sprach, "vrowe, gewir haz,*
nemus est remotum".
Dirre wech der habe haz,
Planxi et hoc totum. (CB 185.5).

[45] See Alan of Lille, *De planctu Naturae* as quoted in Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry,* 22.

[46] CB 185.1.

[47] CB 185.5.

forest in the entire collection. *Nemus* is turned upside-down and from idyllic it is transformed into a suspicious and unpleasant place.

Even if it is difficult to give a comprehensive overview of the concept of the sylvan space in the *Carmina Burana*, the analysis of these two poems brings one closer to the representation of the forest in medieval love poetry. The forest is not simply a poetic ornament in the *Carmina Burana*, but an ideal that underwent a long and complex development in several directions.

In the *De Phyllide et Flora*, the forest is not just an ordinary element of a description of nature. It is the perfect *locus amoenus*, a pleasant place of eternal spring and green trees. The temple of *Amor* and center of his cult, the idyllic place for love, the forest is the most secure and secret abode to express and to judge this emotion. Sylvan space is a mythical place, where the deity makes the judgment about the most important feeling—love. The forest is a sacred space, the divine grove of pagan gods transformed into a divine dimension, an imaginary universe of happiness and joy. It is also an earthly Paradise: not only *locus amoenus*, but *locus sacer*. The forest in the *De Phyllide et Flora* is a dream, a fantasy, and as such, it is positive and wonderful. *Silva* and *nemus* both refer to and describe the same imaginary features of the sylvan dimension: *silva* and *nemus* are two sides of the same image. Its positive features are the result of an intermingling of the Classical idea of the idyllic forest and the Christian idea of Paradise.

In the seduction poem *Ich was ein Chint so wolgetan* the forest imagery is more realistic. The forest is not just a poetic ornament, but an arena of human relations with their positive and negative aspects. Depending on which character is talking, the forest is either idyllic or unpleasant. From the male point of view the forest is still a *locus amoenus*, from the female point of view it is not a secure and joyful playground at all. For the woman, the forest is a remote location. The *locus amoenus* becomes the ambiguous *locus remotus*. This is a rare case of the negative evaluation of a sylvan space. The forest is not imaginary and mythical anymore, but part of daily life, in which everyday human relations develop. The forest in *De Phyllide et Flora* is a positive and imaginary universe, while in *Ich was ein Chint so wolgetan* it is partly negative and to a great degree a realistic place. The negative features, however, are not absolute. The *nemus* in CB185 is a special case, a variation on the forest theme. The realistic picture of the sylvan space comes together with a more dynamic and intense emotional development. In *Ich was ein Chint so wolgetan* the forest is not a lost Paradise, but a human environment.

The concept of the forest in the *Carmina Burana* was influenced by various models: Classical authors, contemporary philosophy, masters of verse, and rhetoricians, and probably, vernacular poetic tradition. It is not possible to

determine which source of influence was predominant in creating the image of the forest in the *Carmina Burana*. This image is polysemic and has different characteristics that vary significantly from a totally positive *locus amoenus* (CB 92) to an ambiguous remote place (CB 185). The positive image of the forest may come as a result of the Classical influence of the perception of nature, but at the same time it also bears similarities to the image of the forest in Bernard Silvestris' *Cosmographia*. As neo-platonic ideas of nature were part of the poetic education and the intellectual milieu in the twelfth century, it is perhaps possible to assume that the author of CB 92 was influenced by such a significant philosophic text.

The CB 185 gives a different perspective. The forest image keeps the main features of the Classical *locus amoenus*, but this is only part of the picture. The evaluation of the forest depends on which character is talking. The forest is more individual and realistic; it is not the lost Paradise, but the grove of real human beings. The sylvan space reflects their experience and emotions. As a result, the forest becomes an ambiguous place. The woman and the man give the parameters of the sylvan space and individualize it. The realistic nuance brings negative features. In this sense CB 185 is a special case of more human and less imaginary forest. Together with the general idealization of the forest in the *Carmina Burana* love poems, the realistic *nemus* in CB 185 adds one more point of view and contributes to the multi-sided sylvan imagery in the poetry of the twelfth-century Renaissance.

DENTAL PATHOLOGY IN TWO ÁRPÁDIAN AGE CEMETERIES AT VISEGRÁD: EVIDENCE FOR DIET AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Katherine Kondor

The bones of the dead can provide much insight into the way people lived in the past. Not only do burials reveal something of people's religion, social status, and material culture, but the bones and teeth themselves can shed light on how people lived, the diseases they may have suffered from, and the nutrition of the cemetery population. Comparing two populations from the same area may permit a glimpse into the physical impacts of food types and food preparation that were connected to differential access by different social strata.

In this study, two Árpádian Age (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) cemetery populations from Visegrád in Hungary were examined: One population was buried in the archdeaconal church cemetery and the other was buried in a parish church cemetery. The teeth of these individuals were examined for various morphological features and the nutritional and dietary conditions of the deceased were interpreted and compared.

Settlements and Cemeteries in Visegrád

The hilly region where Visegrád is located lies on the eastern part of the Danube Bend. The region played a crucial role in the defense system of the Roman Empire, but the Roman stone fortifications were abandoned during the Migration Period. Visegrád only began to flourish in the Middle Ages with the foundation of the Hungarian state in the early eleventh century (*Fig. 1*).[1] The county of Visegrád was created during the reign of St. Stephen, when the ruined late Roman fort at Visegrád-Sibrik hill was repaired and turned into the *ispán*'s residence. This *ispán*'s castle was called the "higher castle" by the Slavs living nearby, hence the name Visegrád. The stone fortification was different from

[1] József Laszlovszky, ed., *Medieval Visegrád (Royal Castle, Palace, Town and Franciscan Friary)*, Dissertationes Pannonicae Ser. 3, Vol. 4, (Budapest, 1995). (Henceforth: Laszlovszky, *Medieval Visegrád*). Gergely Buzás, "Visegrád," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1996), 117–163 (henceforth: Buzás, "Visegrád"); Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky et al., "Medieval Royal Centres," in: Zsolt Visy, ed., *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium.* (Budapest: Nemzeti Kulturális Örökség Minisztériuma, 2003), 348–364.

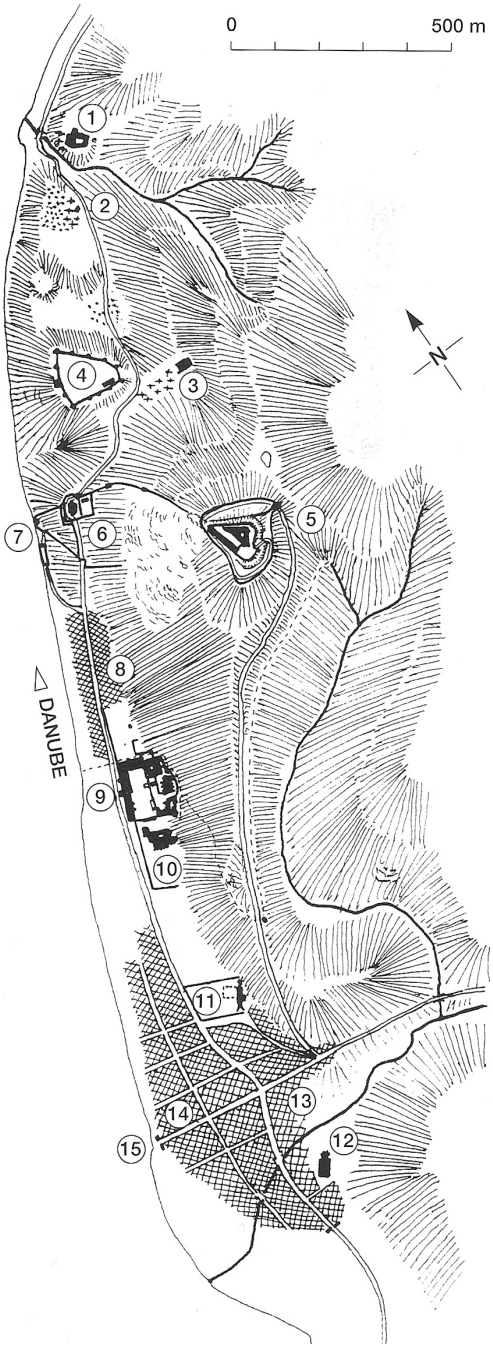

Fig. 1. Topography of medieval Visegrád (Laszlovszky, Medieval Visegrád, 43).

1. St. Andrew's monastery
2. Visegrád-Várkert village, parish church, and cemetery
3. Archdeaconal church and cemetery
4. Sibrik hill, Roman fortress, center of the county
5. Upper castle
6. Lower castle
7. Port
8. Suburbium
9. Royal palace
10. Franciscan friary
11. St. Ladislaus' monastery
12. Church of the Holy Virgin
13. Hungarian town
14. German town
15. Ferry to Nagymaros

other county seats, which were mainly protected by earthworks. However, from a functional point of view as an administrative center, it was similar to other counties, being led by the *ispán* (*comes*) and maintained and defended by castle warriors and the castle folk assigned to them.[2] Árpádian Age society seems to have been divided into two major parts: those who were free and those who were relegated to serfdom. The structure of the free society was a hierarchy consisting of several strata. On the top was the king, surrounded by his retinue of noblemen. The leaders, whether foreign or of Hungarian birth, bore the Hungarian title *ispán*, which is rendered in Latin as *comes*, and in English roughly as bailiff.[3] The *ispán* directed life in and around the castle and was responsible for the administration of the county. He acted as judge, collected taxes, and led the army. Common people also lived around the castle. They retained their freedom by right, but were restricted economically and by military service owed to the castle. At the same time, they practiced agriculture and animal husbandry and paid their taxes in money and produce from the land.

Around the year 1000, a small church was built beside the castle. This operated as a local church until the middle of the eleventh century; afterwards, during the reign of King Solomon (1063–1074), an archdeaconal church was built on the site of an even older church.[4] At the same time a cemetery was established on the site of tenth to eleventh century houses "in the area between the archdeaconal church and the southeast moat of the old Roman fort."[5] The dates of the cemetery's use were reconstructed from the presence of coins dating from 1063 to 1116 found in several of the 128 graves. The individuals buried there are believed to have been people of higher rank belonging to the castle as well as priests. An archdeacon's grave was even found and identified on the basis of grave goods comprising liturgical objects used especially for burials.[6]

During the late eleventh century, Visegrád lay in the shadow of the other royal center at Esztergom, but the importance of the castle was maintained. King Solomon, for example, was held captive there after an internal fight for royal power. Finally, in the twelfth century, the archdeaconal seat was transferred to Szentendre and the royal county ceased to exist. The nearby Pilis

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[2] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526,* tr. Tamás Pálosfalvi (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001) (henceforth: Engel, *St. Stephen*), 66–74.

[3] Engel, *St. Stephen*, 72–79.

[4] Gergely Buzás, ed., *Visegrád. Altum Castrum,* tr. Dóra Sallay, Publications of the King Matthias Museum of Visegrád, No. 5 (Visegrád: The King Matthias Museum, 2000) (henceforth: Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum*), 13.

[5] Buzás ed., *Altum Castrum,* 13 (the relevant section was written by Mátyás Szőke).

[6] Ibid.

area remained an important royal forest and hunting domain with its center at Visegrád.[7] At this time, the archdeaconal church was abandoned and the ruins were later demolished in the thirteenth century. After the church's abandonment in the twelfth century, some of the graves around the church were exhumed and the bones removed.[8]

Below the castle lay clusters of dwellings in the small valley of a stream where the road led up to the castle (*Fig. 2*).[9] The Visegrád-Várkert site marks the place of one of the villages. The settlement was established in the tenth century, founded on the banks of the Danube at the mouth of the stream.[10] In the early eleventh century this village came under the rule of the area's *ispán* and archdeaconal see and was probably connected to the nearby eleventh-century St. Andrew's Basilite monastery.[11] When the church next to the *ispán*'s residence was converted to the archdeaconal church in the mid-eleventh century, the parish church was probably moved here.[12]

So far, 38 houses and several artisans' workshops have been found where the village once stood. The houses were one-roomed and semi-subterranean and every house contained an oven.[13] Most of the finds from the area comprise pottery, although an iron tool set, coins, and jewelry were also found. The finds show that the inhabitants of the village lived mostly from bronze and iron production, among other crafts.[14] In light of new excavations, the character of this settlement was seen to be different from typical agrarian villages of the period. The dwellings were more elaborate and complex than those of a contemporary agrarian settlement and in some ways reflected features of other settlements where proto-urban development has been identified.

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[7] József Laszlovszky, "The Medieval Royal Seat and Forest at Visegrád. A Proposed World Heritage Site and its Heritage Aspects," in *Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Preservation within the Light of New Technologies*, ed. Erzsébet Jerem, Zsolt Mester, and Réka Benczes (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2006), 83–89.

[8] Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum,* 13 (the relevant section was written by Mátyás Szőke).

[9] Buzás, "Visegrád," 118–119, 126–129.

[10] Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum,* 14 (the relevant section was written by Péter Gróf).

[11] Júlia Kovalovszki, "A Visegrádi-Várkert Árpád-kori faluásatásról (About the Visegrád-Várkert Árpádian age excavations), in *A magyar falu régésze: Méri István 1911–1976* (The archaeologist of the Hungarian village: István Méri 1911–1976), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Budapest–Cegléd, 1986), 61–63 (henceforth: Kovalovszki, "Visegrád-Várkert").

[12] Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum,* 13 (the relevant section was written by Gergely Buzás).

[13] Kovalovszki, "Visegrád-Várkert," 61–63.

[14] Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum,* 14 (the relevant section was written by Péter Gróf).

Hardly more than the foundation has survived of the ten-meter long small parish church of Visegrád-Várkert, founded in the eleventh century.[15] The church was surrounded by a multi-layered cemetery, used from the eleventh century until the village and church were abandoned in 1242 during the Mongol invasion.[16] Altogether 463 graves were excavated, comprising three-quarters of the cemetery. A few graves had been dug into the holes of ruined and filled-up houses. Most of the graves were damaged and cut into one another.

Physical Anthropological Materials

The eleventh- to twelfth-century cemetery of the archdeaconal church was found in 1966 during the construction of the Hungarian National Bank's holiday resort. This cemetery, located around a church, comprised 221 graves. Rescue excavations were conducted in 1972, 1974, and 1976–1979 under the direction of Mátyás Szőke. The physical anthropological analysis was conducted by Éva Susa and Tibor Varga in 1985.[17]

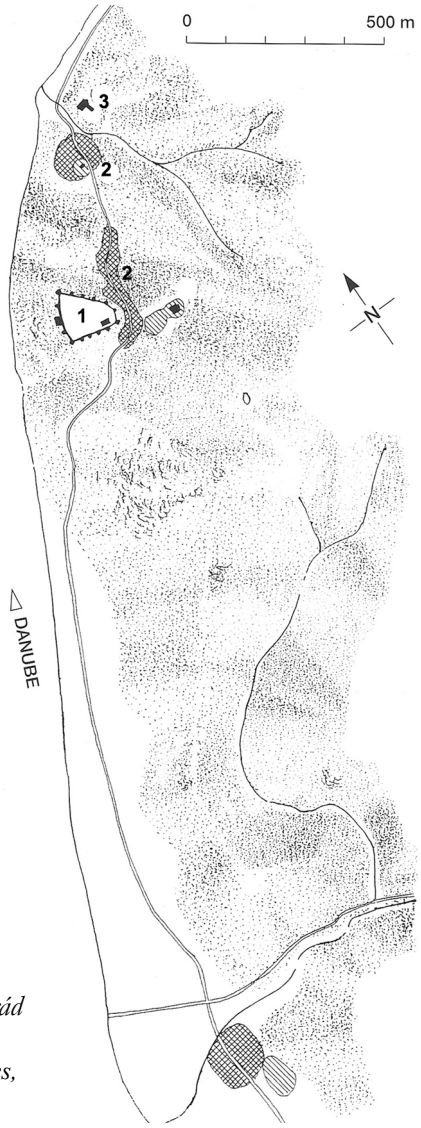

Fig. 2. The eleventh-century topography of Visegrád (Laszlovszky, Medieval Visegrád 43).
1. County center, 2. Settlements with cemeteries, 3. Basilite monastery.

[15] Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum,* 14 (the relevant section was written by Péter Gróf).
[16] Kovalovszki, "Visegrád-Várkert," 61–63.
[17] Ildikó Pap and Éva Susa, "Complex Anthropological Analysis of the Cemetery of the Comitat Center at Visegrád," *Anthropologia Hungarica* 29 (1986): 51–91 (henceforth: Pap and Susa).

A total of 223 individuals were identified in the 221 graves as some graves contained double or triple burials and some contained no anthropological materials at all. In total, 208 badly preserved skeletons were available for anthropological analysis. The sex and age determinations of these individuals can be found in *Table 1*.

Remains of 80 individuals were suitable for metric examinations, which showed that 57 were male and 23 female. Altogether, 128 individuals were found to be unsuitable for any sort of metric analysis.[18]

Table 1. Cemetery of the Visegrád Archdeaconal Church
Distribution of sex, age, and preservation.[19]

Age (years)[20]	Measurable		Non-measurable			Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Undetermined Sex	N
Infant I (0–7)	–	–	–	–	45	45
Infant II (7–14)	–	–	–	–	20	20
Juvenile (14–22)	–	–	8	12	5	25
Adult (22–40)	12	4	4	6	2	28
Mature (40–60)	43	18	13	5	–	79
Elderly (60+)	2	1	–	–	–	3
Grown-up	–	–	–	1	7	8
Total	57	23	25	24	79	208

The eleventh to thirteenth century village, church, and cemetery of Visegrád-Várkert were excavated between 1955–1963, 1979–1984, and 1980–1993.[21] Three-quarters of the cemetery surrounding the church was uncovered, comprising 463 graves.[22]

[18] Pap and Susa,

[19] Pap and Susa

[20] Age groups based on Rudolf Martin and Karl Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie II* (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1957).

[21] Kovalovszki, "Visegrád-Várkert" 61–63.

[22] The physical anthropological analysis was conducted by Orsolya Kiss under the supervision of Éva Susa and Gyula Gyenis. Orsolya Kiss, *A Visegrádi várispánsági központ kora Árpád-kori népességének biológiai rekonstrukciója* (A biological reconstruction of the early Árpád period population of Visegrád-Várkert), PhD dissertation (Budapest: Department of Anthropological Studies, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2003). See also Buzás, ed., *Altum Castrum,* 14 (the relevant section was written by Péter Gróf).

Of the 463 graves uncovered, 40 contained no skeletal material, and several graves contained multiple burials, of these, 482 individuals were found to be suitable for analysis. Most of the material was damaged (64.4%) and thus could only be partially analyzed. *Table 2* shows the sex and age ratios of those individuals found suitable for analysis.

Table 2. Cemetery of the Visegrád-Vérkert parish church. Distribution of sex, age, and preservation (adapted from Kiss 2003).[23]

Age	Measurable		Non-measurable			Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Undetermined Sex	N
Infant I (0–7)	–	–	–	–	103	103
Infant II (7–14)	–	–	–	–	54	54
Juvenile (14–22)	2	3	1	9	12	27
Adult (22–40)	22	21	17	14	3	77
Mature (40–60)	69	32	23	18	3	145
Elderly (60+)	2	4	–	–	–	6
Undetermined Age	3	–	24	19	24	70
Total	98	60	65	60	199	482

Study of Teeth – History of Diet

There are several ways that diet can be studied from human remains, many of which could not be employed in this study because they require advanced microscopic analysis. Examining macroscopic pathologies on teeth, however, caries and tooth wear in particular, is another method that can be used to reconstruct diet. Exactly what foods people ate cannot be said from the condition of their teeth, but information can be extrapolated about the relationship between their intake of carbohydrates and proteins, as well as their consumption of hard, gritty substances such as coarse bread.

Several wear features can be examined macroscopically on teeth, the mandible (jaw bone), and the alveolar processes[24] of the maxilla (facial bone). These can give some indication of what kinds of foods individuals consumed.

[23] Ibid.

[24] The bony ridge along the bottom of the maxilla and top of the mandible in which the teeth are situated.

Although this study focused on several oral pathologies, only those which yielded significant results for interpreting diet will be discussed here. In this study, caries, tooth wear, cysts/abscesses,[25] enamel hypoplasia (abnormalities),[26] and pre-mortem tooth loss were examined for their presence and severity. There are, of course, other pathologies that could have been examined, but for the purposes of this paper, caries, tooth wear, and pre-mortem tooth loss will be discussed since cysts/abscesses and enamel hypoplasia are indicators of general health rather than diet.

Dental caries (or *caries dentium*) form on the enamel surfaces of teeth and progress through the tooth at varying degrees of magnitude.[27] Caries form when bacteria that live in plaque metabolize sucrose and carbohydrates, such as sugar and starch, into acids.[28] This then lowers the pH value in the mouth, eventually resulting in the demineralization of the enamel.[29] Caries appear in several stages, but only those that have formed cavities are visible in an archaeological and physical anthropological context.[30] In its most severe stage, a carious tooth can fall out, resulting in pre-mortem tooth loss.

Caries in a population can be an indicator of change in diet and subsistence strategy from a meat-based to a more carbohydrate-rich diet.[31] Foods with large amounts of carbohydrates, such as bread and grains, contribute more to the formation of caries.[32] Sugar need not be considered for this material as its significant use began only in later historical times when it began to be imported

[25] Cysts and abscesses are cavities in the alveolar process resulting from various factors.

[26] Horizontal lines on the enamel surface of the teeth resulting from high fever or malnutrition in childhood during the development of the enamel.

[27] Peter Caselitz, "Caries – Ancient Plague of Humankind," in *Dental Anthropology: Fundamentals, Limits, and Prospects*, ed. Kurt W. Alt, Friedrich W. Rösing, and Maria Teschler-Nicola (Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 1998), 203–226 (henceforth: Caselitz, "Caries").

[28] Simon Mays, *The Archaeology of Human Bones* (London: Routledge, 1998) (hereafter: Mays, *Human Bones*); Chrissie Freeth, "Dental Health in British Antiquity," in *Human Osteology in Archaeology and Forensic Science*, ed. Margaret Cox and Simon Mays (London: Greenwich Medical Media, 2000), 227–237 (henceforth: Freeth, "Dental Health"); Károly Tóth, *Fogászat* (Dentistry) (Budapest: Medicina, 1997) (henceforth: Tóth, *Fogászat*).

[29] Tóth, *Fogászat*; Donald J. Ortner, *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains*, 2d ed., (London: Academic Press, 2003) (henceforth: Ortner, *Pathological Conditions*).

[30] Freeth, "Dental Health."

[31] Ibid.; Caselitz, "Caries."

[32] Clark Spencer Larsen, *Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Behavior from the Human Skeleton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) (henceforth: Larsen, *Bioarchaeology*).

from overseas. Honey was the only sweetening that was consumed during the Árpádian Age.[33] In contrast, protein-rich foods, especially meat (including fish) as well as fats and oils, are often non-cariogenic and have a preventative function as they raise the pH level of the mouth.[34] For example, the suggestion has been made that the Conquest-period Hungarians, a semi-nomadic people whose subsistence relied heavily on meat, had a low rate of caries formation. However, when they settled in the Carpathian Basin and adopted sedentary agricultural practices, the rate of caries rose dramatically. This was most likely due to the increase in plant and grain consumption and the relative decrease in meat consumption.[35] A number studies have been done examining the relationship between caries and diet, showing how the frequency of caries increases with a move to plant-based subsistence.[36] In archaeological populations, a higher frequency of caries is generally noted for females than for males, implying that men may have consumed larger amounts of meat, while women relied mainly on carbohydrates.[37] There is also the possibility of the long-held popular assumption that women develop more caries and experience poorer dental health during pregnancy and lactation, although this has recently been disputed.[38] There is evidence for increased gum inflammation in some pregnant

[33] Caselitz, "Caries;" Ildikó Pap, "Oral Pathology and Social Stratification in the Hungarian Middle Ages," *Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici* 78 (1986): 339–345 (henceforth: Pap, "Oral pathology"); László Ketter, *Gasztronómiánk krónikája: A magyar konyha múltja és jövője* (Chronicles of our gastronomy: The past and future of Hungarian cooking) (Budapest: Mezőgazdasági Kiadó, 1985) (henceforth: Ketter, *Gasztronómiánk krónikája*).

[34] Mays, *Human Bones.*

[35] Pap, "Oral pathology;" E. Fóthi and I. Pap, "Changes in the Way of Life during the 6–12th Centuries in the Territory of Hungary," *Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici* 85 (1995): 259–269.

[36] Clark Spencer Larsen, "Behavioural Implications of Temporal Change in Cariogenesis," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 10 (1983): 1–8; J. Lukacs, "Dental Palaeopathology and Agricultural Intensification in South Asia: New Evidence from Bronze Age Harappa," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 87 (1992): 133–150; S. Beckett and N. Lovell, "Dental Disease Evidence for Prehistoric Agricultural Intensification in the Nubian C-Group," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 4 (1994): 223–240; P.O. Pederson, "Dental Investigations of Greenland Eskimos," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 40 (1947): 726–732; P. L. Walker and J. Erlandson, "Dental Evidence of Prehistoric Dietary Change on the Northern Channel Islands, California," *American Antiquity* 51 (1986): 375–383.

[37] Larsen, *Bioarchaeology.*

[38] Ibid.

women,[39] but no proof exists for increased caries or tooth loss during pregnancy.[40] Variation in the proportions of caries between males and females is probably more closely related to dietary differences.

Diet in the Árpádian Age

Little is known about dietary practices in Árpád period Hungary. What is known has been extrapolated from archaeological, zooarchaeological, and archaeobotanical data, from the few written sources, and from what is known of the Árpád-period peoples' nomadic predecessors and the inhabitants of surrounding regions.[41]

The Magyars arrived in the area of Hungary in the late ninth century, bringing their social and dietary practices with them from the steppes. Much of this is known through archaeological and also ethnological studies of present-day pastoralist, non-sedentary peoples. The diet of the early Hungarians can be defined as "semi-nomadic," relying mostly on pastoral products, with a limited extent of cultivated plants.[42]

When the Magyars finally settled in the area of Hungary, they adopted a more sedentary agricultural way of life. The area of their settlement was limited and people had less area to keep their animals and till the soil. The Magyars divided their lands between domesticated plants and pasturage for their animals. The limitations on land and the adoption of agriculture also reflected the

[39] Ibid.; R. Jonsson, B. E. Howland and G. H. Bowden, "Relationships Between Periodontal Health, Salivary Steroids, and *Bacteroides intermedius* in Males, Pregnant and Non-Pregnant Women," *Journal of Dental Research* 67 (1988): 1062–1069; H. Loe and J. Silness, "Periodontal Disease in Pregnancy: I. Prevalence and Severity," *Acta Odontologica Scandinavica* 21 (1963): 533–551.

[40] Larsen, *Bioarchaeology*; P. L. Walker and B. S. Hewlett, "Dental Health, Diet and Social Status among Central African Foragers and Farmers," *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990): 382–398.

[41] For the sources and methodological problems see József Laszlovszky, "Research Possibilities into the History and Material Culture of Eating, Drinking and Hospitality during the Period of the Hungarian Conquest," in *Tender Meat under the Saddle. Customs of Eating, Drinking, and Hospitality among Conquering Hungarians and Nomadic Peoples,* ed. J. Laszlovszky, Medium Aevum Quotidinanum, vol. 7 (Krems: Institut für Realienkunde of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1998), 44–61 (henceforth: Laszlovszky, ed., *Tender Meat*).

[42] Ferenc Gyulai, "Archaeobotanical Sources in Investigating the Diet of the Conquering Hungarians," in Laszlovszky, ed., *Tender Meat*, 120–156 (henceforth: Gyulai, "Archaeobotanical Sources").

influence of their Slavic neighbors and some influence from Western settlers, who often formed the state's elite. By the twelfth century farming had become the dominant form of subsistence for the Magyar population. The principle crops were wheat, barley, and rye; barley was later used for brewing beer, millet and oats were used as animal feed.[43]

Although meat was an important part of the diet, hunting was not an important source of animal protein. Domestic animal keeping dominated the subsistence economy. In most Árpádian Age settlements, no wild animal bones are present in the faunal assemblage with the exception of birds and fish.[44] At the Visegrád-Várkert site cattle comprise the most significant proportion of the zooarchaeological finds, with high proportions of sheep, goat, and pig. Other domesticated animals included horse, dog, chicken, and goose.[45] Horses were of particular importance as they were used both as saddle and draft animals. They were also eaten, despite religious prohibitions, although the consumption of their milk apparently ceased.[46] Later, as steppe-society customs changed, the horse tended to be used more by high status individuals.[47]

That the Hungarians learned how to plant and grow fruit trees from their neighbors is known from eleventh-century written documentation referring to fruit trees and through the etymology of some Hungarian words. Fruit names such as plum, cherry, raspberry, strawberry, apricot, and melon have Slavic origins.[48] Some fruits, however, already known before the Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin, such as apple and pear, have names of Turkic origin.[49] Viticulture was also adopted along with Christianity, and wine became an everyday drink in the Late Middle Ages.[50]

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[43] Engel, *St. Stephen,* 56–58; Gyulai, "Archaeobotanical Sources," 126–129 and 136–138.

[44] Sándor Bökönyi, *History of Domestic Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988) (henceforth: Bökönyi, *Domestic Mammals*); László Bartosiewicz, "Mobile Pastoralism and Meat Consumption: an Archaeozoological Perspective," in Laszlovszky, ed., *Tender meat*, 157–178.

[45] László Bartosiewicz, "A Millennium of Migrations: Proto-historic Mobile Pastoralism in Hungary," *Bulletin of the Florida Museum of Natural History* 44, No. 1) (2003): 101–130.

[46] Bökönyi, *Domestic Mammals*; Engel, *St. Stephen*, 54–56.

[47] Engel, *St. Stephen,* 55.

[48] Ketter, *Gasztronómiánk krónikája*; Engel, *St. Stephen*, 57.

[49] Gyulai, "Archaeobotanical sources," 132.

[50] Gyulai, "Archaeobotanical sources," 138–140; Ferenc Gyulai, "A Kárpát-medencei szőlő- és borkultúra régészeti-növénytani emlékei" (Archaeological and botanical remains of wine and viticulture in the Carpathian Basin), in *Borok és korok. Bepillantás a bor kultúrtörténetébe* (Wines and Ages. Insights into the cultural history of wine), ed. Zoltán Benyák and Ferenc Benyák (Budapest: Hermész Kör, 2002), 101–114.

Bread was incredibly important in medieval society and was eaten on a daily basis as a staple food in the medieval and Árpád period diet. Evidence of bread-making is attested by 1138, as there are several documents containing the names of bakers, such as Mikos (Esztergom), Gasmer (Enying), Kinics (Edelény), and Cigu (Dömös).[51] Bread was consumed before this date as well, however, as can be seen from excavated ovens and stones from hand-rotated mills.[52] Even in the Middle Ages different kinds of bread were made from different ingredients. The higher the bran (the outside layer of the kernel) content in the bread, the coarser, darker, and cheaper it was. Generally speaking, the coarser and denser rye and barley breads were seen as unsuitable for the elite and were given to manual workers.[53] Often different grains were mixed for making bread, depending on the wealth of the maker. Frequently the poor would mix what little flour they had with barley, oats, beans, chestnuts, and other foods. Also, unable to afford commercially-made bread, or even ground flour, many ground their own flour and make unleavened flatbread. Rye bread was darker and denser than wheat bread, and barley bread was eaten by the poor and used as trencher plates by the rich.[54] Such coarse breads resulted in more intensive dental wear among the poor, but did not affect dental caries.

Methodology and Discussion: Caries and Dental Wear

For this study, the teeth were first examined for the existence and location of caries and then for the severity of those caries. The severity was recorded on a scale of one to six, ranging from level one (C1) for a small hole in the enamel of the tooth to level six (C6), where half of the tooth had been absorbed.

Dental wear is important to consider in the study of diet. First, the different kinds of tooth wear must be differentiated.[55] There are three basic types of wear: attrition, abrasion, and erosion. Attrition is the wear caused by tooth-on-tooth contact, either during chewing or grinding the teeth. This can be seen by comparing the wear surfaces of maxillar and mandibular teeth. Abrasion is caused by contact between the tooth and a hard foreign object. This can be

[51] Ketter, *Gasztronómiánk krónikája.*

[52] István Méri, "Árpád-kori falusi gabonaőrlő és kenyérsütő berendezések" (Rural grain mills and bread-baking facilities in the Árpádian Age) *Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei* (1969–70), 69–84.

[53] Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004) (henceforth: Weiss Adamson, *Food*).

[54] Ibid.; Gyulai, "Archaeobotanical sources," 134–135.

[55] Freeth, "Dental Health;" Ortner, *Pathological Conditions.*

caused by elements in the diet and also by certain activities such as using the teeth as a tool or a 'third hand.' Dental erosion is caused by chemicals in the mouth, and in modern literature is associated with eating disorders and alcoholism.[56]

Dental wear can result from dietary abrasives as well as craft activities such as those involving holding and pulling with the teeth, requiring the use of the jaws.[57] Dental wear results from the loss of enamel on the occlusal (chewing) surface of the tooth, followed by the rapid wearing of the underlying dentine.[58] This process is continuous throughout the whole of a tooth's life.[59] A number of studies have shown the relationship between dental or occlusal wear and environmental conditions and age.[60]

The severity of dental wear is also greatly influenced by the texture of food, which can be determined by the characteristics of the food (i.e., its ingredients) and the manner of its preparation.[61] In the Middle Ages, the main dietary factors that could have influenced tooth wear were the consumption of bread and other gritty foods. The wheat used for bread flour was ground on milling stones, which resulted in the stone particles being mixed into the flour that was used for bread. As the bread was eaten, the sandy particles would have

[56] Freeth, "Dental Health;" Larsen, *Bioarchaeology*.

[57] Kurt W. Alt and Sandra L. Pichler, "Artificial Modifications on Human Teeth," in *Dental Anthropology: Fundamentals, Limits, and Prospects*, ed. Kurt W. Alt, Friedrich W. Rösing, and Maria Teschler-Nicola (Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 1998), 387–415; Jerome C. Rose and Peter S. Ungar, "Gross Dental Wear and Dental Microwear in Historical Perspective," in *Dental Anthropology: Fundamentals, Limits, and Prospects*, ed. Kurt W. Alt, Friedrich W. Rösing, and Maria Teschler-Nicola (Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 1998), 349–386 (henceforth: Rose and Ungar).

[58] Rose and Ungar.

[59] A tooth's lifespan is not necessarily equivalent to the human's lifespan as the tooth may fall out before the death of the person.

[60] S. Molnar, J. K. McKee, I. M. Molnar, and T. R. Przybeck, "Tooth Wear Rates Among Contemporary Australian Aborigines," *Journal of Dental Research* 62, No. 5 (1983): 562–565; S. Molnár and I. Molnár, "Observations of Dental Diseases Among Prehistoric Populations of Hungary," *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 67 (1985): 57–66; M. L. Powell, "The analysis of dental wear and caries for dietary reconstruction," in *The Analysis of Prehistoric Diets*, ed. R. I. Gilbert jr. and J. H. Mielke (Orlando: cademic Press, 1985), 307–338; L. C. Richards and S. L. J. Miller, "Relationships between Age and Dental Attrition in Australian Aborigines," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 84 (1991): 159–164.

[61] Larsen, *Bioarchaeology*.

ground the teeth and worn them down quickly.[62] However, the degree of wear was subject to several variables. The first was that the extent of the tooth wear would depend on the amount of processed grain products consumed in a tooth's use life. The other variable was the strength and degree of grinding of the grain: the more pressure was exerted and the longer the grain was ground, the more sand particles became mixed into the resulting flour. Genetic factors are also important as they can influence variations in the enamel, hence the strength of a tooth, and how easily the tooth can become worn.

In this study, every tooth was examined for the extent of its dental wear. Six levels of severity were used to record the dental wear, ranging from a tooth which displays no wear at all to a tooth in which the entire crown of the tooth has disappeared leaving only the roots.

Results: The Cemetery of the Archdeaconal Church

In total, 15 females were studied. The average age at death was 43.8 years. Altogether, 26 males were studied, for whom the average age at death was 47.5 years. The ADI (Archaeological Dental Index) was found to be 71.6%. Many of the contingency tables display no significant difference between variables. Only those data will be discussed here for which the random probability value was found to be smaller than 5.0%, showing that their co-occurrence was not accidental statistically.

Pre-mortem Tooth Loss

In general, there is no significant difference in overall tooth loss between the sexes. However, when the age groups are divided, males have much more significant tooth loss (7.0%) than females (1.0%) in the adult age group (individuals of about 20–40 years old). The tooth loss shows that, as expected, tooth loss increases with age. In females there was a significant increase in tooth loss with age, from 1.0% in the juvenile/adult age groups to 13.3% in the mature group.

Caries

In general, there is no marked difference between the frequency of caries in men and women. However, when the sexes are split into age categories, a great difference is revealed. In the juvenile and adult age groups, males have a caries' frequency of 34.2%, while females have a caries frequency of only 16.2%. Men

[62] Freeth, "Dental Health"; Ketter, *Gasztronómiánk krónikája.*

in this age group had a larger proportion of premortem tooth loss as well. From this it can be inferred that the teeth of males were in worse condition than those of females. This may have been due to poorer general health or a higher consumption of carbohydrates. However, it can be seen that in the mature age group, females had a higher rate of caries (29.5%) than the males (20.3%). This can probably be accounted for by the fact that the carious teeth of males are likely to have been more severe and fallen out, as shown by the higher frequency of pre-mortem tooth loss in males. This idea is supported by other data showing that the frequency of caries decreases as males age, from 34.2% in the adult age group to 20.3% in the mature and elderly age groups. The frequency of caries in females, however, increases as they become older, from 16.2% in the juvenile and adult age groups to 29.5% in the mature age group.

Cysts and Abscesses

In general there was no great difference between the sexes overall and in the adult age group in the statistical value for cysts and abscesses. However, in the mature age group, females displayed double the frequency of cysts and abscesses (6.1%) than males (3.0%) of the same age group. From this it can be inferred that the overall health of females was poorer than the health of the males, as they had double the frequency of infections and possibly tumors. It should be remarked that this datum is problematic, as one individual could have had more than one cyst/abscess. These values of cysts and abscesses do not provide an overall picture.

Dental Wear

Dental wear is a special case as all the values are given in letter form. Hence, numbers were used to represent the letters, and later the averages were converted back into the letter form. The average dental wear values for the archdeaconal church are shown in *Table 3*, below.

Dental wear generally increased with age. This is apparent in both the males and females, where the dental wear is evenly spaced as they age. The dental wear is much more pronounced in males than in females, although it should be noted that the age of the men was greater than that of the women. There is one elderly male and no juveniles, whereas there is one juvenile female and no elderly females. Nonetheless, this does not make a large difference in the dental wear average, as the severity of dental wear increased with age. As there is this inconsistency with the juvenile and elderly age groups, the only comparable groups are those of the adult and mature age groups. There was a higher frequency of dental wear in males in these two age groups.

Table 3. Dental wear averages for the archdeaconal church cemetery.

	Numerical Wear Value	Dental Wear
Overall Average	2.15	AS2
Male Average	2.36	AS2
Female Average	1.79	AS2
Male Adult	1.85	AS2
Male Mature	2.46	AS2/AM
Male Elderly	2.75	AM
Female Juvenile	1.13	AS1
Female Adult	1.49	AS1/AS2
Female Mature	1.97	AS2

Enamel Hypoplasia (Irregularities)

Enamel hypoplasia was only compared between males and females, not by age groups. Comparison by age group is unnecessary as enamel hypoplasia develops during enamel formation during childhood. Hence, the values would be the same for each age group as they do not change during a person's lifetime. Here, the frequency of hypoplasia on the incisors and canines was compared between the sexes for low and high values. What was found was that there is no marked difference between the sexes on the incisors, and absolutely no difference in the canines.

Results: The Cemetery of the Parish Church

Altogether, 32 females were studied from the parish church cemetery, with the average age at death of 37.6 years, while 35 males were studied, for whom the average age at death was 41.5 years old. The ADI was found to be 72.5%. Many of the contingency tables displayed no significant difference between variables. Only those variables will be discussed for which the random probability value was found to be smaller than 5.0%.

Premortem Tooth Loss

There was a significant difference between the frequency of premortem tooth loss in males (11.4%) and females (4.7%). This difference can be seen in the

juvenile and adult age groups, where the frequency of tooth loss for males is 6.5% and for females 2.9%. The same can be seen in the mature age group where the frequency of premortem tooth loss is 16.0% for males and 7.4% for females. As expected, a significant increase in premortem tooth loss can be detected in the older age groups. When comparing the age groups of males, a significant increase is seen as well, from 6.5% in the juvenile and adult age groups to 16.0% in the mature and elderly age groups. This increase is also seen in females, although it is not as great; the frequency is 2.9% for females in the juvenile and adult age groups and 7.4% in the mature age group. From this it can be inferred that men had more severe caries than women, resulting in tooth loss. It is also possible that men partook in more vigorous activities which may have resulted in teeth being knocked out. However, normally it is the front teeth that are knocked out from accidents and fighting, and most premortem tooth loss was found in the molars and premolars.

Caries

Compared to the archdeaconal church cemetery, there is a difference between the overall frequencies of caries for males (18.8%) and females (23.8%). However, it must be remembered that the frequency of premortem tooth loss was higher in males than in females, which may account for part of this difference in caries. When males and females were divided into age groups, no great differences in caries' frequency were found. The difference between the frequencies of caries was notable in the juvenile and adult age groups (17.6%) compared to the frequencies of caries in the mature and elderly age groups (22.7%). More caries were found in the older age groups, as would be expected however, in spite of the premortem tooth loss.

Cysts and Abscesses

No great differences were found between cyst and abscess values by sex or age. No data could be analyzed here as none were found to have a random probability value of less than 5.0%.

Dental Wear

As with the archdeaconal church cemetery, the dental wear values were recorded, and averages calculated in number form. These numbers were then converted back to their dental wear value, for which the results are presented in *Table 4*, below.

Table 4. Dental wear averages for the parish church cemetery

	Dental Wear	Numerical Wear Value
Overall Average	1.93	AS2
Male Average	2.19	AS2
Female Average	1.69	AS2
Male Juvenile	1.23	AS1
Male Adult	1.83	AS2
Male Mature	2.47	AS2/AM
Male Elderly	3.25	AM
Female Juvenile	1.34	AS1
Female Adult	1.67	AS2
Female Mature	1.78	AS2

When examining this table a general trend can be noted, much as in the archdeaconal church material, of a general increase in dental wear with age. Here, however, the juvenile age group can also be compared as it is present in both males and females. The average dental wear in males is higher than in females, just as in the archdeaconal church material.

Enamel Hypoplasia (Irregularities)

Enamel hypoplasia was compared here in the same manner as for the dental material from the archdeaconal church cemetery. Here as well no great difference was found between the hypoplasia values for males and females.

Comparisons between the Two Cemeteries

The first comparison to be made is for average age at death, as this will influence later comparisons. Teeth in older individuals have more time to be affected by dental disease and environmental stresses, which can be seen on the teeth in the form of more severe dental wear, caries, and cysts/abscesses. The average ages at death for the archdeaconal church cemetery population was found to be 43.8 years for females and 47.5 years for males, and the age index was 46.1 years. The average ages of the parish church cemetery population by sex were found to be 37.6 years for females, and 41.5 years for males, and the age index was 39.6. This means that, on average, both the males and females of

the archdeaconal church cemetery population lived approximately six years longer than those of the parish church cemetery population. This age difference is very likely related to environmental conditions in the region surrounding the populations buried in the cemeteries. People living in the village probably experienced less comfortable conditions, although excavation and analysis bias should not be ignored. Not all the excavated individuals could be used in this analysis and a full picture of these people cannot be drawn until the entire cemetery has been excavated, something that could change the average age of death for each sex significantly. These numbers, thus, represent only those individuals used in the present study.

The frequencies of pre-mortem tooth loss were compared and calculated in contingency tables for both cemetery populations. No great difference in premortem tooth loss was found to exist between the adult age groups of males and females. However, differences were found in tooth loss in the mature and elderly age groups for males and the mature age group for females. The frequency of premortem tooth loss was higher in males from the parish church cemetery (16.0%) compared to the males buried in the archdeaconal church cemetery (10.7%). In females, however, the frequency of premortem tooth loss was higher in the archdeaconal church cemetery (13.3%) compared to the parish church cemetery (7.4%). This is interesting as it can be concluded from this that the overall caries' values of men in the village community was higher (they had more severe caries) compared to what was found on the teeth from the elite community. It can also be concluded that the women in the elite community had more severe caries' values than those of the village community, which shows an inverse relationship between the sexes. This will be discussed further when looking at caries' values.

The caries' values were also compared between the two cemeteries on the basis of sex and age groups. It was found that juvenile females from the archdeaconal church cemetery had a much higher frequency of caries (33.3%) than did those of the parish church cemetery (10.0%). However, in the adult age group, females of the parish church cemetery had about triple the frequency of caries (25.9%) than those of the archdeaconal church cemetery (8.9%). Not much of a difference was found in the mature age group. However, in males of the adult age group, a much higher frequency is seen in the archdeaconal church cemetery (34.2%) than in the parish church cemetery (17.7%). There was almost no difference in caries' frequency for mature and elderly males in the two cemeteries.

The general assumption is that people of higher social rank should have a higher frequency of caries. However, in contrast, Frayer discovered in studies of village and castle populations at Zalavár that the population of the castle had

6.4% carious teeth and the village population 12.1% carious teeth.[63] He suggested that this difference was related to a higher intake of animal protein by the elite compared to people living in the village. When comparing the overall number of carious teeth for the archdeaconal (23.9%) and parish church (21.2%) populations, the difference was not so clear. In this case, it is possible that both populations may have had access to nearly equal amounts of animal protein in relation to the carbohydrate intake in their diets.

The change that can be seen in specific age groups is very striking, however. What can be seen is that younger women, until about the age of 20, had three times as many caries in the elite population compared to what was found for women in the village. This ratio is exactly reversed between the biological ages of 20 to 40 years old, where women had three times as many caries in the village cemetery population than in the elite population. There is hardly a difference between mature women from the two cemeteries. In men the trend is the same, adults had three times as many caries in the village population than men from the more elite population. There was hardly a difference between the mature individuals from both cemeteries. From this it is seen that caries developed sooner in the village population than in the elite population.

Thus, it appears that in the age groups where people were presumed to be of working class (working the land, taking care of a family and household, and so on), the frequency of carious teeth was much higher in the village population than in the more elite population. Overall, however, there is hardly a difference between the caries frequencies in the two populations. This may imply that the amounts of meat and carbohydrates consumed by the two communities were nearly equal, although the way the consumption of meat and carbohydrates was proportioned within the communities may be what created the difference. It seems that most of the protein in the village community, consumed in the form of meat products, was particularly fed to the younger people, seen in the lower ratio of caries in juvenile individuals of the village population compared to the situation for the elite population, and presumably to the elderly, with the adults consuming little protein. In the elite population the diet seems to have been relatively more balanced compared to the situation in the village.

The comparisons for dental wear between the two cemeteries have also been noted to make the differences more readily apparent. Only the adult male, mature male, elderly male, juvenile female, adult female, and mature female age groups can be compared as these were consistently present in both cemeteries.

[63] David W. Frayer, "Tooth size, Oral Pathology and Class Distinctions: Evidence from the Hungarian Middle Ages," *Anthropológiai Közlemények* 28 (1984): 175–179 (henceforth: Frayer, "Tooth size").

The juvenile male group was found only in the parish church cemetery. The average dental wear will not be compared by the overall male, and female average as the average ages at death in the two excavated populations differed.

Table 5. Comparison of dental wear averages by age group for both the archdeaconal church and parish church cemeteries.

	Archdeaconal church	Parish church
Male Adult	1.85 (AS2)	1.83 (AS2)
Male Mature	2.46 (AS2/AM)	2.47 (AS2/AM)
Male Elderly	2.75 (AM)	3.25 (AM)
Female Juvenile	1.13 (AS1)	1.34 (AS1)
Female Adult	1.49 (AS1/AS2)	1.67 (AS2)
Female Mature	1.97 (AS2)	1.78 (AS2)

As can be seen in *Table 5*, the rates of dental wear for the two communities are almost identical. This is interesting as it contradicts the popular assumption that the teeth of village communities would be more worn than those of elite communities. This is generally taken for granted because of the general idea that the flour used to produce bread was of much worse quality for poorer village communities than for elite communities. From these results it can be concluded that it was likely that the two populations from the Visegrád-Várkert received their flour from the same source, probably from outside the village. On the other hand, the possibility cannot be ignored that the flour of the elite community was perhaps slightly more refined than that of the village community and it is simply the case that people in the elite community ate more bread. However, the results from the two populations are much too strikingly similar for this possibility, so it is likely that the flour for both populations came from the same source. This shows that the social stratification as reflected in access to food resources in Árpádian Age Visegrád was perhaps not as sharply divided as has previously been thought.

The only marked difference in cyst and abscess values was in the comparison of adult males in the two populations. The frequency of cysts and abscesses for the archdeaconal church cemetery was 6.0%, whereas it was found to be only 2.0% in the parish church community. From this it can be concluded, at least for men between the ages of approximately 20 and 40 years, that there were about three times the number of oral infections in the elite community than in the village community. Unfortunately no great conclusions can be drawn since there is hardly any difference between the cyst and abscess values between the other age groups in males and females overall in the two populations.

There was no great difference found between the two populations in the enamel hypoplasia seen on the incisors. However, differences were apparent on the canines for both males and females. In the archdeaconal church cemetery, 66.6% of the males were found to have low hypoplasia values and 33.3% high hypoplasia values. Just the opposite was found in the parish church cemetery, where 32.2% of males were found to have low hypoplasia values and 67.7% high hypoplasia values. From this it can be seen that men in the village community may have suffered from more severe diseases, fever, and perhaps malnutrition as children (all factors contributing to enamel irregularites) than did those from the archdeaconal church community. The same trend can be seen for females. In the archdeaconal church cemetery, 66.6% of females were found to have low hypoplasia values and 33.3% had high hypoplasia values. In the parish church cemetery, 31.0% of the females were found to have low hypoplasia values as opposed to 68.9% with high hypoplasia values for females in the parish church cemetery. Therefore, it can be concluded for both men and women that the general health of people in the village community was poorer than that in the elite community, as extrapolated from enamel hypoplasia values.

Based on caries, there must have hardly been any difference between the amounts of protein and carbohydrate-rich foods consumed by people in the elite community and those in the village community. There was, however, a difference between the age groups of the village community, where it can be seen that the least amount of protein seems to have been consumed by the adults, as compared to those of the elite community where the diet seems to have been more balanced between age groups.

It was found that the dental wear in both populations was nearly equal, suggesting that both populations received their flour for bread-making from the same source, and that social stratification was probably not as divided as previously thought on the level of access to food sources. Cysts and abscesses do not provide much insight into the two populations. Enamel hypoplasia, however, shows that the general health of individuals in the village community must have been poorer than that in the elite community, resulting from more sickness in childhood.

Conclusions

The area of Visegrád has been much studied for the past few decades. It has been examined from various points of view, especially archaeologically and historically. The use of physical anthropology in this study provides yet another angle to these analyses. The results also shed light on life during the Árpádian Age in this region from the point of view of diet and health. They provide some

insight into what social stratification and economy[64] meant in daily life in early Árpádian Age Visegrád, contradicting the general assumption that there were sharp differences in access to food products between the elite and less exalted populations, and concurring with some expectations of health differences in socially stratified communities.

In general, it is usually assumed that a higher-status medieval population will have a higher frequency of caries than a lower-status population of the same area, as those people would normally have more access to carbohydrates and sugars such as honey. Of course, this is not always the case as there have been studies showing a higher rate of caries in poorer populations compared to more well-to-do populations,[65] most likely attributed to a higher intake of animal protein by richer populations. Interestingly, it was found that the rates of caries in the two populations from Visegrád-Várkert did not differ greatly. In this case it is possible that both populations may have had nearly equal amounts of animal protein in relation to carbohydrate intake in their diets.

It is also generally assumed that people of lower-status populations would have a higher frequency of heavy dental wear, implying that those people would be eating much coarser foods. This can especially be attributed to the types of bread regularly consumed, where higher status populations are assumed to have displayed lower levels of dental wear as a result of more refined flour being used for their bread. It was found, however, that the dental wear in these two populations was nearly identical. This suggests that the two populations from Visegrád-Várkert likely received their flour from the same source, possibly from outside the village. Both the proportion of dental caries and degree of tooth wear of the two populations is more or less the same, suggesting that access to resources was not very different between the two populations in Árpád period Visegrád, which may not have been so different in terms of their social positions as was originally thought. However, there were differences in the general health of the two communities, implying some differences in the environmental conditions affecting the people. Further research could greatly enhance this study, and hopefully in the future a more complete analysis can be carried out on these human remains as well as on other medieval Hungarian cemetery populations.

[64] For the problem of social stratification and material culture see: József Laszlovszky, "Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th–14th Century Hungary," in András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky, ed., *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. Medieum Aevum Quotidianum* 22 (Krems: Institut für Realienkunde of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1991), 32–68.

[65] Frayer, "Tooth size," 175–179.

BETWEEN REALITY AND SYMBOL: "IMAGES-WITHIN-PICTURES" IN THE UPPER CHURCH AT ASSISI

Péter Bokody

The question of whether minor and seemingly realistic details of a figurative painting may have a symbolic meaning is one which cannot be completely eliminated from art historical understanding. This essay addresses this question to a peculiar pictorial phenomenon called "image-within-picture." This term is analogous with the term "picture-within-picture," which means that one painting is represented in another.[1] However, the term "image-within-picture" designates a wider phenomenon; it alludes to any kind of representation which is depicted in a picture and therefore includes reliefs, sculptures, mosaics, carvings, and paintings.[2] The reason for this widening of the concept is that by

[1] For the problem of the "picture-within-picture" see André Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964. Band 1: Epochen Europäischer Kunst* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1967), 15–29; Stefan A. Horsthemke, *Das Bild im Bild in der italienischen Malerei: zur Darstellung religiöser Gemälde in der Renaissance* (Glienicke: Galda und Wilch, 1996); Victor I. Stoichita, *L'instauration du tableau: Métapeinture à l'aube des Temps modernes* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1993).

[2] The term "image-within-picture" needs two limitations. The word "image" in the discourse on visual representation would designate only the virtual-mental phenomenon; strictly speaking, the statue is not an image, it is only the medium which contains the image. See W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4, note 5 (hereafter: Mitchell, *Picture Theory*). Nevertheless, the word in a broader sense can be used as a designation of two- and three-dimensional figurative representation, and it will be used in this sense here. On the other hand the word "picture" refers to the thing that hangs on the wall; the picture as a medium in a strict sense names the thing that is composed of a canvas or a panel and a frame, and can be detached from the wall. See Hans Belting, *Bildanthropologie: Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich: Fink, 2001), 15, and Mitchell, *Picture Theory,* 4, note 5. This formulation excludes the fresco, which is a two-dimensional depicted surface attached to the wall; and it is decisive for the early history of the "image-within-picture." For terminological reasons here the term "picture" will also designate frescoes. On an ontological level this problem is related to Hans Belting's argument, where the "panel" as "Kultbild" belongs to an entirely different tradition from the fresco. See Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: Beck, 1990). The discussion of the question of whether from the point of view of

depicting a statue or a mosaic in a picture the master similarly creates a "representation-within-representation," of which "picture-within-picture" is only a sub-unit.

The "image-within-picture" is not a necessary component of painting; it was present in Classical painting but disappeared in Early Medieval painting, and significantly reappeared in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century. The exact moment of this reappearance is difficult to determine because of the loss of Roman murals; however, among the works preserved the decoration of the Upper Church at Assisi is considered as the starting point of this tradition.[3] This essay investigates this moment of reappearance, asking how, in Assisi, at the beginning of its "new" history in Western art, the "image-within-picture" was related to the problem of realism and symbolism.

Realism in this context means that the "image" has a simple function; it is part of a building or an interior—a mosaic on a façade, a statue on a building or decoration of an interior. It is merely a realistic ornament. Symbolism, on the other hand, means that the "image" ceases to be a simple meaningless detail and is connected somehow to the main content of the picture. The (non)-existence of a link between the iconographic content of the "image" and the iconographic content of the "picture" decides whether the "image" is an ornament or a symbol. In this sense the ornament can be considered as a "simple" iconographic solution, since what it represents is not connected to the main theme of the picture; parallel to this, the symbol is a "complex" iconographic solution, since what it represents is connected to the main theme.[4]

"image-within-picture" the panels represent a different tradition is beyond the scope of the present essay.

[3] John White, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956): 84–95, and John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 47–52 (hereafter: White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*). On the watercolor sketches describing Cavallini's frescoes one cannot find "images-within-pictures."

[4] This clear division between decorative and symbolic function is deeply transformed in the fifteenth century, when the embedded "image" became an element of the reflection on the different narrative styles in painting. See Wolfgang Kemp, "Praktische Bildbeschreibung. Über Bilder in Bildern, besonders bei Van Eyck und Mantegna," in *Beschreibungskunst – Kunstbeschreibung: Ekphrasis von der Antiken bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Boehm, Gottfried and Helmut Pfotenhauer (Munich: Fink, 1995), 99–119; idem, *Die Räume der Maler: zur Bilderzählung seit Giotto* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 100–103; idem, "Lukas Mosers Magdalenenaltar in Tiefenbronn. Eine Raumgeschichte," in *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus 2*, ed. Wolfgang Kemp, Gert Mattenklott, Monika Wagner and Martin Warnke (Berlin: Akademie, 1998), 39–85.

The question of realism and symbolism in this context cannot be dissociated from Erwin Panofsky's theory on disguised symbolism, which has been the major source of inspiration for this essay but cannot be treated here at length.[5] However, the following points ought to be noted. 1. Panofsky concentrated on fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting and considered the Italian Trecento as a forerunner, but he never treated it systematically.[6] 2. He forged a broad concept of disguised symbolism, where all everyday objects were conceived as containers of symbolic meaning.[7] 3. Disguised symbolism was seen as a solution to harmonize medieval non-realistic symbolic systems with the exigencies of the realistic-imitative picture considered as a window to another world.[8] 4. The "image-within-picture" is a subdivision of disguised symbolism, since these everyday details have specific iconographic contents. In an early essay he reflected this specificity and called it "obvious symbolism;" however, in the final theory he omitted this distinction although he kept some of its methodological implications.[9]

I will have here a double relation to Panofsky's legacy. On the one hand—in accord with his critics—the all-over and broad concept of disguised symbolism is rejected: each and every detail of a realistic painting does not disguise a symbol; details can merely be what they are: simple depictions of reality without deeper implications.[10] On the other hand, following his early

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[5] See Peter Bokody, "The 'Image-within-Picture' and the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi," MA Thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2006), 6–32. I would like to express my thanks to Anna Eörsi, my mentor in the Art History Department at the Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, for sharing with me her unpublished paper *Panofsky-Pächt–van Eyck-Campin*, which served as Ariadne's thread in the labyrinth of Panofsky's theory.

[6] Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character 1* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 141 (hereafter: Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*). This was again restated later, see: Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Icon, 1972), 141–142 (hereafter: Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*).

[7] Erwin Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *The Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934): 117–127, especially 126–127; and Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 131–148.

[8] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 140–141.

[9] Erwin Panofsky, "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 433–473, especially 446–453; and Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 141–142.

[10] These critics cover mostly the painting of the Low Countries between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. See Otto Pächt, "Panofsky's 'Early Netherlandish Painting' 1–2," *The Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956): 110–116, 267–279; Edwin Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley:

insight, the "image-within-picture" as a specific subdivision of disguised symbolism is seen as a fruitful and secure ground for investigating *possible* symbolic significance; in these cases, on the basis of the iconographic content of the detail, one can grasp the symbolic connection between the detail and the picture without taking the risk of building iconological castles in Spain. Therefore, the analysis of the "images-within-pictures" in the Upper Church at Assisi situates itself within the broader context of disguised symbolism. It asks to what extent, in that given historical moment when the "image-within-picture" reappeared in Western art, the possible symbolic implications of the phenomenon were explored, that is, how the interplay developed between the decorative and the symbolic use of the "image-within-picture.".

Altogether there are seventeen frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi that are relevant for the problem of the "image-within-picture." Two of them can be connected to the Cimabue workshop, three of them are situated around the Isaac scenes and the other twelve belong to the *Legend of St. Francis*. All of the "images" are connected to the exterior or interior decoration of a building; however, their symbolic or decorative functions present a heterogeneous assemblage.

Decoration and Prototype

In some cases the "images-within-pictures" are used to make the building to which they belong recognizable. In these cases the "image-within-picture" is clearly motivated by the prototype, it functions as documentation. In the background of *Peter Healing the Disabled*, a central (octagonal?) temple is depicted; its façade has a tympanum showing an eagle. The building has been interpreted as the Pantheon.[11] It has to be noted that the event takes place in Jerusalem (Acts 3: 1–9), before the temple, therefore the octagonal building might resemble the Pantheon of Rome, but is more likely that it alludes to the Temple of Jerusalem. The presence of the eagle on the tympanum can be interpreted as a

University of California, 1994); Lloyd Benjamin, "Disguised Symbolism Exposed and the History of Early Netherlandish Painting," *Studies in Iconography* 2 (1976): 11–24; Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1983); Jan Baptist Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols: Studies in the Iconology of Netherlandish Art 1400–1800* (Hague: Gary Schwartz – SDU, 1990). For the symbolic use see E. de Jongh, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth Century Painting*, tr. and ed. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2000).

[11] Joachim Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien* (Munich: Hirmer, 1985), 74.

faithful reproduction of the golden eagle placed there by the Romans.[12] In this sense the "image" is documenting the decoration of the building.

A similar observation can be made on the other product of the Cimabue workshop. The façade of the church with a view of Rome (*Ytalia*) represents Christ in the middle with the Virgin on his right and a saint on his left. Andaloro argued that because of a clear iconographical divergence, the saint cannot be St. John the Baptist, therefore, the façade does not represent a traditional *Deesis*. If the figure is conceived as St. Peter it becomes a *Deesis* where the titular saint of the church replaces John the Baptist. On this basis the church has been identified with the Basilica Vaticana, where the façade was decorated under Gregory IX with exactly this deviant *Deesis*.[13] In this respect the *Ytalia* can be paralleled with *The Dream of Innocent III* (6—the number refers to the narrative place of the fresco in the *Legend*), where the mosaic medallion near Francis' head derives from the decoration of the renewed portico of the Lateran basilica done under Nicholas IV.[14] Unfortunately, the façade is lost, therefore it is unknown whether it was decorated or not, like the corresponding parallel of the *Louvre Stigmatization*, which follows its real prototype.

There are three examples which deviate slightly from their presumed prototypes; nevertheless, a chain of derivation can be detected. In the *St. Francis Honored by a Simple Man of Assisi* (1), the building in the center is decorated with a huge tympanum relief which represents two angels (or antique Victories) carrying a garland and bracketing the rosette in the middle. They bear the trace of more an arnolfian than an antique influence, like the ciborium in *The Miracle at Greccio* (13).[15] The building is the Temple of Minerva, still visible in the main square of Assisi. The fresco, however, does not follow the prototype faithfully; the number of columns was reduced and their proportions were altered and, more importantly, the relief depicted on the fresco was never part of the building. In this sense the "image" differs fundamentally from the "images" of the Cimabue workshop.

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[12] As Peter Seiler argued convincingly; see Peter Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen. Antijüdische Kritik oder mittelalterliches Wissen über römische Götter- und Kaiserstatuen im biblischen Jerusalem?" *Pegasus* 3 (2001): 97–98 (hereafter Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen").

[13] Maria Andaloro, "Ancora una volta sull'Ytalia di Cimabue," *Arte Medievale* 2 (1984): 154–156.

[14] Peter Murray, "Notes on Some Early Giotto Sources," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 72–73.

[15] Alastair Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto. A Study of the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 97 (hereafter: Smart, *Assisi*).

The discrepancies between reality and its pictorial representation can be seen in different ways. Frugoni, following the results of Scarpellini, argued that the antique temple was transformed into a church during the Middle Ages and a part of it was used as a prison. The decoration of the building alludes to both functions: the two barred windows in the front without a door are signs of a prison, and the relief with the rosette on the tympanum is a sign of the church; thus the "image-within-picture" serves as an indication of the role, without further symbolic implications.[16] Wolff variously interpreted the relief as an allegory of the victory of Christianity over antiquity (Gothic elements introduced to a Classical building) and as a veneration of Francis by the Victories for his future martyrdom.[17] However, without further arguments both propositions remain hypothetical.

The decoration of the ciborium in *The Miracle at Greccio* (13) can be paralleled to the tympanum of the Temple of Minerva; in a symmetrical composition mirrored *putti* or angels can be seen carrying a laurel wreath and a bird, probably an eagle. The ciborium with its ornamentation is part of the decoration of the interior of the sanctuary and, as scholars have variously noted, its changes follow the ciboria made for the churches Santa Cecilia and San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome by Arnolfo di Cambio.[18] The changes influence the all-over design of the ciborium; quite significantly, the Gothic arches are omitted, thus increasing the Classical effect of the columns.

The Crucifix in *The Prayer in San Damiano* (4) is a more complex case. It is clearly recognizable, although some pictorial material has been lost, that the *croce dipinta* is a triumphant one: Jesus is depicted with open eyes without the signs of suffering.[19] Around the end of the thirteenth century in Italy, especially within the Franciscan order, the preferred type of the *croce dipinta* was the suffering one,

[16] Pietro Scarpellini, "Commentario critico," in Fra Ludovico da Pietralunga, *Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco e di altri Santuari di Assisi*, ed. Pietro Scarpellini (Treviso: Canova, 1982), 459–460; Bruno Zanardi, Frederico Zeri and Chiara Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto: le Storie di San Francesco ad Assisi* (Milan: Skira, 1996), 66 (hereafter: Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*).

[17] Ruth Wolff, *Der Heilige Franziskus in Schriften und Bildern des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996), 238 (hereafter: Wolff, *Der Heilige Franziskus*).

[18] Decio Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1963), 30 (hereafter: Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto*); Valerio Mariani, "Giotto nel ciclo della 'Vita di San Francesco'," in *Giotto e i giotteschi in Assisi*, Il miracolo di Assisi. Collana di studi sull'arte assisana 1, ed. Giuseppe Palumbo (Rome: Canesi, 1969), 88; Smart, *Assisi*, 41.

[19] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 96.

which replaced the triumphant one around the middle of the century.[20] The reason for opting for the more archaic type is presumably that the original cross of San Damiano depicts a triumphant Christ. This cross is still preserved and guarded as a relic in the monastery of Santa Chiara; and despite the minor difference it may have served as a prototype for the fresco.[21] The simplification can be due to pictorial considerations (the detailed side actors would have been indistinguishable), and it did not affect the basic idea: the cross is a triumphant one, similarly to the relic.[22]

Decoration without Prototype

Although this strong attachment of the "image-within-picture" to a given prototype is softened on the other frescoes, this does not mean that they necessarily become symbols. Dependence on a given prototype gives a plausible explanation of why the "image" is depicted in the picture. The lack of this plausible explanation can basically mean two things: the "image" is a symbol,

[20] Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix des Origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes: Bellanger, 1959), 139–141.

[21] In the fresco on the side fields only the Virgin and St. John are represented, contrary to the more numerous group of actors: the Virgin, John, the two Maries, Longinus, the centurion, and Stefatus on the cross. Smart, *Assisi*, 162, and Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 98. For the original cross of the San Damiano see Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1949), 183.

[22] Frugoni argued that the use of the triumphant type here also had a symbolic motivation. She paralleled the scene with the *Stigmatization* and regarded the triumphant cross as a pictorial anticipation of the apparition of the seraph-Christ. (Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 96.) I am not debating the general correspondence between the two scenes, but I have doubts whether the use of the triumphant type here has anything to do with the seraph-Christ. It has to be noted that the idea of the parallel between the *San Damiano* scene and the *Stigmatization* has been elaborated for the Louvre *Stigmatization*, where, indeed, a part of a *croce dipinta* (the Virgin) can be seen inside a chapel, and as Gardner has noted, it could suggest the pictorial connection between the two events and emphasize the "Franciscan" Christology of Bonaventura—see Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate. Una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1999), 212 (hereafter: Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*) and Julian Gardner, "The Louvre Stigmatization and the problem of the narrative Altarpiece," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1982): 225–226. The cross, since it is not a necessary component of the Stigmatization, can allude back to the San Damiano scene; but the cross on the San Damiano scene is a necessary component of the story, therefore its symbolic potential is limited.

thus the motivation of its representation is symbolic or the "image" is still a decoration, and the motivation of its representation is connected to the creation of a "realistic" background for the event. The term "realistic" alludes to a constant feature of the space-representation in the early Trecento: the empirical three-dimensional pictorial space is, to a large extent, the result of a building set obliquely to the picture plane.[23] The building, which can be regarded as the generator of space and thus the generator of reality, is not necessarily a faithful imitation of an already existing prototype; on the contrary, in many cases it is imaginary, however, it creates a "realistic" space. The different "images-within-pictures" attached to these buildings can participate as decorations in the creation of this realistic space; since they render the building more detailed and "building-like" they increase its all-over reality effect.[24]

Three frescos which show these decorative features can be ascribed to the milieu of the Isaac workshop.[25] One of them is a relief of a centaur in the Isaac scenes.[26] It could be interpreted as an allusion to Esau being a hunter, thus a sinner, based on its flexed arm, but the pictorial material does not allow any strict conclusions.[27] The other two can be found on the *Vaulting of the Doctors*. The doctors with their scribes are placed in a composite structure. In the section of *St. Jerome* there are two pairs of statues of winged caryatid creatures on the two sides. In *Gregory the Great*, in the same place, a lion can be seen on each side.

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[23] White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space,* 19–56.

[24] Recently Felicity Ratté argued that in the *Legend* there is an intentional play between the faithful imitation of a real prototype and introducing changes to the representation. She saw this play as a vehicle with a double aim: the imitation expresses the historical actuality of St. Francis' life; the changes assure the universal importance of the event by softening the strict time-space determination. Felicity Ratté, "Re-presenting the Common Place: Architectural Portraits in Trecento Painting," *Studies in Iconography* 22 (2001): 102–104. This hypothesis assumes that the masters would have been able to create perfect imitations, and that they deliberately opted for changed solutions; however, the historical development shows that realistic space and the faithful imitation of reality was something to be achieved and not immediately given at the beginning of the Trecento.

[25] Zanardi pointed out that they show a similar mode of execution of the incarnated to that of the *Legend* from frescoes 2 to 7. See Bruno Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini. La questione di Assisi e il cantiere medievale della pittura a fresco* (Milan: Skira, 2002), 110–111 (hereafter: Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini*).

[26] Bellosi detected it. See Luciano Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1985), 73.

[27] Amy Neff, "Lesser Brothers: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 686 (hereafter: Neff, "Lesser Brothers").

Nine heads of lions also decorate his pulpit and there are two statues of winged creatures on the top of the building where his scribe is sitting.[28] It is quite clear that there is no prototype of these structures. It is difficult to see what kind of link would relate St. Jerome to the caryatids or St. Gregory to the lions. Furthermore, the lions would be an appropriate attribute for Jerome; yet, they accompany Gregory the Great. It is worthy of note that every motif is doubled by a mirror effect; this symmetrical composition is an argument for interpreting them as decorative details.

This tendency is also clearly present in the Legend of St. Francis. Mirror statues of two recumbent lions appear on the chapel of *The Vision of the Thrones* (9). They presumably result from the transformation of the usual decoration of church entrances; they are definitely not connected to the vision. Similarly, the lion on a console above the gate of the *Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo* (11) is common in the iconography of a city gate.[29] Heads emerging out of the ornamentation appear on the church, above the roof of the polygonal apse, in the same fresco and in the central vegetal decoration of the top of the building in *The Preaching before Honorius III* (17).

The decoration of the church (reliefs of two nudes and a *putto* with swans) in *The Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo* (11) bears traces of the influence of antique sculpture. Panofsky explained their presence by Classical remains around Arezzo.[30] Similarly to the mirror-decoration of the ciborium at Greccio and the tympanum of the Temple of Minerva, these Classical elements presumably lack any complex iconographic implications; they are mere decoration of the church. Being antique elements, they might express anti-Christian attitudes, but as they can be found on an ecclesiastical building, which,

[28] Benton has already noted the antique connections of the winged figures and compared them to the decoration of the Farnesina House and the House of Livia. Janetta Rebold Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, (1985): 157–158 (hereafter: Benton, "Mural Motifs").

[29] Felicity Ratté tried to interpret the motif as curious coat of arms, but she also admitted that the coat of arms of Arezzo would be a horse, not a lion. (Felicity Ratté "Architectural Invitations: Images of City Gates in Medieval Italian Painting," *Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art* 38 (1999): 147–148 and 153, note 44.) For the city gate see also: Julian Gardner, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate," in *Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. William Tronzo and Irving Lavin Dumbarton Oaks Papers 41. (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 199–213.

[30] Panofsky, *Renaissance*, 148, note 3.

as Frugoni emphasized, clearly belongs to the pictorial group of St. Francis and Brother Sylvester, anti-Christian implications are highly unlikely.[31]

The five statues on top of the building in *The Ordeal by Fire* (12) also show Classical influence, not of Classical sculpture but Classical murals, and they are shown on a pagan building.[32] The original layer of gilt has been lost; only the yellow drawing is visible now.[33] Tintori and Meiss conceived of the figures as winged *putti*; Smart saw them as pagan statues.[34] Panofsky stated that they are *putti* with pagan implications: they express the evil nature of the place.[35] Three layers of interpretation can be followed here: the statue as a *putto* (derived from Classical murals); the statue as idol (decoration in the Muslim milieu); and the statue as symbol, expressing the evilness of the court of the sultan.[36]

The first two interpretations seem plausible, however, the third contradicts the narrative situation depicted on the fresco. In the *Legenda Maior* (IX, 8.) Bonaventura underlines the exceptional character of the meeting: Francis went to the sultan after having unsuccessfully tried to convince the Christian Crusaders to cease the fight and, unlike the Christian believers, the pagan unbelievers accepted him and listened to him carefully. The ordeal by fire, proposed by Francis and not by the ruler, is not a menace, but the victory of the *Poverello* over the Saracen clergy. The sultan and his court therefore were not an evil and hostile milieu in this case. This means that the statues can hardly express evilness, since the location was not evil.[37] The positive staging of the ruler also appears on the base of the throne, which is decorated by gold reliefs

[31] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 160.

[32] Concerning the influence of the Classical murals and the methodological difficulties related to this question the article of Benton remains fundamental. See Benton, "Mural Motifs," 158.

[33] Leonetto Tintori and Millard Meiss, *The Painting of the Life of St. Francis in Assisi* (New York: University Press, 1962), 108, (hereafter: Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*); and Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 176. Only four are mentioned, which cut the huge *giornata* (103). The ornament on the right back pillar, which is hardly visible and belongs to the same *giornata* (103) is not discussed. It is partly covered by the festoon, but it shows a similar form as the other four. It is presumably a statue, which is lost. It may represent an earlier phase of the design.

[34] Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 108; Smart, *Assisi*, 180.

[35] Compare: Panofsky, *Netherlandish*, 141, and Panofsky, *Renaissance*, 148, note 3.

[36] On the problems of idols and their representation in the Middle Ages generally see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[37] For a similar argument on the "pagan" statues of Duccio see Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen," 78–90.

representing lions.[38] The lions may allude to the throne of Solomon (1 Kings 10:18–20), thus connecting the sultan to the idea of the wise ruler. Therefore, the Classical elements here are found on a pagan building, but their role is restricted to creating a Classical decoration without a specific—complex iconographic—implication of evilness.

Presumable Complex Iconographic Solutions

The "images-within-pictures" examined so far turned out to be mere decorations. There has been no decisive argument that would testify to a symbolic function and the origin of the motifs can be tracked back to the influence of Classical sculpture, painting or contemporary architecture. In the following examples there are soft pictorial arguments in favor of a symbolic importance. One of them is a meta-pictorial detail; and in another case (*The Testimony of Jerome* [22]) the pictorial insight may be supported by liturgical-hagiographical evidence.

Standing statues decorate the roof of the papal chamber in *The Dream of Innocent III* (6). Only one of them is well preserved. It is next to the collapsing tower of the Lateran, with the left hand pointing to the basilica and the right hand to the chamber of Innocent III.[39] It is tempting to interpret this gesture as explanatory, clarifying the two elements of the event depicted and expressing their interconnectedness: Innocent is dreaming on the right, Francis is acting in this very dream on the left.[40] This statue is not a simple decorative detail; however, it is not a symbol either. It is not connected iconographically to the main content of the picture, but is the link which connects the two elements (the dream and the content of the dream) of the picture. In this respect it is a meta-pictorial detail.[41] Although the other four statues are lost, it could be that

[38] The gilt has been lost; what can be seen now is the yellow under-drawing which was originally covered. Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 108. and Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 176.

[39] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 120.

[40] As Burkhart proposed. Peter Burkhart, *Franziskus und die Vollendung der Kirche im siebten Zeitalter: Zum Programm der Langhausfresken in der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992), 122 (hereafter: Burkhart, *Franziskus und die Vollendung der Kirche*.)

[41] It can be mentioned that Leon Battista Alberti in 2, 42 of his *Della Pittura* advised painters to have some actors in the picture who can explain to the viewer the meaning of the painting with their expressions and gestures. Of course, these figures are supposed to be the "flesh and bone" participants of the painting and not petrified detail;

the explanatory gestures were meant for them, as if the statues discussed the dream with each other, since the gesticulating figure looks backwards, towards the others. In *The Liberation of the Repentant Heretic* (28) there are two groups of similar angels (?) deep in conversation in the reliefs decorating the balustrade of the prison, but they lack this direct, explanatory connection to the event.

Scant attention has been paid to the three statues on the roof of the church on *The Vision of Friar Augustine and the Bishop of Assisi* (21).[42] The figure on the left may be identified with St. Anthony the Hermit because of the crutch in his hands.[43] The other two do not have such specific attributes, however, they wear the traditional clothes of the apostles. The one in the front right corner represents a beardless youngster and the other behind him is an older man with a long beard. This supports the identification with the apostles St. John and St. James or St. Andrew; however, without the confirmation of the attributes this can only be hypothetical. It has to be emphasized that contrary to the "images-within-pictures" analyzed so far in the cycle, they show a high level of individuality: they are differentiated in their hair-style, their beard and accessories. Furthermore, they cannot in any way be considered as mirror images. The pictorial features of the statues point towards symbolic importance, which on a hypothetical level with the connection to St. Anthony as a founding father of eremitism is not phantasmagoric, but definitely requires the support of written evidence.

In the case of *The Testimony of Jerome* (22) the content of the symbol can be grasped more firmly. On the rood screen three images can be seen: a Madonna, a "suffering" *croce dipinta*, and an icon of St. Michael. The cross was probably part of the interior in Porziuncola, Thomas of Celano mentioned it (*Vita secunda*, XXXV, 65), and recent investigations have revealed the traces of the roodscreen and the attachment of the cross to the apse.[44] For the other two icons there is no evidence which would prove their actual presence in the church. Since the cross belongs to the "suffering" type, it cannot correspond to the décor at the time of Francis; it may correspond to the cross at the time of the execution of the fresco. Thus, there are discrepancies between the pictorial representation and the interior of the church.

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however, the statue at Assisi can be seen as a premature echo of the phrase formulated 140 years later: "o chiami con la mano a vedere."

[42] Smart considered them prophets, which they presumably are not. (Smart, *Assisi*, 210–211.) The different descriptions of the frescoes usually neglect them.

[43] George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), 76. (Hereafter: Kaftal, *Iconography*.)

[44] Chiara Frugoni, "L'ombra della Porziuncola nella Basilica Superiore di Assisi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 45 (2001): 368–371 (hereafter: Frugoni, "L'ombra della Porziuncola").

Fig. 1. The Vision of Friar Augustine and the Bishop of Assisi, Upper Church, Assisi (Courtesy of Pater Gerhard Ruf OFM Conv.).

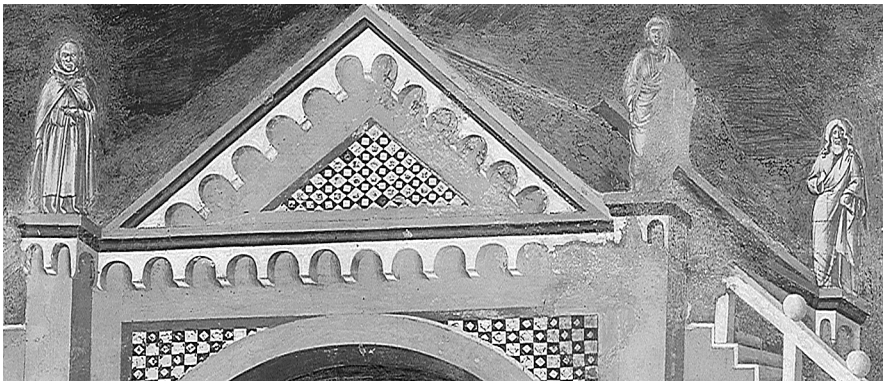

Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1.

The sequence of the three images, as Frugoni showed, can be interpreted symbolically.[45] The order of the images corresponds to the three decisive dates of the Fast of St. Francis at *La Verna*: he started the Fast before the Assumption of the Virgin, he wanted to finish it on the day of St. Michael, and he had the vision of the Seraph on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross.[46] The importance of the Fast of Francis for Bonaventura and for official Franciscan tradition after him can hardly be overemphasized. This is the moment when the conformity of Francis to Christ gained its utmost proof; he received in his life the stigmata of Christ. The *stigmata* on the body of Francis were discovered after his death; this event can be seen on the fresco. Subsequently, Thomas of Celano described the connection between the fast at La Verna, the apparition of the Seraph, and the stigmatization of Francis (*Vita prima*, II, III, 94; *Tractatus de miraculis*, II, 4). This Seraph acquired a more Christ-like feature in the legend written by Bonaventura (*Legenda maior,* XIII, 3).[47] After the decision of the Paris chapter in 1266, which declared the *Legenda Maior* of Bonaventura to be the official and the only *vita* of Francis and ordered the destruction of the other lives, Bonaventura's version became the principal source for pictorial representations.[48] Therefore the three images on the roodscreen reiterate the decisive dates of the hagiographic focus of the life of Francis and they function as a complex iconographic solution that

[45] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 292. In a later publication, she emphasized more the correspondence between the original decoration and the fresco and considered the three images a symbolic sequence already present in Porziuncola. See Frugoni, "L'ombra della Porziuncola," 392, note 194.

[46] The event is reported in the entry number 118 of the *Compilatio Assisiensis*. "… voluit ibi facere quadragesimam ad honorem sancti Michaelis. Iverat autem illuc ante festum Assumptionis gloriose virginis Marie, et numeravit dies a festo sancte Marie usque ad festum [sancti] Michaelis, quod essent quadraginta dies, et ait: 'Ad honorem Dei et beate Virginis Marie, matris eius, et beati Michaelis, angelorum principis et animarum, volo hic facere quadragesimam.'" ("Compilatio Assisiensis," in *Fontes Franciscani. Testi 2*, ed. Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995), 1683.) This dating of the vision is given by Bonaventura (*Legenda Maior*, XIII, 3.)

[47] Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate,* 3–104, 137–201. See also: Arnold Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or, how St. Francis Received the Stigmata," in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed, Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998), 101–124. For the comparison of Celano and Bonaventura see also: Octavian Schmucki, OFM, *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi. A Critical Investigation n the Light if Thirteenth-Century Sources*, tr. Canisius F. Connors, OFM, Franciscan Institute Publications, History Series 6, ed. Jason M. Miskuly, OFM (St. Bonaventure: The Franciscan Institute, 1991), 182–186.

[48] Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate,* 203–232.

aims to emphasize and develop the importance of the event taking place in the picture.

The "images-within-pictures" in *The Mourning of St. Francis* (23) are commonly considered as the pseudo-sculptural highlight of the cycle.[49] The church can be identified as San Damiano because of the narrative situation; according to Bonaventura, during the translation of Francis' body the crowd stopped before the church of San Damiano in order to let St. Clare kiss the body (*Legenda maior*, XV, 5). This decoration, however, does not correspond at all to the real façade of San Damiano.[50] It can be suggested that the renovated façade refers back to the degraded building of *The Prayer in San Damiano*, and emphasizes that Francis indeed repaired the church and on a metaphorical level renewed the entire Holy Roman Church.[51]

In this sense the building is symbolic, and the different "images-within-pictures" contribute to this metaphor. The two prophets with their scrolls in the top tympanum refer to the Old Testament. The four statues in the ciboria on the corners are not very visible; some minor details may suggest that they are the four evangelists, who could stand for the New Testament.[52] The statue of Christ attended by the staggered groups of angels stands in the center of the square formed by the evangelists.[53] The face of the saint on the relief above the door

[49] Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 139–143.

[50] Gioseffi and Smart argued that the façade decoration might follow the plans of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence designed by Arnolfo di Cambio. Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto,* 30, and Smart, *Assisi*, 138. This presumption is based on the drawing by Bernardino Poccetti in 1587; and the differences are quite significant. Franklin K. B. Toker, "Florence Cathedral: The Design Stage," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 214–215.

[51] Romano argued that the solemn interior of Porziuncola and the grandiose façade of the San Damiano are intended to show due respect towards the two decisive churches of Francis. Serena Romano, "La Morte di Francesco: Fonti francescane e storia dell'Ordine nella basilica di S. Francesco ad Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61 (1998): 360–362 (hereafter: Romano, "La Morte di Francesco"). For the general question of the Church as metaphor in the *Legend* see Ivan Gerát, "Kostol v obrazových legendách sv. Františka z Assisi – skutočnost' a metafora" (Church in the Pictorial Legends of Saint Francis of Assisi – Reality and Metaphor). *Studia Archeologica Slovaca Medievalia* 6 (2007), forthcoming.

[52] It seems that the one in the top left corner carries a spear and the other in the top right corner holds a book. It would be tempting to conceive of them as the evangelists St. Matthew and St. John; and in that case the remaining two on the lower corners would be St. Luke and St. Mark. Kaftal, *Iconography,* 617, 712, 744, and 776.

[53] P. Gerhard Ruf*, San Francesco e Bonaventura. Un'interpretazione storico-salvifica degli affreschi della navata nella Chiesa Superiore di San Francesco in Assisi alla luce della teologia di San Bonaventura* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1974), 210; Beda Kleinschmidt, OFM,

with the two kneeling angels is lost; Smart proposed identifying it with St. Damian.[54] This plausible proposal would mean that the identity of the church is affirmed by the presence of its titular saint above the door.

The *Liberation of the Repentant Heretic* (28) represents the most complex case in the decoration of the Upper Church; its "images-within-pictures" have been the focus of recent studies and the exact meaning of the elements is still debated.[55] On the left, in the niches of the building, nine statues of prophets can be seen.[56] On the right, the lower part has a red balustrade divided into two parts decorated with reliefs of seven angels (three and four). The upper part is a column with a relief that winds around it in a spiral. It resembles the column of Trajan in Rome; however, the two visible parts depict scenes that do not appear on the original. The lower depicts a dressed man standing, perhaps on a stone. He turns to a group of soldiers on the left, and raises his right hand. Behind him there is another group of soldiers with two camels on the far right. The upper part represents an equestrian battle.

The identification of the buildings is insecure; they presumably represent an assemblage of different and altered Roman elements without a definite prototype.[57]

Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi 2 – Die Wandmalereien der Basilika, ed. Remigius Boving, OFM (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1926), 140. Smart identified it as St. Peter, but there is no attribute that would support this proposition. Smart, *Assisi*, 216.

[54] Smart, *Assisi*, 216

[55] Smart, *Assisi*, 230–231; Gerhard Ruf, "Das Säulenmonument, die Engel- und Prophetendarstellungen im letzten Bild der Franzlegende: 'Die Befreiung des Häretikers Petrus von Alfile' in der Oberkirche San Francesco in Assisi," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 59 (1996): 243–259 (hereafter: Ruf, "Das Säulenmonument"); Ruth Wolff, "La liberazione dell'eretico Pietro. Considerazioni su un affresco nella Chiesa Superiore di San Francesco ad Assisi," *Arte cristiana* 84 (1996): 361–373, (hereafter: Wolff, "La liberazione"); Chiara Frugoni, "Edifici e colonne nella Roma della 'Liberazione di Pietro di Alfile' ad Assisi," in *Domus et splendida palatia. Residenze papali e cardinalizie a Roma fra XII e XV secolo*, ed. Alessio Monciatti (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2004), 107–133 (hereafter: Frugoni, "Edifici").

[56] Only Os considered them apostles. Henk W. van Os, "Idolatry on the Gate: Antique Sources for an Assisi Fresco," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 171–173. Otherwise the literature unanimously regards them as prophets. Smart, *Assisi*, 230, and Irene Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968): 29 (hereafter: Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini"). Especially the first figure with the pointed cap, however, is difficult to identify as an apostle.

[57] The building on the left was long identified as the reshaping of the "Septizonium." Wolff stated that the question cannot be decided (Wolff, "La liberazione," 365); Frugoni argued for the *domus Aguliae* (Frugoni, "Edifici," 128). Wolff tried to connect the prison on the right to the Castel Sant'Angelo (Wolff, "La liberazione," 365–366), but Frugoni strongly rejected this interpretation (Frugoni, "Edifici," 129, note 67).

Besides the insecure identifications of the buildings, the "images" themselves are deeply ambiguous; that of the preacher especially has been the basis of different interpretations. He has been seen as an allusion to the peaceful mission of St. Francis to the East.[58] He has been identified with the Antichrist.[59] With the angels and the prophets he has been connected to Moses and the service of the Lord.[60] What is common to all these interpretations is that they somehow try to give a meaning to these "images," which means that they are considered as symbols. This consideration on the level of the pictorial execution can be confirmed: the different details of the last fresco may definitely have a complex iconographic content. Despite considerable efforts to formulate it, this content has remained on a hypothetical level, combining different allusions from the life of Francis; therefore the symbolic function of the "images-within-pictures," similarly to fresco 21, is presumed, but its final interpretation is still to come.

The Sequence of the Pictures and the Possibility of an "Iconographic History"

So far I have argued that the "images-within-pictures" in the Upper Church represent a heterogeneous assemblage from the point of view of symbolism. The "image" can be the part of a building which follows a given prototype, including the decoration of the prototype or altering it slightly; it can be part of an imagined building and contribute to its reality effect, sometimes following Classical examples with no symbolic implications; it can be also a symbol creating a complex net of significations. In the following pages I propose a hypothesis which sees these examples not only as elements of static groups, but conceives of them in their dynamic historic development.[61]

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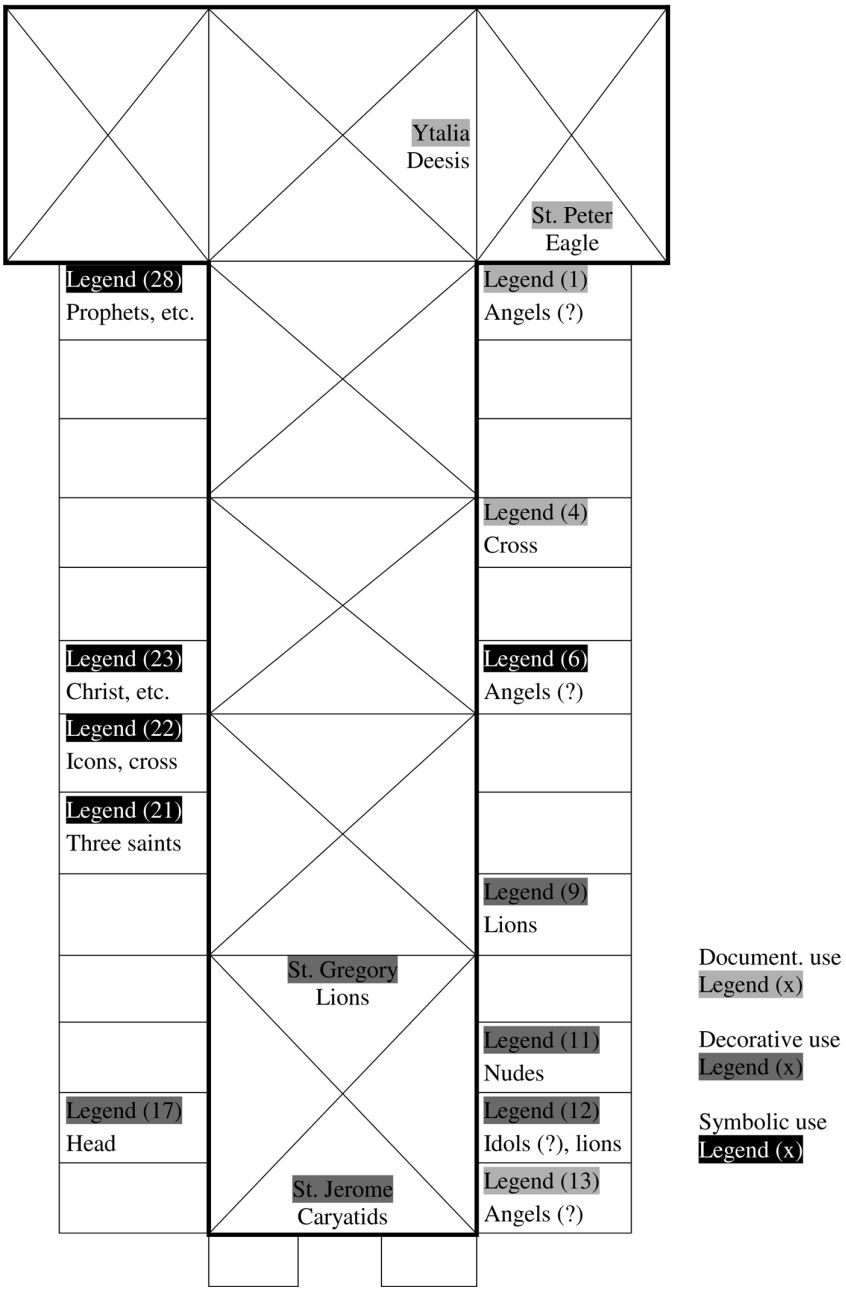
[58] Smart, *Assisi*, 230–231.

[59] Burkhart, *Franziskus und die Vollendung der Kirche,* 167–173; Wolff, "La liberazione," 366–368.

[60] Ruf, "Das Säulenmonument," 253–254.

[61] Although the decoration of the Upper Church is one of the most debated objects of art history, the relative chronology of the frescoes is sufficiently clarified, thus the different "images-within-pictures" can be sorted into a sequence. For the relative chronology see Hans Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi: ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei* (Berlin: Mann, 1977), 101–104 (hereafter: Belting, *Oberkirche*) For the *Legend* see Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini*; and "Giotto and the St. Francis Cycle at Assisi," in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, eds. Derbes, Anne and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 32–62.



1. Scheme: Images-within-Pictures in the Upper Church at Assisi.

The first two "images-within-pictures" were executed by the Cimabue workshop. Both of them follow a given prototype: the function of the "image" is to allude to a given building in a given context (the Temple of Jerusalem, and the Rome of Nicholas III). After the Cimabue workshop the "image-within-picture" appears again on the frescoes of the Isaac workshop, in the Isaac scene and on the vaulting of the doctors. The strong indicating or documenting use of the decoration changes here; the buildings do not correspond to given prototypes, the "images" are mere decorations.

This decorative function, with some exceptions, also dominates the *Legend of St. Francis* to the *Preaching before Honorius III* (17). Some of the examples are closer to a prototype, like the cross San Damiano or the ciborium at Greccio, but the documenting intention which characterized the Cimabue workshop is lacking even in these cases; since the cross is altered, only the type (triumphant) corresponds and the ciborium is rendered as more Classical compared to the prototypes. The only detail which clearly bears some complex implications is the statue on the roof of the papal chamber, but since it is explaining the event it can be considered more as a meta-pictorial detail.

The decisive entry of the complex iconographic use of the "image-within-picture" happens on the subsequent three frescoes of *The Vision of Friar Augustine and the Bishop of Assisi* (21), *The Testimony of Jerome* (22) and *The Mourning of St. Francis* (23). Although written evidence only supports the symbolic interpretations of *The Testimony of Jerome*, the pictorial organization of the other two (a high level of individuality and a lack of mirror imaging) suggests the transgression of simple decorative status in these cases as well. This symbolic use presumably appears again on the last fresco, but its exact content is difficult to determine. It has to be emphasized that the first fresco of the narrative order (*St. Francis Honored by a Simple Man of Assisi* [1]) was the last to be executed. Its strong emphasis on the actual building of Assisi with its altered design can be connected to the design of *The Liberation of the Repentant Heretic* (28) in the sense that these two frescoes represent the executive and spatial closure of the cycle. Smart interpreted this as a comparison between Rome and Assisi, where the latter is proclaimed here as the new *città santa*.[62]

What is emerging here is a "history" of the "image-within-picture" which is the development of its iconographic-symbolic structure.[63] This iconographic-

[62] Smart, *Assisi*, 23 and 231–232.

[63] Besides this "iconographic" reading there is also a stylistic reading of the Legend. Tintori and Meiss mention that the three different masters of the cycle can also be distinguished by the handling of the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the buildings. See Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 82 and 140. Hueck introduced different distinctions based

symbolic history cannot be strictly ascribed to different masters, but its correspondence to the other transformation within the cycle should be noted. The Cimabue workshop is responsible for a documenting use of the "images;" the later Roman masters (Torriti?) did not create "images-within-picutres." After the entry of the Isaac master, whether it was Giotto or someone else, a new tendency started, which handled the decorative potentials of the phenomenon more freely. Material evidence emphasizes the continuity between the master of the Isaac scenes, the *Vaulting of the Doctors* and the first workshop of the cycle (frescoes 2–7).[64] However, the same material evidence shows a break at fresco 7, which does not correlate with the unchanged (decorative) use of the "image-within-picture."[65] It may be that the change affected only the execution of the incarnated, and the execution of the buildings remained in the same hands. At a given moment (frescoes 21, 22, 23) decorative dominance turned into symbolic use. This turning point corresponds to the changes testified to by the material evidence.[66] The execution concludes with the comparison between Assisi and Rome (frescoes 28, 1). This part used to be ascribed to the Santa Cecilia Master on a stylistic basis, but the material evidence does not show any change here.[67]

The decisive moment of this story is the turning point between decorative and symbolic use, between simple and complex iconographical solutions in frescoes 21–23. Strikingly, besides the changes in the material evidence, this part of the cycle, more precisely the third bay (frescoes 20–22), show high levels of pictorial organization (the two side scenes are divided horizontally on both, which creates a strict symmetrical composition) and show thoughtfulness in terms of the main iconographic content; the *Death of St. Francis* and the *Testimony of Jerome* are paralleled with the two Isaac scenes on the opposite side of the bay, emphasizing the important theme of St. Francis' legacy and the real heirs of his order.[68] The change from decoration to symbol in respect of the "images-within-

on the idea that the "images-within-pictures" at Assisi were assigned to young wandering painters to test their capacities without risking the overall outcome of the fresco. See Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," 29–30 and 57, note 5–6.

[64] Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini,* 106–108, 110–112

[65] Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini,* 106–108, 110–112

[66] Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini,* 106–108, 110–112

[67] Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini,* 106–108, 110–112. For the Santa Cecilia Master see Richard Offner, "Giotto, non-Giotto," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 74 (1939): 267, note 10; Alastair Smart, "The St. Cecilia Master and His School at Assisi," *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960): 406; Smart, *Assisi*, 43–44.

[68] White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space,* 45; Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 353–362. Recently Neff stated on the basis of John of Wales' *Meditatio pauperis in solitudine* that it is not Isaac but Jacob who should be considered as the fundamental

pictures" is part of the material-pictorial-iconographic intensification of the third bay.

This material-pictorial-iconographic intensification is connected to one of the most enigmatic questions of the cycle and medieval art in general: At the end, who is responsible for the symbolic use of the "image-within-pictures?" Was it the master who at a given moment decided to express hidden meanings by means of details formerly used as decorations? Or was it a theoretician-theologian who realized the symbolic potential of the pictorial phenomenon and proposed complex iconographic contents? Assisi seems to demonstrate that the masters were exploring the decorative potentials at the beginning of the phenomenon; the decisive change from simple to complex iconography bears the definite mark of a Franciscan milieu and seems connected to the core of the Franciscan identity. This supports the importance of external (hagiographic, ecclesiastical and political) factors for the genesis of the "image-within-picture" as a symbol.[69]

Conclusions

The general conclusion that can be harvested from these investigations of "images-within-pictures" shows that the "image" is not necessarily a symbol; it can easily function as decoration. Furthermore, the fact that first the "images" are decorations and, later, they take on symbolic importance directly contradicts Panofsky's proposal. "Image-within-picture," the subdivision of disguised symbolism, did not appear in order to harmonize medieval non-realistic symbolic systems with the exigencies of representing realistic-imitative space; it was not immediately a symbol which helped the realistic depiction of complicated typological-theological ideas. At its very beginning it was a simple decoration, and later, over a very short period, it developed from a decorative state to a symbolic state. This had decisive consequences for the entire problem of "image-within-picture" in the fourteenth century. Since everything started with the simple, with decorative details, the symbolic-complex implication of the embedded "image" is not a necessary fact, but a permanent possibility. A history

prototype of St. Francis, which weakens the parallel between the scenes. See Neff, "Lesser Brothers," 678–680 and 700–701.

[69] Serena Romano, "La redazione del programma e lo svolgimento del cantiere della navata," *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi: pittori, botteghe, strategie narrative* (Roma: Viella, 2001), 179–207; Charles Mitchell, "The Imagery of the Upper Church at Assisi," in *Giotto e il suo tempo. Atti del congresso internazionale per la celebrazione del VII centenario della nascita di Giotto* (Rome: De Luca, 1971), 113–134.

of the "image-within-picture" in the fourteenth century, yet to be written, must focus exactly on this *possibility* of the symbolic and on the turning point from simple to complex, detecting the internal ("pictorial") and the external ("social-historic") factors which may have determined this process.

EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO DAVID WATCHING BATHSHEBA BATHING IN LATE MEDIEVAL FRENCH MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION

Monica A. Walker Vadillo

One evening David got up from his bed and walked around on the roof of the palace. From the roof he saw a woman bathing. The woman was very beautiful, and David sent someone to find out about her. The man said, "Isn't this Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam and the wife of Uriah the Hittite?" Then David sent messengers to get her. She came to him, and he slept with her (paraphrasing II Samuel 11: 2–4).[1]

This was the beginning of the end for King David, who incurred the wrath of God after this episode. David had sinned, and what a great sin it was! He had slept with his neighbor's wife and, in a fit of anger when he found out that his indiscretion had begotten a child, David sent her husband to his death. For this King David had to do penance and he wrote several Psalms asking for God's forgiveness. This story was well known during the Middle Ages. The image of David as a penitent appeared in many of the prefatory cycles that decorated the penitential Psalms in Books of Hours and other manuscripts such as psalters. Nevertheless, towards the Late Medieval period in France (1450–1550) another episode began to gain popularity in the iconographic repertoire of the manuscript illumination workshops in Paris, Tours, Bourges, Le Mans, and other workshops in northern and southeastern France, and that was David watching Bathsheba bathing. In this story, Bathsheba—not David—occupies the central stage, where she appears to the viewer either completely clothed, covered by drapery and other accessories or completely nude. This iconography seems to have been established around the ninth century, but it was not until the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century that it was transformed by the creativity of artists who offered a greater variety of modes of depiction and types of images which, in turn, offered new iconographical possibilities to the medieval viewer. What these possibilities were and what the emotional responses[2] of the

[1] All biblical references are taken from *Holy Bible: New International Version* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1984).

[2] Many scholars have recently focused their research on the topic of emotions. A sign of the importance of this type of study is the number of congresses that have been devoted to this subject, such as the 2006 Leeds International Medieval Congress entitled "Emotion and Gesture," or the X Congreso Latinoamericano de Filosofía Medieval entitled "De las Pasiones en Filosofía Medieval." Some scholars who have worked on

medieval spectator were to them will be the subject of this article. In order to answer these questions, however, it is necessary to understand the nature of Bathsheba and her visual representation in manuscript illumination.

Before entering into the iconographic material, it is necessary to discuss briefly how an image as sensual and seductive as David watching Bathsheba bathing appeared in the Late Medieval period despite institutionalized religious repression of the naked body.[3] It was during the Late Middle Ages that France witnessed a shift away from the liturgy of the institutional Church towards private and individual devotion. As Michael Camille pointed out, this private devotion appealed to the heart of the individual, and it was characterized by doing charitable works, secret mortifications of the flesh, and silent prayer.[4] This form of private piety was meant to be a spiritual exercise of meditation which emphasized the direction, pace, and concentration of individual devotion. This spiritual exercise could only be performed by using the book form, which allowed the reader to peruse, recapitulate, check the text against the accompanying image, and refer to the text as many times as he or she needed.[5] During the Late Medieval period the most popular book for private devotion in France was the Book of Hours. Books of Hours offered a charm that was hard to resist: they were personally commissioned or bought.[6] This allowed the artists to include images such as a nude Bathsheba, which were inconceivable in the public space of a church.[7] In addition, Books of Hours were not only personal prayer books to follow during Mass or private devotion, but they were symbols

this topic are Keith Oatly, *Emotion: A Brief History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) and Stuart Airlie, "The history of emotions and emotional history," *Early Medieval Europe* 10, No.2 (2001): 235–241.

[3] Jean Claude Bologne, *Histoire de la Pudeur* (Paris: France Loisirs, 1986), 13. According to Bologne this repression was not only concerned with the body, but also with female sexuality.

[4] Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8, No.1 (March, 1995): 29. (Hereafter: Camille, "Seeing and Reading.")

[5] Ibid.

[6] John Harthan, *The Book of Hours* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1977), 11–12.

[7] Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 156. (Hereafter: Saeger, "Books of Hours."). Saenger mentions that the new reading habits of noblemen and noblewomen, including the new translations into the vernacular, helped shape the contents of books of hours.

of social status, little gems in the collections of royalty, nobility, and laity alike.[8] Despite the fact that Books of Hours were mass-produced in the later Middle Ages,[9] these manuscripts still preserve the personal tastes of their original owners, especially in the choice of miniatures. This includes the preface to the penitential Psalms where the image of David watching Bathsheba bathing usually appears. In addition, as Paul Saenger has argued, it is no coincidence that many erotic illuminations started to appear in Books of Hours in the Late Middle Ages. Artists took advantage of the privacy that a book offered to its owner and portrayed erotic scenes that were unimaginable in public art or liturgical texts.[10] These artists were inspired by the vernacular translation of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*[11] and they produced Books of Hours with increasingly suggestive erotic scenes. These scenes often portrayed the vices for which penance was required, but at the same time they were designed to consciously excite the voyeur of the book.[12] For this reason, it is no wonder that one could have a seductive Bathsheba in his or her Book of Hours. But was Bathsheba represented only as a seductive creature? Or could she inspire other types of reactions from the medieval viewer?

Christa Grössinger, in *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, made the following affirmation:

> Examples of good women from the Bible are Judith, Jael, Suzanna, Ruth, Abigail, and Esther; examples of bad biblical women are Salome, Delilah, Bathsheba, the daughters of Lot, the wife of Potiphar, and the prostitutes who persuaded Solomon to worship idols.[13]

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[8] Laurel Amtower, *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 27–28 (hereafter: Amtower, *Engaging Words*). Amtower mentions that after books had become symbols of prestige and culture—usually owned by the nobility—rich townspeople started to acquire them in order to assert their own gentility.

[9] Ibid., 27–28. Amtower discusses the origins of this mass production, mentioning that the "third estate," the laity or bourgeoisie, was responsible for creating a climate that necessitated the mass production of books. With the number of literate people growing, added to a disposable income and a greater appreciation for reading and book ownership, there was an audience that demanded greater affordability in production techniques. Hence the printing press facilitated this newly discovered love for books.

[10] Saenger, "Books of Hours," 156–157.

[11] Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* (Pisa: In aedibus "Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa," 1986).

[12] Ibid., 156–157.

[13] Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 10. (Hereafter: Grössinger, *Picturing Women*.)

This type of binary distinction, where good women can only be good and bad women can only be bad, does not account for the complexities that surround Bathsheba's story. It does not take into consideration the ambiguity of Bathsheba's position in the main narrative. On the one hand, it would be preposterous to assume that Bathsheba was consciously trying to arouse King David because, as the Bible implies, Bathsheba was not aware that she was being gazed upon. On the other hand, King David's demand that she sleep with him has the sound of a royal command which seems to be closer to rape than willing acceptance—yet it is for this reason that she is always condemned.[14] Either way, Bathsheba's visual representations appeared to account for this ambiguity despite the conscious efforts of the artists to transform her iconography into a well of sensuality and eroticism. Bathsheba can be represented not only as an agent of sin, but as an innocent object of desire, a victim of the whims of King David, the prefiguration of the Church, or a warning against vanity.

Bathsheba as an Innocent Object of Desire

From an analytical point of view, Bathsheba is no more than a victim of the lustful whim of King David.[15] In the narrative, she is represented as a passive figure. She unknowingly became the object of David's gaze. Her voice is never heard until she sends a missive saying that she is pregnant (II Samuel 11: 5), yet in most accounts found in religious or secular commentaries or in the images she is seen as an evil woman or as a seductress. The textual description does not fit this pattern; on the contrary, it depicts a woman who is seen more as an object than as a person with a will. Is it possible to confirm this interpretation from the visual examples as well?

[14] Walter Brueggemann, "Abuse of Command: A Bible Study, Exploiting Power for Sexual Gratification," *Sojourners Magazine* 26, No. 4 (1997), 22.

[15] Gary Greenberg, *Sins of David: A New History of a Biblical Icon* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc., 1902), 2, states that David was a "corrupt and ambitious mercenary who committed treason against Israel by working with its enemies to seize the throne from King Saul; an ambitious and ruthless politician who initiated, sanctioned, or condoned murder and assassination as a way to eliminate political rivals, royal or otherwise." In his book Greenberg examines the negative side of David and presents a king who was not the victim of Bathsheba, but the perpetrator of two crimes, among others: adultery/rape and murder.

Despite the possible erotic connotations that a "dressed" Bathsheba could have,[16] this seems to be the closest iconography to the general description of Bathsheba as an innocent object of desire. This reading is made possible because of its visual analogy to the representation of the story of Susanna and the Elders.[17] Two examples illustrate this point: David and Bathsheba from the Book of Hours illuminated by Jean Colombe and his workshop for Anne of France in circa 1473 (*Fig. 1*), and Susanna and the Elders from Jean Mansel's *Fleur des Histoires* from the late fifteenth century (*Fig. 2*). (Full references for the illustrations are given in the figure captions.)

Fig. 1. Book of Hours. David and Bathsheba. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M.677, fol. 211r (after Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York: Kraus, 1935–37; Index 1940, 1481).

Fig. 2. Jean Mansel's Fleur des histories. Susanna and the Elders. Bibliothèque nationale, Richelieu Manuscrits, Français 55, fol. 111v (after http://gallica.bnf.fr; accessed 20 January, 2006).

In both instances, Bathsheba and Susanna are seen completely clothed in their undergarments with only their legs showing underneath them. Both of them are oblivious to the gazes of David and the Elders, respectively, which

[16] She is dressed in undergarments, which during the Middle Ages was considered another degree of nudity.

[17] Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, Vol. 2: *Iconographie de la Bible, Ancien Testament* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 273, had already made this connection between Susanna and Bathsheba. (Hereafter: Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*.)

have transformed both women into objects of desire. In none of the examples do the women appear as the perpetrators of the transgression that the men have fallen into. From the visual representations this is as far as the similarities go, and this is the way in which Bathsheba can be seen as being a victim of the events that followed.

The issue of spectatorship needs to be addressed at this point. First, one has to take into consideration the level at which the spectator was familiar with both stories, and this includes his or her level of literacy. For a person well versed in Latin and the events of the Bible or the stories and Psalms that are associated with the iconography,[18] the response could have been the desired one. While meditating on the images, the associated story or Psalm would have been evoked, bringing to the viewer's or reader's mind the complete narrative and the consequences of the actions that were seen in the miniature. Then the difference between Susanna and Bathsheba became evident. The difference was based on what happened after the bath: when Susanna was assaulted by the two old men she did not yield, preferring death to dishonor; while Bathsheba, compelled by a royal command, "accepted" David's sexual advances. Therefore, on the one hand, by a visual analogy the reader or viewer might think of Bathsheba as being in a position similar to Susanna, but on the other hand, with the subsequent remembering of the events that followed both situations, the spectator might have condemned Bathsheba for her weakness and for being the instrument of the fall of a great man. For an illiterate person who was not familiar with the narrative, this type of iconography, where Bathsheba appears as Susanna, could become more ambiguous because he or she only had the image as the main vehicle of communication,[19] and the examples provided above do not lead to a complete understanding of the story of David and Bathsheba at first glance. Therefore it is possible that the reading of Bathsheba as an innocent object of desire could be accepted in this situation.[20]

Another type of reading, specific to the moralizing bibles (Bibles Moralisées), falls into this category of Bathsheba as an innocent object of desire. The moralizing bible consisted of short biblical passages and related commen-

[18] The spectator who had phonetic literacy was also included in this category due to the probability that he or she was familiar with the stories of Susanna and Bathsheba.

[19] Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading," 33, has pointed out that some illiterate people asked literate people to read them the explanations of the full story. I consider those who did this in the literate group. It is important to remember that the book of hours was a status symbol and everyone, literate or illiterate, would want to own one if they had the resources to afford it.

[20] To my mind, this type of reading does not seem to change if one takes into consideration the gender of the spectator.

taries that had moral or allegorical lessons; they emphasized the typological connections between the Old Testament and the New Testament.[21] The typological interpretation of the story of David and Bathsheba where David is seen as the prefiguration of Christ was a view rooted in Patristic thought, accepted by apologists of King David such as St. Ambrose of Milan,[22] and it was later recorded in the moralizing bibles.[23] According to St. Ambrose, in his *Apologia David*, Old Testament evil deeds could have a positive meaning. In this context, Bathsheba symbolized the Church as the community of the faithful; she was the prisoner of her husband, Uriah, who in turn symbolized the devil. When David killed Uriah and took Bathsheba as his wife it signified Christ who had acquired the desirable Church by defeating the devil.[24] In visual representations, when Bathsheba appears bathing it was taken as a sign of the Church cleansing itself from worldly stains so that it could become the bride of Christ. This typological representation was clarified with parallel representations of David and Bathsheba and Christ and Ecclesia, as seen in the Moralizing Bible held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (*Fig. 3*). In this context Bathsheba has a definite positive meaning, an object to

Fig. 3. Bible Moralisée. David and Bathsheba/Christ and Ecclesia. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Codex Vindobonensis 2554, fol. 45r (after Gerald B.Guest, *Bible Moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*. Tr. Gerald B. Guest. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995, 1–20).

[21] Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum and the British Library, 1994), 20–21.

[22] P. Hadot, ed., *Ambrose de Milan: Apologie de David* (Paris: M. Cordier, 1977), vii, 78–80. (Hereafter: Hadot, ed., *Ambrose de Milan*).

[23] John Lowden, *The Making of the Bible Moralisées:* I. *The Manuscripts* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2000), 1–2. (Hereafter: Lowden, *The Making of the Bible Moralisées*). The moralizing bibles were created during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

[24] Hadot, ed., *Ambrose de Milan*, vii, 78–80.

be desired because she is the representation of the Church. In terms of spectatorship, it has been argued that the moralizing bibles were commissioned by royalty and their immediate family members and friends,[25] among whom literacy and biblical understanding would have been high. For them, the image would have inspired great piety, understanding, and perhaps even a role model to follow.

In addition, this category of illustration includes the possibility, even if it is speculation, of using the image of the nude Bathsheba, her sensuality and her beauty, as one of those desirable images to gaze upon so that it would arouse desire in a married couple. While contemplating this image of beauty, by analogy, her characteristics would be passed on to the children.[26]

Bathsheba as an Agent of Sin

One small detail needs to be stressed and that is the inventive interpretation of the text by the artists who created the miniatures.[27] In the story of David and Bathsheba cited at the beginning, there is no indication of Bathsheba's general situation. Was she indoors, outdoors, in a pool, in a fountain, in a bathtub, dressed, naked? No information is supplied by the Bible in this respect, so it was the artist's prerogative to create an appropriate setting for her, hence the difference in her visual representations.[28] The most widely known image of Bathsheba presents her as a naked woman outdoors taking a bath in either a pool or a fountain. In this choice of environmental elements, a purposeful intention imbues Bathsheba with the evil seductive character for which she is known, because why, if she did not want to be looked at, was she taking a bath outdoors where the eyes of anyone within visual range could fall on her? This idea is further stressed since these works depicted her in the nude and sometimes, using the position of Bathsheba's body and the turn of her head,

[25] Lowden, *The Making of the Bible Moralisées*, 1–2.

[26] David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 2–3. (Hereafter: Freedberg, *The Power of Images*.)

[27] Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, 274.

[28] King David's setting was the roof of the palace, but even this situation was changed by the artists who depicted him walking onto a balcony, looking through a window or a door, kneeling in front of Bathsheba or walking in the garden where Bathsheba is bathing.

they allowed her to gaze back at David or the spectator, adding to the representation of her seductive nature (*Fig. 4*).[29]

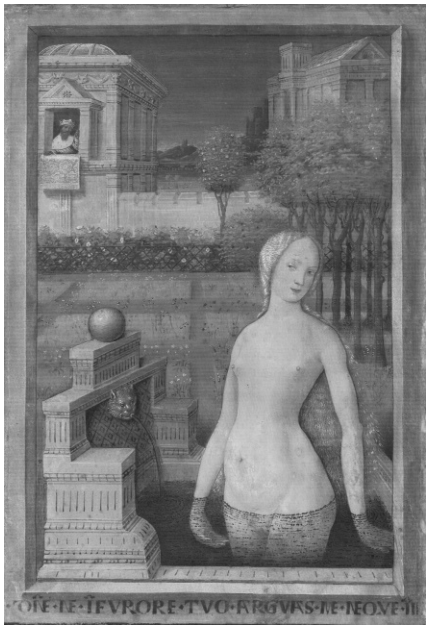

Fig. 4. The Book of Hours of Louis XII. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (after Thomas Kren and Mark Evans, *A Masterpiece Reconstructed: The Hours of Louis XII.* London: The British Library Publisher, 2005).

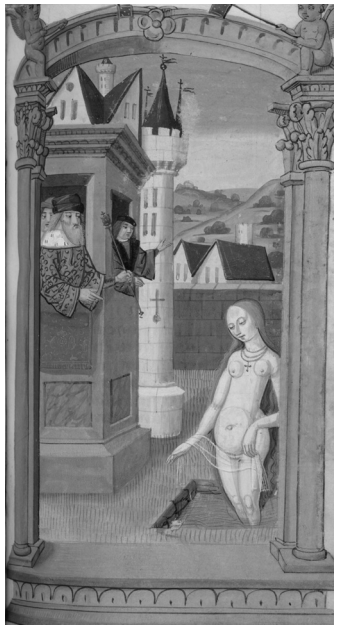

Fig. 5. Book of Hours. David and Bathsheba. The Huntington Library, San Marino, HM 1181, fol. 76r (after Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.* New York: Kraus, 1935–37; Index 1940, 104).

Furthermore, not only her nudity and gaze, but certain decorative elements adorning Bathsheba, such as a necklace or headdress, could lead the viewer to identify her with contemporary depictions of prostitutes. An example of this can be seen in a Book of Hours where Bathsheba wears a triple-chain necklace with a cross (*Fig. 5*), a jewelry design similar to those worn by the prostitutes in Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*[30] (*Fig. 6*). The horned headdress that

[29] See Cat. 27, 31, 41, 44.

[30] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia.* France, fifteenth century. National Library of Breslaw. From Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, *Casa, Calle, Convento: Iconografía de la*

Bathsheba wears in some instances was also seen as a sign of lechery and evil because it allowed the devil to take an abode between the horns.[31] This image presents Bathsheba as a lustful creature capable of tempting anyone to commit base deeds, portraying her as an agent of sin.[32]

Fig. 6. The Vapor Baths *from Valerius Maximus'* Facta et Dicta Memorabilia. France, fifteenth century. National Library of Breslaw (after Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, *Casa, Calle, Convento: Iconografía de la mujer bajomedieval*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade, Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico, 1997, 259).

It has been argued that the representation of Bathsheba was part of the new type of erotic scenes that were created after the mid-fifteenth century, when artists who were inspired by the sexually explicit illustrations in secular texts such as Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* decorated Books of Hours with such images, taking advantage of the privacy that the book offered the owner.[33] In this way they consciously tried to excite the voyeur of the Book of Hours, male or female, while at the same time they depicted a vice for which penance was required.[34] Nevertheless, the sin that the image of David and Bathsheba represents and the one that it elicits are not the same for the spectator.

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mujer bajomedieval (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade, Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico, 1997), 259. (Hereafter: Núñez Rodríguez, *Casa, Calle, Convento*.)

[31] Christa Grössinger, *Humor and Folly in Profane and Secular Prints of Northern Europe, 1430–1540* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2002), 110.

[32] John A. Nichols "Female Nudity and Sexuality in Medieval Art," in *New Images of Women: Essays Toward a Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Edelgard E. Dubruck (Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 174–175, mentions that women were evil because they were believed to be lustful and seductive by nature. For this reason, medieval artists and their patrons chose to depict this evil side as a nude woman because of the original sin of the first female nude, Eve.

[33] Saenger, "Books of Hours," 156, also mentions other situations beside depictions of Bathsheba where the artists created highly erotic scenes. These situations included baptism and the Last Judgment.

[34] Ibid.

David and Bathsheba's sin was adultery, but lust was the sin incurred by spectators who gazed at the body of Bathsheba. Despite the hermeneutic closure that the text might bring, the nude still might have provoked a strong erotic response from the viewer. In a situation of meditative contemplation, the eyes would linger over the surfaces of the object, and by looking and gazing at it, could create sexual interest capable of arousing the spectator.[35] In this situation one must not assume that this response came only from male spectators. Women's bodies depicted in the nude, seen as objects of desire, did not preclude their being enjoyed by other women.[36] In other words, even though there is an extraordinary dominance of male perceptions of women, the latter might also have been aroused by the sight of conventional female beauty or "conventionally seductive nakedness."[37] Nevertheless, as the viewer is caught in this web of sensuality, his or her process of rationalization denies or diffuses the sexual response.[38] The spectator's emotional state is framed within the penitence which he or she must perform after consciously or unconsciously discovering the nature of the feelings evoked by the image. This acknowledgement could create anxiety and fear for the salvation of the medieval viewer's soul. In this case the penitential Psalms must have been read with deeper feeling and emotion.

Bathsheba as Vanity

An interesting point that is seldom noted is the use of several elements that present Bathsheba as the personification of Vanity. In a number of examples Bathsheba conforms to the definition of Vanity because she holds its attributes: a comb and a mirror or both, among other things. In some instances Bathsheba combs her hair while she looks at her reflection in a mirror. Her hair is long and loose, which was considered to be a source of great temptation. An example of this can be seen in several early sixteenth-century Books of Hours that show Bathsheba either combing her hair or having maidservants present her with the objects themselves (the comb and the mirror) (*Fig. 7*). In addition, Bathsheba's servants hold plates full of red fruit, maybe as a reminder of the original sin perpetrated by Eve. In other instances, Bathsheba is adorned with necklaces and

[35] Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 329.
[36] Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Laurence King, 1998), 27.
[37] Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 321.
[38] Ibid., 331.

an elaborate headdress, also indications of Vanity.[39] All these elements can pair Bathsheba with representations of sirens, the Whore of Babylon (*Fig. 8*), and Venus, which are in turn representations of Vanity as well. The similarities between them do not stop at the symbolic elements that were used, but they can also be seen in the depiction of the body. All of them have light brown or reddish blond hair which flows loosely behind their backs; they have a domed belly, small breasts, and an elongated body. The forms are the same, but the context and label are different. In all the examples, however, the sin of Vanity is evident.

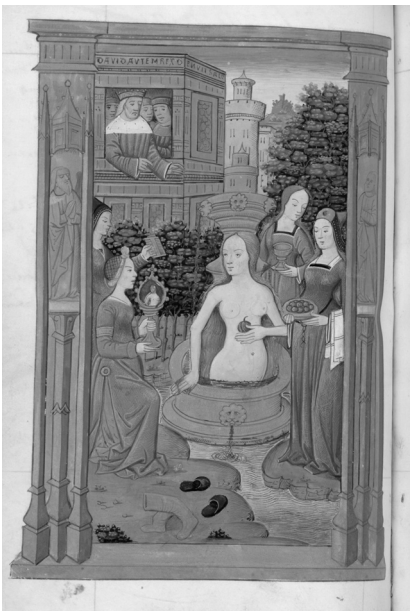

Fig. 7. Book of Hours. David and Bathsheba. The Huntington Library, San Marino, HM 1171, fol. 97v (after Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.* New York: Kraus, 1935–37; Index 1940, 102).

Fig. 8. Jean Bondel and Nicolas Bataille. The Whore of Babylon. Tapestry of the Apocalypse, Angers. c. 1375–1379. Musée des Tapisseries, Angers (after James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, and the Graphic Arts: From 1350 to 1575*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985, 49).

[39] Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, *Casa, Calle, Convento*, 245.

In terms of spectatorship this reading should be seen as a warning not only for women, but also for men because they could also fall into the clutches of Vanity. As Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry noted in the fourteenth century, mirrors were the objects used by the devil to make women fall into sin by looking at their reflection excessively.[40] During this time many other commentators warned women against the dangers of beautification.[41] This practice, in which the mirror and the comb were involved, was considered to be part of a woman's power to foment her sex appeal and attraction by abandoning herself to the gestures that fed the game of seduction.[42] In this way a woman's moral imperfection was made even more evident by her lack of shame in presenting her naked body and her loose hair as the ultimate weapons of seduction. Therefore, the image of Bathsheba became a warning for women, a categorization to avoid. In addition, men were not immune to this imagery because while the beauty of the woman represented might have cheered them, they could have been overcome by the will to possess her, thus falling into the sin of lust.[43]

Conclusions

From these readings on the nature of Bathsheba and the possible emotional responses of the spectator, one can conclude that even though Bathsheba is usually presented as a seductress operating as an agent of sin, this perception differs in several distinct ways from her visual representations in manuscripts, where it allowed for other meanings and possibilities. These possibilities range from the innocent object of desire who is seen as a victim of King David through the prefiguration of the Church cleansing herself for her groom, Christ. In addition, Bathsheba could be seen as a warning against Vanity. Moreover, she could be all of these depending on who the viewer or reader was. In this way the body of Bathsheba became a vehicle for social meaning which moved beyond mere sensuality and eroticism towards a deeper and more complex array of possibilities for the medieval viewer.

[40] Grössinger, *Picturing Women,* 13–14.
[41] Núñez Rodríguez, *Casa, Calle, Convento*, 245, mentions that practices of beautification measures taken by women were a way to trick their husbands about the "merchandise."
[42] Ibid., 247.
[43] Ibid., according to Núñez Rodríguez, Ecclesiates 36: 24 gives this warning.

"BIDDEN VOR MYNER SELE"
THE DOMINICANS AS INTERCESSORS BETWEEN TOWNSPEOPLE AND GOD IN LATE MEDIEVAL REVAL[1]

Gustavs Strenga

For mendicant friaries in the Middle Ages there was a clear tie between their financial incomes and their liturgical obligations.[2] In Reval (now Tallinn, Estonia), testators and townspeople made their donations to the Dominicans for spiritual reasons.[3] Every donor who gave even a single shilling hoped that the religious institution to which he offered the donation would mention him in the common Masses and liturgical services or at least just pray for his soul. Donation was a favor for which a returned favor was expected.[4] In Reval, also, individuals who donated money or objects for the Dominicans expected their prayers in return. This was a normal expectation, because prayers (and liturgical ceremonies in general) of religious communities had the character of a social donation made in return for material donations.[5] The donations for religious purposes had a positive influence on both the donor and the beneficiary of the donation.[6] Donations and Mass foundations were made with the intention of

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[1] This article is based on my MA thesis with the title "Devotion, Donation and *Memoria*. Urban Society and the Dominicans in Late Medieval Reval (Tallinn)," (MA Thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2006).

[2] Bernhard Neidiger, "Liegenschaftsbesitz und Eigentumsrechte der Basler Bettelordenskonvente. Beobachtungen zur Mendikantenarmut im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," in *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft,* ed. Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1981), 108.

[3] St. Catherine's Dominican friary was the only mendicant community in medieval Reval. There were several attempts during the Middle Ages to found the Franciscan friary there, but those attempts were not successful.

[4] Birgit Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), 4.

[5] Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters," in *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1994), 311. (Hereafter: Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft.")

[6] Hildegund Hölzel, "'Pro salute anime mee... ordino testamentum meum...': Studien zur Lübecker Kirchengeschichte des 14. Jh.," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 70 (1990): 30. (Hereafter: Hölzel, "'Pro salute anime mee.")

avoiding eternal torment or shortening the time which had to be spent in purgatory.[7] The main aim of this article is to explore the different relationships of individuals and the Reval Dominicans—how individuals in Reval used the Dominicans as intercessors between themselves and God and what kind of liturgical services were requested from them.

Masses and Prayers

Donors, even donating money without specifying a purpose, expected that in return they would receive prayers. Yet, if an individual wanted to have particular liturgical services it was important for him or her to name precisely what kind of ceremonies he or she would like to have celebrated for his or her soul. It is adequate to say that the Mass was the most popular and important religious ceremony requested by people in all kinds of clerical institutions for the purpose of their souls' salvation. A Mass, prayers, and good deeds were three possible ways to influence God.[8] However, Masses were more public and prestigious events than the personal prayers of people or good deeds and also their value was precisely known.[9] Mass foundations were also a beneficial and adequate investment in the memoria of an individual. If someone wished to create his own memorial cult, a foundation for eternal Masses celebrated regularly would have been appropriate. Foundations for eternal Masses in Hansa towns in the fifteenth century had the tendency to increase in number[10] and they became a popular way to invest money in one's memoria. Funding eternal Masses was costly and it bound the founder (after the founder's death his relatives or friends) to an ecclesiastical institution which he or she had chosen. The capital of a Mass foundation had to be spent precisely for the purpose chosen by the founder, as donations could also be spent on purposes chosen by the community which received them.[11] The fact that the founder needed to have

[7] Ralf Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht: Stiftungsverhalten und Jenseitsvorstellungen im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund," in *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 97. (Hereafter: Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht.")

[8] Hölzel, "Pro salute anime mee," 33.

[9] Arnold Angenendt and others, "Gezählte Frömmigkeit," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995): 46.

[10] Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht," 101.

[11] Michael Borgolte, "Stiftungen des Mittelalters im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaft und Genossenschaft," in *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), 270.

sufficient financial resources for funding Masses implies that the founders of eternal Masses were individuals or families with high social status and financial capabilities.

In Reval[12] it was usual for testators to found eternal Masses in their testaments; Hans Bouwer (1519), with four hundred Riga marks, founded St. Ann's Mass, which had to be celebrated every Tuesday in front of the main altar in the St. Nicholas church;[13] Tyl Clotbraet (1491) donated a hundred marks for an eternal Mass celebrated in the same church on the *schmede* altar.[14] There is only one case when the testator founded an eternal Mass in the Dominican church of St. Catherine. Gherwen Bornemann (1480) requested one Mass read every week on the *broderschopp* altar, donating a hundred marks for that purpose.[15]

Testaments are not the only sources which testify about Mass foundations for the Dominicans. All over Livonia the Dominican friaries had contracts with individuals, and those contracts implied various services offered by the friars, including eternal Masses. One common quality which united all the Mass-foundation documents was that the Dominicans were obliged to pray for the founder and his relatives not only after his death but also while he was living. Two contracts between the Dominicans and individuals are known from both the monasteries of Riga and Reval. In Riga, the friary contracted for Masses and prayers with Detlef van der Pal in 1436[16] and with Hermann Keserlingk, his wife and children in 1495;[17] in Reval, the Dominicans had such contracts with the

[12] During the Late Middle Ages the Revalian ecclesiastical structure consisted of two parishes—St. Olaf and St. Nicholas—the cathedral dedicated to the Holy Virgin, the church of the Holy Ghost, and chapels of St. Barbara, St. Gertrud, and St. Anthony, the Cistercian nunnery of St. Michael, the Bridgetine nunnery on the outskirts of Reval, and the Dominican friary dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria. See Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 79.

[13] Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt, ed., *Revaler Regesten: Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851*, vol. 3, Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 35 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), no. 118 (hereafter: *Revaler Regesten*).

[14] Leonid Arbusow, ed., *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, (Riga, 1911), no. 111 (hereafter: LUB).

[15] Kadri-Rutt Allik, "Die Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert" (MA Thesis, Universtiät Göttingen, 1995), app., 3 (hereafter: Allik, "Revaler Testamente" (MA Thesis).

[16] LUB 1/9, no. 4.

[17] LUB 2/1, no. 189.

burgher Hans Lippe (Lippen) (1453)[18] and the nobleman Dietrich von Vitinchoff (Vytinckhoue) (1411).[19]

In all four contracts, the priors of the monasteriess and several other brothers represented the Dominicans, taking responsibility for fulfilling the donors' wishes and continuation when the contractors themselves had passed away. In Reval, both Lippe[20] and von Vitinchoff,[21] as founders, requested Masses celebrated by one of the Dominicans every day in the church of St. Catherine. It is quite clear that for both of them the aim was to perpetuate their own and their family's memoria and to receive spiritual benefits.[22] In all these contracts, the individual's role was less accented than the role of the family and the whole kin group. Both living and dead members of the family were treated as the main recipients of the spiritual benefits. Lippe's and von Vitinchoff's contracts contain the names of all the family members who had to be remembered in liturgical services. Von Vitinchoff himself and his wife Anna were named as founders of the eternal Mass in their contract and von Vitinchoff's deceased wife Allheyde and their sons Hinrik and Arndare are also mentioned.[23] Differently from von Vitinchoff, in Lippe's contract only his own deceased parents are named: Hermen Lippe and Alheid; other relatives and friends for whom he also made the foundation were left unnamed.[24] The naming pattern differences between Lippe's and von Vitinchoff's contracts are important.

Von Vitinchoff's contract is typical for the nobility; its intention was to show the broad circle of relatives and the contract was important for their status. As Otto Gerhard Oexle notes, memoria for the nobility had great

[18] Eugen von Nottbeck, ed., *Das drittälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval, 1383–1458* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1892), no. 1297 (hereafter: *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*); LUB 11 no. 232.

[19] Dieter Heckmann, ed., *Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), no. 89 (hereafter: *Revaler Urkunden*).

[20] LUB 11, no. 232.

[21] *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

[22] "…Wy bekennen apenbare an dysser yeghenwardyghen scrift, dat wy myt guder eyndracht unde wol beradene moede vor uns unde vor unse nakomelynghe to eweghen tiden loven, to holdende ene eweghe mysse in unser kerken to sunte Anthonius altare, des hilghen abbetes, deme erbaren strenghen ryddere, her Tyderik van Vytinckhoue, unde Annen, syner erbaren husfrouwen, gode to love unde to eren unde her Tyderikes, vorbenomet, unde Annen salicheit erer selen unde vor alle deer van Vytinckhoue rechten erven ...," *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

[23] *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

[24] LUB 11 no. 232.

importance because their power was based on kinship[25] and without such memoria the nobility would not exist at all.[26] The family of von Vitinchoff was not the only noble family that requested memorial services from the Reval Dominicans. In 1518, the friars promised to celebrate services for the living and dead members of two noble families, the von Löwenwaldes (vom Lewenwalde) and the Taubes (Tuve).[27] It is probable that both Jakob von Löwenwalde and Reynolt Taube had similar contracts with the Dominicans, but the only surviving records, in the account book of the friary, mention Masses and vigils celebrated for both families. The Taube family, which had high status in the local nobility,[28] had closer ties with the Reval Dominicans than merely Masses in the Dominican church. One of their family members, Arend Taube, a nobleman of Harrien-Wierland, became a Dominican friar in Reval some time between 1508 and 1511 and died four days after having joined the community.[29]

Other entries in the account book describe donations of the local nobility to the friars in 1519.[30] It is possible that these records show regular payments by

[25] Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft," 312.

[26] Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 38. (Hereafter: Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur.")

[27] Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (Tallinn City Archives), f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 22r (herafter: TLA).

[28] A member of the Taube family, Hinrick Taube, was the deputy of Harrien's *mannrichter* in 1525 (leader of the local nobility). See Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 451. (Hereafter: Paul Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*.)

[29] Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1921; repr., Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 87. Citations are to the Scientia reprint.

[30] "Item XVIII Marcas Hans Bremen dedit anno 21 post Letare. Item VI Marcas de Meydelsche dedit post Letare anno 21. Item VI marcas Hinrik Todowen dedit infra octaves Penticostes anno 21. Item VI marcas Evert Delwich dedit in prima ebdomada quadragesime sed non illas 150 marcas. Item VI marcas Jurghen Hastwer dedit eodem tempore. Item VI marcas Hinrick Mistak dedit in ebdomada prima quadragesime. Item VI marcas Otto Vitynck dedit eodem tempore eius relicta. Item XXX marcas Jurghen Poll dedit in cena Domini anno vicesimo secundo. Item I lastam brasy cum quartali buteri Jacob Tuwe van Netzs solvit. Item XXV talenta siliginis Marcus Poll nihil dedit nec dabit hoc anno. Item I lastam brasy Lodovicus Tuve dedit. Item ½ lastam brasy unum talentum siliginis ½ tunam buteri Hans Lode van Fiolen. Item ½ lastam brasy Reynolt Tuwe dedit. Item ½ lastam brasy Jacobus vam Lewenwalde dedit in Quadragesima. Item LX marcas Henrick Hastever van Condes, conventus habet literas dedit. Item XII marcas Andreas Derkey dedit post Laetare. Item XLII marcas adhuc

the noblemen for liturgical services requested in the Dominican church, but further details are lacking. Apart from the fact that the nobility was not officially part of Reval's urban community, Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen assume that around two hundred members of Harrien-Wierland nobility resided on the Cathedral Hill of Reval.[31] Harrien-Wierland nobles also had regular political meetings called *manntags* in the Dominican church of St. Catherine.[32] Contracts for eternal Masses and records in the friary's account book testify to intensive relations between the nobility and the friars. The requests for eternal Masses and the flow of different payments to the friars show that the Dominican friary was the center of religious life for the Harrien-Wierland nobles. There were also other religious communities, however, which satisfied their religious needs; the noblemen also had influence in Reval's Cistercian nunnery and the Bridgetine monastery on Reval's outskirts.[33] Nevertheless, the Dominican friary was a political center for the noblemen, the place of *manntags* as well as religious activities such as eternal Masses for themselves and their families. It is not clear, however, whether the local nobility held their meetings in the church of St. Catherine because of their spiritual ties with the friars or religious services were held because of political meetings there.

Why the nobility chose the Dominicans as the community which took care of their religious life is open to discussion, but it has to be acknowledged that St. Catherine's church was the center of the nobility's memoria. The importance of memoria for the nobility is seen clearly in von Vitinchoff's contract. Von Vitinchoff's contract contains the formula which implies that if the Dominicans were not capable of celebrating Masses for von Vitinchoff's family, Reval's town council had to take charge of the yearly rent and spend it in a way that would be beneficial for the family.[34] On the one hand, the family of von Vitinchoff trusted their memoria and Masses for their souls to the Dominicans; on the other hand, the family was aware of the fact that the friars might not be able to carry out their duties.

Andreas Decken dedit capitalem summam silicet 700 marcas," Gertrud Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner im Mittelalter in Livland* (Rome: Institutum historicum FF Praedicatorum, 1938), app., 8 (hereafter: Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner*).

[31] Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 91.

[32] Alfred Ritscher, *Reval an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit: Vom Vorabend der Reformation bis zum Tode Wolters von Plettenberg, 1510–1535*, vol. 1, (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen, 1998), 117.

[33] Juhan Kreem, *The Town and its Lord. Reval and The Teutonic Order (in the Fifteenth Century)*, Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised 6 (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2002), 141.

[34] *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

For Hans Lippe, memoria had no less importance than for the von Vittinchoffs. If the von Vitinchoffs were noblemen, then the Lippes were no less prominent. Hans Lippe was the son of Herman Lippe (Lyppe), a town councilor and, perhaps, churchwarden of St. Catherine's church and the Dominican friary in the 1420s.[35] Probably Hans Lippe also chose the Dominicans to maintain his and his family's memoria because of his father Herman's almost thirty-year-long ties with the friars and his father's good deeds for the Dominicans during the conflict of 1424–1428 between Reval's secular clergy and the friars.[36] Also, Lippe himself had ties with the Dominicans over a long period of time. Almost twenty years after this contract, in 1471, Lippe donated fifty marks for the illumination of an altar on which the daily Mass for him and his family was celebrated.[37]

In Lippe's contract, his parents' memoria had a greater role than his own. For the eternal Mass Lippe gave the sum of two hundred Riga marks, from which twelve marks had to be paid out in rent every year,[38] and he also donated liturgical objects for the altar in the St. Catherine's church on which the Masses had to be celebrated.[39] Yearly payments for the friars after the founder's death were the responsibility of Hans Lippe's heirs,[40] which meant that the next generation of Lippes also remained bound to the friars who maintained the memoria of their ancestors.

The two contracts for eternal Masses from Reval and two from Riga have three aims: to take care of the founder's soul while he was living, to exercise the founder's family's and kin's memoria, and to create the founder's memoria after his death. The Dominicans were those who maintained this memoria and were responsible for the memoria of founders not only to the family, but also to the town council, as in the case of von Vitinchoff. These contracts established ties between the families of the founders and the Dominicans for a long period of time because the heirs had to continue financing liturgical services in the

[35] LUB 7 no. 451.

[36] The town councilors, Hermann Lippe and Arnd Saffenberg, represented the town council in the financial transaction through which the Dominicans received a loan of four hundred marks in 1426. In 1426, the Dominicans were stripped of many sources of possible income and they depended on the town council's help.

[37] LUB 1/12, no. 780.

[38] *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 1297.

[39] LUB 11, no. 232.

[40] "…heft uns de erbar man Hans Lippe offte syne erven twelf mk. Rig. paymente ...," see LUB 11 no. 232.

Dominican church and the prayers for the family included not only the deceased but also future family members.

Relations between the family of the deceased founder of an eternal Mass and the Dominicans continued for a long period after the founder's death. Reval's town councilor and burgomaster, Bertold Hunninghusen (Hunninckhusen),[41] who had been involved in the town government for more than fifteen years, made a foundation in the Dominican church around 1430. Unfortunately, Hunninghusen's testament has not survived and the amount of the foundation is not known. However, records in the account book of the town council testify that Hunninghusen made such a foundation in the Dominican church.[42] From 1434 until 1462, a rent of twelve Riga marks was given to the Dominicans once a year for the sake of Hunninghusen's memory. For the almost thirty years that the money was paid it came from different sources. It is important to stress that Hunninghusen's family members alone did not finance his vicary in the Dominican church. For six years Hunninghusen's widow financed it;[43] and payments were also made by other six individuals: Johan Stenwege,[44] Hans Berloe,[45] Tideke Bodeker together with his wife,[46] Hans Emeken,[47] someone called Dudenbeken,[48] and Cort Grumme's widow.[49] It is hard to discover the motivations for why all six individuals, who had no visible links among themselves and Hunninghusen, financed his vicary.[50] Probably these people owed money to Hunninghusen and his family and they did not have to repay the money, but to invest it in Bertold Hunninghusen's memoria. On the other hand, it is possible that the donors had different reasons for financing Hunninghusen's vicary; perhaps they were relatives or close friends, but such relations cannot be demonstrated. Similarly, different individuals financed the vicary of Woldemar Reval in St. Catherine's church between 1434 and 1458. Woldemar

[41] Hunninghusen was town councilor between 1416 and 1426 and burgomaster in 1427 and 1430. See Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie,* 106.

[42] Reinhard Vogelsang, ed., *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval: 1432–1463,* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), no. 176 (hereafter cited as *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*).

[43] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 92, no. 176, no. 199, no. 416, no. 486, no. 532.

[44] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 252, no. 322, no. 375.

[45] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 430, no. 486.

[46] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 445.

[47] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 661, no. 707, no. 748.

[48] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 1042.

[49] *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 1204.

[50] A vicary was a foundation to support an altar and a priest to say Mass.

Reval's vicary was financed by Johann Oldendorp,[51] town councilor between 1421 and 1458[52] (Oldendorp was buried in the Dominican church),[53] and Hermen Tzoien.[54] Hunninghusen's and Woldemar Reval's vicaries were financed by many different individuals, showing the social network which was created around someone's memorial cult in the Dominican church. The Dominicans were the recipients of the payments by different individuals and they relied on the ability of the individuals to make the payments.[55]

The entries in the Dominican account book for a two-year period (1519–1520) show that many townspeople made yearly payments to the Dominicans.[56] Altogether twenty-three people paid money to the Dominicans during these two years. These payments may also have been donations, but more likely they were made for such liturgical services as eternal Masses or other expensive services. Evidence for this hypothesis is a payment of twelve Riga marks (in 1519) by Jurghen Menth or on his behalf by someone else.[57] Seven years earlier, in his testament, Menth had specified that after his death he wished to have liturgical services for his soul in the Dominican church and twelve Riga marks were to be paid yearly to the friars.[58] The sums paid yearly by different Revalians fluctuated from one Riga mark up to twenty-three marks. The list of payments may also show that many of Reval's townspeople, similarly to Hans Lippe, had their own contracts with the Dominicans, which included eternal Masses and other memorial services.

Eternal Masses were not only forms of liturgical services for the salvation of an individual's soul and memoria carried out by the Dominicans. Eternal Mass foundations demanded considerable investment and even for some socially high ranking Revalians, such liturgical services were too costly. For those who were not capable of making such an investment of hundreds of Riga marks, or who wished to have other kinds of services, there was another

[51] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 108.

[52] Friedrich Georg von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1874), 119. (Hereafter: von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*.)

[53] Eugen von Nottbeck and Wilhelm Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval* (Reval: Franz Kluge's Verlag, 1896), 175. (Hereafter: von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler*.)

[54] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 590, no. 715, no. 896, no. 899, no. 927, no. 956, no. 995, no. 1023, no. 1076.

[55] *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 927, no. 956, no. 995.

[56] Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner,* app., 8.

[57] Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner,* app., 8.

[58] *Revaler Regesten,* no. 109.

possibility. They could request less prestigious services and services for a shorter time or intensity, for example, not eternal Masses, but Masses celebrated only for several weeks after the death, or Masses for a longer period, celebrated only on the anniversaries of the founder's death. Hans Langheweder (1512), who wanted to be buried in St. Catherine's church, donated twenty Riga marks for unspecified memorial services to be carried out by the friars.[59] Similarly, Henningk Simer (Hennigk Somer) (1518) donated twenty-five Riga marks in his last will, asking the Dominicans to pray for his soul and his wife's.[60] These alternative ways of requesting different liturgical services and memoria from the Dominicans appeared only at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Requesting smaller and cheaper liturgical services still achieved one of the goals which testators wished to accomplish, namely, that the friars were praying for their souls and even if they did not celebrate eternal Masses services were delivered regularly and for a longer period of time.

If an individual did not have enough resources or did not wish to have either Mass foundations or other liturgical services, as described in the previous paragraph, he or she could request a certain number of Masses to be celebrated. This pattern of requesting a certain number of Masses, usually forty (at least in Reval's testaments), was popular with the Dominicans.[61] Hennynck Kloth made such a request for the first time in 1491, donating four Riga marks to the friars in his testament and asking in return forty Masses for his soul.[62] From 1491 until 1521, altogether seven out of sixty-eight testators requested a certain number of Masses.[63] The amounts of donations given for forty Masses fluctuated between four and ten Riga marks. Although only seven out of sixty-eight testators requested a certain number of Masses in the Dominican church, other sources testify that many individuals wished to have forty Masses for their soul by the

[59] TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1553.

[60] *Revaler Regesten,* no. 116

[61] The testators also requested such services from other monastic institutions in Reval. The Bridgetine monastery had two such requests and the Franciscans in Dorpat only one, see TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1578; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1493; *Revaler Regesten,* no. 112.

[62] *Revaler Regesten,* no. 56.

[63] Katvick (1501) donated ten guldens for forty masses said twice, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1508; *Tylle van der Sey* (1509) donated ten Riga marks for forty masses said twice, LUB 2/3 no. 586; *Kort Becker* (1509) donated ten Riga marks for forty masses read, LUB 2/3 no. 718; *Johann Bulk* (1516) donated ten Riga marks for thirty masses, *Revaler Regesten,* no. 112; *Katherine* (1519) donated ten Riga marks for forty masses, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1578; Hans Hosserinck (1521) donated ten Riga marks for forty masses, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1493.

friars. In the friary's account book, from which entries of the last year (1524) before its dissolution (during the Reformation) have survived, nine entries registered requests for forty Masses.[64] Most of the requests are anonymous, but in several cases the names of the requestors are known. Among people, Burgomaster Johann Fyant (Viant) requested that forty Masses be celebrated for his soul.[65] This form of liturgical service was accessible for those who had no chance of funding eternal Masses; one peasant (*rusticus*)(!) even requested forty Masses and donated ten Riga marks.[66] When requesting a certain number of Masses, the donors did not settle any conditions or state their preferences. For an individual who wished to have services such as forty Masses celebrated for his soul, the Dominicans offered the possibility of receiving spiritual benefits for reasonably low investments and for a long duration of time. However, the friary's account book testifies that the "package" of forty Masses was a kind of "mass product," widely distributed and with less prestige than eternal Mass foundations. The lack of prestige may have been the reason why most of those who ordered such services were townspeople and not members of the nobility.

Similarly accessible for a wide circle of individuals were single Masses celebrated by the friars. In the same account book of 1524 there are seventeen requests for one or several Masses to be said or sung[67] for donations ranging from fifteen shillings to three Riga marks. Donors of different social statuses requested single Masses; Burgomaster Heyse Pattimer (Pattiner) and town councilor Thomas Fegesack each paid one Riga mark for one Mass sung.[68] Among the donors there was one peasant who paid one mark and requested Masses and vigils in the Dominican church.[69] Although both the anonymous peasant and the burgomaster requested Masses, a social difference is visible. Pattimer wished to have the Mass sung, which meant that this Mass had higher prestige than Masses which were simply said. The examples of the peasant and burgomaster who asked for Masses from the friars testify to the social openness of the Dominicans in Reval, although the services offered for different social groups varied. This kind of social openness also can be seen in the foundations for eternal Masses and foundations for forty Masses. The Dominican church was a place of memoria and liturgical services not only for the burghers, but also

[64] TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, 77v, 78r.
[65] TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.
[66] TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.
[67] TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, 77v, 78r.
[68] TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.
[69] TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.

for the local nobility and even for some peasants who were capable of remunerating those services.

Burials in the Dominican Church of St. Catherine

In medieval Christianity the place of burial was just as important as the rite and ceremonies. People could be buried either in cemeteries near churches or inside church buildings; churches were the most prestigious places of interment in medieval towns. The tomb was the place where the body had to rest until the day of resurrection.[70] Resting in the church meant that the deceased person could be in close proximity to all religious ceremonies (Masses, processions, and prayers), the *Corpus Christi*, altars, and reliquaries of the saints.[71] Burial in the church was also important because, to a certain extent, it guaranteed liturgical and social memoria of the deceased long after his or her death.[72] In this context it is important to discover why some individuals in late medieval Reval specified in their testaments that they be buried nowhere else than in the Dominican church. Furthermore, the circumstances or events that influenced the process of choosing a burial place in the church of St. Catherine have to be made clear.

In the late Middle Ages generally, not everyone had the chance to be buried inside the church; only people of a certain social and political status were able to take advantage of this privilege.[73] Requests in testaments for burial outside of churches were rare,[74] since burial outside of a church meant a shorter time for the person's memoria. Individuals and families choosing burial places also considered the spiritual qualities of the burial place. The ecclesiastical community which was in charge of the church could influence the decision of the person. This ecclesiastical community, no matter whether it was a parish, a brotherhood or a monastery, had a responsibility to care for the memoria of a defunct person.

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[70] Arnold Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus des Toten. Religionsgeschichtlich – christlich – mittelalterlich," in *Grabmäler. Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Maier, Wolfgang Schmid and Michael Victor Schwarz (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2000), 29. (Hereafter: Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus.")

[71] Brigitte Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes und zum Wohl der Familie: Kölner Testamente von Laien und Klerikern im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Janus, 1995), 87. (Hereafter: Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*.)

[72] For *memoria* as a social, religious and social phenomena, see Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," 39.

[73] Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus," 24.

[74] Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.

In late medieval towns many individuals and families chose to be buried in mendicant churches because they represented the continuity of monastic communities in the urban setting.[75] Even if individuals who were responsible for the memoria of defunct persons died themselves, the institution carried on this responsibility. The other important reason was the activity of the mendicant orders in the field of pastoral care of lay people and the bonds of individuals with friaries and friars.

Parishes and mendicants were rivals from the first moment when the mendicants entered urban space at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In almost all the German Hansa towns, the number of testators who wished to be buried by mendicants was influenced by numerous conflicts between the mendicants and the secular clergy. The most frequent reasons for such quarrels in the early period were burial questions; parishes in thirteenth-century Hamburg and Lübeck regularly protested against Dominicans and Franciscans burying the deceased in their churches and nearby cemeteries.[76] The burial questions between mendicants and parishes were formally settled only at the beginning of the fourteenth century with the papal bull *Super Cathedram*.[77]

Conflicts in the thirteenth century show that mendicant churches were popular burial places in towns and their popularity grew or remained constant in the late Middle Ages. The Dominican friaries in Rostock and Wismar were popular burial locations, especially among the families of the political and economic elites and noble families from the surrounding territories.[78] Not only conflicts between mendicants and secular clergy, however, influenced the number of testators who wished to be buried in mendicant churches. In Cologne, in 1347, a conflict between the town council and the Dominicans arose concerning the real estate that Dominicans received from testators. The town council prohibited offering any kind of donations to the Dominicans, and subsequently testators stopped choosing the Dominican church and the friary as their burial place.[79] This prohibition not only influenced burghers until the end of the conflict several years later, but for almost fifty years in Cologne there were only a few burghers who chose to be buried in the Dominican church.

[75] Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft," 317.

[76] Ingo Ulpts, "Zur Rolle der Mendikanten in städtischen Konflikten des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Beispiele aus Bremen, Hamburg und Lübeck," in *Bettelorden und Stadt: Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzei*t, ed. Dieter Berg (Werl: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1992), 134–139. (Hereafter: Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg.*)

[77] Issued by Boniface VIII (1294–1303) in 1300.

[78] Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg*, 244, 307.

[79] Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 85.

Before the conflict the Cologne Dominicans were leaders among the mendicant orders in the reception of donations and burial requests, but afterwards they completely lost their influence.

Reval's situation in the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century did not differ from the other Hanseatic towns except that the Dominicans were the only mendicants in Reval. They were involved in a quadrangle of relations: the friary; individuals and families; the secular clergy, including the cathedral chapter and the parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas;[80] and the town authorities. Interaction of these four groups determined the patterns of burials in the friary. The burial rights of local parishes and secular clergy and the burial regulations of local town councils determined all the Dominican activities in this field.

The burial patterns in Reval's Dominican friary were influenced by the conflict between the Dominicans and the cathedral chapter between 1424 and 1428. As Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller states, the bishop of Reval and the cathedral chapter were interested in weakening the position of the Dominicans and thus increasing income for the parish churches.[81] The Dominicans were popular in the town and outside of it and they not only offered a public burial ground in their own church and cemetery in the churchyard, but they also actively took part in funeral ceremonies outside the town walls.[82] In 1425, after the conflict had taken on a political character by the involvement of the papal curia and local Livonian bishops,[83] the higher clergy officially restricted the Dominicans' performance of their liturgical duties, especially the baptism of children, confession, and the public celebration of Masses.[84] Thus, one influential religious community was partly excluded from the religious life of the urban society. The town council issued new regulations concerning donations and religious rites,[85] which partly favored the Dominicans,[86] but had no influence on the prohibition announced by the bishop. Although the prohibition did not mention burial services directly, it was issued to restrict Dominican public activities and burial services were part of their public activities. This

[80] Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 78.

[81] Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, "Der Revaler Kirchenstreit (1424–1428)," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 109 (1991): 26. (Hereafter: Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit.")

[82] Later testimonies from the beginning of the sixteenth century show that Dominicans were taking part in burial ceremonies probably not hosted in their church. See TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, fol. 77v.

[83] Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 17.

[84] Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 17.

[85] LUB 7, no. 237.

[86] Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 18.

prohibition meant that not only burghers but also the noble families of Harrien-Wierland, who had their tombs with the Dominicans, were stripped of the right to choose freely their prospective tomb and place of their after-death memoria as they had before, frequently choosing the Dominican church as their place of eternal rest.[87]

The situation worsened dramatically when Reval's bishop, Heinrich Üxküll (1419–1456), decided to keep all the income from the funeral payments in Reval itself and outside[88] without sharing it with the Dominicans in the cases when the funeral ceremonies in the parish cemeteries were conducted by Dominican friars. The consequences for the Dominicans were dramatic. It meant that at least for the time of the conflict (1425–1428) they were excluded from the burial business, and for the friary it could have meant not only an economic but also a spiritual crisis because the burial liturgy was part of Dominican pastoral care. This crisis, luckily for Reval's Dominicans and the burghers who sympathized with them, did not last long. Nevertheless, it showed that it was possible to prevent inhabitants of the town from being attached to a popular burial place. It is probable that some inhabitants did not observe this temporal prohibition of burials carried out by the Dominicans and burials in the church of St. Catherine, because in the friary the tombstone of Hans Fient has survived dated to 1425,[89] the year when the burial prohibition was introduced.

For the period of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century in Reval only eighteen out of approximately one hundred and fifty testators specified preferences for their prospective burial place in their testaments.[90] This

[87] Several tombstones have survived from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the former Dominican church of St. Catherine: Kunigunde (Kune) Schotelmund (1381); Adolf (1330); Arnoldus de Hove (1371); Bremen (1388); Hinricus Cocuse (1385); Hans Fient (1425); Lodevicus de Holte (1437); Johan Oldendorp (1448); Hans Verlink (1470); Tidemanus de Hereke (1488); Diderick Boholt (1501); Bernd Pael (1503). See Eugen von Nottbeck and Wilhelm Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval* (Reval: Franz Kluge's Verlag, 1896), 174–180.

[88] Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 21.

[89] Mari Loit, "Keskaegsest surmakultuurist ja hauatähistest reformatsioonieelse Tallinna kirikustes ja kloostrites" (On the Medieval "Culture of Death" and Tombstones in the Churches and Monasteries of Tallinn from 1309 to 1524), *Vana Tallinn* 17, No. 21, (2006): 86.

[90] Gert van Lynden (1442), LUB 9 no. 911; Johann Budingh (1455), LUB 11 no. 442; Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," app. 3; Hermen Menne (1500), LUB 2/1 no. 897; Herman Lette (1504), LUB 2/2 no. 623; Lambert Ottingh (1505), LUB 2/3 no. 133; Reynoldus Korner (1510), LUB 2/3 no. 849; Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510), LUB 2/3 no. 862; Elizabeth, Wilhelm Triss, widow (1511),

fact differentiates Reval from other towns in the Baltic Sea region. In Stralsund, where the number of surviving last wills is eight times higher than in Reval, approximately fifty percent of the testators specified the place of their burial in their testaments.[91] Gunnar Meyer considers that naming the burial place in the testaments was necessary only when the testator wanted to be buried in a particular place in the church or wished to rest, for instance, in the church of the mendicants.[92] Theoretically, all the testators who did not specify their prospective burial place gave preference to being buried in the parish cemeteries.[93]

However, this assumption contradicts examples from Reval testaments. Berndt Pael (Pal) in his testament of 1502[94] did not mention anything about his wish to be buried in the Dominican church, but after his death in 1503 he was buried there and a tombstone with his name was placed on the grave.[95] The example of Berndt Pael shows that in Reval not necessarily all the testators who did not mention their prospective burial place in their testaments were buried in the parish churches. One must not forget that individuals could not only express their last will in a written form, but also could express their wishes orally.[96] Hence, there is no firm reason to assume that all the individuals who did not request their burial places in a written form were buried in the parish churches or their cemeteries.

Revaler Regesten, no. 106; Hans Langheweder (1512), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1553; Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512), *Revaler Regesten,* no. 109; Hans Baer (1515), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1397; Johann Bulk (1516), *Revaler Regesten,* no. 112; Hennynck Parssow (1516), *Revaler Regesten,* no. 113; Katherine, Jorgen Mellers, widow (1519), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1578; Victor Mouver (1521), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1587; Hans Hosserinck (1521), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1493; Thomas Ulrici (1523), *Revaler Regesten,* no. 126.

[91] Johannes Schildhauer, "'Ad pias causas:' Vermächtnisse an die Kirche und an die Armen in Stralsunder Bürgertestamenten," in *Symposium und Ausstellung anlässlich der Wiedereinweihung des Doms St. Nikolai in Greifswald im Juni 1989*, ed. Norbert Buske (Schwerin: Helms, 2005), 60.

[92] Gunnar Meyer, "Milieu und Memoria. Schichtspezifisches Stiftungsverhalten in den Lübecker Testamenten aus dem 2. Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 78 (1998): 136.

[93] Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 81.

[94] LUB 2/2 no. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, no. 77.

[95] Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 117.

[96] Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht," 105.

The Dominicans had seven[97] of eighteen explicit burial requests and both parishes together had nine (St. Nicholas five and St. Olaf's four);[98] two requests were made for other churches, the Holy Spirit[99] and Reval's cathedral.[100] In Reval, all the testators requested burial in the churches; burial in the parish cemeteries was not mentioned in the last wills. Correlation between the requests made for burial in parishes and with the Dominicans may also support Meyer's assumption about the wishes of the testators who did not express any preference for a burial place in their testament. Data from surviving testaments show that there were more requests to be buried by the Dominicans than in other churches. Still, it is questionable how representative this tendency is, since it is only a sample of eighteen testaments that shows the Dominicans as possible leaders in burial requests. Perhaps those seven testators who chose to be buried in the church of St. Catherine were keen to express their wishes clearly to rest with the Dominicans, compared to those who wrote nothing about a burial place in their testaments, being sure that they wanted to be buried in their parish church or parish cemetery. This argument is sufficient if one thinks that the individual alone made a decision about where he was to be buried.

Why did individuals in Reval decide to be buried with the Dominicans? Most of the testators in Reval did not reveal their motives in choosing their burial places. Johan Buddingh[101] (1455), who chose to be buried in St. Olaf's or Hans Langheweder[102] (1512), who wished to rest with the Dominicans, did not specify the reasons why they wanted to be buried there and not in other churches. In the testaments of Gert van Lynden,[103] Hermen Menne,[104] Herman Lette,[105] Dyrck Mouwersz,[106] and Hans Hosserinck,[107] it is also hard to see

[97] Requests for the Dominican church of St. Catherine: Gert van Lynden (1442), Hermen Menne (1500), Herman Lette (1504), Reynoldus Korner (1510), Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510), Hans Langheweder (1512), Hans Hosserinck (1521).

[98] Requests for St. Olaf's: Johann Budingh (1455), Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Hans Baer (1515), Hennynck Parssow (1516). Requests for St. Nicolaus: Lambert Ottingh (1505), Victor Mouver (1521), Thomas Ulrici (1523), Katherine, Jorgen Meller's widow (1519), Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512).

[99] Requests for church of the Holy Ghost: Elizabeth, Wilhelm Triss' widow (1511).

[100] Requests for Reval's Cathedral: Johann Bulk (1516).

[101] LUB 11, no. 442

[102] TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1553.

[103] LUB 1/9, no. 911.

[104] LUB 2/1, no. 897

[105] LUB 2/2, no. 623

[106] LUB 2/3, no. 862

possible motivations for them wanting to be buried in the Dominican church. For example, in Hans Hosserinck's last will his gratitude towards the religious community can be seen; he made three donations to the Dominicans: 10 Riga marks for the community, wax for the illumination of his tomb, and 10 Riga marks for 40 Masses in the Dominican church. Hosserinck's sympathies with the Dominicans are obvious, but these donations seem more like gratitude for a possible burial place in St. Catherine's church and do not show possible motivations for choosing this church and community as his last resting place. Only in some cases (examined below), is it possible to find the reasons why individuals made decisions to be buried in a specific church.

Still, the matter of how the preferences were made or influenced in the process of selection is not clear. If one follows Meyer,[108] then mentioning the burial place outside of the parish church may seem like the solitary decision of the individual, but one has to take into account the social network in which a person lived. The examples listed below were selected because they show traces of possible social networks and their influence on these decisions.

In medieval burial rites the role of the family was crucial. After the individual's death the family was responsible for the memoria. In fact, the deceased was included in the memoria of the whole family and this secured his remembrance. Families tried to create altars and chapels in proximity to their own burial places in order to secure their memoria. Individuals chose to be buried in the family burial places because family ties remained important after death not only for memoria, but also for resurrection.[109] Usually males, married and unmarried, were interred in the burial places of their families; married women were buried together with their husbands, but unmarried women found their resting places where tombs of their ancestors were.[110] The common practice was to be buried with relatives. Gherwen Bornemann from Reval in his last will (1480) stated his wish to be buried in the parish church of St. Olaf near the altar he had donated and where his two wives were buried.[111]

Even if the individual in the testament did not mention his choice of burial place, some details show possible preferences. Wilm vame Schede (1447)

[107] TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1493.

[108] Meyer, "Milieu und Memoria," 136.

[109] Dietrich Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten," in *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz Neiske, Dietrich Poeck and Mechthild Sandmann (Sigmaringendorf: Regio-Verl. Glock und Lutz, 1991), 211. (Hereafter: Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten.")

[110] Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.

[111] Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," app. 3.

donated two hundred marks[112] for the vicary at the St. Barbara altar in the Dominican church in Reval where his parents and ancestors were buried,[113] but he did not mention in his will that he wanted to be buried there. Regardless, the donation to St. Barbara's altar was the largest donation for devotional purposes that vame Schede made in his testament. On one hand, Wilm vame Schede's donation was an investment in the memoria of his family and it was a customary action to secure an eternal memoria of the family[114] with *ewige viccarien*.[115] On the other hand, vame Schede attempted to incorporate his own memoria into the family's memoria; to take part in this memoria he had to be buried together with his ancestors. One may also expect similar practices in other cases.

The free will of the individual and his wishes were not always the most important component in the choice of burial place. Sometimes individuals arranged almost everything in their testaments: they bequeathed all their property to relatives and friends, and donated objects and money to religious institutions, but left the question of burial place unsettled. Reval's town scribe, Reynoldus Korner, in his last will (1510), requested that he be buried with the Dominicans, but if the executors of his testament had other preferences, he could also be buried somewhere else in Reval.[116] This gesture from Korner, naming a possible place of burial, but at the same time leaving the question open, also means that the executors and heirs could have had a right to choose the burial place for the deceased. At first glance, it could seem that Korner was hesitating to make a concrete decision about this question. Perhaps Korner's precaution was influenced in some way by another conflict growing between the secular clergy and the Dominicans in the second decade of the sixteenth century, in which the Dominicans were blamed for several misdeeds including infringing on the burial rights of the parishes.[117] Korner left the decision-making to people of high social and political status. His executors were Carstianus

[112] 1 Mark Rigisch = 4 Ferdingen = 36 Schillinge = 48 Öre = 144 Artige = 432 Pfennige = ca. 1.5 Rh. fl, Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: University College London, 1986), 250, 283.

[113] "Vortmer geve ik to ener ewigen viccarien to sunte Barbaren altare to den monniken, dar mine oelderen unde min slechte vor begraven liggen, twehundert mk. Rig„" LUB 10, no. 334.

[114] Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten," 214, 224.

[115] LUB 10, no. 334.

[116] "Den lichnam der erden, dar he van geworden, darin to begravende, unde deme ene stede to gevende by den predicker broders, edder wor dat mynen testamentarien hie bynenen Reval weszende, alder best geraden duncket, cristlicken to begravende, de hir bynnen Revall syn," see LUB 2/3, no. 849.

[117] LUB 2/3, no. 948.

Czernekow, a member of the cathedral chapter in Reval,[118] Cord Korner, his brother and town scribe, and Heyse Pattimer, at that time a council member and later the town's burgomaster.[119] In this context, it could also mean that the executors were responsible for reacting if the Dominican church, for political or other reasons, would not be accessible as the burial place.

The executors of the testament, family and friends of the testator, did not make decisions about the deceased's burial place in politically tense situations. This may have been the reason why the secular clergy in Reval at the beginning of the sixteenth century was not satisfied with the situation that people were buried in the friary who had not requested burial there.[120] In answer to such accusations of the secular clergy, the Reval Dominicans mentioned the rights of parents, relatives, and friends to decide where to bury the deceased.[121] This example does not mean that one may speak about a contradiction between the decisions of the testator and the decisions of the family and testament executors, it only refers to cases when the testator had expressed no preference.

It seems that it was a common practice in Reval for the relatives and friends (executors of the testament) to choose a tomb in the Dominican church, and events during the Reformation also demonstrate this. At that time the town council tried to restrict the activities of the Dominicans, including burials. In 1524 the council declared that the Dominicans should accept only those who had requested (*gekoren hefft*) burial in their church and cemetery.[122] How this request had to be made was not mentioned in these instructions, but it could have meant that only those who had named the friary as their burial place in their last wills should be buried there. By excluding those who had not made their request in their testament and those who were buried there because of their relatives, the town council wanted to decrease the popularity of the Dominicans and their church.

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[118] In his last will (1499) Carstianus Czernekow completely neglected the Reval Dominicans, leaving them no donation; LUB 2/1, no. 845.

[119] von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*, 120.

[120] LUB 2/3, no. 948.

[121] LUB 2/3, no. 949.

[122] "... sunder ys dat yemandes de syn bygrafft gekoren hefft by Iw ..." See Tiina Kala, *Euroopa Kirjakultuur Hiliskeskaegsetes Õppetekstides: Tallinna Dominiiklase David Sliperi Taskuraamat,* (Late Medieval Literary Culture and School Manuscripts: The Handbook of the Dominican Friar David Sliper from the Tallinn Friary) (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2001), app. 1; *eadem*, "Das Dominikanerkloster von Reval/Tallinn und die lutherische Reformation" in *Die Stadt im Europäischen Nordosten*, ed. Robert Schweitzer and Waltraud Basman-Bühner, Veröffentlichungen der Aue Stiftung 12 (Helsinki: Aue Stiftung, 2001), 86.

Not only the family or friends as executors of the testament could influence the selection of the resting place for the deceased. The individual's membership in a religious or professional brotherhood could also be crucial. In fact, care for the appropriate burial and after-death memoria of the members was one of the main religious aims for all medieval urban brotherhoods.[123] Usually, every church had one or more brotherhoods attached to it. The brotherhood of the Black Heads, in which members could only be young unmarried merchants, journeymen merchants or foreign merchants,[124] had chosen the Dominican church of St. Catherine as the center for their religious life.[125] There are no direct sources about the existence of the Black Heads' burial grounds in Reval's Dominican church. One of the reasons is that in most cases the members of this confraternity did not stay in it until their death because it was the brotherhood of unmarried merchants. When they married and took the burgher's oath they left the confraternity.[126] Moreover, written sources concerning the official burial places of the Black Heads come only from the second part of the sixteenth century.

There is only one case from the whole Middle Ages when the testator died while probably still a member of the Black Heads. Berndt Pael[127] (1437–1503) (see above), who was not local, but a merchant from Lübeck, died in Reval in 1503 and was buried in the Dominican church.[128] In his last will Pael did not mention any links with the Black Heads and expressed no wish to be buried with the Dominicans, only donating ten Riga marks and fish to the Dominicans and asking for prayers for his soul.[129] Three years after Pael's death, in 1506, the Dominican friary issued a document in which they confirmed that they had received Pael's donation of one hundred Riga marks, a sum which was not mentioned in his testament.[130] The elders of the Black Heads wished to include

[123] Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 1988), 223.

[124] Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 32. (Hereafter: Mänd, *Urban Carnival.*)

[125] Tiina Kala, Juhan Kreem, and Anu Mänd, "Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter im Mittelalter," in *Die Revaler Schwarzenhäupter: Geschichte und Schätze der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter* (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiivi, 1999), 63.

[126] Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 36.

[127] LUB 2/2, no. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, no. 77.

[128] von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval,* 179.

[129] LUB 2/2, no. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, no. 77.

[130] This sum was probably money which was left after fulfilling all the wishes of the testator included in his testament. See LUB 2/3, no. 18.

this sum in a vicary,[131] showing that they had certain rights over the donation made by Pael, and it confirms his connection with the Black Heads. As Pael did not have relatives and family in Reval[132] and was a member of the Black Heads,[133] the confraternity was responsible for his burial and after-death memoria because the brotherhood was Pael's only tie with the local society. The case of Berndt Pael is the only one in which one can speak of evidence for burials of Black Heads in the Dominican church.

Conclusions

The surviving sources about requests for liturgical services from the Dominicans cannot show a complete picture. However, the eternal Mass foundations, requests for prayers and a certain number of Masses do show the different social origins of individuals who chose the Dominicans to celebrate services for their souls and the souls of their families. The Dominicans succeeded in attracting local nobility, the urban elite, and even people from the lower strata of society. Because of this varied public, the kinds of liturgical services offered by the friars also varied: there were eternal Masses for the nobility and the urban elite, "packages" of forty Masses for townspeople and single Masses for individuals of lower status. It is not possible to conclude which group had the closest ties with the Dominicans: nobility, urban elite, or those who were not considered influential. However, this variety of people requesting services from the Dominicans shows that the friars were not oriented toward satisfying the spiritual needs of any one specific social group.

The burial question in medieval Reval was the sphere where the interests of several groups coincided. Reval's town authorities and secular clergy from time to time regulated the field of funerals and burial places in a way that was meant to restrict the Dominicans in this area of pastoral care. The decision on where to be buried was not only in the hands of the individuals. Family, friends (testament executors), and brotherhoods influenced burial place preferences, and sometimes after the death of the testator made this important decision instead of him.

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[131] LUB 2/3, no. 18.

[132] Carsten Jahnke, "Bernd Pal, ein Kaufmann des 15. Jahrhunderts: Eine biographische Skizze," *Vana Tallinn* 15, No. 19 (2004): 159. See note 87

[133] Friedrich Amelung, Georges Wrangell, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzhäupter* (Reval: F. Wassermann, 1930), 17.

A LANDSCAPE OF POWER: SPATIAL AND TERRITORIAL DIMENSIONS OF URBAN LEADERSHIP IN FIFTEENTH- AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SOPRON

Károly Goda

Introduction

Sopron, (German Ödenburg), was one of the most important urban centers in the Kingdom of Hungary in the later Middle Ages.[1] The settlement attained the political and economic benefits of being a free royal town, the highest possible level of autonomy, as early as the thirteenth century.[2] From that time on the community played a dominant role in the area and also functioned as a mediator between the neighboring Austrian territories and the heartland of Hungary.[3] Furthermore, instead of having the direct presence of royal authority, the town only had to pay regular taxes and provide military support for the Hungarian kings. Concerning Sopron's internal government, the burghers were free to elect their own leaders, that is, a judge (*iudex*), and, from the early fourteenth century, a mayor *(magister civium)*, as well as twelve council members (*iurati*) on each Saint George's day.[4] After an economic and political crisis in the mid-fifteenth century, the development of the town as a trading community with around

[1] Throughout the study the German names will be used for the geographical places and the burghers. The only exceptions are the town itself, the neighboring villages, and the nearby Lake Fertő/Neusiedler See.

[2] Imre Holl, "The Development and Topography of Sopron in the Middle Ages," in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1990), 96–102. (Hereafter: Holl, "The Development and Topography.")

[3] Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* (Home in town. Society and material culture in Sopron, Preßburg/Bratislava and Eperjes/Prešov in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2004), 11–57, 298–309. (Hereafter: Szende, *Otthon.*)

[4] József Tirnitz and Anita Szakács, ed., *Sopron Város Tanácsa bírósági jegyzőkönyveinek regesztái. I. 1533–1554* (Abstracts from the court protocols of the town council of Sopron. Vol. 1. 1533–1554) (Sopron: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára, 1996), 7–11. (Hereafter: Tirnitz and Szakács, *Sopron Város Tanácsa.*)

3,500 inhabitants continued and it remained an important regional center with limited external trade, mainly with Vienna and Wiener Neustadt.[5]

The agency of the leaders in the success of the sixteenth-century town was a significant factor, with the geographical setting providing a promising background for such a development. The burghers governing Sopron in these decades played a crucial role in maintaining the positions reached by their predecessors and providing new resources for the coming generations. The intensive examination of such leading groups in general[6]—and in the neighboring imperial seat of Vienna, in particular[7]—began in the 1960s and 1970s. However, neither the political elite of Sopron nor the social topography of this group of burghers has served as a subject for historical research until recently.[8] In this study the relationship between urban space and political power will be scrutinized to answer questions about social continuity and change.

Mapping the Urban Landscape

Information from written evidence and the results of archaeological excavations show that the forerunner of medieval Sopron was a Roman settlement called

[5] Jenő Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* (Towns and artisanship in Hungary in the fifteenth century) (Budapest: "Művelt Nép" Tudományos és Ismeretterjesztő Kiadó, 1955), 36–41, 48–66; Katalin Szende, "Sopron (Ödenburg): A West-Hungarian Merchant Town on the Crossroad between East and West?," *Scripta Mercaturae* 31 (1997): 29–49; Szende, *Otthon*, 26.

[6] For German-speaking Central Europe see Wilfried Ehbrecht, ed., *Städtische Führungsgruppen und Gemeinde in der werdenden Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1980); Heinz Schilling and Herman Diederiks, ed., *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985).

[7] Richard Perger, *Die Wiener Ratsbürger, 1396–1526. Ein Handbuch* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1988); Richard Perger and Walter Hetzer, *Wiener Bürgermeister der frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna: Kommissionsverlag Jugend und Volk, 1981).

[8] Károly Goda, "A soproni elit a 15–16. század fordulóján. Utak a hatalomba" (The elite of Sopron at the turn of the fifteenth century. Routes to power) (MA thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, 2004), 59–72 (hereafter: Goda, "A soproni elit"); Károly Goda, "A város élén. Sopron polgármesterei a 15–16. század fordulóján" (Leading the town. The mayors of Sopron at the turn of the fifteenth century), *Soproni Szemle* 58 (2004): 308–328 (hereafter: Goda, "A város élén"); Károly Goda, "The Landscape of Power: The Spatial and Territorial Dimensions of Urban Leadership in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sopron, ca. 1480–1580" (MA thesis, Central European University, 2006), 1–80. (Hereafter: Goda, "The Landscape of Power.")

Scarbantia. After the Hungarian conquest, a new *castrum* evolved, which was named *Suprun* after its first-known royal office-holder (*comes*).[9] North of the fortress were settlements of lower status, housing groups like blacksmiths and fishermen. These villages later became part of the outskirts, no longer housing occupational groups, but appearing in the documents in the fifteenth century as street names (*Schmiedgasse* and *Fischergasse*). The Saint Michael parish church (*Sankt Michael-Pfarrkirche*) of *villa Suprun*, situated north of the *Fischergasse*, was first mentioned in the 1270s. The territory of the Order of Saint John, north of the fortress (*Johanniterkirche*), and the funerary chapel of Saint James near the parish church (*Sankt Jakob-Kapelle*) were built during the thirteenth century (see *Fig 1a*). Subsequently, the neighboring settlements around the castle grew considerably, finally merging into one highly urbanised center. From the 1240s the burghers undertook the defence of the former royal fortress.[10]

The spatial setting of the downtown was dominated by three almost-parallel streets (*Sankt Georgengasse*; *Judengasse/Neugasse*; *Fleischhackergasse*) that formed the key structure of Sopron (see *Fig. 1b*). The plots, serving as the basic territorial units of the community, were distributed along these three lines.[11] The number of downtown burgages listed in the tax registers varied between 73 and 97. Various ecclesiastical properties stood within the town walls; the Franciscan friary was situated on the Main Square (*Platz*), thus playing a dominant role in the inner town. Another important landmark was the church dedicated to Saint George, built around 1380. Besides these, two synagogues were built within the walls on the *Judengasse*.[12]

The more prestigious of the two marketplaces inside the walls was the *Platz*, next to the *Vorderes Tor*, which served not only as a place for weekly and annual markets, but also functioned as a symbolic and public center. In contrast, the *Salzmarkt*, at the other end of the *Sankt Georgengasse*, was merely an economic site. Originally it was the center of the salt trade, but from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, shambles were erected there, too. The council regularly rented out these places to different butchers, who mainly inhabited the long street (*Fleischhackergasse*) on the western side of the downtown. The Franciscan

[9] János Gömöri, "Die Erforschung der Burg der Gespanschaft von Sopron," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1976): 421–422.

[10] Szende, *Otthon*, 11–20; Holl, "Development and Topography," 96–102.

[11] For the urban structures and houses, see Ferenc Dávid, "Gótikus lakóházak Sopronban" (Gothic houses in Sopron), *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* 5 (1967–1968): 95–123.

[12] Ferenc Dávid, "Sopron házai és háztulajdonosai, 1523–1645" (The houses and owners of Sopron, 1523–1645), (manuscript, under publication); Ferenc Dávid, *A soproni ó-zsinagóga* (The old synagogue of Sopron) (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1978).

friary broke the line of the street of the butchers at a bay where a street called *Hinter dem Kloster* began. Apart from the churches, the town did not have many public buildings; before the fifteenth century there was not even a separate town hall. Due to a royal donation in 1422, a house in the street *Hinter dem Kloster* (*Fig. 1b*, *plot no. 78*) functioned as a place for council meetings, but it was used as such only until 1460. From then onwards, a more prestigious burgage on the *Platz* (*Fig. 1b*, *plot no. 49*) was dedicated to this function and was in use until 1496, when the town hall was finally moved to a permanent, newly refurbished building (*Fig. 1b*, *plot no. 3*).[13]

The development of the outskirts took place simultaneously with the urbanisation of the downtown. Some of the plots here were much larger than those along the streets of the inner town and served either as sites for dwellings for several families or functioned as the urban farms (*Mairhöfe*) of downtown burghers (see *Fig. 1a*). The late medieval administrative structure of the outskirts originated in the 1390s, when the territory of the town beyond the protective walls was divided into four quarters (*Viertel*), each consisting of four districts (*Ansag*).[14] The first quarter was situated northwest of the center; the most important part of it was the *Neustiftgasse*. One of the markets on the outskirts, the so-called *Kornmarkt*, was also situated in this quarter. The second quarter started from the west with the *Schmiedgasse*, on the right bank of a stream called the Ikva, and connected the plots between the *Steintor* and the *Spitalbrücke*.[15] The northern part of this quarter was mainly dominated by the parish priest, whose private chapel, the *Heilige-Geist-Kapelle*, was at the beginning of the *Schrippergasse* leading to the third quarter. This suburb consisted of three parallel streets: the *Schrippergasse*, the *Fischergasse*, and the *Wieden*. Most of the bigger market places were located in the fourth quarter. The wood market (*Holzmarkt*) was situated next to the Church of Our Lady (*Kirche Unserer Frau*), while the animal market (*Viehmarkt*) was on the way to the southern gate. In the southern part of the fortified inner town there were several fishponds, adjacent to a long street called the *Lange Zeile* that connected the fourth and first districts.

[13] For the history of the town hall, see Károly Mollay, "A három középkori városháza" (The three medieval town halls of Sopron), *Soproni Szemle* 31 (1977): 234–247. For the numbering of the plots, see Fig. 1b, below.

[14] Jenő Házi, "Az 1379. évi soproni telekkönyv" (Sopron's property register for the year 1379), *Soproni Szemle* 12 (1958): 105–118; Károly Mollay, ed., *Első telekkönyv/Erstes Grundbuch (1480–1553)* (The first protocol of real estate, 1480–1553) (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár-Soproni Múzeum, 1993), xv–xvi.

[15] Jenő Házi, "A soproni külváros 2. fertályának telekkönyve az 1536. évből" (The property register of the second quarter of the outer town from the year 1536), *Soproni Szemle* 13 (1959): 353–354.

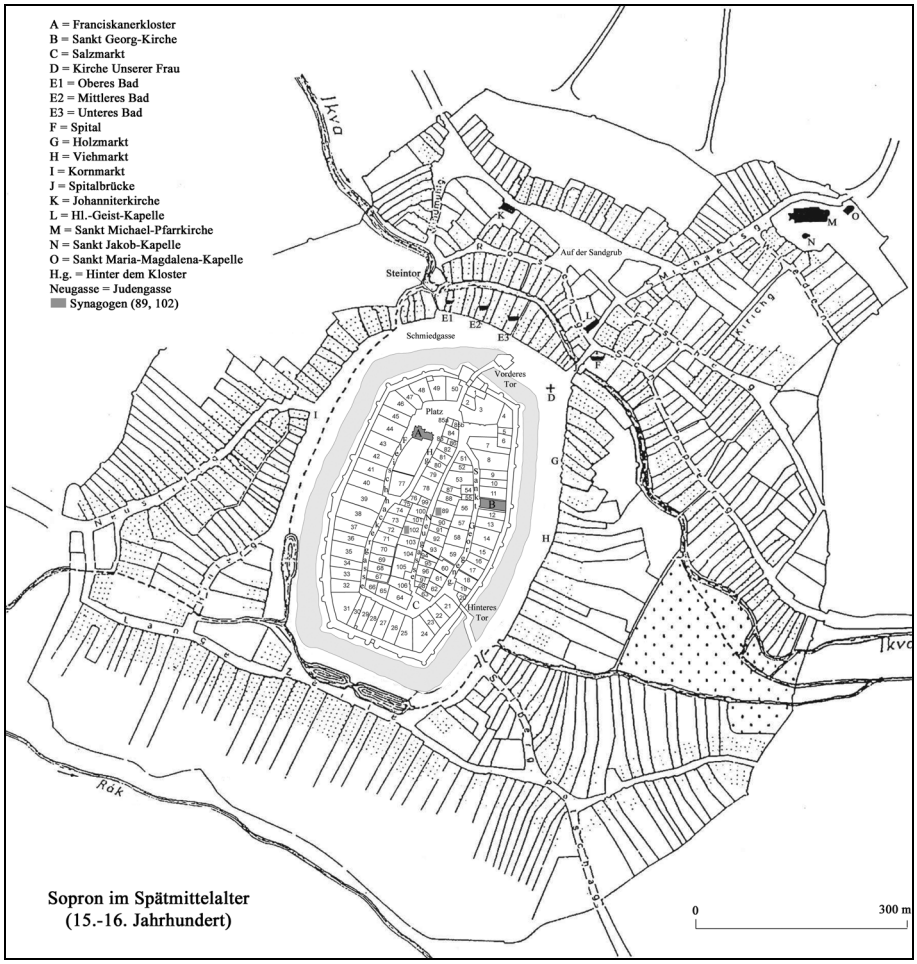

Fig. 1a. Sopron in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century.[16]

[16] The map for the plots of the inner and outer town *(Figs. 1a* and *1b)* was based on the reconstruction of Imre Holl with certain modifications concerning the division lines of the plots made by the author on the basis of Ferenc Dávid's manuscript. Imre Holl, "Sopron (Ödenburg) im Mittelalter," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1979): 105–145, Abb. 1. Also published and revised in Károly Mollay, ed., *Első telekkönyv/Erstes Grundbuch (1480–1553)* (The first protocol of real estates, 1480–1553) (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár – Soproni Múzeum, 1993), appendix. Ferenc Dávid, "Sopron házai és háztulajdonosai, 1523–1645" (The houses and house-owners of Sopron, 1523–1645) manuscript, Budapest, 2004.

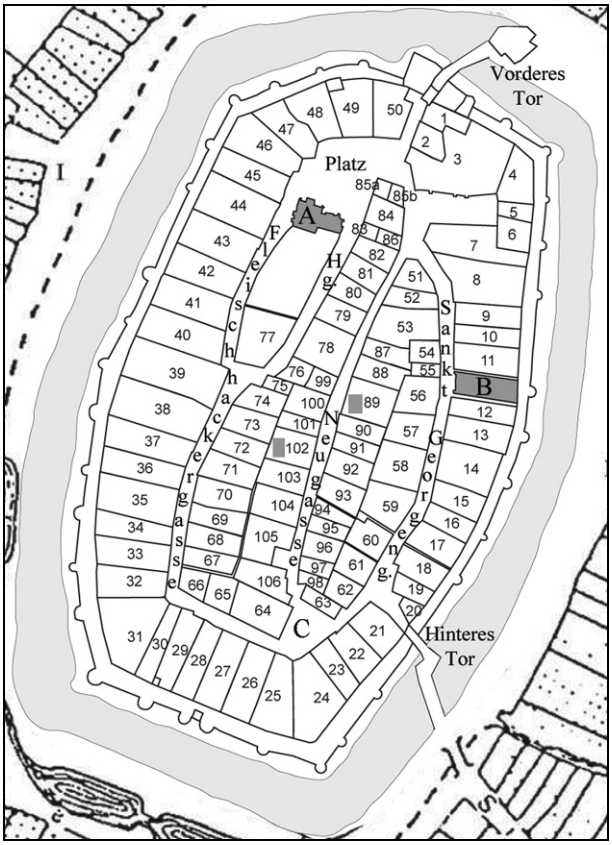

Fig. 1b. Streets and plots of downtown Sopron.

From the end of the 1290s onwards one of the main aims of the urban government was to enlarge the economic, especially agricultural, supply of Sopron. Accordingly, by the mid-sixteenth century a whole circle of neighboring villages was under the feudal ownership of the town. This agricultural area consisted of arable fields, pastures, orchards, and so forth, but vineyards were the most valuable territories connected to business based on agriculture.[17] Some of the significant vineyards were in the direct vicinity of the town, but the best lands

[17] Károly Mollay, "A Tómalom középkori előzményei. Fejezet a soproni határ történetéből" (The medieval origins of the Tómalom. A chapter from the history of the environment of Sopron), *Soproni Szemle* 46 (1992): 150–167; Jenő Házi, "Az 1566. évi soproni borkereskedelem" (The wine trade of Sopron in the year 1566), *Soproni Szemle* 13 (1959): 151–157.

were either on the southern or the northern shore of Lake Fertő.[18] Considering that the urban leaders of the town mostly achieved success through the export of agricultural goods, these vineyards played a crucial role in their spatial presence.

Reconstructing the Structures of Power

Turning to politics inside the town, with the increase of the German presence the political institutions were modified during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the 1320s onwards the position of mayor (*magister civium*/*Bürgermeister*), a new German institution, gained ground in the urban government and fifty years later it exceeded the role of the judge (*iudex*/*Richter*) in rank and prestige. During this process, the name of the elected advisors of the leaders also changed from the circle of the *iurati* to its German counterpart (*Ratsbürger*). As a result, the two top leaders, the mayor and the judge, along with the councillors elected by the community (*Gemeinde*), led Sopron after the 1410s.[19]

The direct influence of the burghers on urban affairs was strengthened in 1391 by the establishment of a bigger council (*Vierundzwanziger*), which consisted of twenty-four burghers. From the 1420s onwards, this forum exercised economic control through regular meetings, which affected not only the downtown burghers but also the population of the outskirts.[20] Although the membership in the inner council was officially compensated by regular tax reductions only in the sixteenth century, the elected councillors benefited from their positions even much earlier by exercising control over the others in town.[21] Albeit the operation of the council was based on the principle of collegiality, the judge and the mayor directed almost all of the important activities. The council was not strong enough to counterbalance the re-occurring centralising efforts made by the mayor and the judge.

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[18] József Kücsán, "Hol termett a soproni bor? Sopron szőlőskertjei a 17–18. században" (Where did the wine of Sopron grow? The vineyards of Sopron in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 5–20.

[19] Tirnitz and Szakács, *Sopron Város Tanácsa*, 7–8; Károly Mollay and Károly Goda, ed., *Gedenkbuch – Feljegyzési könyv 1492–1543* (Book of memorable issues, 1492–1543) (Sopron: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára, 2006), 11–31.

[20] József Tirnitz, "Sopron szabad királyi város külső tanácsa, 1526–1711" (The bigger council of the free royal town of Sopron, 1526–1711), in *Tanulmányok a magyar helyi önkormányzat múltjából* (Studies on the history of local governments in Hungary), ed. György Bónis and Alajos Degré (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1971), 53–79.

[21] About these tendencies, see Goda, "A soproni elit," 59–72; Goda, "A város élén," 308–328.

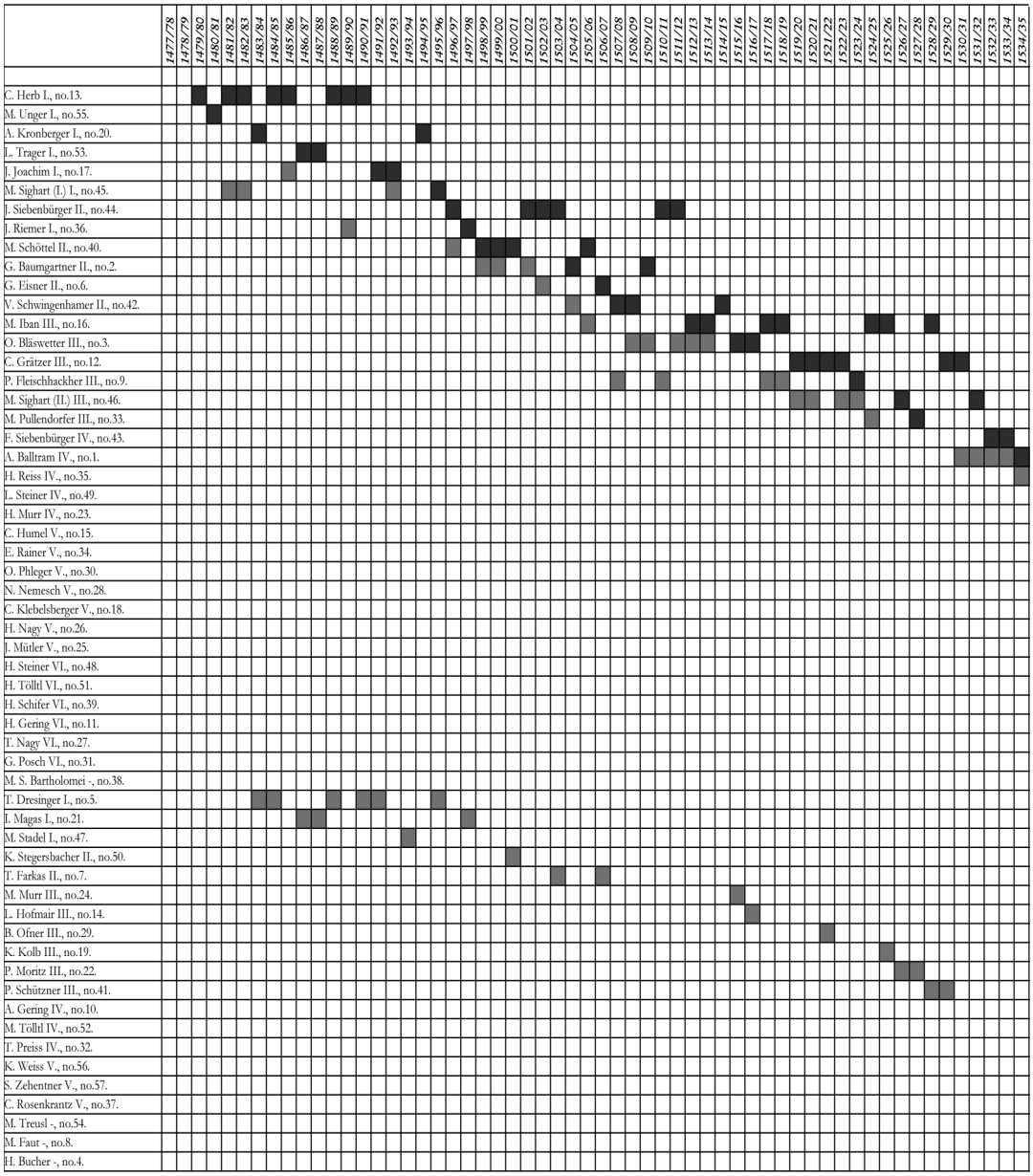
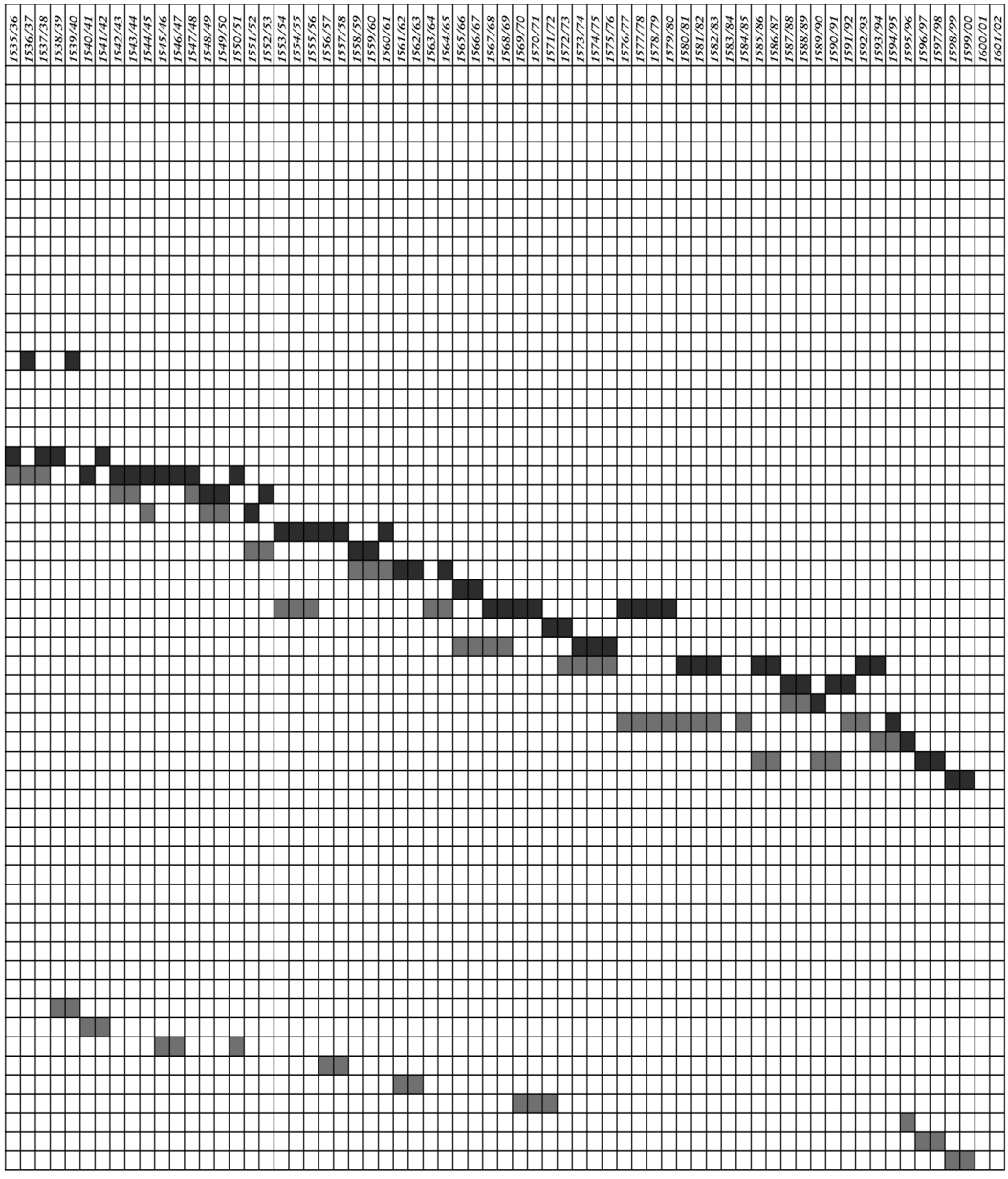


Fig. 2. Office-Holding Periods of the Judges and Mayors of Sopron, 1479/80–1599/1600.



Legend: dark cluster = mayor; light grey cluster = judge;
I–VI. = number of generation; no. 1–57. = Personal Records numbers.

The main aim of this investigation is to explore the public careers and social backgrounds of the mayors and judges from 1479/1480 until 1599/1600. The detailed data available enabled an effort to discover different groups of leaders and reveal the social dynamics that caused transformations in political dominance. Different sorts of personal bonds and temporal relations showing patterns of continuity and change became visible.[22] A table of office holders was created, arranged chronologically (see *Fig. 2*). Information is available for two hundred and thirty-nine acts of election, with only seven cases of missing data for the two leading positions. Of the known election results, they were monopolised by only fifty-seven burghers who held the roles of mayor and judge in this period of about 120 years. The difference between the theoretical possibility of holding office and the number of burghers who actually held office gives a clear indication of the concentration of political dominance. As many as twenty burghers out of the fifty-seven reached only the position of judge during their lifetimes; almost none of them functioned in this role for more than three years. Accordingly, these men seem to have been only minor players beside those governing the town as mayors at the same time (see *Fig. 2*).[23]

Arranging the office-holding periods of the burghers in the chronological order of being a mayor or a judge shows the two groups (major and minor) and also makes it possible to identify the most prominent persons during the period. Furthermore, in respect of temporal changes, one can observe the coexisting and successive generations of political decision-makers. Concerning the quantitative distribution of office-holding periods, different groups of burghers show up according to the intensity of their presence in the urban government (see *Fig. 3*). Only eight burghers were at the peak of power for more than seven years; these eight men governed the town for eighty-one years in the aggregate number of their office-holdings. Without doubt, these burghers played the most important roles in the political life of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Sopron.[24] The periods when these men were leaders, however, were not parallel

[22] About these investigations and their results, see Goda, "The Landscape of Power," 21–24, 29–30, 91–96, and app. I. "Personal Records."

[23] For the archontological data and analysis, see Goda "The Landscape of Power," 91–119 and appendices titled "Personal Records" and "Concordance of the Plots."

[24] This article does not present the direct results of the prosopographical and archontological investigations supporting the analysis. All the personal records involving archontological, topographical archival, and secondary references are collected in Goda "The Landscape of Power," 97–117. These burghers were Cristoph Herb, Michael Iban and Cristoph Grätzer (eight years each); Andre Balltram (nine years); Hans Gering (ten

with each other in most cases (see *Fig. 2* and *Table 1*). A group of two or three men generally had an outstanding position for around ten to fifteen years. On the basis of the simultaneous office-holding periods of these individuals, their small groups can be regarded as "generations of power."[25]

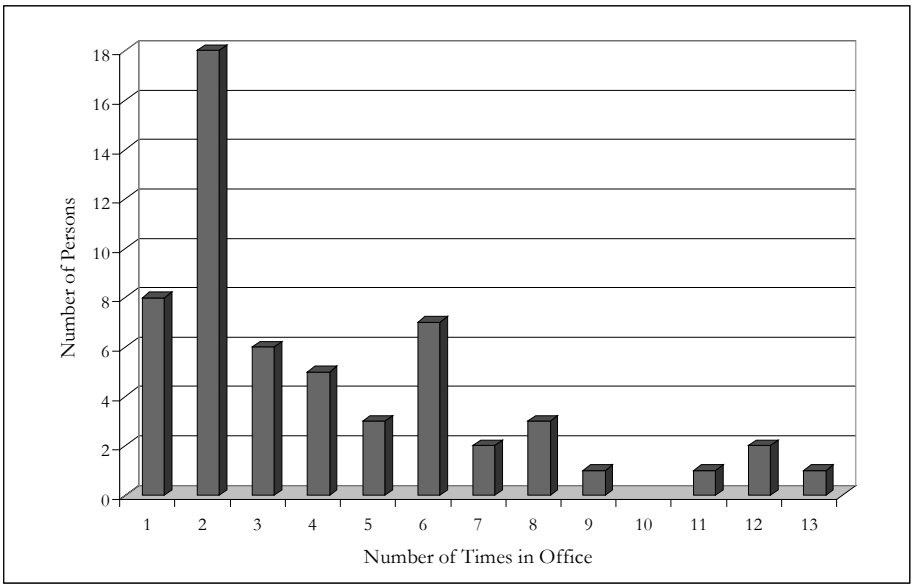


Fig. 3. Frequency of the Office-Holding of the Judges and Mayors of Sopron, 1479/80–1599/1600.

The strongest feature on the group and community level was the loss of a dominant political role within one generation. This characteristic is apparent mainly in the first three chronological groups. In the 1490s the two dominant holders of the top positions (Cristoph Herb and Jakob Joachim), although representing the second generation of leading families, like their fellow leaders, died without passing their political influence to their children. Only one man was able to have his nephew as a direct successor in the town's higher government. This, of course, does not mean that no other efforts were made to

years); Hans Steiner and Hans Reiss (twelve years each) and Cristoph Klebelsberger (thirteen years). Goda, "The Landscape of Power," app. I. "Personal Records."

[25] Six different generations could have been elaborated in the period under query. Here the list covers the dominant time-span of each group and the number of participants with their Personal Record numbers (Goda, "The Landscape of Power," 29–44; see *Table 1*, below.

create such a succession. In the 1510s, for example, a son-in-law was given the opportunity to continue the political success of his wife's family, but he failed to fulfil the expectations.[26] In some cases the break in urban role happened because a potential judge or mayor moved to another town (e.g., Wiener Neustadt or Vienna). The phenomenon of change was present in other prestigious groups as well, either after the life of a single person or with the failure to succeed to power in the second generation of a family.[27]

These examples can be interpreted as a lack of connection in urban leadership and the general absence of patrician families in the town. All of the former positions of these burghers in the town administration, however, were filled by other, probably more successful, men. This feature gave a meritocratic and open character to the political elite of sixteenth-century Sopron. Moreover, the examination of the kinship relations among the different generations of leaders provides even more evidence for such an interpretation of meritocratic succession. Namely, from the third generation of leaders (1510s–1520s), several burghers who followed one another in the positions of judge and mayor married the widows or daughters of their predecessors.

Such marriages generally preceded the advance in career. As an early example, the aunt of the mayor in the 1500s married the judge of the following years. Furthermore, three members of the leading group of the 1510s were connected either through widows or daughters to the most prestigious burghers in the following two decades. Finally, the prominent characters of the fourth generation had direct family relations with the members of the next circle of urban decision-makers.[28] Though a direct paternal connection was present occasionally in these examples, in some cases succession to leadership was experienced through three generations by the participation of grandchildren in the higher urban government.[29] The discovery of different patterns of transmission reveals that the leading circle of the political elite in Sopron was neither

[26] The former was Martin Sighart (I.) and the failed son-in-law was Leonhard Hofmair.

[27] The burghers who decided to leave Sopron were Hans Murr and Kaspar Stegersbacher. For failures after a personal career see, e.g., Georg Eisner, Valentin Schwingenhamer, Thomas Farkas, Michael Iban and Michael Pullendorfer, while in the second generation see Georg Baumgartner and Michael Schöttel.

[28] Georg Baumgartner and Peter Fleischhacker were examples of the first case. Direct consanguine relations connected the leaders with later generations in the cases of Cristoph Grätzer, Paul Schützner, Thomas Preiss, Andre Balltram, Hans Reiss, and Alex Gering.

[29] For occasional examples see the Siebenbürgers (Jakob and Franz), the Nagys (Hans and Thomas), Nikolaus Nemesch, and the Gerings (Alex and Hans), while a continuity of three generations is seen in the Siebenbürger and Nagy families.

a closed group of ancient patrician families nor an ever-changing constellation of personal relationships. Instead of these possible extremes, the formation of the group of mayors and judges simultaneously reflected both consanguine and meritocratic recruitment (see *Figures 2* and *3*, *Table 1*). Not only was this pattern crucial to the later success of the whole urban community, but it also had a great impact on the territorial dimensions of urban leadership.

Exploring the Social Landscape

The successive groups of office-holders (based on aggregated personal profiles) served as units of analysis in reconstructing the urban careers of the leaders.[30] The spatial characteristics of the fifty-seven burghers who played the leading roles during the period can be examined on the group and community levels and certain common patterns recognised (*Table 1*).

Among the spatial characteristics of the first (earliest) group,[31] the burghers, while acting as the leaders of the town, always lived in downtown Sopron (see *Fig. 1b*). Most of them (C. Herb, J. Joachim, I. Magas and J. Riemer) had imposing houses on the *Platz*, some of them (A. Kronberger, M. Sighart I.) lived next to each other around the Franciscan friary, and the others (T. Dresinger, M. Stadel), mainly those who only became judges, inhabited the southern end of *Fleischhackergasse*. Most of the leaders (C. Herb, J. Joachim, I. Magas, J. Riemer and L. Trager) had important real estate on the outskirts (smaller dwellings, urban farms, baths, and fishponds) scattered across the first (*Neustiftgasse*), the second (*Schmiedgasse*, *Auf der Sandgrub*), and the third (*Schrippergasse*) quarters, but next to each other (see *Fig. 1a*). Moreover, the possession of land around the town and in the subordinate villages also showed a common pattern. Burghers (C. Herb, J. Joachim, A. Kronberger, I. Magas, J. Riemer, M. Sighart and M. Stadel) acquired arable land and vineyards in mainly the same areas, around the subordinate villages of Kolnhof/Kópháza, Mörbisch/Meggyes and along the shore of Lake Fertő. Additionally, in some of the wine-producing areas they were next-door neighbours.

[30] About the most important sources of spatial reconstruction see Goda, "The Landscape of Power," 48–50.

[31] For the archival and bibliographical references see Goda, "The Landscape of Power," app. I. "Personal Records."

Generations	Date Ranges	Office Holders	
		Mayors	Judges
1	1480s–1490s	Cristoph Herb Michael Unger Achaz Kronberger Leonhard Trager Jakob Joachim Martin Sighart (I.) Jakob Riemer	Thoman Dresinger Imre Magas Michael Stadel
2	1490s–1500s	Jakob Siebenbürger Michael Schöttel Georg Baumgartner Georg Eisner Valentin Schwingenhamer	Kaspar Stegersbacher Thomas Farkas
3	1510s–1520s	Michael Iban Oswald Bläswetter Cristoph Grätzer Peter Fleishhackher Martin Sighart (II.) Michael Pullendorfer	Michael Murr Leonhard Hofmair Bartlme Ofner Kaspar Kolb Paul Moritz Paul Schützner
4	1530s–1540s	Franz Siebenbürger Andre Balltram Hans Reiss Leopold Steiner Hans Murr	Alex Gering Michael Tölltl Thomas Preiss
5	1550s–1570s	Cristoph Humel Emerich Rainer Orban Phleger Nikolaus Nemesch Cristoph Klebelsberger Hans Nagy Jakob Mütler	Kaspar Weiss Sixtus Zehentner Carl Rosenkrantz
6	1580s–1590s	Hans Steiner Hans Tölltl Hans Schifer Hans Gering Thomas Nagy Gregor Posch	

Table 1. Generational Groups of Office Holders (for additional information consult Fig. 2*).*

More than one common pattern can be seen in the spatial dimensions of the second generation.[32] The members of this generation owned a number of estates next to those of the former leaders of the town. They bought downtown burgages either in the vicinity of or directly from their predecessors and as early as the 1480s they also had neighboring vineyards. By the time they were acting as judges and mayors they had reached the northern part of *Sankt Georgengasse* (G. Eisner, M. Schöttel and K. Stegersbacher) or even the *Platz* (G. Baumgartner, V. Schwingenhamer and J. Siebenbürger). As a result, the main axis of power shifted from the line between the Main Square and *Fleischhackergasse* to *Sankt Georgengasse*. This important replacement was accomplished by those burghers who first had a habitation on the northeastern outskirts (*Schmiedgasse*, *Holzmarkt*) and on *Fleischhackergasse*. In respect to arable lands and wine-producing areas owned by these burghers, however, such a shift could not be detected. The territories crucial for the success of the previous generation remained the same. Moreover, ownership again created direct contact with the subsequent circle of decision-makers.

The burghers who were active in the next twenty years (the third generation) took very different routes into the leading positions.[33] Spectacular careers starting from the outskirts and then reaching the *Platz* either via *Fleischhackergasse* (C. Grätzer, M. Murr) or *Sankt Georgengasse* (M. Iban, K. Kolb and M. Pullendorfer) were not as extraordinary as they were around 1500. Nevertheless, a large number of leaders were born in downtown Sopron and originally had a house either on the *Platz*, behind the Franciscan friary, or on *Fleischhackergasse*. Therefore, the places of residence while acting as mayor or judge were less diversified than in the 1480s or in the 1500s. Concerning the outskirts, the prestigious properties of the elite did not change at all, meaning that the urban political elite still possessed houses, urban farms, and other buildings mainly at the *Holzmarkt* (M. Iban, B. Ofner and M. Pullendorfer) and *Auf der Sandgrub* (M. Iban). The neighboring areas owned by the leaders did not change crucially either. Moreover, the data shows that ownership of vineyards and arable fields directly next to each other increased.

A brief overview of the spatial dimensions of the fourth generation reveals some new tendencies.[34] In respect of the downtown burgages, the dominant role of the area around the *Vorderes Tor* (F. Siebenbürger) was still strong. However, in many cases the plots on the southern and northern side of *Fleischhackergasse* (A. Balltram, A. Gering and H. Murr) and *Sankt Georgengasse* (T. Preiss, H. Reiss,

[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

L. Steiner and M. Tölltl) proved to be adequate enough to have a residence there while being a judge or a mayor. In some cases (A. Balltram, A. Gering) the leaders shifted between these two places. The territory owned by the political leaders in the quarters outside the walls did not change a great deal, although estates around *Steintor* (M. Tölltl) and *Spitalbrücke* (A. Gering, H. Reiss and F. Siebenbürger) became more important than during the previous decades. This statement is also relevant for the characteristics of the neighboring area. Apart from arable fields and mills, vineyards played the most important role in the spatial expansion of the burghers. Although the vineyards in Mörbisch/Meggyes and north of Sopron appeared in many purchases and testaments (A. Balltram, F. Siebenbürger and M. Tölltl), those situated next to Lake Fertő still dominated (H. Murr, H. Reiss and L. Steiner). The system of neighbourhoods showed a similar picture to twenty years earlier.

In the fifth generation the collective spatial portrait of the mayors and judges did not transform crucially, yet some differences did occur.[35] In comparison to the previous circle of leaders, the prominence of *Fleischhackergasse* (E. Rainer, C. Rosenkrantz and K. Weiss) decreased, while the *Platz* (C. Humel, N. Nemesch and S. Zehentner) regained its predominant place. As a result, these members of the political elite, before becoming leaders, either lived on the *Platz* and on *Sankt Georgengasse* (C. Klebelsberger, J. Mütler, H. Nagy and O. Phleger), or they managed to get a prominent burgage in this area while holding office. The vineyards remained crucial resources in the quest for economic and political authority (C. Klebelsberger, H. Nagy, C. Rosenkrantz, K. Weiss and S. Zehentner). During the fifteen years of the sixth generation, *Sankt Georgengasse* (H. Gering, T. Nagy and H. Steiner) and the *Platz* (H. Schifer, H. Tölltl) served as the main urban sites for the elite in the downtown.[36] The leaders living on *Sankt Georgengasse* formed a second generation of former judges and mayors, whereas those with important burgages on the *Platz* were mainly newcomers. The role of the vineyards east of the town, however, was still important in maintaining or getting spatial prestige (T. Nagy, H. Schifer).

In the preceding paragraphs several examples demonstrated the existence of spatial continuities and changes between different political generations. In some cases disruption was strong concerning the successive leaders and their downtown habitations, while ownership of property on the outskirts and in neighboring territories continued to show many similar patterns. From the perspective of successive generations, breaks seemed to dominate. Nevertheless, highlighting the personal continuities between these generations definitely

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

differentiates this rather schematic picture. Regarding the members of families represented in each generation there were several examples for spatial sequences either through a direct consanguine paternal or female lineage. The latter solution—as noted above—was connected to the essential role of widows and daughters in the individual histories comprising urban continuity.[37]

Conclusions

As a result of the closed topographical and architectural structure of the downtown, there was fierce competition in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Sopron for the secure and prestigious urban burgages. In this quest for a dominant spatial presence, the northern part of the inner town played the leading role. The most prominent place was the *Platz* next to *Vorderes Tor*, which functioned as the connecting point to the main commercial roads leading to the northeast and northwest. Thus, the structure of plots as well as the continuities and changes in ownership reflected not only the social stratification of the urban population, but also social networks and competition for prestige. In this rivalry the economic resources in the downtown and the northeastern suburbs played a crucial role. Additionally, landed properties were also important targets in the contest for dominance.

Within the framework of my research, inspired by theories of network analysis and the reconstruction of group dynamics, not only have different groups of leaders been detected but the social dynamics causing transformation in political dominance have also become visible. Concerning the quantitative distribution of office-holding periods, different groups of burghers emerged according to the intensity of their presence in the urban government. The analysis clearly showed that the concentration of political authority and urban territory was mainly connected to eight top leaders, who governed Sopron for eighty-one years. These burghers had the strongest impact on the landscape of power. The loss of a dominant role within one political generation was a characteristic feature on the personal level, especially in the first half of the study period. Nevertheless, filling the leading positions was based on success, either by members of long-established local families or by newcomers. This feature gave a meritocratic and open character to the political elite of sixteenth-century Sopron, and it also had a great impact on the territorial dimensions of urban leadership.

[37] For the lists of case studies see Goda, "The Landscape of Power," 70–73.

In respect of the topographical conditions of the town, the limited possibilities for variation within the fortified center must be emphasised. There were basically two squares (the *Platz* and, less frequently, the *Salzmarkt*) and two and a half streets (*Sankt Georgengasse*, *Fleischhackergasse* and the "half street" *Hinter dem Kloster*) that came into consideration as residences for the leaders. Out of the approximately eighty plots to be found in these areas, however, less than half were really regarded as prestigious by the members of the leading elite. Though the connection between one's possessions and positions was strong, there was a basic difference: the possessions were hereditary, whereas the leading positions were basically elective. In addition, the hereditary character of the properties applied to both genders and any stage of life, while participation in leadership was confined to men and adulthood. This may provide an explanation for many of the observations made during the spatial analysis of the subsequent generations of leaders. In the apparent transitions between the political groups, the role of the female line in transmitting property and social authority was cardinal. The temporary shift from one street to another in downtown Sopron (and then back again) could also be explained by the fact that in every second generation the houses were owned by the widows or minor heirs of the former leading figures. Therefore, unless they married the widows, these burgages were not immediately available residences for the next generation of leaders.

Having these considerations in mind, there were more success stories than failures among the sequence of leaders studied here. According to the examples presented throughout this study, there was no all-inclusive pattern of whether the acquisition of prestigious properties preceded the advance to leading positions or it happened the other way round, that is, playing a leading role opened up the possibility for acquiring more property. Thus, both paths to success were possible. The first pattern characterised mainly the newcomers, whereas the second was more significant for the natives. Consequently, personal and spatial continuities could be reached either along a familial or a meritocratic line of urban success. The social characteristics of the landscape of power in late medieval and early modern Sopron could be described exclusively neither with governing patrician families nor with the constant competition of successful newcomers. Whether this phenomenon resulted from the special political and economic circumstances of sixteenth-century western Hungary or not can be revealed only by further comparative investigations from Hungarian and European perspectives.

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA*

Petr Sommer – Dušan Třeštík – Josef Žemlička – Eva Doležalová

The territory of what is now Czech Republic consists of essentially two lands, Bohemia and Moravia. Moravia was appended to the domains of the Bohemian princes shortly after 935, and definitively after 1020, but previously the two lands were independent units. It is therefore necessary to treat the Christianisation of Moravia and Bohemia as two separate chapters, even though there were intensive mutual influences between the two lands.

In the pagan era up to the ninth century the situation in Bohemia (and perhaps also in Moravia and among the Western Slavs as a whole) was characterised by a certain division of power between the people and the princes. Fundamentally, the princes were elected, and thus deposable. The Slavic princes were at first under the cultural influence of the Avar empire, then gradually came into contact with the Frankish aristocracy, which was already Christian. The Slavic princes started to be attracted by the culture of Christianity, but this culture was not yet acceptable for their people. Some princes could therefore, at the most, accept Christianity as a "private" religion. This was the first stage of Christianisation, documented more in Moravia than in Bohemia.

Very little is known of Czech paganism, because of the rapid and effective Christianisation. From the later sources it may be inferred that the Czechs had the same pantheon as other Slavs.[1] The cult relicts include, in particular, sites of pagan sacrifice, known mainly from Moravia. Two such sites have been found at Mikulčice, which was apparently the primary stronghold of the Moravians. The first site was a rectangular post enclosure with a ritual horse burial and a cemetery, in the vicinity of which various anomalies were found, such as a burial of human limbs. The enclosure was in use from the end of the eighth until at least the mid-ninth century, that is, even after the "official" conversion of

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[1] For evidence, see: Lubor Niederle, *Život starých Slovanů: Víra a náboženství* (The life of old Slavs: Faith and Religion), (second ed., Prague: Bursik a Kohout, 1924). = Slovanské starožitnosti 2, No. 1.

Moravia.[2] The other site of non-Christian cult at Mikulčice is defined by a ring-shaped ditch in which fires used to be lit; it lies close to the buildings of Christian churches. Other pagan cult places in Moravia were found in Chotěbuz-Podbora and at Pohansko near Břeclav.[3] The so-called "blessed pool" at Stará Kouřim was a pagan sanctuary in Bohemia. The multiple fire sites in this area bear witness to cult activities.[4] In Prague, the most recent research has identified the existence of a sacred precinct, enclosed by a ditch, on the "acropolis" of the later castle.[5] The rise was called Žiži, which may be related to burnt offerings. Of greater importance, however, was a stone throne which stood nearby and on which, until the end of the twelfth century, Czech princes were enthroned.

Other pagan cult features undeniably existed in association with cemeteries and funerary rites. However, these finds are difficult to interpret. The written sources, too, are silent on the subject of pagan cults in Bohemia and Moravia, not least because even the earliest of them come from as late as the second half of the tenth and the eleventh centuries. In these sources, references to pagan cults are vague, and mainly refer to a reverence for natural objects and sacred groves. In Bohemia there are also convincing traces of a cult of mountains.[6]

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[2] See the articles of Zdeněk Klanica, "Mikulčice-Klášteřisko," *Památky archeologické* 86 (1985): 474–539; "Slovanský templ, palác a kostel" (The Slavic temple, palace, and church), in *Rodná země Sborník k 100. výročí Muzejní a vlastivědné společnosti v Brně a k 60 narozeniám PhDr. Vladimíra Nekudy, CSc.* (Memorial volume to the 100th anniversary of the Museum and Homeland Studie Society in Brno and the 60th birthday of Dr. Vladimír Nekuda, Ph.D., CSc.) (Brno: Muzejní a vlasti vědná společnost v Brne, 1988), 156–167; and "Religion und Kult, ihr Reflex in archäologischen Quellen," in *Grossmähren und die Anfänge der tschechoslowakischen Staatlichkeit*, ed. Josef Poulík and Bohuslav Chropovský (Prague: Academia, 1986), 150–152 (hereafter: Klanica, "Religion").

[3] Pavel Kouřil, *Slovanské osídlení českého Slezska* (Slavic colonisation of Czech Silesia) (Brno, Český Těšín: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České Republiky, 1994), 71–167. For general information on Moravian "places of sacrifice," see Zdeněk Měřínský, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu I* (The Czech lands from the arrival of Slavs up to Great Moravia I), (Prague: Libri, 2002), 531–564.

[4] Miloš Šolle, *Stará Kouřim a projevy velkomoravské hmotné kultury v Čechách* (Old Kouřim and manifestations of Great Moravian material culture), (Prague: Academia, 1966), 136–146.

[5] Jan Frolík, "Pražský hrad v raném středověku" (Prague castle in the early Middle Ages), in *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000. Na paměť knížete Boleslava II*, ed. Luboš Polanský, Jiří Sláma, Dušan Třeštík, (Prague: Nakladel ství Lidové noviny, 2000), 101–120.

[6] Břetislav II in 1092 "…lucos sive arbores, quas in multis locis colebat vulgus…extirpavit… Item et supersticiosas instituciones, quas villani, adhuc semipagani…

This is related to Mount Říp, regarded as the ideal centre of the land, from which the land was occupied by the first Czech settlers. In the tenth century a church was built on the summit of the hill, evidently to Christianize the place.

Hence, the most outstanding remnants of Czech paganism are myths. These were written down and refashioned in the tenth and subsequent centuries, especially by Cosmas, a canon and deacon of the Chapter of Prague, in his *Chronica Boemorum* around 1120.[7] A central place in Czech mythology is occupied by the story of the first prince, the divine Přemysl the Ploughman, who was called upon by the female seer (and probably also goddess) Libuše,

observabant, offerentes libamina super fontes mactabant victimas et demonibus immolabant, item… sepulturas fiebant in silvis et in campis… scenas ex gentili ritu faciebant...;" Cosmas, *Chronica Bohemorum* (hereafter: Cosmas, *Chronica*) II. 1, 161. On these "scenas" see Stanisław Urbańczyk, "Ze studiów nad dawnę religię Słowian (Komentarz do "Kroniki czeskiej" Kosmasa kn. III. 1)" (From studies on the old religion of the Slavs. A commentary on the *Bohemian Chronicle* by Cosmas, book III. 1), *Slavia Antiqua* 27 (1980): 191–195. The situation prior to Christianity is characterized by Cosmas in the introduction to his work as "...multi villani velut pagani, hic latices seu ignes colit, iste lucos et arbores aut lapides adorat, ille montibus sive collibus litat, alius, que ipse fecit, idola surda et muta rogat et orat, ut domum suam et se ipsum regant." *Chronica Bohemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum I. 3*, MGH SS rer. germ. NS 2, (Berlin, 1923), 10. The text of Cosmas is, however, compiled from Sedulius Scotus, *Carmen paschale* I, 259 and Donatus, Commentarius ad Terentii Phormionem, 682, which suggests it is not a testimony of facts but rather of literary education.

[7] Recently on all of these mythical tales cf. Dušan Třeštík, "Moravský biskup roku 976" (The Moravian bishop in the year 976), in *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi prátelé a žáci k pětasedmdesátým narozeninám* (Ad vitamet honorem. To Professor Jaroslav Meznik on his 75th birthday from his friends and students), ed. Tomáš Borovský, Libor Jan and Martin Wihoda, (Brno: Matice moravská, 2003), 211–220, with bibliography. See also the following articles of Jacek Banaszkiewicz: "Königliche Karrieren von Hirten, Gärtner und Pflüger. Zu einem mittelalterlichen Erzählschema vom Erwerb der Königsherrschaft (die Sagen von Johannes Agnus, Přemysl, Ina, Wamba und Dagobert)," *Saeculum* 3/4 (1982), 265–286; "Les lieux du pouvoir dans le haut Moyen Age, in *Lieux du pouvoir au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne,* ed. Michał Tymowski, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Universytetu Warszawskiego, 1995), 11–28; *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu* (The tradition on Piast and Popiel), (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986); *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka* (Polish mythical history according to Master Wincenty Kadlubek), (Wrocław: Leopoldinum, 1998); and "Slawische Sagen 'de origine gentis.' (al-Masudi, Nestor, Kadlubek, Kosmas) – Dioskurische Matrizen der Überlieferungen," *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 3 (1993): 29–58.

which culminated in their "sacred marriage."[8] The old myth was appropriated (correctly or not) in the tenth century by the dynasty of the Prague princes, claiming their descent from Přemysl.

In the second stage of Christianisation, an "official" baptism of the ruling prince took place and, through him, of the entire land. The ruling prince then imposed Christianity on his people, in most cases using force. Christianisation also meant the reorganisation of the structures of power—destruction of the old tribal institutions and construction of the state. Christianisation was thus inseparably bound to the emergence of the state. Part of the motivation on the side of the ruler (or rulers) was to make the country acceptable as a member of the society of Christian states.

The Moravians, led by their Prince Mojmír I, received "official" baptism in 831 from the hands of Reginhar, Bishop of Passau,[9] a decision probably made by an assembly of princes. The Moravians evidently wanted to strengthen their position with respect to the Frankish Empire. Symptomatically, their baptism was seen by the Franks as a "rebellion." Their king, Louis the German, deposed Mojmír I and set Mojmír's nephew, Rostislav, in his place. From that time on, Moravia was under the rule of a single sovereign of Mojmír's family.[10] However, Moravian sovereigns, unlike the Přemyslids in Bohemia, the Piasts in Poland or the Árpáds in Hungary, were not "absolute" rulers: a significant role was retained by the assembly of "all Moravians." The Moravian state came into being not by a one-sided usurpation of power by Mojmír I, but through his collaboration with the other princes.

However, Moravian Christianity was still weak. The distant bishop of Passau was only represented in Moravia by an archdeacon, and this was not enough. The composition of the clergy was heterogeneous: there were priests

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[8] "Vita et passio S. Wencezlai et S. Ludmilae, ave eius," in *Kristiánova legenda – Legenda Christiani,* ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1978), chapter 2, 16–18 (hereafter: Christian, *Legenda*); Cosmas, *Chronica* I, chapters 4–9, 9–22.

[9] *Notae de episcopis Pataviensibus,* for the year 831, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 25, 623: "Regenharius episcopus Matavorum baptizat omnes Moravos;" *Historia episcoporum Pataviensium et ducum Bavarie*, for the year 838," MGH SS 25, 620: "Reinharius archiepiscopus Laureacensis et Pataviensis, apostolus Maravorum, obit;" *Bernardi Cremifarensis Historiae* for the years 813–838, MGH SS 25, 655: "*Item Renharius episcopus baptizat omnes Moravos.*" See also Dušan Třeštík, *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 781–871* (The origin of Great Moravia. Moravians, Czechs and Central Europe in the years 781–871), (Prague: Lidové Noviny, 2001), 117–118.

[10] *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SS rer. germ. 7 (Hanover, 1891), 73.

from Bavaria, from the area around Venice, and from Dalmatian towns.[11] Some historians think that this was due to activities of various missions, while others assume that the Moravians themselves actively sought priests for their churches, including the necessary equipment, books, relics, and other implements.[12] These priests of different background and custom preached differently, set differing penances, observed feasts and fasts in different ways and treated marital affairs variously. For the Christianity of the period, which needed disciplining rituals**,** this was unacceptable. The problem was made worse by the apoplectic stroke suffered by Bishop Hartwig of Passau in 860. The bishopric started to collapse. Therefore, the Moravian ruler, Rostislav, turned first to Rome. Having met with no success, he asked "for teachers" from Constantinople. In 863, or more likely 864 (the year is uncertain),[13] the Byzantine Emperor Michael III sent two brothers, Constantine and Methodius. They undertook the task assigned to them by using the Slavonic language for both teaching and liturgy.[14] Their task has been successfully completed by 867 and the brothers left Moravia. In Rome they managed to obtain from Pope Adrian II *a posteriori* the approval for the use of the Slavonic script and the ordination of Methodius and several of Constantine's pupils as priests. Constantine died in Rome in 869, while Methodius was named the Archbishop of Pannonia, with a titular seat at

[11] Rostislav's letter to Nicholas III (*Life of Methodius* (old Slavic), chap. 5, ed. Radoslav Večerka, in MMFH II, 134–163, esp. 144): "Many teachers–Christians–have come to us from Italy, and from Greece, and from Germany, who teach us differently. But we Slavs are a simple folk and we have no-one who would teach us truly and guide us regularly. Thus, good ruler, send such men to us who can order us rightly in all things."

[12] It is necessary to understand that this was all very expensive, and even impossible in the under-developed Eastern Frankish Empire. When, in 867, Louis the German sent a mission to Bulgaria led by Ermanarich, Bishop of Passau, it was found that it was not possible to collect enough books or other equipment for the mission from the whole empire. Louis was forced to ask his brother Charles for help, and the latter was able, in his Western Frankish Empire, to obtain everything necessary. *Annales Bertiniani* for the year 866, 86.

[13] Josef Cibulka, "Der Zeitpunkt der Ankunft der Brüder Konstantin-Cyrillus und Methodius in Mähren," *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965): 318–364; Vojtěch Tkadlčík, "Datum příchodu slovanských apoštolů na Moravu" (The date of coming of Slavic Apostles to Moravia), *Slavia* 38 (1969): 542–551.

[14] Among contemporaries and in the later tradition, attention was mostly–and rightly–drawn to Constantine's invention of a Slavonic script, ideally matching Slavonic phonetics (attempts at using vernaculars having previously faltered on the unsuitability of Latin to express the sounds of the language), and not to the fact that the two brothers wrote in and translated into the Slavonic language.

Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia) and the actual seat at Zalavár in Hungary. However, the Bavarian bishops, who had ancient rights to Pannonia, captured him and put him in jail somewhere in Swabia.

In the middle of the ninth century Moravia was briefly occupied by the Franks. Another Moravian prince, Svatopluk, Rostislav's nephew, ultimately emerged victorious from the conflict and was able to restore the Moravian state. In 871, immediately after coming to power, he expelled the Frankish priests and tried to restore the Moravian Church. He turned to Rome and, at his request, Pope John VIII recalled the Pannonian Archbishop Methodius from his Swabian prison. In 873, Methodius was installed as papal legate in Moravia. Moravia thus became the seat of the Archbishopric of Pannonia—a territory which Svatopluk did not hold, and a title which the Franks did not recognise. Methodius' main task was to re-establish the Moravian Church. Success came in 880, when Svatopluk received the Moravian archbishopric from Pope John VIII, with Methodius at its head. The new archbishop, however, faced opposition in the person of Wiching, Bishop of Nitra. The pretext was mainly the Slavonic liturgy. This dispute came to a head after Methodius' death in 885, when Svatopluk, tired of the incessant arguments, had all of Methodius' adherents expelled from his domains, while in the meantime the pope definitively forbade the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Methodius' students fled, to Bulgaria in particular, where they founded a new centre of Slavic education. The fate of the Moravian Church after 885 is obscure. The Moravian archbishopric was formally renewed, but it is not known whether or not the new archbishop (whose name is unknown) ever took up his office. In 906 Great Moravia collapsed under the assault of the Magyars.[15] It seems that this event was followed by some kind of a pagan backlash.[16]

Turning to Bohemia, the first, "private" phase of Christianisation in Bohemia is unknown, while the second stage happened twice. The annals of Fulda say that fourteen Bohemian princes were baptized at Regensburg in 845. Similarly to the Moravians, they also expected that they could better avert the

[15] On the date, see Dušan Třeštík, "Kdy zanikla Velká Morava?" (When did Great Moravia perish?) *Studia Medievalia Pragensia* 2 (1991): 7–27.

[16] The only direct evidence comes from a pagan place of sacrifice at Pohansko, which was created on the ruins of the church on the site. At the end of the tenth century, the legendist Christian (*Legenda,* chapter 1, 16) claimed that the fall of Moravia was caused by the "evil" Svatopluk (Christian recognizes two of that name, the "evil" and the "good"): "membra sua, scilicet plebem populumque suum, partim Christo, partim dyabolo servire exhibuit." This meant that Svatopluk not only tolerated paganism, but also permitted the pagan cult. This is evidently not a direct Moravian tradition, but a highly distorted tradition among Methodius' pupils in Bulgaria.

pressure of the East Frankish Empire if they were baptised. Louis the German, however, attacked Christian Moravia the very next year. The disappointed Czechs reacted immediately, attacking Louis' forces as they returned from Moravia through Bohemia. This was an inglorious end to the first Czech experiment with Christianity. It remained only half completed and left no traces.

The Central Bohemian princely family of the Přemyslids finally accepted baptism with lasting impact on Great Moravia, probably in 884. This was a political baptism. After his conquest of Bohemia (in perhaps 883), the Moravian ruler, Svatopluk, chose the Central Bohemian Prince Bořivoj from among the many Bohemian princes and installed him as a kind of regent in Bohemia. Bořivoj was baptised along with his retinue. He built a church at Levý Hradec near Prague on returning home and later also a church of the Virgin at Prague Castle.[17] In contrast to Moravia, the formal baptism of Bořivoj met with strong resistance in Bohemia, even among the other princes.

A decisive period of Christianisation came later, in the 890s, during the reign of Spytihněv I, who brought his father's revolution to a climax by building a kind of territorial government in Central Bohemia, resting on local strongholds.[18] A church was built in each stronghold with its own archdeacon and a group of priests. A difficult problem then arose: how to obtain sufficient numbers of priests. In this respect, the collapse of Great Moravia in 906 was advantageous for Bohemian Christianity. Among the refugees from Moravia

[17] Christian, *Legenda,* chapter 2, 16–24. For a detailed analysis, see Dušan Třeštík, "Bořivoj und Svatopluk. Die Entstehung des böhmischen Staates und Grossmähren," in *Grossmähren und die Anfänge der tschechoslowakischen Staatlichkeit,* ed. Josef Poulík and Bohuslav Chropovský (Prague: Akademia, 1986), 311–344; *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)* (The beginnings of the Přemyslids. The entry of Czechs into history [530–935]), (Prague: Nakladetel ství Lidové noviny, 1997), 312–313 (hereafter: Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*). The legend *Crescente fide* (Bavarian recension) on page 183 proclaims that the first Christian prince in Bohemia was Spytihněv, Bořivoj's son, who subjugated the Přemyslid domains to the bishopric in Regensburg (without saying where and by whom he was baptised), but this is evidently a polemic of the Bavarian clergy against the domestic tradition of Bořivoj's baptism by Methodius, which the Bavarian Church did not recognize.

[18] See the following articles by Jiří Sláma: "K počátkům hradské organizace v Čechách" (On the beginnings of the stronghold system in Bohemia), in *Typologie raně feudálních slovanských států* (The typology of early feudal slavic states), ed. Josef Žemlička (Prague: Ústav československých a světovych déjin, 1987), 175–190 (hereafter: J. Sláma: "K počátkům"); *Střední Čechy v raném středověku III: Archeologie o počátcích přemyslovského státu* (Central Bohemia in the early Middle Ages III: Archaeology on the beginnings of the Přemyslid state), (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1988), 71–72 (hereafter: J. Sláma: *Střední Čechy*).

there were priests seeking safety in Bohemia. In this way, a separate Bohemian provincial Church was formed at the turn of the tenth century, without any major influence from Regensburg. Bohemia was regarded as a Christian land, but this was because the other princes acknowledged the supreme government of the Christian Přemyslids. In reality, these other princes were neither really dependent on the Přemyslids nor Christians.

The situation remained unchanged under the rule of the next two princes, Spytihněv's brother, Vratislav, and Vratislav's son, Wenceslas the Saint. Everything changed after the murder of St. Wenceslas at Stará Boleslav in 935 and the coming to power of Boleslav I. The first act of Boleslav was the elimination of the other Bohemian principalities.[19] In essence this was nothing more than an extension of the network of subordinate strongholds across the whole of Bohemia. Boleslav I established about 20 churches at his new administrative centres.[20] The process was not a gradual one, but rather a single act of Christianisation, organised by the prince himself. We may assume that, in many aspects, this was similar to what happened in Moravia under Rostislav before the mission of Constantine and Methodius.

However, without a bishop Christianisation could not advance any further. A solution emerged when Boleslav took control over at least a part of Moravia shortly after 935. Moravia was then a devastated region, but still had its archbishopric—even if it had no archbishop, no priests and no believers. All that was needed was to restore Methodius' diocese by naming a bishop to the old and still extant Moravian see. Pope John XIII in fact received requests for three new bishoprics, two requested by Boleslav for Moravia and Prague, and the third by his brother-in-law Mieszko I for Gniezno in Poland. In 965 Mieszko took Boleslav's daughter, Dobrava, as his wife and was baptized in the following year. A bishop named Jordan appeared in Gniezno. He was, however, only a bishop by ordination and not by office. Ultimately, in 968, Jordan was appointed bishop at his seat in Gniezno, and the pope also consented to the other bishoprics, one in Prague and the other in Olomouc, the main stronghold of Přemyslid Moravia. For Bohemia this was not the end of the matter, as it was also necessary to obtain the agreement of Michael, bishop of Regensburg, and the Roman emperor. Somewhat surprisingly, the two new dioceses were made subject to Mainz and not Salzburg, as might have been expected. The two

[19] *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei II 3 (Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III)*, MGH SS rer. germ. 60, ed. Paul Hirsch, Hans and Eberhard Lohmann. (Hanover, 1935), 67–80. See Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, 435–436, with bibliography; J. Sláma, *Střední Čechy*, 80–81, and "K počátkům," 182–183.

[20] Cosmas, *Chronica* I. 22, 42.

bishops—in Prague, Dietmar, a monk from the Saxon monastery at Corvey, and in Moravia a bishop whose name is unknown—were ordained in January 976. The restored Moravian bishopric was not the diocese of Olomouc, but the diocese of Moravia, bearing the title of Methodius' old see. The Moravian diocese seems not to have survived the death of its first bishop. Sometime after 983 it was taken under the administration of the second bishop of Prague, Adalbert-Vojtěch, who thus became the lord of a huge territory, stretching from the Fichtelgebirge in the west to the Bug River in the east.[21] Adalbert then undertook extensive missionary activity comprising also the surrounding lands, especially Hungary. He placed his confidence in the grandiose project of his friend, Emperor Otto III, of incorporating Slavic and Hungarian lands into Otto's new empire. In 982, Adalbert was elected bishop of Prague, not in Prague itself, but at the seemingly less important site of Levý Hradec, because it was the place where "Christianity began in Bohemia," with the foundation of the very first church in Bohemian territory, established by Bořivoj after his baptism in Moravia. Another "Great Moravian" motif in this plan was the grant of the land of Bohemia to St. Peter, as Svatopluk did with Moravia in 880. This was imitated by the Polish Mieszko I in 990[22] and apparently also by Stephen of Hungary.[23] In this way, the new Central European states came under the "protection" of the pope. It gave the newcomers necessary legitimacy, and made them equal to the other members of the society of Christian states and nations. In Otto's project for a new empire, this was a bond to the papacy, while the analogous bond to the empire was to be guaranteed by the royal title of the rulers of these new states. None of these plans, however, became reality in Bohemia. The Bohemian domains fell apart at the beginning of the 990s and the project of the archbishopric was not realised, in contrast to Poland and

[21] See also the articles by Dušan Třeštík: "Vojtěch a formování střední Evropy" (St. Adalbert in the forming of Central Europe), in *Svatý Vojtěch, Čechové a Evropa*, ed. Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Nakladatelstvi Lidové noviny, 1998), 81–108, and "Von Svatopluk zu Bolesław Chrobry: Die Entstehung Mitteleuropas aus der Kraft des Tatsächlichen und aus einer Idee," in *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century*, ed. Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii, 2000), 111–145.

[22] This is the famous *Dagome iudex*. On Adalbert's involvement in this affair see Charlotte Warnke, "Ursachen und Voraussetzungen der Schenkung Polens an den heiligen Petrus," in *Europa Slavica – Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1980), 127–177.

[23] *Das Register Gregors VII*, II. 13, ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epistolae selectae 2 (second ed., 1955), 145.

Hungary, which obtained their first archbishoprics in the year 1000. The project only survived as a political idea, and the Czech Lands had to wait for their archdiocese until as late as 1344.

Evidence for the Christianisation process comes not just from the written record but also from archaeological findings. For Moravia prior to the baptism of the ruler, that is, before 831, several sacred structures (for example at Modrá near Velehrad),[24] are considered to bear witness to the first private contacts with Christianity. For the ninth century, the evidence comes, in particular, from jewellery bearing Christian symbols (for example, belt end-pieces in the shape of ecclesiastical codices from Mikulčice and Pohansko), from items with Christian imagery (for example, an end-piece depicting a bishop), from items directly related to the Christian cult (for example, a silver cross from the cemetery at Mikulčice), and from new sacred buildings. Some of these artefacts may have appeared in Moravia and Slovakia as early as the first third of the ninth century.

The arrival of Christianity in the lands of the Great Moravian Empire was associated with influences from the Salzburg archdiocese and its suffragan bishoprics in Passau and Regensburg. Evidence supporting this also comes from archaeological finds, such as a necklace with lead missionary crosses of Passau provenience from the cemetery at Dolní Věstonice.[25] Another influence came from the patriarchate of Aquileia, reflected in particular in a number of Great Moravian ecclesiastical structures. The same influences were also characteristic of Great Moravian Christianity at the time of Constantine and Methodius.

In Bohemia, the situation is less well documented. Among the earliest evidence for local contacts with Christianity are the grave goods from a princely grave in Kolín, which amongst other things, include a Carolingian liturgical chalice—perhaps a baptismal gift.[26] Jewellery bearing the symbol of the cross was discovered in the cemetery at Prague Castle.[27] It was made in Bohemian domestic workshops but was influenced by Great Moravia.

The church buildings erected in the Great Moravian Empire and in Bohemia during the ninth century were generally simple round or rectangular structures. Logically, they are encountered exclusively at sites that played an

[24] On the dating, see Klanica, "Religion," 138–139.

[25] Klanica, "Religion," 149.

[26] Michal Lutovský, "Kolínský knížecí hrob: ad fontes" (The princely grave in Kolín: *ad fontes*), *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, řada A – Historie* 48 (1994): 37–76.

[27] Karel Sklenář and Jiří Sláma, "Nález slovanských kostrových hrobů v bývalé Královské zahradě Pražského hradu v roce 1837" (The find of Slavic skeleton burials in the former Royal Garden of Prague castle in 1837), *Archeologické rozhledy* 28 (1976): 659–665, 720.

important role in the administration and organisation of the lands concerned. Excavations made on Great Moravian sites over the last fifty years have unearthed a series of structures at Mikulčice, Staré Město, Pohansko and Modrá near Velehrad. The earlier suggestion that a contribution to the building of these structures was made by Scottish/Irish missionaries has not been confirmed. There were southern cultural influences associated with the appearance of the church complex at Sady near Uherské Hradiště and with the Great Moravian rotunda and church no. 10 at Mikulčice. Great Moravian church buildings became, at least initially, an inspiration for the creation of sacred structures in Bohemia, for example, at Levý Hradec, Prague Castle, and Budeč.

The last aspect to be mentioned here is the relation between the ruler and the Church. It seems evident that the initiative in Christianisation was taken by the local rulers, both in Moravia and in Bohemia. This is the reason why the position of Church dignitaries, whether archdeacons or bishops, was so subordinate. The established opinion of historians is that local Church dignitaries were rather officers of the prince or of local stronghold stewards. The system of state and Church administration was based on a network of strongholds. It developed in Moravia and was also applied in Bohemia. It was not the Church that could have created such a system, but the ruler, who employed priests in his "secular" administration. The archdeacon of each stronghold was effectively subject to the local stronghold steward.[28] On a higher level, the local bishop was, to a great extent, a chaplain to the prince. The bishop's tithes initially came not from the believers, but from the prince's chamber. It was the prince himself, and not the bishop, who founded churches in the strongholds, allotted priests to them, and ensured that the latter had means of support and liturgical books. Continuing research into the history of Church in the Czech lands will shed new light on this picture.

[28] Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034–1198)* (Bohemia in the era of princes [1034–1198]), (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 1997), 180.

CEU Medieval Studies

Ravenna and the Transformation of the Roman World

THE BASILICA AND THE MONASTIC COMPLEX OF SAN SEVERO IN CLASSE/RAVENNA

Andrea Augenti – Neil Christie – József Laszlovszky – Gisela Ripoll [1]

Introduction

The fall of the Roman Empire and the emergence of early medieval power centres was one of the most debated historical issues in the last century. Historical, archaeological, and religious studies were dedicated to this problem, and military, economic and climatic explanations were put forward to highlight and to explain the relatively fast decline of the Western Roman Empire and the emergence of new power centres (Byzantine, Carolingian).[2] The survival of the Late Antique economic system in the early medieval period is one of the most powerful historical concepts for the explanation of the transitional period, and it has been the most debated historical question of the period since the beginning of the twentieth century. Recently, major monographic studies have reinterpreted the whole period and there propose fundamentally new concepts for the explanation of this period.[3] They represent an extremely wide range of modern

[1] For the preparation of this article preliminary reports of the recent excavations were also used. They were prepared by the four research teams of the University of Barcelona, University of Leicester, University Bologna/Ravenna, and Central European University. Among many other collegues Enrico Cirelli, Federica Boschi, Miguel Angel Cau, Gavin Speed, Irene Barbiera, Debora Ferreri, Gergely Buzás and Andrea Fiorino should be mentioned, who played crucial role in this research project. For the preliminary results of the project: Andrea Augenti, ed., *La basilica e il monastero di San Severo in Classe. La storia, gli scavi.* (The basilica and monastery of San Severo at Classe. The history, the excavation). (Ravenna: RavennAntica 2006) (henceforth: Augenti, *La basilica*).

[2] The most recent summary of these issues can be found in the volumes: *The Transformation of the Roman World* (A scientific program of the European Science Foundation). (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill). The most relevant volume of the series for this article is: Gianpietro Brogiolo – Nancy Gauthier – Neil Christie (eds.), *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (The Transformation of the Roman World) 9. (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill 2000).

[3] Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005); Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages (Europe and the*

ideas of reinterpretation and many complex issues concerning the concept of Roman continuity, regional development patterns in early medieval Europe and the wider aspect concerning the clashes of cultures.

The present article is connected to these problem areas, since it is based on a heritage project (Ravenna-Classe), which focuses on the archaeological investigation and presentation of an important archaeological site. The investigation plans to answer major, historical and archaeological research questions and at the same time wants to prepare the site to be visited by the wider public as part of an archeological park.

In 2005–2006, the Department of Medieval Studies of CEU joined an international research project in Ravenna. The main aim of this project is to focus on the archaeological evidence concerning the economic, administrative and religious changes of the Late Antique (Roman), Byzantine, and Early Medieval cultural heritage in the area of the most important power centre of this period, and to put it in the context of an European-wide image of this transitional period. The participating institutions, their specialists (Neil Christie, University of Leicester; Gisela Ripoll, University of Barcelona; Andrea Augenti, University of Bologna/Ravenna; József Laszlovszky, CEU) and the students, carried out an archaeological investigation at one of the most important and complex monuments, the church of San Severo – Classe/Ravenna, and they also investigated the local-regional contexts (Britannia, Iberian peninsula, Italy and Pannonia) of this historical period. Three important workshops were organized in the framework of this project (*Abandoned Antique Towns* – Leicester, *Transformation of Religious Practices and Cult Places* – Budapest, *Church Architecture and its Historical Context* – Barcelona), and some aspects of the most important results of the excavation are summarized in these preliminary articles of this volume.[4]

Until very recently the main emphasis of research was connected to the artistic monuments of Ravenna, and mainly their mosaics, but recent studies have shifted the focus to the archaeological investigations of economic and topographic issues and on their impact on the Later Medieval period.[5] The

Mediterranean, 400–800) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005); Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne (An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800)* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006).

[4] See also: Augenti, *La basilica.*

[5] *Convegno per lo studio della zona archeologica di Classe a mezzo dell'aerofotografia.* Promosso dal LIONS CLUB di Ravenna nei giorni 29–30 aprile 1961. (Faenza: Stab. Grafico F.lli Lega, S.R.L. 1962); Sauro Gelichi, "L'arco nord-orientale dell'Adriatico nel medioevo: bilancio critico delle ricerche archeologiche e prospettive future," in *L'Archeologia dell'Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo.* Atti del convegno internazionale Ravenna, 7–8–9 giugno 2001. Archeologia dell'Adriatico 1. (2003): 479–498; Andrea Augenti, "Ravenna:

interaction of Late Antique (Roman) heritage, its Byzantine transformation and the emergence of the new power center is one of the most debated issues, and the site of San Severo can significantly contribute to the understanding of the transformation processes. The changing character of a major ecclesiastical site can be interpreted as an important indicator for the development of the larger area and region. At the same time, functional changes of the basilica and the transformation of the burial practices around it can also contribute to the general interpretation of the period. Finally, the emergence of a new monastic complex near San Severo and the afterlife of these places and sites will be discussed. This can shed light on the problems to what extent this Late Antique artistic and architectural heritage was reinterpreted, transformed, and re-utilised in the Later Medieval period.

Ravenna and Classe: The Urban Landscape of San Severo

The most important period for the urban development of Ravenna was in the Augustan period, when the emperor decided that the city of Ravenna was to become the seat of the military fleet meant to control the Adriatic Sea. Thus the soldier-sailors of the imperial fleet began to settle in an area south of the inhabited center of Ravenna, near the coast, and in that same area they founded their cemeteries. This situation started to change at the beginning of the fifth century, when Ravenna was chosen as the imperial seat of the Western Empire and equipped with a new, wider wall circuit. At the same time also the area south of Ravenna was enclosed by walls, thus determining the formation of a new city south of the gates of Ravenna: Classe. Between the fifth and the sixth century the development of these two centres entailed the construction of numerous elements of infrastructure, vital for the proper functioning of urban areas: aqueducts, roads, bridges, and in the case of Classe, its commercial harbor.[6]

The excavations in the harbor area, which resumed in 2001, are providing results of great interest, because it is through the exavated evidence that we are now able to understand the wide commercial network of which Ravenna was

problemi di archeologia urbana," in *L'Archeologia dell'Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo.* Atti del convegno internazionale Ravenna, 7–8–9 giugno 2001. Archeologia dell'Adriatico 1, 2003, 537–551.

[6] For the most important research problems see: *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale: atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo: Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004.* Mario Mazza et al. eds., (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 2005).

part during Late Antiquity. Large containers, mainly amphorae, in which goods were transported, indicated the existence of a sort of Commonwealth, which included the coastal areas of Northern Africa, Nubia, the Aegean Area, Palestine, Sicily, Southern Italy, Istria and Dalmatia.[7]

During the same period, the growth of the two cities also included the evolution of a landscape of monuments. Ravenna was endowed with an enormous palace, the imperial residence, that was to be reused at a later date, by the Gothic King Theoderic as his palace.[8] From 540, the year in which the town was conquered by the Byzantines, this was used as the palace of the Exarch, the Byzantine governor-general of the province of Italy. At the same time, the most widespread monuments of this period were churches, emblema and media for the diffusion and consolidation of orthodox Christianity. During Late Antiquity and in the Medieval period, it is through the construction of these churches that local identity was fully expressed. This is the period in which were built, in Ravenna, monuments like San Giovanni Evangelista, Santo Spirito, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, San Vitale and San Michele in Africisco. In Classe, churches like the Basilica Petriana, the church of Probus and Sant' Apollinare in Classe, the great martyrial basilica located outside of the walls of the city, were also constructed. From this point of view, the fifth and the sixth centuries are truly the golden age of what we can consider an enlarged urban area, placed at the centre of the geopolitical scene of the Mediterranean Sea.

This is the general context in which the basilica of San Severo is placed, a magnificent building, similar to that dedicated to Sant' Apollinare in Classe. After the construction of this monument, at the end of the sixth century, and starting from the seventh century, the history of the two centres (Ravenna and Classe) became increasingly distinct. A long period of crisis begins for Classe, probably due to the gradual end of the long-scale Mediterranean trade. As early as the beginning of the ninth century Andreas Agnellus, a cleric and historian from Ravenna, describes Classe as a "destroyed city". It can be argued that a few hundred people carried on living in the area and also that some churches and monasteries (including San Severo) survived here for some time. However, the common perception for Classe was more and more of a once thriving but now abandoned place. Ravenna, on the other hand, remained one of the most important centers in the peninsula up to the mid-eighth century. In 751, it was conquered for the first and last time by the Lombards and this event marked the

[7] Andrea Augenti – Carlo Bertelli, eds., *Ravenna tra Oriente e Occidente: storia e archeologia,* I Quaderni di "Flaminia" 8. (Ravenna: Longo Editore 2006).

[8] Andrea Augenti, "Archeologia e topografia a Ravenna: il palazzo di Teoderico e la *Moneta Aurea," Archeologia Medievale* 32 (2005): 7–33.

beginning of a slow and inevitable decline. Charlmagne, in fact, robbed the city of Ravenna of marblework in the 770s. After that date the capital city, seat of civil power and one of the most powerful archbishopric seats of the entire Western world was no longer able to reach the power achieved in the past and it became a city-state similar to many other centres of medieval Italy.

Classe: Topography and Monuments

The city of Classe was founded south of Ravenna in an area that had been previously occupied by necropoleis and suburban buildings, mainly villae. According to the most commonly accepted reconstruction attempts, the urban walls enclosed the city in a semi-circular circuit. The northern area of the town was defended by a wide canal, within which an island was located. It is right along this canal that the harbor area of the town developed with several warehouses and other infrastructure. This area flourished until the seventh century: during this period the warehouses were gradually replaced by domestic dwellings, while the volume of the Mediterranean trade decreased towards zero. The most vital phase of the history of Classe is, therefore, placed between the fifth and the seventh century. This is the time during which the most important monuments were built: grand Christian basilicae, proposed to the community as a landmark for remembrance and local identity.

The most ancient church in this area is probably the Basilica Petriana, founded by bishop St. Peter Crisologo (432–450). According to the ninth-century local historian Agnellus, this complex had enormous dimensions and was provided with a baptistery. It is possible, therefore, that it was used to carry out parish functions for the people of Classe. The site of the Basilica Petriana has not yet been identified with certanity: the remains that had been for decades supposed to have belonged to the building, do not show elements which connect this to a Christian church. The other very important church, the basilica of San Severo, was also built within the walls. It was founded at the end of the sixth century and can be regarded as the last great ecclesiastical monument built in Classe and in the territory of Ravenna.

Around the city of Classe other important basilicae were placed. The main one was that of Sant' Apollinare, built during the Gothic period in the site of a necropolis, where possibly the bishop had been buried; later it was rededicated in 549. This was the burial site of the majority of bishops of Ravenna in the sixth century and in the following period. This fact designates the monument as a true and proper location of remembrance, and a cardinal landmark of the urban and suburban landscape. Many other churches were documented in Classe between the sixth and the twelfth century, witnessing the vitality that the

inhabited area kept for a long time, even when it stopped being perceived as a true urban entity. The surviving population probably concentrated around the most important churches and those that remained active in the medieval period. However, the data from the written sources related to most of these churches do not correspond to a correct location of the same monuments on the ground.

St. Severus: His Life and the Historical Context

Severus was one of the most emblematic bishops of Ravenna in the mid-fourth century and his life is known through iconographic, written and archaeological sources. The personality of the bishop, his participation in the transcendental council of Sardis and his influental presence in Ravenna, show him as a very important member of the city church. For these reasons his portrait is present in the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, in the lower part of the apse between the windows. The portrait of St. Severus is dated to the period of Iulianus Argentarius, who sponsored the construction of this church between 532 and 536. The image of the bishop is the second among the bishops represented: Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus, Ursicinus. The bishops' portraits provide a clear representation of the church of Ravenna, accomplished by the most important figures from the fourth to the end of the sixth century.

Concerning the written sources on the life of St. Severus, his *vita* by Andreas Agnellus is the most important text, preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclasiae Ravennatis* (LP XII), dated between 830–832. In this text, Severus was represented according to the hagiographic sterotypes of the time, as a good and simple person, whose daily activity was that of a wool-worker. His election as a bishop was suprising—both for him and his family, but also for the good citizens of Ravenna—because of the subtle way in which he was appointed, by a white dove that descended over him as the image of the Holy Spirit. In the same text, in the *Vita Sancti Severi*, appears the famous phrase "*Ravenna misera, vicinae destructae Classisi."* The relatively short mandate of St. Severus is marked by his presence at the Council of Sardis (Sophia), celebrated in the years 343–344. As far as his family is concerned, it is known that his brother, Geminian, was a bishop of Modena. The wife of St. Severus, Vincentia, and his daughter Innocentia died prematurely and the bishop buried them in the same place where he was later worshipped after his death in the year 346 or 348. As the *Vita* presents: *"Et multa mirabilia ad sepulcrum Dominus ostendit in ipsius ecclesia, quae sita est in civitate dudum Classis,"* what is in other texts identified as St. Rufillus' *monasterium*.

Earlier archaeological investigation has shed light on some buildings at the foot of the church of San Severo, which leaves no doubt about their funerary

function. In front of the northern mausoleum a very fragmentary mosaic inscription was found with the name of Severus, that dates to the end of the sixth century. It is important to stress the relationship between the mausolea and the basilica. It was inferred that the mausoleum on the northern side was the first place of inhumation of the remains of Severus and his family.

Regarding Severus' relics we only have indirect information. Thanks to the *Liber Pontificalis,* we know that the basilica of San Severo was built between 570 and 582 by the bishops Peter III (570–578), who was the promoter, and Johannes II (578–595), who consecrated it, moving the relics from one place to another in 582. The text clearly specifies Peter as the founder of the church,[9] and Johannes (Johannes Romanus) who moved the relics to the middle of the nave.[10] The relics were thus moved from an already existing building, alongside the church, known to have been dedicated to St. Rufillus.[11] The architectural remains retrieved southeast of the church have been identified as the *monasterium* of Rufillus, the first bishop of Forum Pompilii (Forlimpopoli). This building complex was a mausoleum and the body of Rufillus as well as of Severus was placed here. Note that as the contemporary meaning of monastery was different, it cannot be identified with a monastic community, but rather with an oratory above the relics of these saints.

Archaeologically, Severus' relics leave several questions unanswered. The building constructed in his memory at the end of the sixth century has undergone a long series of reconstructions and robbing. Because of this, it is impossible to affirm with certainty where the relics were placed within the church when bishop Johannes moved them.[12] Furthermore, since the relics were stolen and moved to Germany in the ninth century, so later buildings or building parts erected in the church no longer contained the relics, but perhaps they attached importance to the original place where the body had been located in the church.

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[9] "…fundavitque ecclesia beati Severi…" *Liber Pontificalis XXIX.*

[10] *Liber Pontificalis XXX.*

[11] "…sublatum est ab eo sanctus corpus de monasterio sancti Rophili, quod ab ipsius ecclesia sufultum est…"*Liber Pontificalis XXX.*

[12] The descriptions used in the source are clear but from the architectural point of view they can offer different solutions: *"…in medio dedicauit templo…", "…in media ecclesia colocavit…" Liber Pontificalis XXX.*

Classe and the Basilica of San Severo

The transformations of the basilica, and Classe itself, had already begun during the construction period of the church. Much financing would have been required to renew and rededicate the largely Arian churches in Ravenna. The economic damages caused by the long and bitter Gothic-Byzantine Wars (534–554) meant that only limited resources were available. When substantial building operations at San Severo's church did commence, however, this too was a new period of upheaval and conflict. As the Lombards entered north-eastern Italy in 569 and rapidly gained footholds in the territory, the Byzantine exarch of Ravenna was at the front of military operations to counter the expansion. The Exarch Longinus is recorded to have erected a palisade defense around the suburb of Caesarea between Classe and Ravenna. Despite these efforts, Classe was captured in 578 by the Lombard duke Faroald—apparently a rebellious Byzantine commander rather than an invading enemy. As a result of this much of Classe's portable wealth was removed as Faroald moved south to establish his duchy in Spoleto. We must assume that work at San Severo was interrupted for some time by these events, although bishop Johannes II no doubt sought to make its completion a priority to give new pride and hope to the community of Classe. The ninth-century historian Agnellus, the most important author for the early history of the basilica, offers no later insights into the basilica's importance and evolution, but it is likely that the archbishops duly added to the internal decoration and fittings of San Severo, and contributed similarly to the costs of maintenance of this large church. Such renewal became increasingly difficult in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries especially as Ravenna's sphere of political, economic and indeed religious influence diminished. The ejection of Byzantine power in the Exarchate in the mid-eighth century by the Lombards and the peripheral role played by the city and its port in the Frankish period, as noted, appear to have caused dramatic shrinkage and decay at Classe.

By the time of the first decades of the ninth century this decline was so strong that Agnellus wrote about the "former town" of Classe, implying that little more than the churches remained of what had been a thriving commercial centre. This decay and desertion also led to one of the most dramatic events in the history of the basilica of San Severo. In 836, a Frankish monk, Felix engineered the theft of the remains of the saint, which were passed onto the bishop of Magonza (Mainz), the leading German see, who was conveniently visiting Pavia.[13] The relics were swiftly transferred onto St Albano in Mainz,

[13] Giuseppe Morini, *Ravenna d'altri tempi* (Ravenna: Libreria Antiquaria Tonini, 2004) 294–298; Martina Caroli, "Culto e commercio delle reliquie a ravenna nell'alto

before being definitely relocated in the church of St. Paul's in Erfurt. This church, founded around the mid-eighth century by Bonifacius, changed, upon arrival of the relics, its dedication to that of St. Severus. His cult became one of the most wide-spread of the Medieval period. The theft of St. Severus' body from Classe was not an unique event in the period, but it formed just a part of an outward loss of precious Italian posessions. Other Franks had busily sought and even stolen relics from Rome, while Charlemagne had already plundered Ravenna's palace and churches for marble-work for his own German palaces in the late eighth century. In Classe, the San Severo complex, now empty of its relics, started to transform into a place of remembrance, through phases of major and minor activity and vitality, but overall it fell slowly into oblivion.

In the second half of the tenth century, however, San Severo started to regain its visual and symbolic significance when Emperor Otto I established a palace alongside the basilica in 967. He and his Ottonian successors utilised Ravenna and Classe on a number of occasions, including holding church synods and issuing laws. The symbolic importance of Ravenna as the center of emperors and that of San Severo in Classe, as the original burial place of an important saint in the German areas played a crucial role in the political power games of Otto I. It also transformed the development of the building complex of San Severo. The previously established monastic complex near the basilica was only one of the monastic communities in the area of the former urban settlement of Classe, but it became one of the most important established in the medieval period. The visit of the emperor[14] marked an important event in the development of the monastery and various donations[15] received in this period helped maintain and perpetrate the basilica and the monastery for more than five hundred years. The Benedictine, Cistercian and Camaldulian monasteries, following each other in the history of San Severo, represent different monastic ideas attached to the Late Antique basilica and mark significant transformations of the complex.[16]

Medievo," in Andrea Augenti – Carlo Bertelli eds., *Ravenna tra Oriente e Occidente: storia e archeologia,* I Quaderni di "Flaminia" 8. (Ravenna: Longo Editore 2006): 15–27.

[14] David A. Warner, "The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna," in Björn Weiler – Simon MacLean eds., *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500* International Medieval Research 16 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2006) 121–140.

[15] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae. I. Conradi i. Henrici i. et Ottonis I. Diplomata* (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1879–1884) 476–477.

[16] The history and archaeology of the monastic complex is discussed in the article of József Laszlovszky in this volume.

Various attempts failed to revitalize the monastic community at San Severo during the second half of the fifteenth century and the monks finally moved to the town of Ravenna in 1512. The decline of the monastery was parallel with the decline of the church and the former urban area of Classe. In the Early Modern period, the church of San Severo, its campanile a belltower, remained an important landmark in the landscape and close to the small settlement of Sant' Apollinare. However, it was rather a ruin than the site of an active monastic community. By 1754, it was in such bad repair that large-scale rebuilding work became essential, as indicated in a contract from this year. This time the building was reconstructed in a much smaller form than the original basilica with the following dimensions: 26.60m in length by 12.40m in width, therefore only slightly bigger than the previous restructuring of the fifteenth century. This time also the orientation of the church was inverted and it was possible to enter the building from the eastern side. This final attempt to save the basilica did not stop its disintegration and decline. By 1820 the church had lost its function as an ecclesiastical site, and what follows after this date is not the history of a basilica or of a monastery, but the history of antiquarian interest and collection of spolia from an ancient and medieval monument.[17]

Archaeological Investigations of the Basilica of San Severo

Previous archaeological investigations

The basilica of San Severo was the object of several excavation campaigns starting from the sixties of the twentieth century.[18] This archaeological interest

[17] *Santi banchieri re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato.* eds. Andrea Augenti, Carlo Bertelli (Milano: Skira editore, 2006).

[18] G. Bermond Montanari, "Scavi e ricerche nella zona basilica di S. Severo," *Bollettino Economico della Camera di Commercio di Ravenna* (BECCR) 1 (1966): 1. 12–18; G. Bermond Montanari, "Nuove scoperte archeologiche nel …… classicano," *Bollettino Economico della Camera di Commercio di Ravenna.* (BECCR) 6 (1967): 457–466; G. Bermond Montanari, *La chiesa di S. Severo nel territorio di Classe.* (Bologna: Pàtron 1968) (henceforth: Montanari, *La chiesa*); G. Cortesi, *La zone e la basilica di S. Severo nel territorio di Classe.* (Ravenna, 1964); Maria Grazia Maioli, "La basilica di S. Severo e la casa Romana," in Maria Grazia Maioli – Maria Luisa Stoppioni, *Classe e Ravenna fra terra e mare.(Città – necropoli – monumenti. Un'avventura della archeologia gli scavi nella zona archeologica di Classe.)* (Ravenna: Edizioni Sirri 1987); Maria Grazia Maioli, "Nuovi dati sul complesso archeologico di S. Severo a Classe (RA): 1981–1991," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (CARB) 39 (1992): 498–520; Maria Grazia Maioli, "La basilica di San Severo a Classe: scavo e

can be explained by the fact that most of the other early medieval and medieval churches of Classe cannot be identified and pinpointed at this stage of research as no visible remains survived up to the modern period. The surviving torso of the campanile attached to San Severo and the written evidence indicating its place close to the still standing church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe helped the localization of this church and the published written records indicated the importance of this monument in the history of Classe. The mosaic decoration of the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe also contributed to the growing interest in the history and archaeological remains of the basilica of San Severo, since St. Severus is depicted there as one of the leading figures in Ravenna's religious history.

During the course of the first archaeological investigations by Bermond Montanari the remains of a great ecclesiastical building (c. 65x27 metres) with three naves and a single central apse were retrieved. The main characteristic features of this basilica (building material, ground-plan, size, fragments of the interior decoration) were very similar to the close-by church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe. The excavations also brought to light two chapels of small dimensions, rectangular in shape, joined to the church vestible. The only monument still visible at the time of the first excavations was the bell tower, widenly restored and consolidated during the following years. The publication of the first excavation results led to various interpretations of the basilica: that the basilica was built on the remains of a former building, dated to the Roman Imperial period (second century AD), identified as a Roman villa.

The first excavations, however, failed to clarify many important archaeological problems as they were limited in their scope and also did not elaborate important aspects of the interpretation, such as the detailed stratigraphic sequence of the excavated layers. In various parts of the complex Bermond Montanari only followed the walls of the basilica and concentrated on the Late Antique features of the architectural remains. The other main result of this project was the documentation and preservation of the rich floor mosaic decoration of the basilica. (*Fig. 1*) These important monuments of Late Antique art in Classe were removed from the church and they were stored until very recently in depots.[19] Nonetheless the archaeological importance and potential of

architettura," in *Santi banchieri re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato.* eds. Andrea Augenti, Carlo Bertelli (Milano: Skira editore, 2006) 63–70.

[19] Raffaella Oliveri Farioli, "Ambientazione e idee informatrici del mosaico pavimentale Ravennate, con particolare riferimento ai mosaici rinvenuti a Classe," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (CARB) 18 (1971): 419–473;Raffaella Farioli Campanati, "I mosaici di San Severo e i mosaici pavimentali di Ravenna nel VI secolo," in *Santi banchieri re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato.* eds. Andrea Augenti,

the site was clearly identified and various studies were dedicated to the interpretation of finds and architectural remains.[20] During the preservation work at the site, further small-scale excavations were carried out under Maria Grazia Maioli, which contributed to the understanding of the chronological sequence and which produced some new burials on the northern side of the basilica. Some details of these new results were discussed in studies connected to the archeological remains of Classe and to the burials of this area. Further elements of the history of the basilica were collected, and publication on the medieval historical sources of Ravenna also brought to light important written documents.

During the last decade, the archaeological potential of Classe has been clearly defined, and new research projects have begun to explore the economic, social and ecclesiastical history of Classe on the basis of the archaeological evidence. The first crucial excavations at the port of Classe mainly focused on economic problems, while the new project at San Severo wanted to concentrate on the ecclesiastical aspects. The plans for a new archaeological investigation at San Severo raised interest in these mosaics and a big exhibition project recently helped to restore these monuments. As a result, the most important floor mosaics of the basilica were presented for the wider public in the framework of the exhibition on Severus. Furthermore, the new archaeological investigation wanted to take into consideration not only the artistic aspects of the site, but also its ecclesiastical and urban historical aspects in terms of it extent and its relationship with the surrounding urban network.

Progetto Classe: A New Archaeological Project (Culture 2000)

The main aim of this project, briefly described above in the Introduction, was to clarify the evolution of the topographic context into which the basilica was constructed. For this purpose, a new archaeological investigation based on the stratigraphic principle was needed, combined with a complex building-

Carlo Bertelli (Milano: Skira editore, 2006) 71–76; Cetty Muscolino – Paolo Racagni, "Il restauro dei mosaici" in *Santi banchieri re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato.* eds. Andrea Augenti-Carlo Bertelli (Milano: Skira editore, 2006) 77–79.

[20] Paola Novara, "Materiali dallo scavo della Chiesa di S. Severo in Classe (RA)," in *I Congresso Nazionale di Archaeologia Medievale.* Società degli Archaeologi Medievisti Italiani, Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche, Università di Pisa.(Pisa: Edizioni all'insegna del Giglio) 328–331; Paola Novara, "Materiali marmorei tardoantichi dalla basilica di S. Severo in Classe (RA)," *Ravenna Studi e Ricerche* 3 (1996): 29–74; Paola Novara, "*Sectilia* parietali inediti dagli scavi delle chiese di S. Severo e di S. Appolinare in Classe (Ravenna)," in Federico Guidobaldi – Andrea Paribeni eds., *AISCOM Atti del V Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mozaico* (Roma, 3–6 novembre 1997) (Ravenna: Edizione del Girasole 1997) 83–96.

archaeological approach. Written sources inform us that a monastery was placed beside the basilica and that this was one of the few sites of the city of Classe inhabited across the Early and Late Medieval periods. One of the objectives of the new project was also the identification of the archaeological deposits linked to the monastery, so to be able to shed light on a long diachronic sequence, also with respect to the evolution of the material culture of this area. In order to achieve the first objective (the interpretation of the stratigraphic and chronological sequence), three different sectors were opened within the basilica (area I), one inside each nave. These sectors were placed at the edges of the stratification still untouched by previous archaeological excavations. Other research questions of the project were investigated by opening a wide excavation area (area II, cc. 400sqm) in the zone located immediately north of the basilica. Further areas were sited in the building right against the apse of the basilica (the so-called vestry) and in the bell tower. The remains of the tower were also the subject of a building-archaeological approach. The superficial cleaning of the area of the mausoleum annexed to the basilica was also made—this a zone having been excavated in the 1960s.

The fieldwork of the project was carried out in 2006, after two workshops organized to clarify the research problems and investigation methods. The excavation campaign was organized for the summer months of 2006 with the continuous presence and work of the Bologna/Ravenna team, while the three other universities worked for one month each in a rotating system. The selection of the excavation areas was also made on the basis of a geophysical survey. The investigation used Ground Penetrating Radar in the zone north of the basilica to explore the ground with great precision through the emission of electromagnetic waves, allowing to take a "radar-stratigraphy" of the subsoil in real time. The main aim here was to identify and map the presence of new or supposed archaeological structures in an area not investigated by previous excavations. The results obtained by georadar survey showed the presence of numerous archaeological features in the subsoil. The area closest to the north nave had the largest concentration of anomalies indicating buried structures, identified at a depth between 40 cm and 110 cm. Thus the investigation carried out has further confirmed and pointed to the archaeological wealth of the complex of San Severo and corroborated the previous assumptions about the existence of significant building complexes and archaeological features in the northern zone.

Finally we can note that the main research results of the fieldwork were discussed and interpreted in two workshops in Budapest and Barcelona, while the project results were presented in Ravenna in the autumn of 2006. Related summary booklets and a CD-ROM produced; the full excavation archive was deposited with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ravenna.

Preliminary Results of the Archaeological Fieldwork in 2006 and its Interpretation

The basilica of San Severo was built in the vicinity of an ancient necropolis and in a site where a building complex of the Roman period had stood. Several walls of this building were located during the excavations in the 1960s, while later investigations brought to light further structures. The fieldwork in 2006 revealed elements of this complex and in particular made possible some precise definitions about its size. First of all it was possible to verify that the room paved with *cocciopesto* and in floral pattern (*opus scutulatum*) extended further north of the area occupied by the basilica. Also in this zone, further north, the bases of two columns have been located, which suggests the presence of a columned courtyard (*peristilium*) or a series of columns placed to surround the complex, at least in this area. Another structure, perhaps datable to the Roman period, was also retrieved near the bell tower. The excavation carried out within the basilica has shown that there was no wall or floor from the Roman period located in the western half of the church building or near its apse.

Even though the plan of the building complex of the Roman period that precedes the basilica of San Severo has not been clearly understood to its full extent, it seems likely that it was a villa. This villa was built in the Classe territory when Classe was not yet a city. The brickstamps and the typology of the floor mosaics suggest that the first phase of this building can be dated to the time of Emperor Hadrian (AD 117–138), but at least some of its sectors continued to be inhabited up to the Late Antiquity, probably infact until the first decades of the sixth century.

The ecclesiastical plan of the basilica of San Severo is made up of several structural complexes that, even if not built at the same time, sometimes functioned together. The first complex, outside the church on the south-eastern side, consists of two funerary mausolea, adjacent to an unclear architectural feature. These were built before the church and were given paved floors at the end of the sixth century. The basilica itself, made of three naves, choir, and apse, was built at the end of the sixth century and widened with the addition of an annex on the north-eastern side by the mid-seventh century. All these buildings had decorative façades. The connection and passage from the church vestibule to the mausolea is now clear. During the period of the utilization of the church, from the end of the sixth century to the mid-ninth century, the two complexes were joined, incorporating some changes. Linkage was along a narrow corridor paved with floor mosaic of white large *tesserae;* this corridor led to a space open on the eastern side, where the mosaic inscription of San Severo was discovered.

The main architectural characteristics of the basilica were also investigated and further details of its chronology, transformations, and decorations were clarified. The three-naved, basilica-type church was 65 m in length and 27 m in

width at the time of its largest extension. It was entered via a vestibule and the eastern side ended with an apse (semicircular inside and hexagonal externally). The apse was paved with white marble and decorated like that of Sant' Apollinare in Classe and other churches in Ravenna. The subdivision into three naves was carried out with two stylobates with twelve columns. In front of the presbiterium, and therefore in front of the altar, was a *chorus* with the liturgical function of greeting the clergy inside it. A continuous priests' bench, paved in marble, probably ran inside the *chorus*. The central nave was covered with a two-sided sloping roof and the side naves with one-sided sloping roofs. The apse was covered with a semicircular vault made with *tubi fitili* (ceramic tubes to lighten the weight). Several types of bricks were used to construct the building, mainly reused, dating from around the age of Hadrian in the second century AD.

The church, over the whole central sector and at its foot, was built over structures of the Roman villa. The fabric of the church, for the most part, was placed directly on top of these structures, although fill of soil and in some cases heaps of building material were discovered in some areas. On both the side of the nave and the choir, the stratigraphic sequence consists of a first level of thick fill material of intense black colour, on top of which lay the substantial levelling relative to the building work for the construction of the church. These layers date to the beginning and second half of the sixth century; on top of them are the layers for the preparation of the moasic floors. Large parts of the southern nave, the central nave, and all of the northern nave had been robbed of moasics, architectural decoration, liturgical sculpture, building material, and bricks. The excavation of the robber trenches and the fill in the southern and northern naves gives a clear idea that the beginning of the spoliation at San Severo started as early as the fifteenth century, but that it became very intense in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As far as the location of Severus' burial place or the place of deposition of his relics is concerned, it is possible to claim from the data of the 2006 excavations that the relics were moved from the mausoleum located at the south-western corner of the church when the basilica was built. The exact place is unknown, although the structure was located in the middle of the central nave, which was transformed into a monumental aedicula in the medieval period. The reason for the monumentalizing this place is still being researched, but it suggests the development of a place of remembrance, forming a sort of sacralization within the architectonic space designed for the church.

The archaeological investigation in 2006 also clarified some additional architectural features of the basilica, particularly their chronological sequence and their possible functional interpretations. On the north flank of the apse is a

small irregular chapel measuring 9.5 m by 9 m. As the construction of the chapel is undocumented in the written sources, and the stratigraphic sequence was unclear because of the previous excavations, special attention was paid to the dating problems. The principal aims were to understand the chronological sequence between this chapel, the basilica, and the bell-tower. Work focused on the categorization of the development of the internal features of the chapel. At the same time, identifying the date of its construction and verifying the plan of the structure made during the excavations in the 1960s and 1980s were crucial. The complete outline of the chapel was traced, including part of the original standing brick-built wall overlying an original buttress to the northeast corner of the basilica, constructed against the apse of the basilica. The building methods and materials are almost identical to those used in the original basilica, therefore suggesting a similar (though not contemporary) date of construction. The excavation also showed that the bell-tower was built on top of the western wall of the chapel after the chapel had gone out of use. Internally, two phases of flooring were recorded in the chapel. The earliest phase was a mortar layer, with only fragmentary traces of a marble slab floor. A coin found lying on this robbed layer dates to the reign of Constans II (658–668), which would suggest a late seventh-century date for this early floor or its robbing. The second phase saw the removal of the marble paving and its replacement by a tile floor. Some, if not all, of the tile was re-used Roman material (two had brick stamps of Antonius Pius and Septimius Severus). During this second phase a small internal wall partition was inserted, indicating a change in use within the chapel. The previous removal of the earlier excavation deposits overlying the brick floor prevents any discussion of the date of abandonment of the chapel, although it is clear that some of the walls, like those of the northern aisle of the main church, were robbed in the medieval period. On the basis of pottery and other finds underlying the first floor, the chapel was constructed in the mid-seventh to eighth century. Its construction involved considerable levelling of the ground prior to building operations (thus repeating effectively clearance work for the the basilica's construction earlier, in the late sixth century). The expectation is that the chapel remained in use for some time, at least up to the construction of the bell tower in the twelfth century. What remains unclear is the unusual orientation of the chapel in relation to the basilica, which may have been determined by pre-existing features—such as tombs built up to and around the church apse. Such burials were found outside of the chapel indicating an important burial zone around the apse.

The excavation of graves and burial constructions was also an important task of the archaeological investigations at San Severo. Almost the entire life of the site was characterised by the presence of burials. This practice started before

the construction of the basilica with the development of the Roman necropolis and continued over time, linked to the ecclesiastical and later monastic complex. The importance of this element as a mirror of cultural practice and transformations, and its intense occurrence in the stratification of the site, requires us to analyse it with particular care. Graves and burial monuments can be used as indicators for the social transformations of the surrounding area, and in an indirect way for the development or decline of Classe as a habitation zone.[21]

The northern zone of the basilica was, as noted, characterized by intensive geophysical anomalies indicating archaeological features and buried architectural units. Previous, although limited, archaeological excavations in this area also revealed the existence of graves and burial constructions along the northern wall of the basilica. Therefore, the main research was directed toward the identification of the structures and the characterization of the area. One possible functional interpretation was an urban milieu near the basilica, while written evidence indicated the presence of a large monastic complex. The 2006 excavation brought to light a very complex stratigraphic sequence and a building history with continuous transformations, spoliation, and rebuilding. Thus, the history of the basilica of San Severo as a Late Antique church can be reinterpreted as a church and a monastic complex that played an important role in the High and Late Middle Ages, providing a major architectural monument with significant archeological remains.[22]

The bell-tower (campanile) is the only architectural element of the northern zone still standing. Between 1821 and 1822 the church of San Severo was demolished and after that date the ruins of the bell-tower were left as the only witness of the former ecclesiastical complex. The excavation campaigns carried out between 1964 and 1967 and later between 1981 and 1991 brought to light the foundations of the walls of the basilica, but did not touch the archaeological deposits preserved inside the bell tower. This was an important factor for the recent investigations, as the tower's chronology was a debated question. Detailed documentation of the still-standing features and examination of the buried stratification revealed fundamental data for the absolute dating of the different building phases. The tower was rectangular in shape with sides about 7 x 7.4 m. It was leaning against the north wall of the north nave. The sides are

[21] The preliminary results of these investigations and the first detailed analytical approach for the interpretation of burials can be found in the article of Irene Barbiera and Debora Ferrei in this volume.

[22] The results of the investigation of the monastic complex can be found in the article of József Laszlovszky in this volume.

preserved up to about 3.6 in height. The interior of the tower consists of one room, only accessible from a single door with a circular arch. The archaeological investigation showed that the bell-tower was not constructed from new materials, but from material probably gathered from ruins of buildings and burials located nearby. Bricks of various size, bonded with mortar, were reused for building the walls, while several trachyte slabs (stones of polygonal shape widely utilized in the Roman period for paving roads), sculpture fragments from architectural fittings, and stone blocks of large dimensions, (which have could originated from local funerary monuments) were used at the base of the wall. This foundation is thus fundamentally different from the foundations of the Late Antique basilica, where only reused Roman bricks were utilized. The external façades of the bell-tower have been partially reconstructed during recent restoration campaigns, which brought to light some additional structures such as what has been interpreted as the remains of a round bell-tower, a distinctive feature of Ravennate churches in the Middle Ages. However, during the excavation and from the analysis carried out on the walls, it was not possible to locate other structural elements linked to the architectural typology of circular-plan bell-towers. The stratigraphic analysis of the walls—together with data obtained from published and archival documents—made it possible to identify with certainty four different construction phases that marked the development of the bell-tower. In the first phase, during the twelfth century, a fabric of square shape was built leaning against the north wall of the nave. Not before the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and probably infact during the sixteenth century, when there is information about some restoration, was the structure replaced by a bell-tower of rectangular shape, built with reused bricks. Its walls, which are still preserved to a height of several metres, present different patterns of laying of the bricks when compared to the previous fabric. In the Early Modern period the tower was probably abandoned and its structures, progressively decaying, reused with aims different from the original one. Finally, from 1981 to 1991 different restoration and maintenance campaigns followed one another with significant changes in the structure of the façades of the tower.

The preliminary results and the first interpretations of the new archaeological investigation were mainly based on the stratigraphic sequence of the site and on the functional interpretation of the architectural features. A more detailed discussion of the archaeological features and structures should be based on a thorough investigation of the finds. At this point we can only refer to some important characteristics of these finds. The materials retrieved date to the period from the Early Roman Imperial age to the Renaissance and Modern epoch. Most of the identifiable material was found in the layers for raising and intentionally levelling the building site while building the great Late Antique

basilica. A high number of pottery sherds was found dating from this period—the mid-sixth century—including transport containers and fine tableware originating from different areas of the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. A number of objects came from the fabric of buildings demolished during the construction of the basilica: fragments of mosaic floors, marble revetment slabs, and wall paintings. Elements of the internal fittings of the ecclesiastical monument were found in the stratigraphy showing the different phases of robbing of the building, such as fragments of a capital and pieces of marble screens sometimes reused in the construction of the Early Medieval burials. Materials dating from the end of the ninth to the eleventh century recovered from the strata of the building complex on the northern side of the basilica were particularly important as they can be linked to the emergence of the monastic complex. These are mainly objects related to daily life, such as glazed pottery and containers for domestic use. This material shows many similarities with the material culture of Northern and Central Italy, a picture from which, up to now, Ravenna and Classe seemed to be exluded.

Conclusions

The archaeological investigation of the basilica of San Severo in 2006 thus created a new, and more coherent image of the site and its setting than was known before. The archaeological features of the Late Antique period, mainly identified with this site as a result of the previous excavations, were enriched by a very complex sequence of architectural remains and archaeological finds. They represent a much more intricate systematization of the chronological framework of the site, where important transformations took place during the High and Late Middle Ages; the afterlife of the church in the Modern period can also be traced with the help of these archaeological investigations. The rich written evidence for the basilica can now be compared with multi-layered archaeological stratigraphy, partly in the basilica, and partly in the area of the monastic complex. In sum, the architectural complex of San Severo can be interpreted as a significant indicator of the ecclesiastical, social, and economic history of Classe and Ravenna from the sixth all the way through to the nineteenth century.

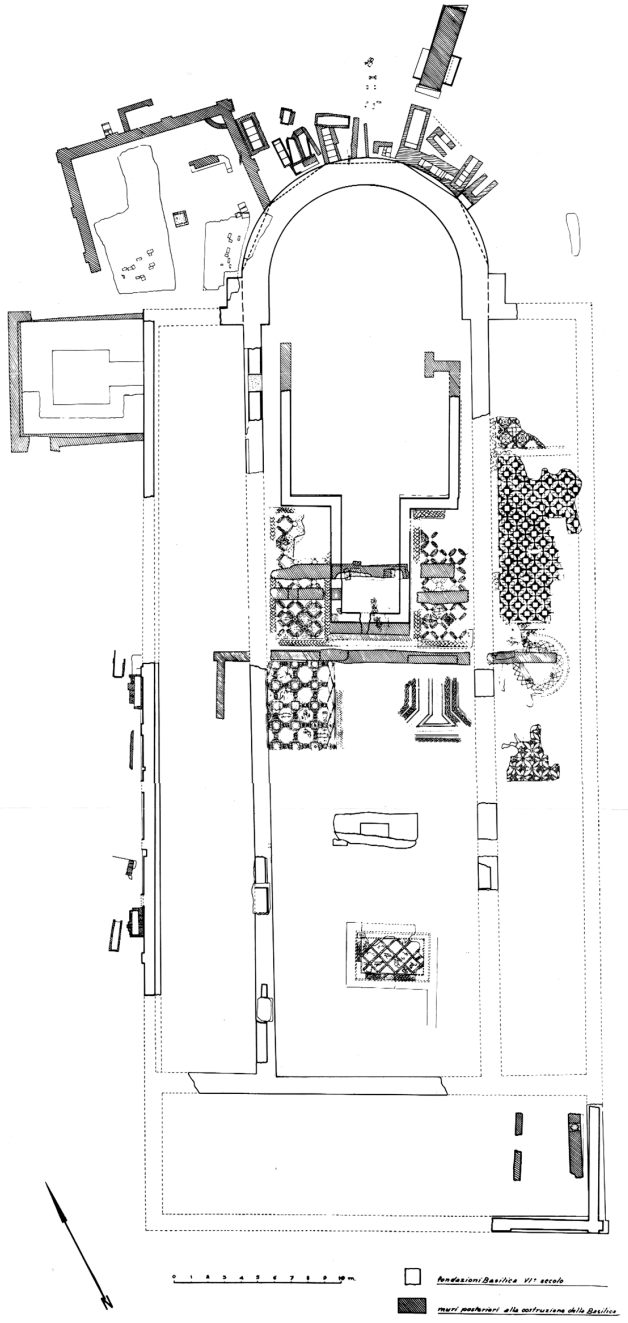

Fig. 1. The basilica of San Severo after the archeological investigations of G. Bermond Montanari (after Montanari 1968).

PLACING BODIES AND CONSTRUCTING MEMORY AT SAN SEVERO

Irene Barbiera – Debora Ferreri

In the city of Ravenna and its port of Classe, pride in local saints played a key role in inspiring the glorification of the place. The church of San Severo, built around the end of the sixth century, was the last monumental construction at classe before the beginning of an irreversible decline of the Late Antique town. It was located inside the town walls, on the south-eastern periphery of the town. It was built as a place of memory for St. Severus, whose body was transferred into the church, thus creating a place of remembrance for the dead from the building's outset.

A total of fifty burials have been excavated during different archaeological campaigns inside and outside the church, near the apse and along the northern wall. They probably date from just after the foundation of the church until the Late Middle Ages. The church maintained its funerary function over the centuries, independent of great changes in the structure and function of the building. Burials continued here even after the body of St. Severus was stolen and transferred to Mainz in 836 and after a monastery was built in the tenth century. Despite of the decline of Classe, the church of San Severo maintained its importance and its attraction for burial. The construction of a palace, commissioned and used by Emperor Otto I during the second half of the tenth century, is a clear sign of the vitality of this area and the importance of the monastery.

Different funerary areas found outside the church have different characteristics and may be linked to different chronological phases as well as to different functions or perceptions of the areas themselves. Their story, together with the transformations of the building and of Classe, is symptomatic of the changes in the perception of settlements and places of memory which occurred after the spread of Christianity.[1] The cemetery at San Severo is urban; some graves are also related to a chapel built on an abandoned Roman building and, at least for a period, some graves were connected to the relics of a saint. Thus, all the aspects of urban change across the early Middle Ages and the creation of new privileged places of power and memory related to Christianity are to be found here.

[1] For an analysis of the innovations of Christian cities see: G. Cantino Wataghin, J. M. Gurt Esparraguerra and J. Guyon, "Topografia della *Civitas Christiana* tra IV e VI sec.," in *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo (Mantua: Società Archeologica Padana, 1996): 17–41.

Previous archaeological campaigns

The first graves at San Severo were brought to light during the excavation campaign of 1964. They were located outside the apse, while a few other graves were also found, along the central face the northern wall of the basilica. These graves post-dated the building of the church, and the dead were possibly interred just after its construction. None of the graves contained grave goods, however, so it is not possible to date them with certainty. Some were constructed of reused Roman bricks laid horizontally, while others were constructed of Roman tiles placed vertically.[2]

Most graves contained several individuals buried in different phases. According to the anthropological analyses carried out during the 1960s, all the individuals buried here were adult males, with the only exception of two younger individuals whose sex could not be determined.[3] It is therefore possible that this area was reserved for the clergy of the church.

Other graves were found along the northern wall of the basilica during the 1980s while excavating pits for the placement of the metal piers supporting the modern roof.[4] Here three graves were found: two of them were oriented parallel to the basilica and were constructed of bricks; the third one (grave 17 according to our grave numbers – see below) had a different orientation (north-south, perpendicular to the axis of the basilica) and a different construction, made of tiles placed vertically into the soil. It was also covered by large tiles placed horizontally. This grave was only partially excavated by in the campaign Maria Grazia Maioli: in its the southern side two skulls were found. After excavation these graves were re-covered, so that when we re-opened Maioli's trench, we encountered them again.

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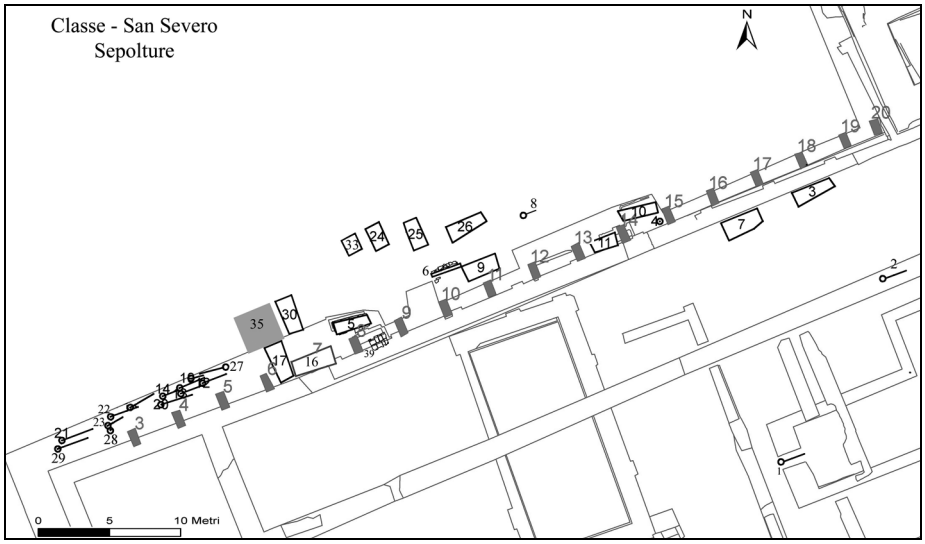
[2] G. Bermond Montanari, *La chiesa di San Severo nel territorio di Classe. Risultati dei recenti scavi* (Bologna: Patron, 1968) (hereafter: Montanari, *La chiesa*), see also R. Lasi, "Indagini topografiche sulle necropoli di Classe (Ra)," *Orizzonti* 3 (2002): 141–152 and Maioli, "La basilica," 63–70.

[3] F. Martuzzi Veronesi and G. Malacarne, "Note antropologiche sul' reperti romani e medioevali del territorio di Classe (Ravenna)," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia* 98 (1968): 147–164. (Hereafter: Martuzzi Veronesi and Malacarne, "Note antropologiche.")

[4] M. G. Maioli, "Caratteristiche e problematiche delle necropoli di epoca tarda a Ravenna e in Romagna," *Corsi di Cultura e d'arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 35 (1988): 315–356. (Hereafter: Maioli, "Caratteristiche.")

The 2006 Campaign

In 2006, besides locating some of the graves excavated earlier along the northern wall and later covered, a large number of new graves was found at San Severo (see *Map 1*). Some of them were inside the basilica, in the northern nave (graves number 2, 3 and 7) and one in the choir (grave number 1). Whilst two of the graves had been disturbed in the past, grave number 3 had a fally preserved masonry construction made of bricks placed horizontally in a trapezoidal shape, narrower on the eastern side, oriented east-west. The base was made of large tiles placed horizontally. The skeleton found in this grave had been completely disarranged some time after its decomposition and the bones moved to one side. Grave number 7 was completely empty and partly disturbed; it seems that its construction was similar to that of grave 3.



Map 1. The graves at S. Severo excavated in the 2006 campaign (drawings by Insegnamento di Archeologia Medievale dell'Università di Bologna).

Other graves were found in the trench excavated by Bermond Montanari, in the trenches opened for the construction of concrete pillars during Maria Grazia Maioli's excavation along the northern wall of the basilica, and in a sector a few meters north of the wall. Here, therefore at present, three different burial areas can be recognized.

The first area is located on the northwestern side and is characterized by eight graves scattered along the northern wall of the church (numbers 4, 5, 6, 9,

10, 11, 16 and 17). They were constructed of horizontally placed bricks or made of large tiles placed vertically. Here the graves contained only one body each, with the only exception of one grave, number 17. The single graves in this area, contained in the documented cases, male individuals, with the only exception of a younger body from grave 10. In fact, according to the anthropological analyses carried out in the 1960s, all the bodies excavated here were males,[5] and males were also found in graves 9 and 6, excavated by us. However, the anthropological analyses now in process will need to be completed in order to clarify whether this funerary area, like the one outside the apse, was reserved for males only.

Fig. 1. Grave number 17. The funerary construction and several bodies are visible here.

Grave number 17,[6] compared to those noted above, contained several bodies belonging to at least nine adults, whose gender has not yet been determined, and two children (see *Fig. 1*). It was used and reused for a long period; only the skeleton deposited last was still articulated, while all the other bodies were disarticulated, as they were moved to make space for new bodies to be buried. This grave also differed from the other graves found in this area in its construction and orientation. It was oriented north-south, while the remaining

[5] Martuzzi Veronesi and Malacarne, "Note antropologiche."

[6] This grave was found by M. G. Maioli, but was only partially excavated, see Maioli, "Caratteristiche."

graves were oriented east-west. It was constructed of tiles placed vertically, and it was covered by large tiles placed horizontally; some marble slabs were also found on top of it, suggesting that it might have had a more complex construction at one time. It is possible that this burial was a family grave used in different phases by the members of a kin group.

Another peculiar grave is number 5, found along the northern wall of the basilica. It had a construction made of tiles placed vertically on top of the *cocciopesto* pavement of the Roman villa found beneath the basilica (*Fig. 2*).[7] The nicely made pavement was used as the bottom of the grave. The grave was empty; no body was found in it. It was probably excavated by Bermond Montanari during the 1960s and the bones removed.[8] This is supported by the finds of small fragments of human bone, plastic fragments, and recent glass in the fill of the grave.

Fig. 2. Grave number 5.
Cocciopesto pavement of the Roman villa, reused as the bottom of the grave.

The second funerary area includes additional graves found in the centre of sector 8000, three oriented north-south and one oriented east-west. These are grave numbers 24, 25, 26 and 33 (*Fig. 3*). They all had the same construction, which was different from the graves next to the wall. The long sides of the graves were made of bricks placed horizontally, while the short side of each was

[7] For a description of the Roman villa see Montanari, *La chiesa*, 67–95.
[8] Montanari, *La chiesa*, Figure 8.

made of a large tile placed vertically. Each of these four graves contained female individuals. They can probably be dated to the middle of the tenth century.

Fig. 3. Grave number 26. Single grave with walled construction.

The third funerary area is located in sector 9000, on the western part of the church wall. It is characterized by several burials (numbers 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, and 36), one on the top of the other, with the heads oriented east or west (*Fig. 4*). In some cases previously buried skeletons were removed from their original position after the decomposition of the flesh to make space for new bodies. In other instances the time interval between subsequent burials was not so long and dead people were laid the top of previously buried individuals whose bodies were still intact and who therefore were not moved from their original positions. Some grave constructions were visible. What can be said at this stage is that they are of the type made of tiles

placed vertically in the soil, some of them with a cover made of tiles. It seems that the graves were used for depositing different bodies in different periods and that in the last phases the constructions were not always respected, as burials were placed on top of them. It is also possible that in some cases tiles were placed to delimit some of the buried bodies, without a proper construction (this could be the case in graves 22, 23, and 20, which also has a cover made of tiles). The funerary area clearly continues towards the north, as can be seen by the bones visible in the 2006 excavation trench profile. It was disturbed on the southern side, probably by the trenches excavated earlier, which cut several bodies along their right sides. The bodies excavated here belonged to individuals of different ages and appear to be bath males and females.

Fig. 4. Multiple grave. Burials 18, 19, 27 and 32 are visible here.

Graves number 30 and 35 (*Fig. 5*), multiple graves, were also found in this sector. A possible grave structure, not clearly identifiable, surrounded grave 30, while grave 35 had no construction. Three individuals, buried at the same time and with the same orientation, were found in grave 30. They were placed on top of two other individuals buried in a previous phase. Several bodies were buried in different phases in grave 35. Two young individuals buried at the same time were oriented north-south. Their heads were supported by a tile placed vertically. They were buried on top of three other individuals, oriented west-east, found in anatomical articulation. Other bones and skulls were found on one side of the grave. They probably belong to the first phase of burial and were moved to leave space for the later interments.

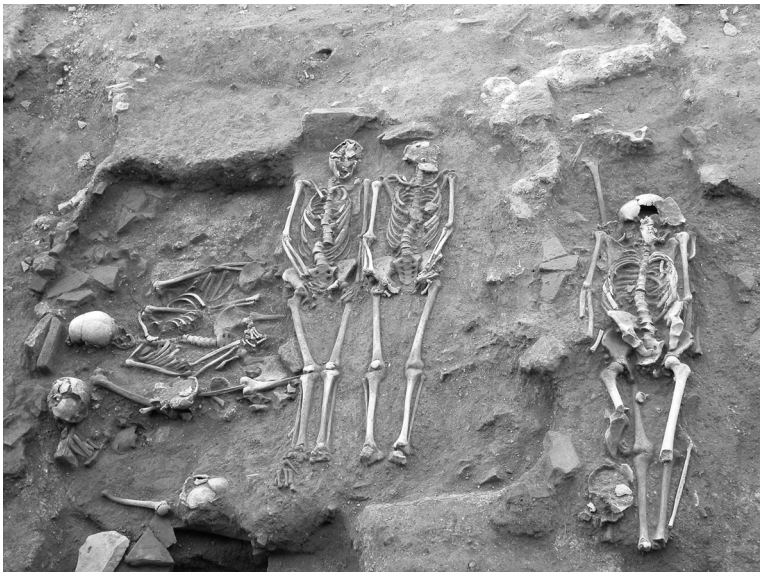


Fig. 5. The two young individuals on the top of grave 35 are visible, under them three more individuals emerge. Two individuals, one on top of the other, can be seen in grave 30 on the right.

This last funerary area, having a completely different structure than the other two, seems to have the characteristics of a parish community cemetery, used by family groups for a long period. The placement and structure of these graves seems to have been less prestigious than that of the single graves located in the eastern area along the wall, which, together with the graves excavated outside the apse, might have been reserved for the clergy (since the physical anthropological analyses carried until now show that all the individuals were adult males).

The Chronology of the Cemetery

The diverse funerary areas were related to different chronological periods, not only to different uses of the areas themselves. At the moment it has only been possible to clarify the sequence of the graves without absolute dating. The graves with constructions located inside the basilica, outside the apse, and along the northern wall of the basilica belonged to the first phase, corresponding to the building of the church and the period immediately after that (later sixth-seventh centuries). The burials with brick-lined graves, located outside the basilica (numbers 24, 25, 26 and 33), belonged to a second phase which can

probably be dated to the second half of the tenth century. Finally, the burial area located north of the basilica, whose use spans a long period of time, contains multiple and collective graves with simple interments (12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, and 36) belonging to a third phase, possibly dated to the High Middle Ages.

The relation between the types of graves and chronology is only partially clarified. At the moment with the data at our disposal it has been possible to develop a typological sequence that seems to closely match the chronology of the site. Graves made of large tiles placed vertically belonged to the first phase of the cemetery. The graves inside the northern nave, built of bricks and characterized by an anthropomorphic shape, may also be part of this phase. In fact, they were constructed by cutting the mortar base layer of the earliest among the floors built during the sixth century. The graves used during the second half of the tenth century, built of bricks of small to medium size, belong to the second phase, while the multiple and collective graves with simple interments belong to the last phase.

Conclusions

Burials were made during the entire lifetime of the site of San Severo. The funerary practice changed and developed according to the life of the basilica and the monastic complex. The area, originally suburban, maintained its funerary function even after it was included inside the newly erected walls. The construction of a martyr's monument and funerary church in this area created a new attraction and a place for privileged burials. This case gives further support to the idea that the presence of burials in Late Antique and Early Medieval towns cannot be considered as a sign of decline. On the contrary, as has already been stressed, the town represented a privileged place for burials, in accordance with a new perception and organization of urban space.[9]

The area of San Severo has not been completely excavated and the study of the graves remains incomplete, and so many questions are still open. The data collected so far might suggest that at first an area of the cemetery was designated for the community of clerics, identified in the male graves deposited outside the apse, while at the same time, other eminent people or families might have been buried in a different area along the northern wall of the church. Here,

[9] See, for example, G. Cantino Wataghin, "The ideology of urban burials," in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (Leiden: Brill 1999), 147–180.

at least one possible "monumental" grave has been found, used in different later phases.

The creation of symbolic hierarchies of space in Christian cemeteries is a known phenomenon,[10] so it is possible that here also different areas were reserved for different categories of people according to the importance attributed to each sector of the cemetery in relation to the church and the vicinity to the relics of the saint. It is possible that later, during the High Middle Ages, after the body of San Severo was stolen and Classe declined, the cemetery lost its elite connotation and was used by a declining community. This might be identified with the area on the western side of the site along the north wall of the church, where individuals of different ages and genders were buried in the same graves, in use for a longer period. These are, at the moment, hypotheses which must be verified later, when the study of the material has been completed. Further archaeological excavations may bring to light new areas of the cemetery and buildings related to it.

[10] See, for instance, B. Effros, "Beyond Cemetery Walls: Early Medieval Funerary Topography and Christian Salvation," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 1–23; C. Spain, "Architecture and Funerary Space in the Early Middle Ages," in *Spaces of the Living and the Dead: An Archaeological Dialogue*, ed. C. E. Karkov, K. M. Wickham-Crowley, and B. K. Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 39–60.

THE MONASTERY OF SAN SEVERO IN CLASSE/RAVENNA

Archaeological and Historical Data for the Transformation of a Late Antique Basilica during the Middle Ages

József Laszlovszky

Introduction

The transformation of the antique town of Classe during the Late Antique period and the Middle Ages represents a very complex process in the framework of urban desertion and ecclesiastical development. One of the most important aspects of this process is the transformation of the ecclesiastical centres in the area of the former antique settlement and the spatial and institutional changes of these monuments. As Paola Novara pointed out in her article[1] in 2002, the monastic archaeology in Classe represents one of the most important tools to understand the different factors of these processes and at the same time, the typical features of the abandoned medieval churches in the area of Classe create an extremely difficult research situation.

History

The transformations of the basilica of San Severo were connected to the changing ecclesiastical status of this church, to its role as one of the major religious centres of Classe, and to the abandonment of the town itself. The most important functional changes happened when the basilica became the church of a monastic community.

We have no exact date for the foundation of the monastery, as no foundation charter survives, but its existence can be safely documented in the tenth century. The first document refering to the monastery of San Severo is dated to 955 and written evidence confirming its continous existence can be quoted from charters of the following five centuries. Although the conditions of

[1] Paola Novara: "I monasteri ravennati in età ottoniana: una difficile indagine archeologica," In: *Missio ad Gentes. Ravenna e l'evangelizzazione dell'Est europeo.* ed. Paola Novara. Fernandel, Ravenna, 2002. 51–54.

the creation of the monastery are not clear, it must have been connected to a long process, which fundamentally transformed a semi-urban landscape around the church itself.

Classe had lost its economic, political and administrative importance during the eighth and ninth centuries, as a result of the general decline and instability of the area. Classe, densely populated in the previous period, became a place of ruins and scattered habitation units in the area surrounded by the one-time very strong wall of the city. The few surviving small communities must have settled around the most important ecclesiastical buildings. Major churches, such as San Severo (near the city walls, inside) and Sant' Apollinare in Classe (near the city walls, but outside) were still visible and important landmarks of the landscape. In both cases monasteries emerged near the churches, and in the following centuries their monastic communities must have been the most important foci of the area. In the earliest phase, Benedictine monks settled at San Severo, and at least for three centuries the Benedictine abbey continued the religious life attached to the former burial place of the famous bishop. Benedictine monasteries usually developed in remote places according to the original intention of the founder of the order. Urban Benedictine communities were rare, but a new type of monastic site selection occured in some of the antique urban centres of Italy. Benedictine abbeys colonised abandoned Roman urban centres, where urban life was no longer present in the early Middle Ages, but where ruins clearly highlighted the one-time importance of the settlements.[2] No major population concentration remained in these or this places, but here and there, small village-type communities lived amongst the ruins of the Roman urban units.[3] This process does not necessarily mean a dramatic change in the life of the communities, but rather a gradual transformation.

Charters mentioning the abbot of San Severo often refer to Classe as a former town, but no longer as an urban centre, and the legal procedures documented in these charters mainly mention former town districts, the town wall or churches as landmarks for land division or as boundaries of the estates. This shows that the community memory of the local population and the more document-related ecclesiastical or administrative memory was not fundamentally

[2] Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne (An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800)* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006) 168–174.

[3] A very similar process can be detected in Rome, as the excavations at Crypta Balbi clearly demonstrated the characteristic features of the transformation: *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* eds., M.S. Arena et al. Ministero per i Beni e la Attività Culturali/Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma (Milan: Electa 2001).

different from each other, and people clearly knew about the history of these sites and churches. One distinct piece of evidence for this is the text written by Agnellus in the ninth century on the life and the church of Saint Severo, which is obviously a trustful document for the history of the bishop and for the church erected at his burial place. At the same time, it is also a document of hagiographic tradition, showing changes in the cult of the saint and documenting histories emerging later at the basilica. The document does not mention the monastery of San Severo, therefore its foundation must have happened between c. 830 (the possible date for Agnellus' text) and 955, when it is mentioned for the first time as a monastery. In this case we can be sure that we can speak about a monastic community and not only about a *monasterium*, which can also mean a chapel or burial place (like the *monastery of San Rufillo)*, because at this time we have evidence for the abbot of the monastery, and in several later charters as well, where the head of the community is explicitly mentioned.

In the tenth century, when the monastery most probably was founded, the church of San Severo must have been still an important pilgrimage site, although the relics of St. Severus were no longer in the basilica. The stolen body of St. Severus could play no more physical role in the transformation of the churches of Classe, but it could for the church in Germany, particularly in the life of Mainz and Erfurt.[4] However, the memory of the famous bishop was still an important factor at Classe, as indicated in the documents related to the Italian journey of Emperor Otto in 967. The German emperor wanted to recreate the one-time power of the Roman and Carolingian emperors and his journey was full of symbolic and prestige elements connected to his political plans. His coronation in Rome, and his visit to Ravenna are clear indications of a well-planned program, in which he visited sites and places loaded with clear images of the emperors and with their symbolic elements connected to the administrative and ecclesiastical role of the ruler.[5] This helps explain Otto's visit to San Severo and his stopover in the palace near the monastery.[6] This palace, along-

[4] On the stealing of the relics of St. Severus: Giuseppe Morini, *Ravenna d'altri tempi* (Ravenna: Libreria Antiquaria Tonini, 2004) 294–298; Martina Caroli, "Culto e commercio delle reliquie a Ravenna nell'alto Medievo," in Andrea Augenti – Carlo Bertelli eds., *Ravenna tra Oriente e Occidente: storia e archeologia* I Quaderni di "Flaminia" 8. (Ravenna: Longo Editore 2006): 15–27.

[5] David A. Warner, "The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna," in Björn Weiler – Simon MacLean eds., *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500,* International Medieval Research 16 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2006) 121–140.

[6] On 25th November 967 Emperor Otto I issued a charter for the monastery of San Severo concerning its estates. The text of the charter is edited in: *Monumenta Germaniae*

side the monument of one of the leading figures of the church of Ravenna, has also a direct connotation to the role of the emperor, as it referred to the imperial palaces of Ravenna and of Theoderic. At the same time it was a symbolic visit to the original church of a saint, who was now a major patron saint for Mainz, one of the most important ecclesiastical centers of contemporary Germany. Indirectly it also implies that the church of San Severo must have been in good condition in this time, and the monastery was of note. Concerning the palace itself, we have very little documentary evidence. It can be argued that during the visit of the emperor one wing of the monastic complex was used as the palace, a part of the building which could accomodate the ruler and house the various activities of the court. Such monastic building parts are known from Europe as places offering temporary accommodation for the emperor and for his retinue. Some documentary evidence connected to San Severo, however, suggests that the building of the *palatium* must have been a well defined complex as it was mentioned as a palace even much later, such as in the fourteenth century.

From the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries written evidence proves the continuous existence of the Benedictine monastery, the building complex or the abbot of it was recorded several times indicating the position of the monastery and to some extent its environment in Classe. Charter evidence does not allow us to discuss periods of development or decline of the Benedictine monastery; such questions can be answered by the analysis of the building activity at the site. At the same time, the take-over of the monastery by the Cistercian order in the thirteenth century[7] can generally be interpreted as an indicator for material or spiritual decline of a monastic community or complex. Furthermore, the same event can be seen as a new sign of gradual transformation of the landscape of the Classe area. Cistercian monasteries, in principle, were founded at remote places, very often in woodland areas. Urban Cistercian monasteries were rare, rather exceptional, as monastic life in this order was directly connected to the production of daily goods by the members of the community themselves. In Italy, however, remote places were sometimes sites of former settlements, including sites of antique urban settlements. As this was the case for Classe as well, it can be interpreted that the process of decline, and perhaps the desertion of smaller settlements around churches in the former antique city, was acceler-

Historica. Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae. I. Conradi I. Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani 1879–1884) 476–477.

[7] For the chronology of the Cistercian take-over see: Paola Novara, "Materiali dallo scavo della Chiesa di S. Severo in Classe (RA)," in *I Congresso Nazionale di Archaeologia Medievale.* ed. Sauro Gelichi, Società degli Archaeologi Medievisti Italiani, Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche, Università di Pisa. (Pisa: Edizioni all'insegna del Giglio 1997) 328.

ated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, by the mid-thirteenth century it was a mainly open area with churches scattered around the town of Ravenna, and this landscape was empty enough for the Cistercians to take over the church and the monastic complex at San Severo. The exact timing of this change is not known, and speculations and discussions quote various dates for their arrival. Most probably it happened between 1257 and 1262,[8] - although this is a fairly late date in the Cistercian expansion process in Italy. A more detailed study of Italian Cistercian foundation dates would perhaps shed light on the other factors which made attractive the former Benedictine monastery for the order.[9]

Characteristic processes for the transformations of San Severo in the Late Medieval period cannot be identified on the basis of written evidence, as charters mainly mention transactions of estates and lands connected to the monastery,[10] but these documents do not clarify problems concerning the spiritual life of the community or the building activity at the monastic complex.

The next turning point in the history of San Severo is 1455, when another monastic order takes over the monastic complex. The appearance here of the Camaldulians suggests further elements of a possible decline but a new attempt for the recovery as well. This order had a very strong presence in medieval Italy. St. Romualdo and the Camaldulian order made a special impact on the ecclesiastical life of Ravenna and Classe and the monastery of this order at Sant' Apollinare in Classe was one of the most important monastic communities in the whole region. As this church played a crucial symbolic role in the life of St. Romualdo, therefore its monastic community was far more important then other monastic complexes of the order. The life of St. Romualdo was also influenced by Emperor Otto, which is another connecting element to the monastic complex of San Severo. Furthermore, the heremitic monastic communities of

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[8] It is not mentioned in the documents and lists of the general chapter in 1257 and the first charter evidence is from 1262. All other speculations lack historical evidence, particularly those, where foundation dates were given indicating a period before the emergence of the order or its appearence in Italy.

[9] One of the most important medieval Cistercian monasteries, Casamari, was also a take over from the Benedictine order and it was also built at the site of a former Roman settlement. Federico Farina – Benedetto Fornari, *L'architettura cistercense e l'abbazia di Casamari* (Casamari: Edizione Casamari, 1978), 51–70.

[10] Similar texts are characteristic for the documents on San Severo, a typical source for this period is quoted below. "*Gerardo Abate di S. Severo concede a livello uno spazio di terra nella Ragione di S. Salvatore nel fondo S. Pullione, in confine la strada, che va vicino al muro della città, l'altra, che va a S. Stefano in fundamento, gli eredi di Benvenuto Duca, ed. altri 12 June 1295.*" M. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secolo di mezzo.* I–VI. (Venezia, 1801–1804.), Num. CLXXVIII. Tom. I. 1801. 370.

the order created by him were attractive and relevant for a site with an important ecclesiastical past, but without a supporting settlement around it. Therefore, it was a logical step to invite the Camaldulians to play an active role at San Severo, an act which can reinforce our impression about the further decline of the area as a zone of settlements. If communities around the Late Antique or Early Medieval church complexes in the Classe area disappear, major problems occur with the survival of the monastic communities as well. Thus, the Camaldulian take-over may well be seen as another sign for the more dramatic transformation of the area in the zone of Classe. This impression can be corroborated by the fact that, finally, in 1512, the monks from San Severo moved to the town of Ravenna, thus ending a long period of monastic history at the site. The final phase of the monastic community at San Severo, however, can also be explained by external factors and not only by the changes of the local settlement pattern. The military expansion of Venice to this area was a major new element in these changes, which had direct impact on the complex at San Severo. The destruction of the complex and the transportation of some of its architectural elements to Venice was just one of the last destructive factors in its history, but one which significantly ruined remaining parts of the complex.

The history of San Severo between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century is no longer linked to its monastic past, but is rather a sequence of events for the recovery or rebuilding of an ancient church or, parallel to this, the history of desertion and destruction, just as in case of many other churches at Classe.

Monastic Archaeology in the Area of San Severo: Problems and Questions

The previous archaeological investigations of San Severo had concentrated on the main area of the basilica, and excavated very few features outside the church building itself, except the south-western area near the church, and a part of the zone east of the apse. However no detailed research was made in front of the western façade of the church or on the northern side of the basilica. This creates a problem of interpretation, since the archaeological and historical contextualization of the basilica cannot be based just on the previous archaeological evidence. At the same time, early medieval and medieval written sources inform us about a complex history of the church and about the functional changes of the basilica, with the latest happening in the second half of the tenth century, when a monastery attached to the basilica is documented for the first time. How much, therefore, of San severo's complex and extended history can be traced through archaeology? Besides the church, almost nothing was recealed of the

monastic and phases in the 1960s excavations. So far, no archaeological features were identified for these buildings, which most probably were attached to the main basilica building. To the south of the basilica, a small area was excavated and interpreted as the shrine of St. Severus. To the north of the basilica only a narrow trench containing graves was excavated and partly published. But even in this case, the actual extension of the ecavated area is problematic, and no detailed documentation is available for this zone. Because of all these elements, the preliminary planning phase of the Progetto Classe investigation in 2006 decided to open up a larger surface north of the basilica. The main research questions attached to this area were the following:

- To what extent had previous archaeological excavation explored this area, and how much was excavated?
- What kind of chronological and functional sequences can be identified for this area?
- To what extent is this area suitable for the contextualization of the basilica in the functional context of San Severo and its relationship to the urban area of Classe?
- What kind of function can be attached to this zone, and how it was related to the functional changes of the basilica ?
- Can we identify features which can be interpreted as elements of a monastic complex (cloister)?
- Can we identify features which can be interpreted as elements of a palace?
- Which area was covered by burials, and how far can this function of the area be followed (spatially and chronologically) by the help of the excavation?

Previous Archaeological Research

Previous archaeological research[11] did not focus at all on the problem of the monastic complexes attached to San Severo. The excavated building complexes

[11] G. Bermond Montanari, "Scavi e ricerche nella zona basilica di S. Severo," *Bollettino Economico della Camera di Commercio di Ravenna* (BECCR) 1 (1966): 1. 12–18; G. Bermond Montanari, "Nuove scoperte archeologiche nel …… classicano," *Bollettino Economico della Camera di Commercio di Ravenna.* (BECCR) 6 (1967): 457–466; G. Bermond Montanari, *La chiesa di S. Severo nel territorio di Classe.* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1968) (henceforth: Montanari, *La chiesa*); G. Cortesi, *La zone e la basilica di S. Severo nel territorio di Classe.* (Ravenna, 1964); Maria Grazia Maioli, "La basilica di S. Severo e la casa Romana," in Maria Grazia Maioli – Maria Luisa Stoppioni, *Classe e Ravenna fra terra e mare. (Città – necropoli – monumenti.*

on the southern side of the basilica did not reveal any buildings or structures which can be interpreted as parts of the monasteries mentioned in the written sources between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries. Although this side of the church would be a relevant place to create a monastic building complex, the burial monuments excavated on this side and other architectural features (most probably from the Roman period) do not give the impression of monastic architecture.

Archaeological investigations on the northern side of the basilica were so limited in space that they did not really contribute to our understanding of this zone at least from the point of view of monastic building complexes. The few burials and short sections of walls attached to the basilica did not allow interpretation concerning the buildings and the function of this zone. Therefore, the area remained a possible place for the excavation of the monastic complex, but without clear indications for such a function.

Geophysical Investigation

In order to identify archaeological features and to survey the area on the northern side of the basilica, Ground Penetrating Radar investigation was carried out before the excavation campaign in 2006.[12] The survey clearly indicated the presence of large features in the northern zone, some of them showing anomalies typical of wall structures. These features were present not only in the zone close to the northern wall of the basilica, but appeared at some distance from it as well. Some features lay perpendicular to the northern wall and a few of them continued till the northern border of the investigated area and most probably even beyond. One of these features corresponded to the wall between the narthex and the nave of the basilica, indicating a similar spatial division between two zones of different character outside of the basilica. The concentration of various anomalies was stronger close to the basilica north wall than in other parts of the investigated surface and much more intensive than in the areas by the north-western corner of the basilica or in front of its western. The main results of the investigation corroborated the few archaeological data

Un'avventura della archeologia gli scavi nella zona archeologica di Classe.) (Ravenna: Edizioni Sirri 1987); Maria Grazia Maioli, "Nuovi dati sul complesso archeologico di S. Severo a Classe (RA): 1981–1991," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (CARB) 39 (1992) 498–520; Maria Grazia Maioli, "La basilica di San severo a Classe: scavo e architettura," in *Santi banchieri re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato.* eds. Andrea Augenti, Carlo Bertelli (Milano: Skira editore, 2006) 63–70.

[12] See also the other articles on San Severo in this volume.

from the northern zone indicating that large building complexes and most probably further burial features survived here.

Overview of the Site and its Archaeological Investigation

A large area was opened up, based on the geoarchaeological evidence, the previous excavations and on the basis of the presumption of the monastic complex on this side. Two sections were laid down along the northern wall of the basilica. The southern limit of both sections was marked by this north wall. A zone parallel to the basilica wall had been partially excavated by Maria Grazia Maioli and she found there the previously described graves. However, the exact extension of this excavation is not known, as the construction work for the modern roofing destroyed archaeological features, partly revealed by this previous archaeological investigation. Furthermore, when the concrete foundations of the protective roof over the basilica was erected, rectangular-shaped concrete blocks were made including metal posts for supporting the roof. (*Fig. 1*) These works were obviously made without any archaeological supervison, since the foundation holes of the concrete blocks were cut into archaeological layers and sometimes features (graves). Their level was deeper than the bottom of the previous archaeological sondages, so we had to re-excavate this whole zone to identify the extension of the previous research sondage and the size of the construction pits. It is important to record that in most cases a zone of 2 metres width, all along the northern wall of the basilica lacked the upper layers of stratification, which meant that the excavation in this zone was on the level of the graves.

Functional Analysis and the Archaeological Evidence

In order to summarize the results of the 2006 investigations, various groups of archeological features were created for the functional analysis of the excavated area. By this method we can avoid a situation, where the written evidence for the monastic complexes and the archaeological features found in the northern zone are connected to each other in an early phase of the interpretation, thus leading to a problematic situation and any circular argument. The danger of such interpretation would be that archaeological features are directly identified with elements of a monastic complex mentioned in the written sources and in the second phase the same archaeological or architectural features must be used as evidence for the interpretation of some of the elements mentioned in the same sources. Instead, we offer a preliminary architectural functional analyis of the

excavated features, in which the interpretative categories are not linked to the written evidence, but are described according to clear archaeological, architectural and spatial characteristics. These groups of features are then interpreted with the help of relative and absolute chronology based on archaeological evidence, and only after this are they compared with the data from the written documents. This process should be followed, because one of the most typical characteristics of the site is the continuous, partial or total destruction of previous building phases with an intensive robbing of the walls down to the bottom of their foundation. Thus, the existence of various building parts can only be proven on the basis of the robbed walls of the complex. Very often the most problematic question is the dating of these systematically demolished walls: generally, the dating of their construction can be worked out, but the period in which these walls were used or reused for different building complexes is more difficult. Thus, the functional analysis of the complexes can help us to interpret the buildings and at the same time can answer questions concerning the integrity of some parts of the complexes. At the same time, this analytical approach helps to compare archaeological conclusions and written data in a later phase of the interpretative work.

The most important archaeological and architectural features for the functional analysis can be summarized thus:

Burial complexes:

1. Graves in the zone of the apse
2. Building complexes on the southern side of the basilica (of burial function)

Buildings and graves on the northern side of the basilica

Groups of graves (type of graves, orientation, architectural elements, relative chronology, relationship with building complexes):

1. Graves "attached" to the early basilica
2. Later graves with partly different orientation and in relationship with other buildings
3. Graves of a "church cemetery"

Buildings and architectural elements on the northern side of the basilica

1. Walls indicating a building (buildings?) attached to the northern wall of the basilica (incorporating early graves)
2. Walls of a large building complex attached to the basilica; new spatial organisation of the area (graves with different orientation)
3. Walls from a later period – limited usage of the area
4. "Church cemetery" without buildings

Indicators for a spatial-functional analysis

1. Architectural elements separating burial zones (division line between "church cemetery" and the large building complex in the zone of the narthex)
2. Features of habitation ("non-religious" use of space – latrines attached to the large building complex)
3. Graves with different orientation: graves oriented to building complexes other than the basilica

Results

Since the earlier archaeological excavations had not investigated the monastic complex or the palace of Otto attached to the basilica of San Severo or nearby, therefore a key aim of the 2006 project was partially focused on this problem. The area north of the basilica revaled a very complex situation, where many multi-layered and multi-period features were excavated. (*Fig. 2*) They represent large buildings attached to the northern wall of the basilica, and the built structures are mixed with burial areas and zones. (*Fig. 3*) From the functional point of view, the buildings also are of a mixed character: some are connected to burial activity in the context of the basilica, while others are habitational with some burial features. (*Fig. 4*) Significant changes in the orientation of these buildings were detected: while the earlier structures were attached to the basilica and their walls lay parallel, following the east-west orientation of the main other walls, the later structures were mainly in a perpendicular position and major buildings and wings were also erected far from the basilica walls. Although few signs of industrial activity or craftmanship were identified in this zone, they are most probably connected to the construction of some of the buildings in this area, and not to the general function of the buildings. Based on the architectural remains and on the archaeological finds recovered, it can be stated that the area did not have an urban habitation character in the Middle Ages, but it must have been used for buildings with some kind of ecclesiastical character. This supports the interpretation of some of the wings and buildings here as parts of the monastic complex. The transformation of the general character of the area in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, and the existence of buildings of habitation character for the next five hundred years correspond well with the historical data for the existence of a monastic complex here. The main destruction phase of the largest building at the end of the fifteenth century and the lack of major buildings or building activity after the beginning of the sixteenth century corroborates the decline of the monastic community and the abandonment of the site as a monastery. Features of building activity on a

smaller scale also correspond with the historical data for rebuilding attempts of the church, although on a very restricted level. (*Fig. 5*)

Thus, the main historical periods of the monasteries at San Severo have clearly been identified by the first systematic archaeological investigations north of the basilica, and a complex architectural history can be established on the basis of the excvated features. Further excavations in this zone in the future should reveal the extension of the monastic complex, its main characteristic features in the different periods and its possible connections to the building complex mentioned in the written sources as the palace of the emperor.

Fig. 1. Burials and concrete blocks for the modern metal piers along the northern wall of the basilica.

Fig. 4. Burials and parts of the building complex north of the basilica.

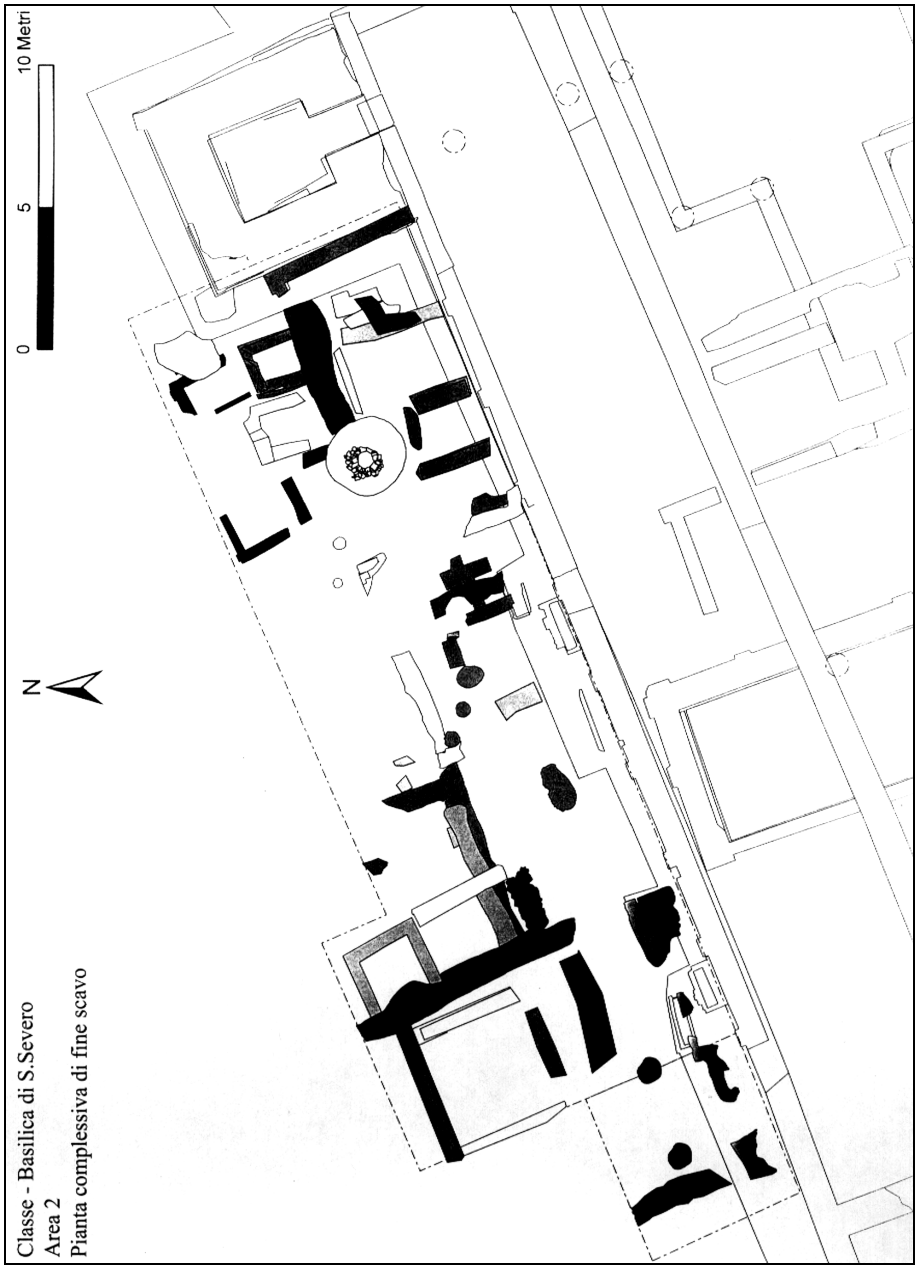

Fig. 2. Plan of the excavated area north of the basilica.

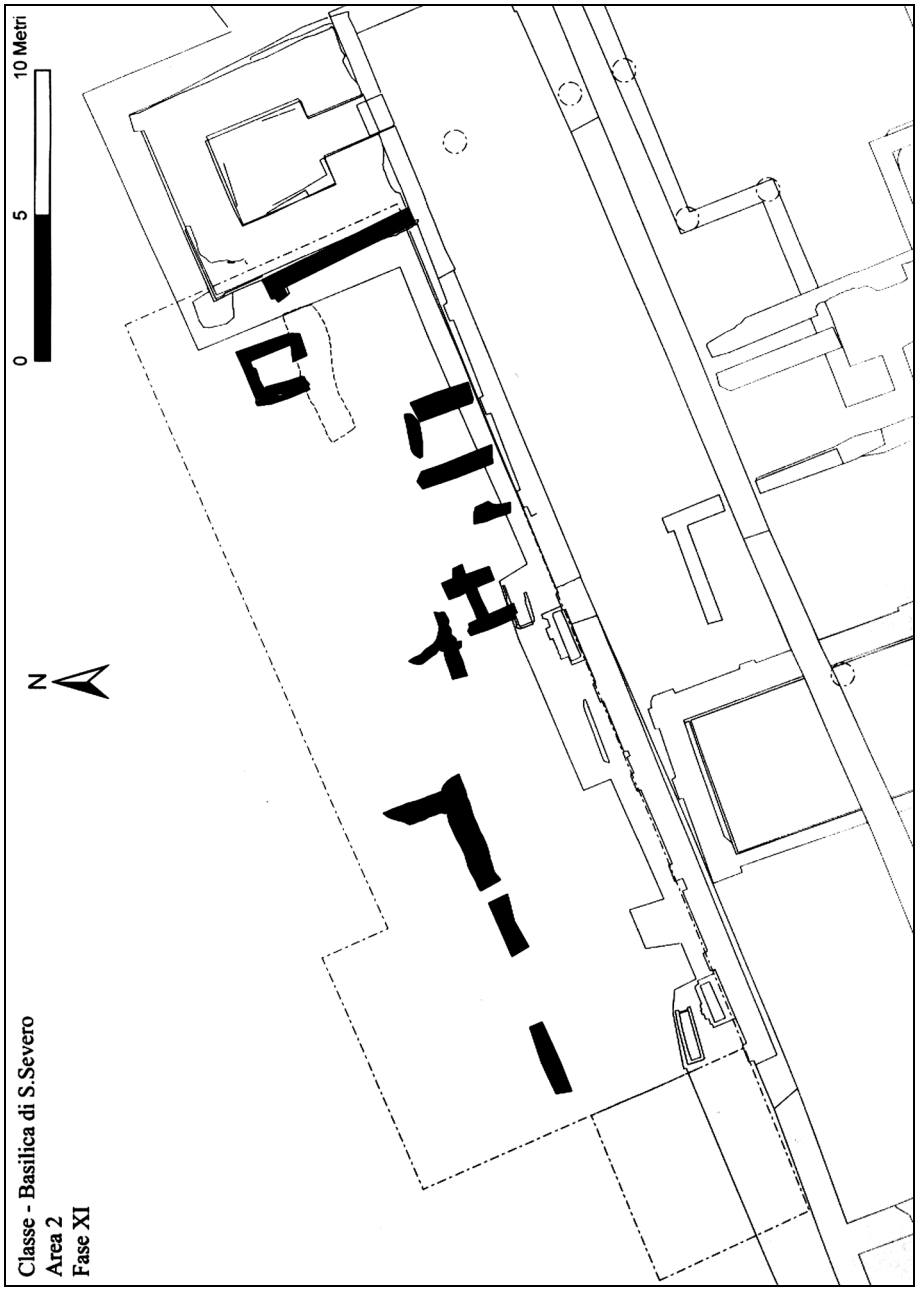

Fig. 3. Features of the phase XI (parts of the monastic complex) in the excavated area.

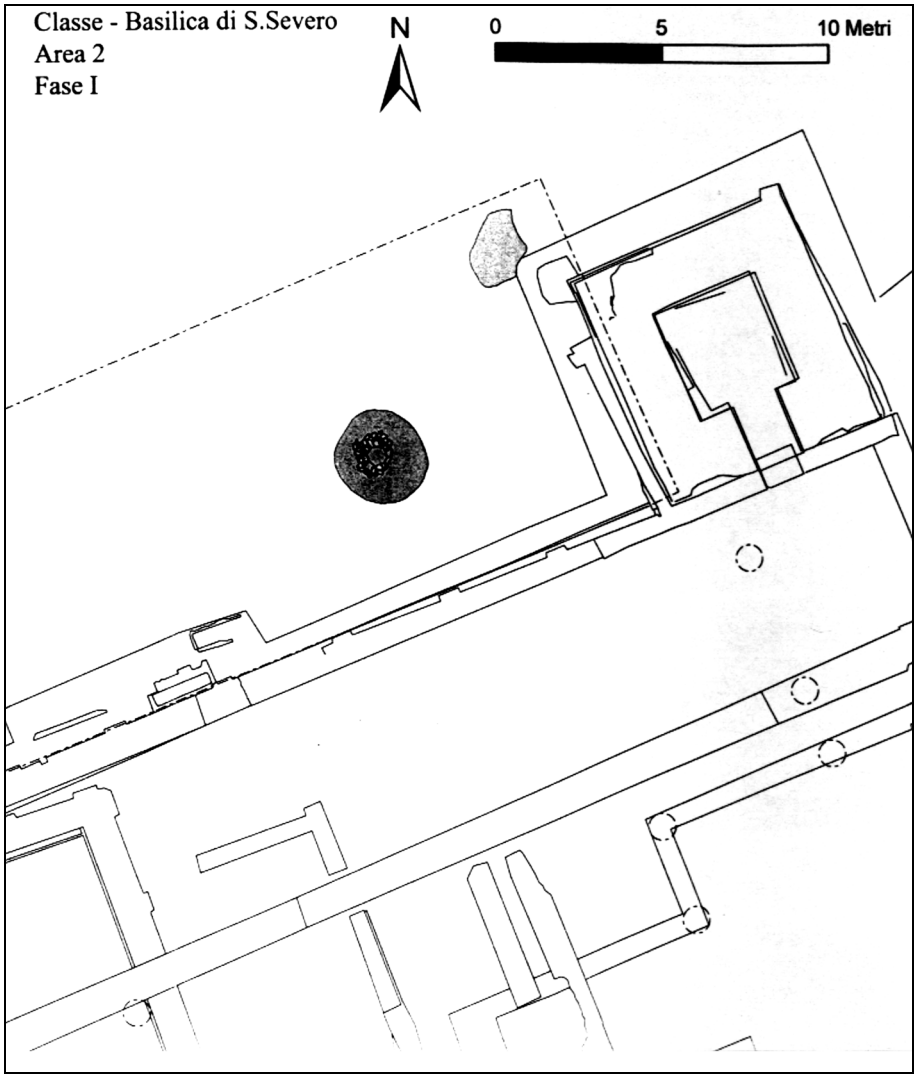

Fig. 5. Features of the phase I (well) in the excavated area.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPES IN WESTERN HUNGARY (POSSIBILITIES FOR RESEARCH)[1]

Réka Virágos

As a principle, the major parameters of any territory can be described by its geographical and natural features. The most important are terrain configurations, hydrogeology, soils, vegetation, and fauna. These are the characteristics which fundamentally determined the settlement of people in the past. People changed an environment and the land became a cultural landscape. The same is true in the case of western Hungary, which went through a remarkable change, mainly in the Roman period. This change had a strong effect that continued into post-Roman times and posed a challenge for the new populations that appeared in the region. In this article I will show the possibilities and expectations for further research concerning the post-Roman landscape of Western Hungary,[2] formerly part of the Roman province Pannonia. At the present stage of research, my main goal is to take the archaeological sources, methods, and potential problems into account, and, additionally, to scrutinize questions about the changes of landscape management and landscape use in this period.[3]

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Archaeological research on the fifth- to the eighth-century in Hungary has revealed mainly cemeteries; therefore, scholars have examined this period predominantly through burials and grave goods (that is, single objects or object types). These scholars had to face a number of problems in the case of other features such as fragmentary remnants of settlements originating after the

[1] This article is an extended version of the paper "Continuity and Change of Landscapes in the Early Middle Ages," given at the conference *Translatio, Transformatio (Changes of Late Antique and Early Medieval Christian Cult Places and Sites in the Middle Ages)* held in the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest, 16 September 2006.

[2] I have deliberately restricted my survey of Roman Pannonia to Transdanubia (modern western Hungary) due to the better accessibility of its archaeological material. For purposes of comparison, I use the published materials from the complete territory of the province.

[3] The themes discussed here form part of my PhD dissertation, in process at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (dissertation supervisor: Tivadar Vida).

surrender of the province. Researchers have tended to investigate this process and period of change principally through archaeological and written sources in order to analyze the material culture of each migrating population to see it from the point of view of ethnicity, culture, and settlement continuity. The fundamental question has been what happened to the inhabitants of the province after the Huns took over the political rule in Pannonia, and what kind of continuity or discontinuity can be discovered in this post-Roman period.[4] This examination had three major directions. The first was distinguishing the relationship between local and migrating populations—a problem which had to address sorting archaeological finds based on ethnicity.[5] The second direction was defining settlement continuity—predominantly urban—by asking whether Roman sites continued to be used in their original function by local (provincial) inhabitants or only as simple dwelling places by "barbaric" migrating people. The third was establishing the appearance or the survival of Christianity and its connection to the local and migrating populations.[6] Of course, these three

[4] The investigation of various aspects of the survival and continuity of the Romanized population of Pannonia, the Migration Period, and the ethnic origin and the merging of the arriving people with the locals started as early as the end of the nineteenth century, see Sándor Márki, "A középkor kezdete Magyarországon" (The beginning of the Middle Ages in Hungary), *Századok* 24 (1890): 311–327, 396–413; András Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien* Vol. 2 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1926); Ambrus Pleidell, "A Magyar várostörténet első fejezete" (The first chapter of Hungarian urban history), *Századok* 68 (1934): 1–44, 158–200, 276–313.

[5] The investigation of the archaeological material of the *foederati* (the barbarian population that seems to have appeared in Pannonia in the second half of the fourth century according to the written records) started somewhat later. Their material culture was connected to the so-called Szabadbattyán-Csákvár type cemeteries, see Ágnes Salamon, László Barkóczi, "Pannonien in nachvalentinianischer Zeit (376–476). Ein Versuch zur Periodisation," in *Severin. Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Ausstellungskatalog,* (Linz: Oberösterreichischer Landesverlag, 1982), 147–178; László Barkóczi, Ágnes Salamon, "Das Gräberfeld von Szabadbattyán aus dem 5. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 5 (1974–75): 89–111; László Barkóczi, Ágnes Salamon, "Tendenzen der struktuellen Änderungen pannonischer Siedlungen im 5. Jahrhundert," *Alba Regia* 21 (1984): 147–187.

[6] Scholars investigating Christianity have concentrated on its appearance in the Roman province of Pannonia, its survival in the early Middle Ages, and its presence among the migrating populations; see András Alföldi, "A kereszténység nyomai Pannóniában a népvándorlás korában" (Traces of Christianity in Pannonia in the Migration Period), in *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján* (Memorial volume on the nine-hundredth anniversary of the death of Saint Stephen), ed. Jusztinián Serédy (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), 150–170; Endre Tóth, "Vigilius

research directions could be followed at the same time, for instance in the case of the so-called Keszthely Culture.[7]

In the Western part of Europe in the last 15 years increased emphasis has been placed on the transformation of the Roman World, and the Early Medieval period became a target of landscape archaeology recently. In Hungary Neil Christie made the first important steps in the early 1990s, when he started to investigate the survival of Roman settlements in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (between the fourth and tenth centuries) from a new perspective. He considered new aspects and directed more attention to basic problems, which were not entirely unknown before, but the transformation of the landscape lacked an overall investigation. Christie attempted to survey the published archaeological materials for the whole province, and showed that even small, fragmentary data are worthy of a context-based analysis: features which were known before could be interpreted in a new light, and changes in time could be detected. He systematically analysed the late antique and early medieval re-use of standing Roman buildings, the possibilities of continuity in site usage, and the type and function of the re-use.[8]

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episcopus Scaravaciensis," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 26 (1974): 269–275; Endre Tóth, "Das Christentum in Pannonien bis zum 7. Jahrhundert nach den archäologischen Zeugnissen," in *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum. Von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert,* ed. E. Boshof, H. Wolff. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 240–272; Edit B. Thomas, "Das frühe Christentum in Pannonien im Lichte der archäologischen Funde," in *Severin. Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Ausstellungskatalog* (Linz: Oberösterreichischer Landesverlag, 1982), 255–293; Dóra Gáspár, *Christianity in Roman Pannonia*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 101, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002); Tivadar Vida, "Heidnische und christliche Elemente der awarenzeitlichen Glaubenswelt, Amulette in der Awarenzeit," *Zalai Múzeum* 11 (2002): 179–209.

[7] Efforts have been made to interpret and to connect the archaeological material of the Keszthely Culture to ethnicity and to written sources, see recently Volker Bierbrauer, "Die Keszthely-Kultur und die romanische Kontinuität in Westungarn (5–8. Jh.). Neue Überlegungen zu einem alten Problem," in *Von Sachsen bis Jerusalem. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel der Zeit. Festschrift für Wolfgang Giese zum 65. Geburtstag* eds. Hubertus Seibert, Gertrud Thoma (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2004] 51–72, with a good summary of the previous publications and in general Falco Daim, "Keszthelyl," in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 16. Band (Jadwingen – Kleindichtung) ed. Johannes Hoops (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000) 468–474.

[8] Neil Christie, "The Survival of Roman Settlement along the Middle Danube: Pannonia from the Fourth to the Tenth Century," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11, No. 3 (1992): 317–339 (hereafter: Christie, "The Survival"); Neil Christie, "Towns and People on the Middle Danube in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Neil Christie and

Since the investigation and evaluation of the fifth to eighth centuries in Pannonia has been based principally on cemetery excavations, the macro- and micro-environmental surroundings of the sites have been neglected. This is also due to the scarce data on settlements connected to this period; those that exist are geographically scattered and haphazardly treated. The idea of creating a complex landscape history is also new. Even a recently published overview of Hungarian archaeology lacks a chapter on landscape research from this period.[9] Concerning archaeological topography, scholars' interest focuses mainly on environmental archaeology and aerial photography. Nevertheless, projects such as the recently started Keszthely-Fenékpuszta or Szólád-Lombard cemetery projects[10] are essential for research into this period; they have the same goal, to fully evaluate the excavated material of an archaeological site and carry out its complete environmental investigation.

My research will investigate in detail how the arriving new populations used or reused the Roman landscape—including urban and rural settlements, *villae*, military edifices, roads, and strategic points—in post Roman times. One might call this detecting the changes in the settlement system, although in both periods—due to the lack of adequate data—it is still hard to speak about complex settlement systems. The research equally involves published material and data available through the databases of museums and the National Office for Cultural Heritage. I have begun to build up a GIS-based topographical database containing all available data for each site. Based on my preliminary

Stephen T. Loseby (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996): 71–98 (hereafter: Christie, "Towns and People"); Neil Christie, "Towns, Land and Power: German-Roman Survival and Interactions in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Pannonia," in *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and Neil Christie (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 275–297 (hereafter: Christie, "Towns, Land and Power").

[9] *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millenium,* ed. Zsolt Visy, (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003), although it contains a summary and bibliography regarding landscape archaeology in the Middle Ages on page 385.

[10] The complex archaeological and environmental investigation of the late Roman castle and the early medieval features at Keszthely-Fenékpuszta and its surroundings is carried out jointly by the Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum (Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig, Germany) and the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest, Hungary), in the framework of the project "Kontinuität und Migration in und um Keszthely-Fenékpuszta von der Spätantike bis zum 9. Jahrhundert." The excavation of the Lombard cemetery at Szólád was started by Uta von Freeden (Römisch-Germanisches Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. M., Germany) and Tivadar Vida (Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary) in 2004. They plan to carry out an environmental study concerning the area of the whole site in 2007.

survey, there are approximately 500 known archaeological sites in western Hungary, where some kind of connection between Roman and the fifth- to eighth-century features can be observed.

This research has three levels. 1. The evaluation of all published and accessible data from western Hungary. 2. The evaluation of the relevant data from Veszprém County (the only area with a complete and revised archaeological topography) and the M7 highway (running south along the Lake Balaton, archaeologically investigated in the last seven years) as a control area.[11] 3. The evaluation of the Roman and post-Roman features and finds from one single site—in this case a site in Sopron—to learn about their exact relationship.[12] The material examined comes from the archaeological excavations of the past approximately 120 years, hence the quantity and the quality of the documentation and the interpretations of the archaeological finds vary widely. This also

[11] The archaeological topography of Veszprém County is complete, see Kornél Bakay, Nándor Kalicz, Károly Sági, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A keszthelyi és tapolcai járás.* (The archaeological topography of Veszprém County. The Keszthely and Tapolca districts) (Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 1) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966); István Éri, Márta Kelemen, Péter Németh, István Torma, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás.* (The archaeological topography of Veszprém County. The Veszprém district) (Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 2). (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969); Kornél Bakay, Nándor Kalicz, Károly Sági, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A devecseri és sümegi járás,* (The archaeological topography of Veszprém County. The Devecser and Sümeg districts) (Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 3). (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970); Margit Dax, István Éri, Sándor Mithay, Sylvia Palágyi, István Torma, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A pápai és zirci járás.* (The archaeological topography of Veszprém County. The Pápa and Zirc districts) (Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 4). (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972). A partial revision was carried out by order of the Hungarian National Office for Cultural Heritage in 2006. The recent excavations along the M7 highway have added significant data to the archaeological study of the early medieval period; see Péter Polgár, "Zamárdi, Kútvölgyi-dűlő" (Zamárdi, Kútvölgyi field), *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2002* (Archaeological Investigations in Hungary, 2002). (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2004), 297 (hereafter: Polgár, "Zamárdi"); Péter Skriba, András Sófalvi, "Langobárd település Balatonlelle határában" (Lombard settlement in the territory of Balatonlelle), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 129 (2004): 121–163 (hereafter: Skriba, Sófalvi, "Langobárd település").

[12] Part of the archaeological site called Sopron-Városház utca was excavated by Klára Sz. Póczy between 1966 and 1972. According to a recent evaluation of the excavation data, this part of Scarbantia was used uninterruptedly after the Roman period up to the second half of the sixth century. I would like to thank Klára Sz. Póczy for the opportunity to use her documentation.

applies to the extent of the research in both time and place. When mapping the known sites, the most eye-catching feature is their locations in relation to the most important museums. The informational value of the above-mentioned 500 sites is also very uneven; data revealed by finds from both late Roman and early medieval periods from the same site are the most uncertain if originating from field walking and the most reliable if provided by a large-scale excavation with a clearly visible context. Unfortunately, up to now, the latter has been rare. Additionally, finding the precise location of the sites of older and unpublished excavations and the connection between excavations far from each other in time are a great challenge.[13] In an ideal case (that is, if a whole area were fully and completely excavated), the topography of sites would show the complete settlement system of that area in each period. Of course, in reality the excavation of all archaeological features in a large area is rarely attainable, but even if it were, the real picture would be influenced by a number of circumstances. The real value of the actual state of research is very much dependent on the number of proper excavations carried out in the area. Field surveys often provide insecure data and this method cannot guarantee a complete list of all sites from all periods. The issue of sampling also arises; how typical is an areal survey for a larger area. Large-scale excavation can provide some control for previous intensive field surveys, but it is unlikely to have many such excavations in a region. The situation is the worst in the case of old, poorly recorded finds and documentation stored in museums. In such cases one has to take into consideration the size of the area, the type of former investigation, the interest and goal of the observer, the potential accuracy in recording the data, and the methods of evaluation and interpretation. The scientific value of the data must be subject to an investigation in each such case.

When comparing data from two historical periods following each other in one and the same region, several problems occur. The first and most important one is the determination of the precise chronology of the sites involved. It concerns particularly the archaeological material from field surveys of settlements. It is hard to distinguish the relationship between archaeological features, to answer the questions of whether they are contemporary with each other, have direct or indirect connections, directly overlap each other or are

[13] Re-evaluating old excavations and refining the chronologies of the ceramic material of uncertain periods can present an opportunity in the future to fill in the gaps in the chronology and would help to solve some of the problems of this transitional period. See Neil Christie, "Landscapes of Change in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Themes, Directions and Problems," in *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 2 (henceforth: Christie, "Landscapes of Change").

separated by a chronological gap. Looking at the partial overlap between the Roman and early medieval settlement systems a question arises as to what extent it is a consequence of a similar reaction of the inhabitants to the same environmental challenges. Of course, one has to take into account the changes in the Roman settlement system; only the sites which existed until the end of the fourth century are worth including in the inquiry, because only these sites will show a real contemporary network of settlements.[14] Moreover, one should not forget about the population density. It was more-or-less even during the Roman period, although slightly influenced by the road network and natural conditions, while it was rather sparse in time and space in the early Middle Ages. During Roman times, the location of rural settlements mostly followed the established infrastructure; thanks to their varied economic activities, rural people could be partly independent from the natural conditions. The same situation was unknown in the early medieval period. Evaluating and interpreting the features and finds from two periods at the same site[15] provides a more detailed picture of the changes in the settlement system than creating a map with all the sites of a region from the two periods.[16]

Not least because the previous research focused principally on identifying continuity and assessing ethnicity, these aspects are worth proceeding with, but new aspects are also worth involving. Continuity has many types and levels:

[14] Concerning landscape archaeology, earlier attempts are known to detect the Roman centuriation in Pannonia, which was shown in the case of *Savaria*/Szombathely by András Mócsy, "Savaria utcarendszerének rekonstrukciójához" (On the reconstruction of the street system in Savaria), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 92 (1965): 27–35 and Endre Tóth, "A savariai insularendszer rekonstrukciója" (The reconstruction of the system of *insulae* in Savaria), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 98 (1971): 143–169. Recent publications, such as Dénes Gabler, "Die ländliche Besiedlung Oberpannoniens," *Passauer Universitäts-Schriften zur Archäologie* 2 (1994): 377–419; Zsolt Visy, "Die ländliche Besiedlung und Landwirtschaft in Niederpannonien," *Passauer Universitäts-Schriften zur Archäologie* 2 (1994): 421–449; Endre Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica. Római utak a Dunántúlon* (Itineraria Pannonica. Roman roads in Transdanubia), (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2006) also provide some knowledge on rural landscapes in the Roman period. The previous research, however, has been more concerned with urban and military sites. No comprehensive picture has been developed for rural landscapes in Western Hungary in the late Roman period.

[15] From the perspective of a micro-regional survey, the smallest geographical unit where one can detect an archaeological site, see Walter Janssen, "Römische und Frühmittelalterliche Landerschliessung im Vergleich," in *Villa – Curtis – Grangia. Landwirtschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein von der Römerzeit zum Hochmittelalter,* ed. Walter Janssen, Dietrich Lohrmann. (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1983), 85 (hereafter: Janssen, "Landerschliessung").

[16] Janssen, "Landerschliessung," passim.

population, material culture, religion, settlement, location, and so forth.[17] To research continuity more easily, it is worth keeping in mind the differentiation between ethnic and territorial (landscape) continuity. Ethnic continuity means the survival of a local population with a certain language, material, and spiritual culture—even if they are mingled with a newcomer group who merged with them.[18] Conversely, territorial or landscape continuity means the use or reuse of the natural and artificial environment (that was formed or re-formed by a certain population). The nature of an ethnic landscape is active, while a territorial landscape is a passive type. I would like to concentrate rather on the landscape continuity, although the significance of the ethnic landscape cannot be neglected; the final goal is not to answer the question of continuity or discontinuity, but to interpret these terms.[19]

This period has produced heterogeneous find material which is hard to divide according to archaeological cultures. The goal is to detect the reasons for each population's selection of preferred locations, the method of organizing space, and transitions in the settlement system. The possibilities for an interpretation must be clear; one has to look for the connection between archaeological features, archaeological cultures, and ethnic groups. To create such a connection between two—not to mention all three—of them is difficult in most cases; moreover, it also requires thorough source criticism of the archaeological sources. Based on these ideas, the problem of continuity cannot be separated from the ethnic identification of the populations.

The investigation of the problem of ethnicity and all its issues came from the social sciences. It is complicated, however, to give an exact definition of the

[17] Christie, "The survival," 336. Continuity and discontinuity can be discussed, according to Sebastian Brather, only if the cultural and ethnic development can be separated; see Sebastian Brather, "Ethnic Identities as Construction of Achaeology: The Case of the Alamanni," (hereafter: Brather, "Ethnic Identities") in *On Barbarian Identity (Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages)*, ed. Andrew Gillett. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 159 (hereafter: Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity*).

[18] Attila Kiss, "Pannonia rómaikori lakossága népvándorláskori helybenmaradásának kérdéséhez" (Contribution to the Survival of the Roman-Age Population of Pannonia in the Migration Period) *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 10 (1965): 81–123 esp. 93 (hereafter: Kiss, "Pannonia rómaikori lakossága,") with a good summary of the previous research; Endre Tóth, "La survivance de la population romaine en Pannonie," *Alba Regia* 15 (1977): 107–120; András Mócsy, "Grossgrundbesitz und Kontinuität in Pannonia," *Godišnjak* [Sarajevo, Center for Balkan Studies] 13 (1976): 321–326.

[19] Christie "Landscapes of Change," 24.

notion *ethnicum*,[20] since several disciplines (for example, linguistics, sociology, cultural anthropology, ethnography, history, and archaeology) use the same words with various meanings and connotations. These often-used phrases of ethnic studies (such as ethnicity, ethnic identity, ethnic group) are not only challenging to define, but their use applied to archaeological cultures and populations is rather inconsistent and changeable. Their cautious and critical application to the investigation of the archaeological material from the late antique and early medieval periods is a fairly new development.[21] Still, the ethnic self-assessment of the populations migrating to western Hungary in the fifth to eighth centuries is less important for this study than the issue of ethnicity itself. I see it as more important to reveal the possibilities at our disposal to separate the archaeological material of the whole period on an ethnic basis. The major problem is how to connect an archaeological culture to a population known by its name from the written sources.[22] This is most apparent in the case of fourth- to sixth-century Pannonia; there are archaeological sites, finds, and features which do not fit into the general culture of the major population during the subsequent Avar period either.[23] The real relationship between settlement

[20] Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, (London: Routledge, 1997), passim (hereafter: Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity)*.

[21] Alexander Callander Murray, "Reinhard Wenskus on 'Ethnogenesis,' Ethnicity, and the Origins of the Franks," in Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity*, 41.

[22] This problem has generated several theoretical discussions, not least because the "automatic" connection of certain groups of artifacts to certain populations was questioned. Those who cast doubt on such an automatic mechanism declared that "archaeological cultures are an abstraction based on the selection of arbitrary features from a continuum of differences," see Walter Pohl, "Ethnicity, Theory and Tradition: A Response," in Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity*, 235. In other words: "the archaeological periodization is nothing but the division of a continuum into sections," see Brather, "Ethnic Identities," 158–159. Siân Jones suggests reconsideration in the subject: is archaeology suitable at all for such a flexible and situation-dependent activity as the definition of ethnic identity, see Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 126; see also subject: Jenő Szűcs, *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása* (Budapest: Osiris, 1997), and Sebastian Brather, "Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie," in *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 42. ed. H. Beck, D. Geuenich, and Heiko Steuer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).

[23] For attempts to sort out ethnic identities from the mixed populations of the early Middle Ages on the basis of the archaeological material from the fifth and sixth centuries, see Ágnes Salamon, "Über die ethnischen und historischen Beziehungen des Gräberfeldes von Környe (VI. Jh.)," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1969): 273–297; István Bóna, "Beiträge zu den ethnischen Verhältnissen des 6–7. Jahrhunderts in Westungarn," *Alba Regia* 2–3 (1961–62): 49–68; István Bóna, "Ungarns

structure and ethnicity is hard to estimate. This is so simply because landscape usage is less influenced by the ethnic status of the people than by the actual circumstances of their lives (such as technological development, commercial networks, their social, economic, and cultural state, natural resources, and political boundaries).[24] These circumstances, however, can be strongly influenced by the ethnic identity of a population.[25]

What are the key questions which are worth asking to learn more about how the landscape changed in western Hungary during the period examined? The following fundamental topics were suggested by Neil Christie: first, demographic and power structures, that is, the relationship between indigenous and incomers; second, the character of settlement, that is, gaps or biases in the continuous use and reuse of the urban and rural landscapes; and third, religion and ethnicity (related to the first question), that is, the role of Christianity in creating barriers or enhancing the process of acculturation between indigenous people and incomers.[26]

Völker im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert. Ein historisch-archäologische Zusammenschau," in *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren. Schätze der Völkerwanderungszeit. Die Archäologie des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts an der mittleren Donau und der östlich-merowingische Reihengräberkeis* (Exhibition catalogue), ed. Wilfried Menghin, Tobias Springer, Egon Wamers (Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1987), 116–129 (hereafter: Bóna, "Ungarns Völker"); Endre Tóth, "Zur Geschichte des nordpannonischem Raumes im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert," in *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert,* ed. Herwig Wolfram, Falko Daim, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschiften 145 (1980), 93–100. On the Avar period see Attila Kiss, "Abriss der Siedlungsgeshichte und ethnischen Verhältnisse des Komitates Baranya in der Awarenzeit," *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica* 14 (1971): 105–113; Attila Kiss, "Das Weiterleben der Gepiden in der Awarenzeit," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bernhard Hänsel. *Südosteuropa Jahrbuch* 17 (1987) 203–218; Ferenc Fülep, "Beiträge zur Frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte von Pécs (Sopianae–Quinque Basilicae–Fünfkirchen)," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1973): 307–326; Attila Kiss, "Germanen im awarenzeitlichen Karpatenbecken," in *Awarenforschungen 1–2. Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren 4.*, ed. Falco Daim (Vienna: Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien, 1992) 35–134; Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska, *Studien zu den awarenzeitlichen Tauschierarbeiten* (Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie 11) (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2005).

[24] Brather, "Ethnic Identities," 159.

[25] Brather's opinion is that "'etchnic identity' is beyond the reach of archaeology." He thinks that it is a false point of view to look for "ethnic identity" in archaeological features because this only proves the modern way of thinking about nationalism, see Brather, "Ethnic Identities," 175.

[26] Christie, "Towns, Land and Power," 287.

These topics refer to problems which have already been investigated by scholars; the difference is in the new point of view. Additionally, questions concerning the afterlife of the provinces (both in the central and the Mediterranean areas and on the frontier) have to be considered.[27] The beginning of the investigated period in western Hungary is closely related to its late Roman phase; despite historical differences the transition was similar in many ways in most provinces. The basis was formed everywhere by the final period of the Roman Empire, in which the provinces had to face the same or very similar problems. The major differences could be in the answers to those questions.

Some Case Studies

In the following, I will present the potential of this research with some brief case studies. These are all sites with either overlapping or closely situated late Roman and early medieval structures, which might have been directly connected in some way. They indicate the types of relevant archaeological sites and also to show how informative they can be[28] (*Fig. 1*).

*The Roman villa at Kővágószőlős (*Fig. 1. 1*)*

The Roman villa at Kővágószőlős (Baranya County, 12 kilometers west of the Roman town of *Sopianae*/Pécs) was situated next to a small stream on the lower slope of Jakab hill (*Fig. 2*). It was excavated between 1977 and 1982. Unfortunately, the excavation covered only the central part—the *villa urbana*—which can by no means be considered to represent the whole *villa* complex. Information was recorded about a huge stone building, presumably the first main building of the villa, which was erected in the second half of the second century. There was also a bath-house connected to this building, and—to the south—a late Roman mausoleum. Another stone building was found during a rescue excavation not far from these edifices—unfortunately with an unidentified location—which was ruined by construction. Based on the archaeological observations, there was a redevelopment of the first stone building in the fourth century; in the late Roman period it mainly served an agricultural purpose. A great number of agricultural

[27] For a list of such questions see Christie, "Landscapes of Change," 27.

[28] One has to consider that it is often quite hard to gather adequate data about a site, especially from older excavations, because archaeologists do not always pay attention to features which they judge to be unimportant. In the case of Roman sites, this means that the post-Roman structures, which are usually hard to recognize, often simply "disappear."

tools came to light from nearly every part of the building, and one of the rooms had been converted into a makeshift smithy.[29] This shows a coincidence with

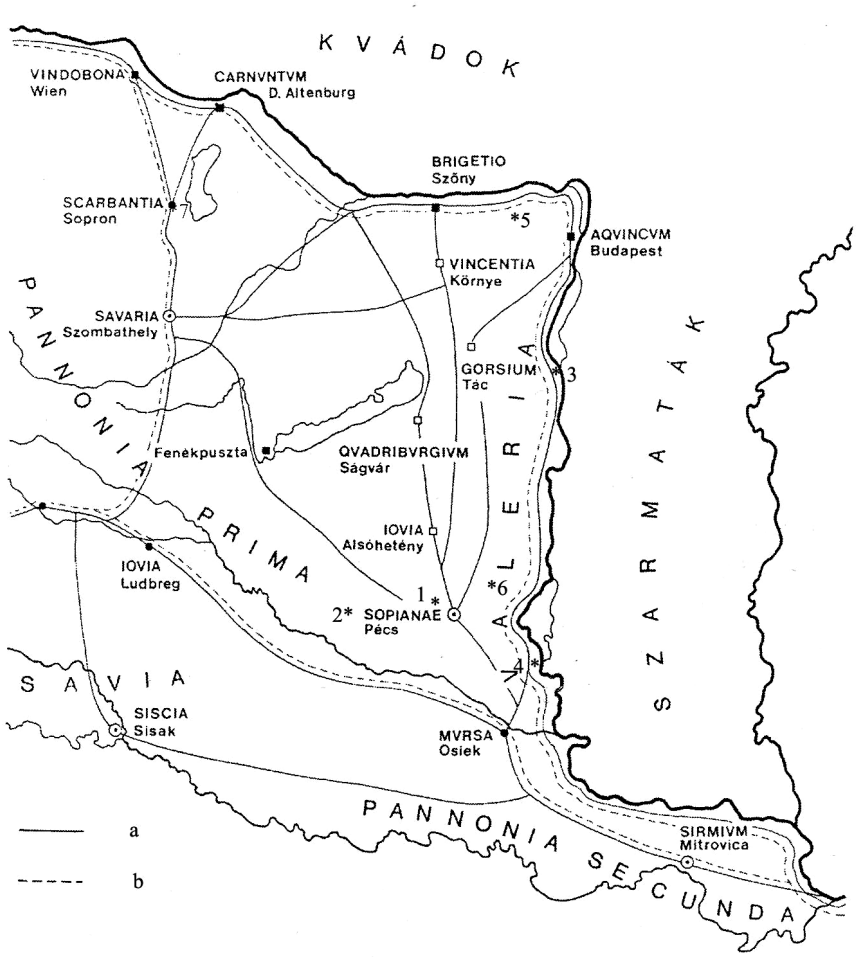

Fig. 1. The sites of the case studies on the map of Roman Pannonia *(1. Kővágószőlős, 2. Szigetvár-Zsibót-Domolospuszta, 3. Rácalmás, 4. Kölked, 5. Tokod, 6. Szebény, 7. Sopron), with the Roman routes of the* Itinerarium Antonini *(a) and the* Tabula Peutingeriana *(b) in Pannonia (after Tóth 2006).*

[29] Alice Sz. Burger, "The Roman Villa and Mausoleum at Kővágószőlős near Pécs (Sopianae): Excavations 1977–1982," *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 30–31 (1985–86): 66 and 163–164 (hereafter: Burger, "The Roman villa and Mausoleum at Kővágószőlős").

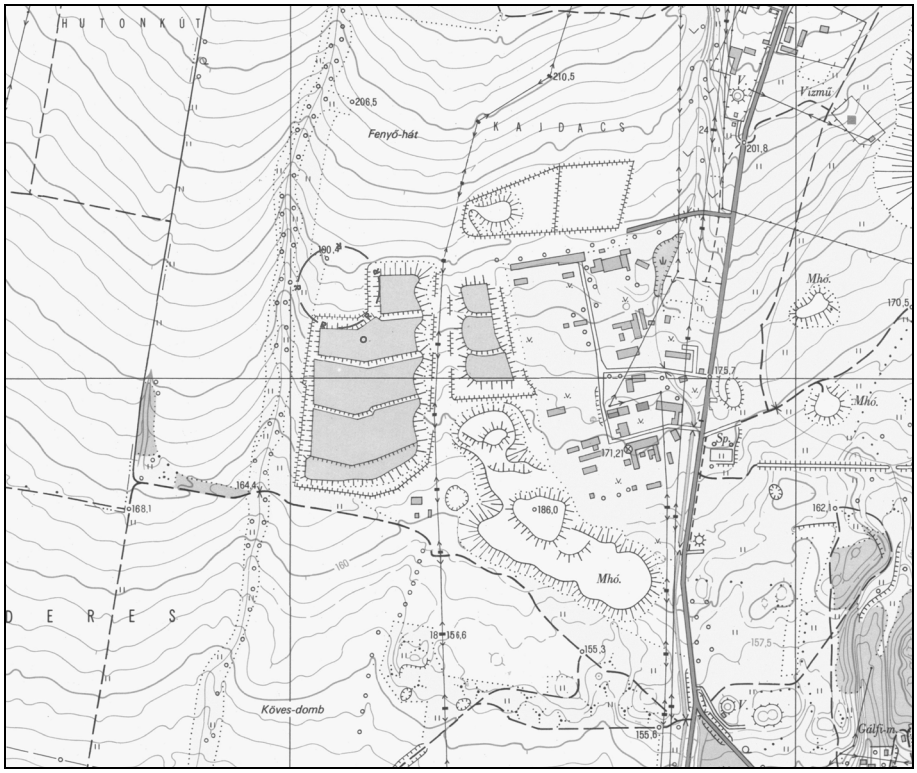

Fig. 2. Kővágószőlős
O = early medieval cemetery; –R– = Roman villa
(after Burger 1985 and Gábor 1998; map number: EOV 14-133).
The site was partially destroyed by the slurry-reservoirs of the uranium mine of the Mecsek region, which is apparent in the map.

the tendency of changes in late Roman *villae* in the western provinces.[30] In this period it seems that the owner of the villa moved to live in the second stone

[30] According to the most recent excavation results, the rebuilding and altered use of *villae*, such as the division of the great rooms into smaller areas, breaking up the mosaic floors, giving new (e.g., agricultural) functions to representational areas, and so on, already started in most parts of the empire in late Roman times. These changes were not necessarily connected to migrating (barbarian) people; they might be signs of adaptation to a new reality in life (see, for example, Alexandra Chavarría Arnau, "Interpreting the Transformation of Late Roman Villas: The Case of *Hispania*," in *Landscapes of Change. Rural Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 76, and Christie, "Landscapes of Change," 10–12.

building, which was decorated with mosaics and wall-paintings. Surrounding this later building there were semi-subterranean houses dating from the late Roman period.[31] The mausoleum, along with the other parts of the villa, was in use beyond the fourth century, although there is a destruction layer as a consequence of a fire in the first stone building.[32] The site was also inhabited later, although there is no evidence for unbroken continuity. There was a small cemetery (with 7 graves, possibly not far from the second stone building), dating from the second half of the fifth century,[33] and a semi-subterranean house (with a brick oven) above the foundation walls of the second stone building.[34] It is likely that the villa site was re-used after the fourth century.[35]

*A burial from Szigetvár-Zsibót-Domolospuszta (*Fig. 1. 2*)*

A rich single female grave at Szigetvár-Zsibót-Domolospuszta (Baranya County) is likewise dated from the fifth century.[36] Its precise location or how it was inserted into the landscape was not thoroughly examined, although it deserves some attention. The burial is located near a small brook, and—as indicated by field survey—one can assume a Roman *villa* site in the vicinity[37] (*Fig. 3*). Regarding the observations on the spot, and based on the earliest maps (the Military Mapping Surveys of Austria-Hungary, from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries), this site may have been a local ford in the Roman period

[31] Gábor Kárpáti, Borbála Maráz, "Kővágószőlős – I. üzem" (The site at Kővágószőlős, 1st factory), in *Régészeti Füzetek* 29 (1976): 40 (hereafter: Kárpáti and Maráz, "Kővágószőlős"); and Burger, "The Roman villa and mausoleum at Kővágószőlős," 164.

[32] The latest coin found in the mausoleum can be dated to 375 AD, but the building, together with the second stone building, might have survived this period, as indicated by animal bones and traces of fireplaces found in the corridor of the mausoleum, see Burger, "The Roman villa and mausoleum at Kővágószőlős," 176–179.

[33] Olivér Gábor, "5. századi sírok Kővágószőlős határában" (A fifth-century cemetery from Kővágószőlős). *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 43 (1998): 131–140.

[34] Kárpáti and Maráz, "Kővágószőlős," 40.

[35] The dating of the destruction layer of late Roman villas known only from old excavations is mostly uncertain, since only the numismatic evidence gives some support. Accepting this result, however, can be misleading; therefore, the data must be controlled by thoroughly analyzing all available archaeological material (however dispersed or unsure the information is), see Christie, "Landscapes of Change," 7.

[36] János Dombay, "Der gotische Grabfund von Domolospuszta," *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* (1956): 104–130.

[37] Database of the National Office for Cultural Heritage, Hungary (identification number: 21326.).

as well.[38] In the fifth century, significant burials often appeared near earlier Roman sites—like cauldrons of the Hunnic period[39]—but their relation to the settlements is still unknown.

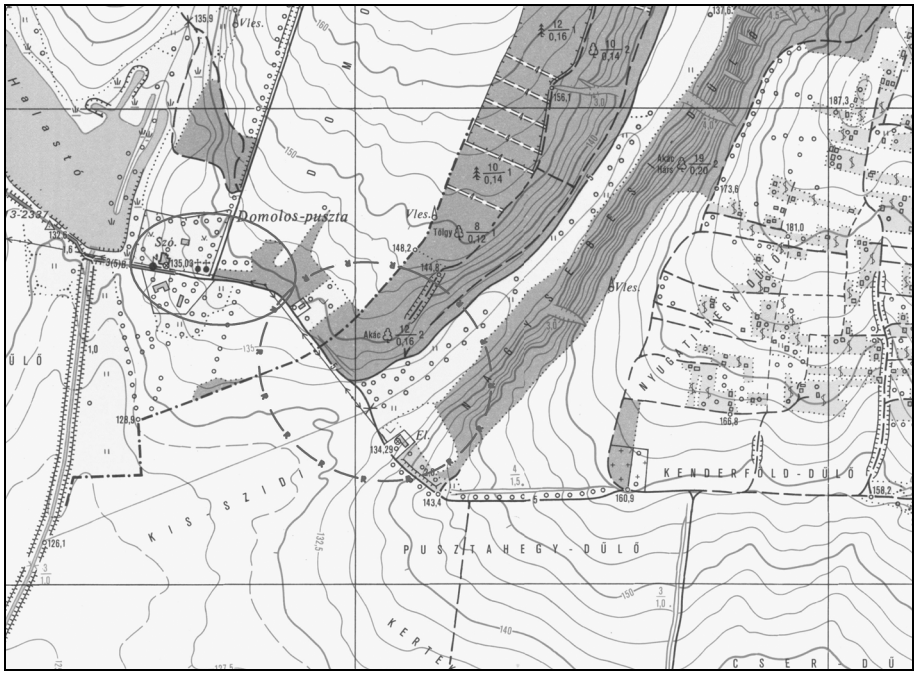

Fig. 3. Szigetvár-Zsibót-Domolospuszta
– = 5th century grave; –R– = the site of the supposed Roman villa
(after Dombay 1956 and the Database of the National Office for Cultural Heritage, Hungary; map number: EOV 13-234).

[38] The field next to the site is called "Kis-híd" (small bridge), next to the stream "Sebes árok" at the village Botykapeterd, see Frigyes Pesti, *Baranya megye földrajzi nevei* 2 vols. (Pécs: Baranya megyei Levéltár, 1982), 476.

[39] Christie, "The Survival," 327; István Bóna, "Die Hunnen in Noricum und Pannonien," in *Severin. Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Ausstellungskatalog.* (Linz: Oberösterreichischer Landesverlag, 1982), 186–194; and Bóna, "Ungarns Völker," 117–119.

*A small cemetery at Rácalmás (*Fig. 1. 3*)*

For the sixth century, I chose an archaeological site, the small family cemetery at Rácalmás (Fejér County), which is principally known from its finds. Its precise location could not be identified due to the lack of any published maps, but it is clear from the preliminary reports that the site was east of the Roman limes road, that is, close to the Danube, between *Vetus Salina*/Adony and *Intercisa*/Dunaújváros. (*Fig. 4. 1 and 3*) This was the first site with archaeological evidence for traces of a Lombard settlement in Hungary, situated next to a Roman *burgus* which was surrounded by three rectangular ditches. One edge of the cemetery was directly along the outermost ditch. The two outermost ditches were filled up before the sixth century, since the Lombards dug two trash-pits (containing Lombard pottery fragments and animal bones) in its filling, but the innermost ditch was probably still in use in the sixth century. The *burgus* had a thick terrazzo floor and its roof was covered with ceramic tiles. Although there is no information how the Lombards might have used the edifice, it is remarkable that there was an intact *terra sigillata* vessel in one of the graves. The opinion of the archaeologists who excavated most of the site is that the Lombard population living there might have guarded a ford which was situated on the southern periphery of Csepel Island and probably existed in the Roman period as well.[40] Knowledge about Lombard settlements has been limited in Hungary until recently. It was assumed that these people settled close to some kind of Roman edifice (*villa*, *castrum, castellum,* or *burgus*). However, there was no direct evidence to prove this idea, apart from stray finds and some cemeteries which were situated close to these places, although this "closeness" often meant a distance of a few kilometers.[41] The real

[40] István Bóna, "Langobárd temető Rácalmáson" (Lombard cemetery at Rácalmás), *Alba Regia* 1 (1960): 167–170; István Bóna, "A népvándorlás kora Fejér megyében" (The period of migrations in Fejér County), in *Fejér megye története az őskortól a honfoglalásig* (The history of Fejér County from prehistory to the Hungarian conquest) vol. 1, No.5, ed. Jenő Fitz. (Székesfehérvár: Fejér Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1971), 232; István Bóna, "Langobárdok nyomában" (On the track of the Lombards) in *Évezredek hétköznapjai* (Everydays of millennia), ed. Viktor Szombathy (Budapest: Gondolat, 1973), 376–379 (hereafter: Bóna, "Langobárdok nyomában"); and István Bóna, János Cseh, Margit Nagy, Péter Tomka, Ágnes Tóth, *Hunok, Gepidák, Langobárdok (Történeti régészeti tézisek és címszavak)* (Huns, Gepids, Lombards. Historical archaeological theses and keywords) (Szeged: A József Attila Tudományegyetem Magyar Őstörténeti Kutatócsoportja, 1993), 159 (hereafter: Bóna et al, *Hunok, Gepidák, Langobárdok*).

[41] István Bóna, "Abriss der Siedlungsgeschichte Ungarns im 5–7. Jahrhundert und die Awarensiedlungen von Dunaújváros," *Alba Regia* 20 (1968): 611; and István Bóna, *The Dawn of the Dark Ages: The Gepids and the Lombards in the Carpathian Basin* (Budapest: Corvina

significance of the archaeological features unearthed at Rácalmás was not recognized earlier. The first well-documented sites that show a more detailed picture of Lombard rural living conditions originated from recent excavations of the highway along the southern part of Lake Balaton.[42]

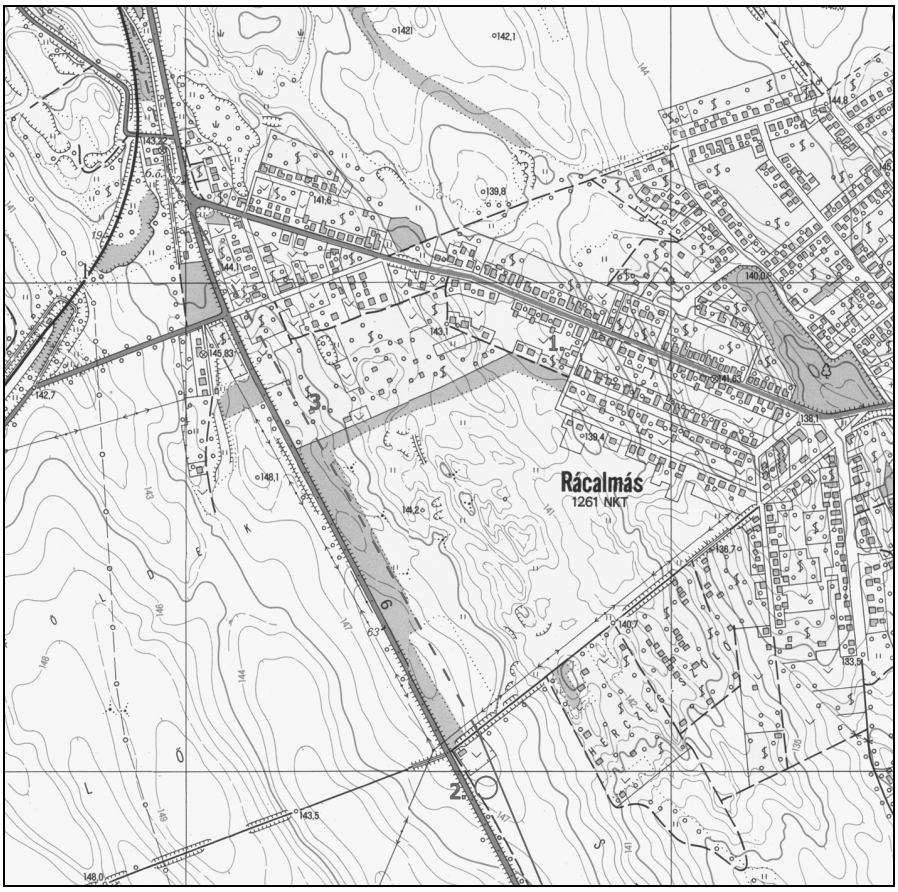

Fig. 4. Rácalmás
1 = Lombard cemetery, 2 = Roman burgus *(VSA 8), 3 = the Roman limes road (after Bóna 1993, Visy 2000, and the Database of the National Office for Cultural Heritage, Hungary; map number: EOV 45-123).*

Press, 1976), 30–31. These cemeteries were viewed as the possible continuation of the Roman *extra muros* burial customs. See also Christie, "Towns, Land and Power," 290.

[42] The sites: Zamárdi-Kútvölgyi-dűlő (Polgár, "Zamárdi") and Balatonlelle (Skriba, Sófalvi, "Langobárd település").

*A settlement and cemeteries at Kölked-Feketekapu (*Fig. 1. 4*)*

The well known site of the settlement and cemeteries of Kölked-Feketekapu (Baranya County) and its location in the landscape also deserve attention. The site was inhabited from the end of the sixth century through the Avar period by a mainly German (presumably Gepid) population.[43] It is situated beside the sweep of a now-dry backwater of the Danube, close to the Roman limes road (*Fig. 5. 5–6*). Approximately 1–1.5 kilometers to the north, the site of the Roman *castellum Altinum* (in use by the Romans from the first until the fourth century) and its surrounding *vicus* are situated on a small hill called Hajlokpart[44] (*Fig. 5. 1–3*). A Roman *burgus* was located south of the early medieval site, in close proximity[45] (*Fig. 5. 4*). So far, the survey of these sites has shown that the Roman edifices were not used directly by the early medieval population, but the choice to settle on this spot could not have been accidental.[46] Historical maps showing the hydrogeology of the site before the regulation of the river reveal that the Danube was split here into several channels, possibly allowing easier access to the other bank. Conceivably, the primary reason to settle here were the strategic possibilities of the place.

The following two examples show a typical situation of a number of sites where the relationship between structures or sites from the Roman and the Early Medieval period is even less clear at present.

[43] Attila Kiss, "Das Gräberfeld und Siedlung der awarenzeitlichen Bevölkerung von Kölked," *Folia Archaeologica* 30 (1979): 185–192; Attila Kiss, "Das awarenzeitliche gepidische Gräberfeld von Kölked-Feketekapu A." *Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalter-archäologie* 2. (Innsbruck: Universtitätsverlag Wagner, 1996); and Attila Kiss, "Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Kölked-Feketekapu B I–II," *Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica*, Vol. 6. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001).

[44] Zsuzsa Katona-Győr, "Altinum Castellum," in *The Roman Army in Pannonia. (An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica)*, ed. Zsolt Visy, (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003), 132–134.

[45] Zsolt Visy, *A Ripa Pannonica Magyarországon* (The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2000), 99 and map 28. (ALT 1 is the name of a small Roman burgus on the map.)

[46] The Roman sites were not thoroughly investigated and unfortunately part of the *castellum* was destroyed by construction work; therefore, further research may modify the present results. According to Neil Christie, the fort might have served as a refuge for the Avar-period population, see Christie, "The Survival," 334, and Christie, "Towns and People," 91.

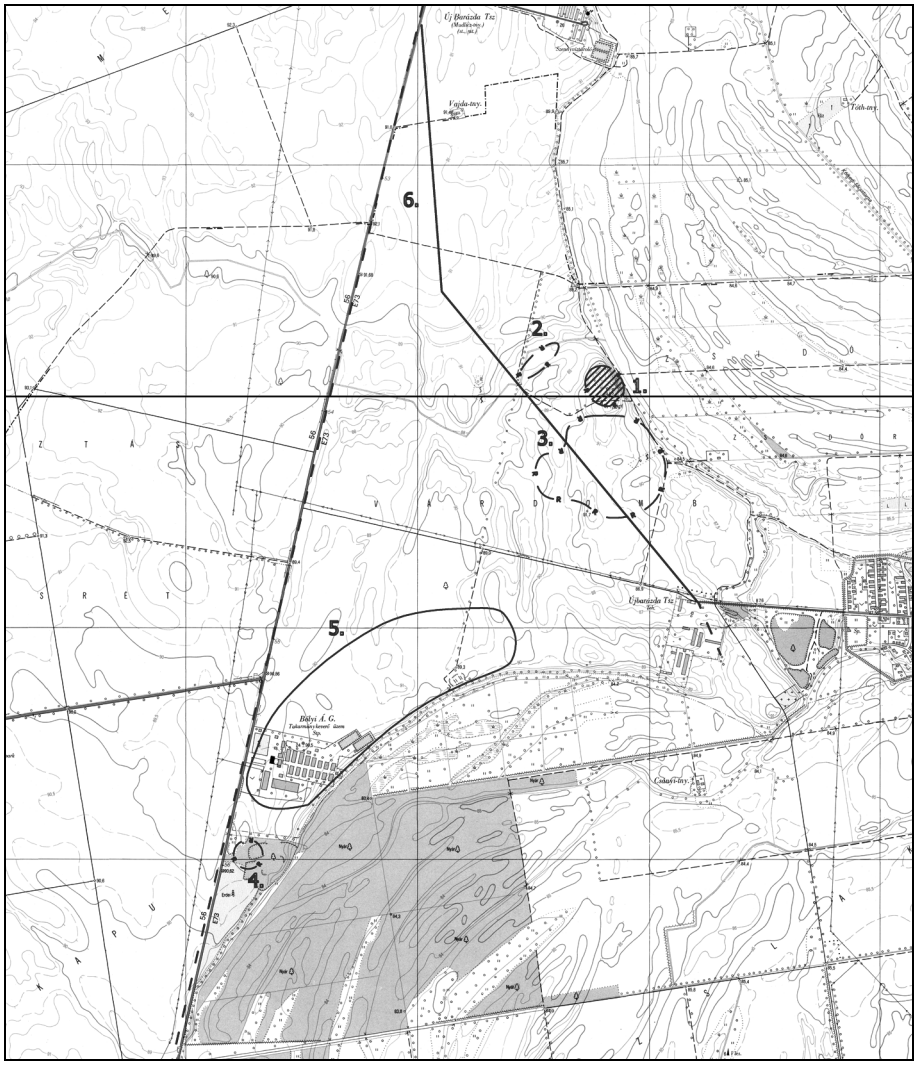

Fig. 5. Kölked
1 = Altinum castellum, 2–3 = Roman vici, 4 = Roman burgus (ALT 1),
5 = settlement and cemeteries from the Avar period, 6 = Roman roads
(after Kiss 1979, 1996, 2001, and Visy 2000; map number: EOV 14-422 and 14-444).

*The Roman fort and Avar presence at Tokod (*Fig. 1. 5*)*

The Roman fort at Tokod (Komárom-Esztergom County) was presumably built during the reign of Valentinian I and was temporarily used again after the surrender of the province[47] (*Fig. 6*). There is evidence that the site and its surroundings were in use in the Avar period as well. Inside the large southeast tower, situated opposite the main gate of the fortress, archaeologists excavated post holes belonging to an early medieval building, dated by an Avar iron pickaxe. Every part of the surface except this edifice was covered by a thick layer of rubble from the destroyed tower, huge masses of burned grain, and iron objects.[48] In the area of the Roman *vicus*, northwest of the Roman fort, rescue excavations revealed several Avar objects,[49] but unfortunately the circumstances of their precise provenance are unknown. It is not known yet whether the Roman fort or the other edifices might simply have been used as convenient shelters or whether a more complex reuse of the sites occurred here.

*The Roman villa, Roman cemetery and Avar cemeteries at Szebény (*Fig. 1. 6*)*

Next to Szebény (Baranya County), northeast of Roman *Sopianae*, Csele Creek runs between sloping hills: an ideal place for human settlement in every historical period. A Roman villa (*Fig. 7. 1*),[50] other settlement remains (*Fig. 7. 3–4*), a Roman cemetery (*Fig. 7. 2*), and three Avar cemeteries (*Fig. 7. I–III*) are spread over a large area.[51] In western Hungary, cemeteries from the early Avar period seem to have been located close to military buildings of Roman origin and next to major Roman roads.[52] Contrary to this tendency, cemeteries of the late Avar period, when the Avars had already settled down and were no longer involved so much in animal husbandry but rather in agriculture, were often placed close

[47] András Mócsy, (ed.), *Die spätrömische Festung und das Gräberfeld von Tokod.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 45 (hereafter: Mócsy, *Die spätrömische Festung*) and Márta Kelemen, "Tokod Fortress," in *The Roman Army in Pannonia. (An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica)*, ed. Zsolt Visy, (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2003), 85.

[48] András Mócsy, "Tokod," *Régészeti Füzetek* 14 (1962): 39.

[49] Mócsy, *Die spätrömische Festung,* 21.

[50] The previously assumed Roman villa was revealed by a rescue excavation. I would like to thank Ádám Hajdú (archaeological inspector of Baranya County, National Office for Cultural Heritage, Hungary) for indicating the precise location of the site.

[51] Éva Garam, "The Szebény I–III. Cemetery," in Éva Garam, Ilona Kovrig, János Győző Szabó, and Gyula Török, *Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 50–52 = Ilona Kovrig, ed., *Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567–829) in Hungary*. Vol. 1.

[52] Christie, "Towns and People," 90–91.

to former Roman rural sites. This is also the case at Szebény. Although the relations between these sites cannot yet be explained, in addition to other possibilities it seems likely that the use of the Roman landscape (including the use of former Roman buildings) can be seen here from the later centuries of the Early Medieval period. This may be an example when spatial organization was connected to the lifestyle of the population.[53]

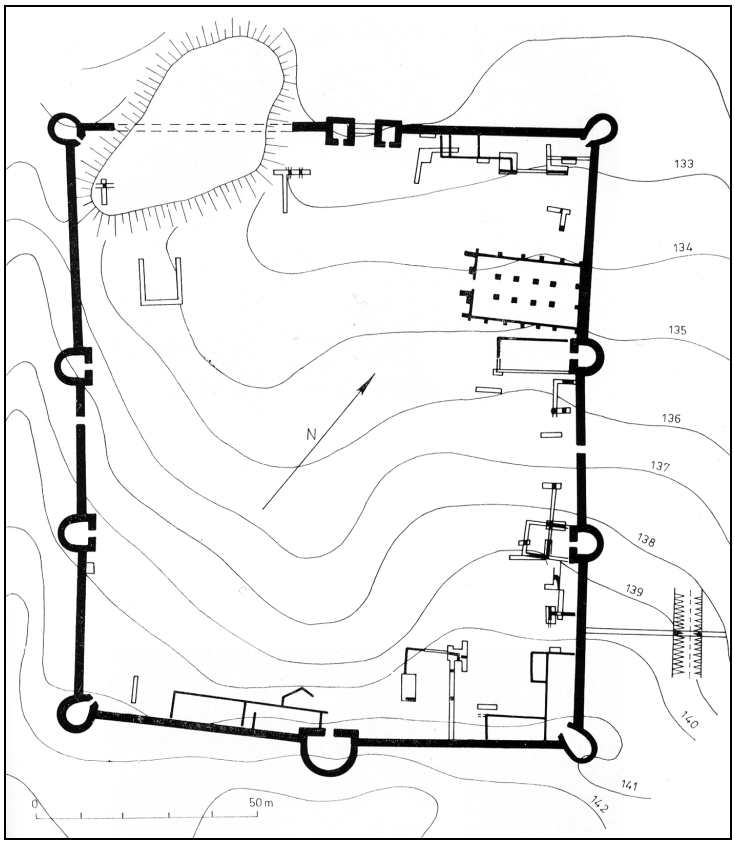

Fig. 6. Tokod
The ground plan of the Roman fort (after Mócsy 1981).

[53] Late Avar graves are known next to the small Roman *burgus* at Rácalmás, opposite the Lombard cemetery, while the early Avar cemetery was northwest of the later graves, on top of a huge sloping hill (Bóna, "Langobárdok nyomában," 379–380).

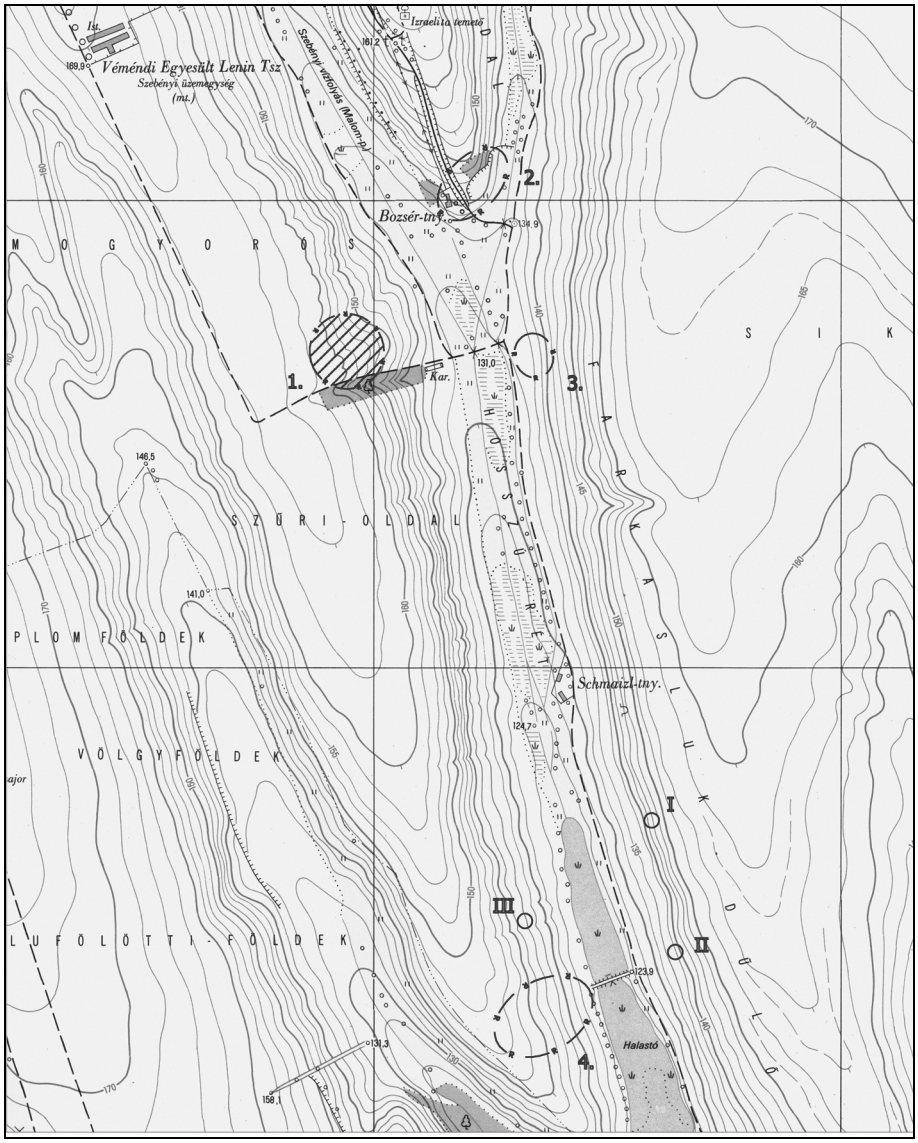

Fig. 7. Szebény
1 = Roman villa, 2 = Roman cemetery, 3–4 = Roman settlements, I-III = Avar cemeteries (after Garam 1975 and the Database of the National Office for Cultural Heritage, Hungary; map number: EOV 14-241.

*The Roman town and Early Medieval settlement in Sopron (*Fig. 1. 7*)*

Although for a long time Hungarian scholarship has considered mainly Roman towns and military fortifications as places of continuity, the examples above clearly outline a more detailed picture. I will complete this image by citing an urban example from Sopron (Győr-Moson-Sopron County), Roman *Scarbantia*, a well-known site for the present topic because it has served as one of the best examples of the late Roman transition in Pannonia. *Scarbantia* was located next to the Amber Road, approximately half-way between *Savaria* (modern Szombathely) and *Carnuntum* (Deutsch-Altenburg) or *Vindobona* (Vienna). The settlement attained the rank of a *municipium* during the Flavius dynasty; canalization, paving the streets, and rebuilding the houses in stone took place in the same period.[54] However, the town was encircled with a stone wall only in the fourth century.[55] Around the *forum* several archaeological finds have come to light which reveal the changes in the late and post-Roman periods (*Fig. 8*). During the fourth century some of the nearby houses were rebuilt, others were demolished, and wooden edifices were constructed. From the next century, wooden houses with stone foundations, some of them with simple floor- and wall-heating are known, which do not fit into the earlier street system and partly overlap with the Roman buildings.[56]

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[54] János Gömöri, "Recent Archaeological Finds Concerning the Topography of Scarbantia," in *La Pannonia e l'Impero Romano. Annuario dell'Accademia d'Ungheria* (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria, 1994), 251 (hereafter: Gömöri, "Recent Archaeological Finds"); and János Gömöri, "Sopron – Municipium Flavium Scarbantia," in *Pannonia Hungarica Antiqua*, ed. Gyula Hajnóczi, Tamás Mezős, Mihály Nagy, Zsolt Visy (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 1995) 23.

[55] Klára Sz. Póczy, "Scarbantia városfalának korhatározása" (Dating the town walls of Scarbantia), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 94 (1976): 142 and 150–151.

[56] These early medieval buildings are presently known only from short preliminary reports or by their topographic location. Concerning these edifices, see Imre Holl, Gyula Nováki, Klára Póczy, "Városfalmaradványok a soproni Fabricius-ház alatt" (Remains of town walls under the Fabricius house in Sopron), *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 89 (1962): 47–67; János Gömöri, "Sopron, Fabricius ház (Beloiannisz tér 6)," *Régészeti Füzetek* 25 (1972): 38–39; János Gömöri, "Sopron-Városház u.," *Régészeti Füzetek* 37 (1984): 56; János Gömöri, "Sopron-Városház u.," *Régészeti Füzetek* 38 (1985): 48–49; János Gömöri, "Scarbantia foruma" (The forum of Scarbantia), *Soproni Szemle* 39 (1985): 1–24; János Gömöri, Grabungen auf dem Forum von Scarbantia (1979–1982)," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1986): 343–396; János Gömöri, "Neue Erkentnisse zur Topographie des Forums in Scarbantia," *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* (1991): 57–70 (hereafter: Gömöri: "Topographie des Forums"); Gömöri, "Recent Archaeological Finds," 251–261; János Gömöri, "Sopron, Városház utcai régészeti park," *Régészeti*

Since the Roman town has been relatively well excavated (mainly with test soundings), it is increasingly apparent that in the late and post-Roman periods town life was restricted to the area of the *forum* and its surroundings. On the basis of the available data it is clear that the life of the town between the fourth and sixth centuries was not without change. Changes in the fourth century (right up to the early 500s) definitely followed the general flow of history and the inner structural changes of the whole empire. Understanding the period between the 420s/430s and the second half of the sixth century seems, however, more difficult. Most of the (as yet unprocessed) finds from the dated buildings are pottery with smoothed-in line decorations, which, according to the excavator, originated from several periods.[57] More precise dating will be available only after a thorough, systematic investigation of all the late and post-Roman material (which is quite numerous from all over the *forum*). Although some scholars connect these objects to later squatters and call it the "poor cottage period," life in the town was seemingly continuous in the fifth century, although in a totally different way than in the Roman age. The break came only in the sixth century.[58]

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kutatások Magyarországon (Archaeological Investigations in Hungary) 1999 (Budapest, 2002): 244–245; János Gömöri, "Von Scarbantia zu Sopron (Die Frage der Kontinuität)," in *Zwischen Römersiedlung und mittelalterlicher Stadt. Archäologische Aspekte zur Kontinuitätsfrage.* ed. Sabine Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, Alexandrine Eibner, Herbert Knittler. *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 17 (2001): 223–231; Klára Sz. Póczy, "Sopron, Szent György u. 3," *Régészeti Füzetek* 24 (1971): 37–38; Klára Póczy, "Die Anfänge der Urbanization in Scarbantia," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae* 23 (1971): 93–110; Klára Sz. Póczy, "Sopron, Városház u. 7," *Régészeti Füzetek* 26 (1973): 46–47; Klára Sz. Póczy, *Scarbantia. Sopron in the Roman Period* (Budapest: Corvina, 1977); Péter Tomka, "Sopron, Új u. 23–25," *Régészeti Füzetek* 24 (1971): 72; Sándor Tóth, "Sopron, Városház utca (Mozi)," *Régészeti Füzetek* 23 (1970): 33–35; Sándor Tóth, "Sopron, Városház u. (Mozi)," *Régészeti Füzetek* 24 (1971): 51–52; and Sándor Tóth, "Sopron, Városház u. (Mozi)," *Régészeti Füzetek* 25 (1972): 55. To establish their chronology and relationship to spatial organization will be possible only after a detailed elaboration of the finds and a structural analysis of the sites.

[57] Sándor Tóth, "Sopron, Városház u. (Mozi)," *Régészeti Füzetek* 24 (1971): 51–52.

[58] As indicated by remains of camp fires and animal bones from the layers right above the pavement of the Roman forum, life in this period was not similar to the earlier Roman way of life, see János Gömöri, "Sopron, Új u. Szt. György u. sarok" *Régészeti Füzetek* 35 (1982): 52–53, and Gömöri "Topographie des Forums," 65–66.

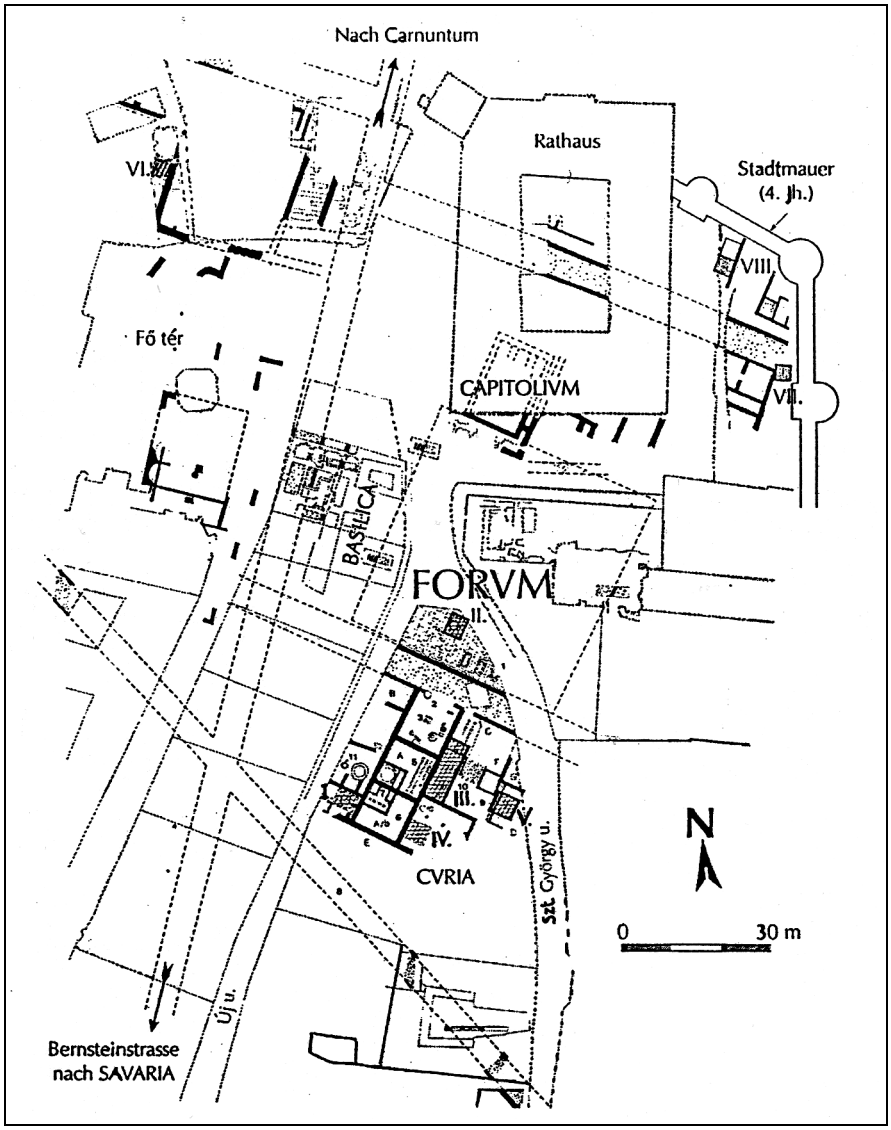

Fig. 8. Sopron
The ground plan of the Roman forum and its surroundings, with the places where the Early Medieval edifices were found (I–VIII) (after Gömöri 2001).

Concerning the question of squatters or barbarian immigrants, I have to add that ethnic identification is rather difficult even during the Roman age. The native

inhabitants and those who moved in from all over the empire did not form a homogeneous ethnic group. Before the great migrations in Pannonia in the fifth to eighth centuries, there could have been a slow assimilation process which also included the *foederati* who moved in during the fourth century and settled among the culturally more-or-less already homogeneous native people. The change in the Roman buildings and how they used the landscape in the late Classical period is not necessarily the consequence of the appearance of new ethnic groups, but may have been determined by new living conditions.[59] When the central administration system of the empire collapsed, the towns of Pannonia, as most towns in the empire, followed their own ways in a kind of reflection of the historical changes. Therefore, when investigating continuity in the case of an urban site, one has to focus on the changes. The final picture will be heterogeneous because scholars will surely face traces of demolition and continuity equally in the very same period when analyzing the various archaeological sites in a town.[60]

Concerning *Scarbantia*, habitation during the sixth century was clearly demonstrated by an S-shaped brooch from the filling of a later building from the Lombard period and several unpublished pottery fragments of same type as those known from the nearby cemeteries of the so-called Hegykő group.[61] Archaeological excavations have revealed only limited evidence to show a possible Christian community in the settlement.[62] Buildings with undoubted ecclesiastical function are not known, but some features may be interpreted as a reference to certain liturgical elements.[63] Moreover, if one accepts that the reports of the Councils in Grado in 572 and 577 really refer to a practicing bishop in *Scarbantia* (which is debated), the town should still have had a living Christian community in at least the mid-sixth century.[64] Additionally, Klára

[59] Christie, "Towns, Land and Power," 279–280.

[60] Brian Ward-Perkins, "Urban continuity?" in *Towns in Transition,* eds. Neil Christie and Simon T. Loseby. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 1–2.

[61] Péter Tomka, "Sopron, Új u. 23-25," *Régészeti Füzetek* 24 (1971): 72. It is possible that the S-brooch could also be connected to the archaeological material of the Hegykő-group, Bóna et al., *Hunok, Gepidák, Langobárdok*, 148–149.

[62] The late Roman cemeteries of the settlement have not yet been published.

[63] The floor of the house where the S-shaped brooch came to light also yielded a floor tile with a scratched-in male figure, probably a saint with blessing hands and a halo. Pieces of an altar (red and white marble) were found in the next layer, that is, from the previous period, not far from this house, see János Gömöri, "Scarbantia foruma," *Soproni Szemle* 39 (1985): 18–19; and János Gömöri, "Sopron-Új u.-Szent Görgy u. sarok," *Régészeti Füzetek* 36 (1983), 47.

[64] Endre Tóth, "Vigilius episcopus Scaravaciensis," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 26 (1974): 269–275.

Póczi has excavated the remains of a wooden construction outside the Roman town wall (to the east): a 12-meter long, single-room building with a double row of central pillars and a stone dais at its north end. Under and around this building there were late Roman burials. The excavator interpreted the building as a sixth-century chapel.[65] Nevertheless, and despite the attestations of the previous examples, the major structures of the late antique town (including also the ecclesiastical buildings)—unlike many other cases in the central provinces—did not organize the space in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when Hungarians built one of their county centers here. Although this early Árpádian-age earthwork castle followed the lines of the partly still-standing Roman walls (also incorporating them into the new defense system), space was otherwise organized fully independently from the late Roman or late Classical systems simply because urban life in *Scarbantia* ceased in the sixth century at the latest.[66]

Conclusions

Based on the investigations of the last few decades and seen in the examples above it is becoming more and more obvious that the situation in the late Roman and early medieval periods, as well as the transition between the two, was more complex and complicated than previously thought. It is not so easy to think or talk about clearly defined periods or ethnically or culturally separable populations; the division lines are blurred. The goals of the research reported here are better detection, documentation, and understanding of the changes and transitions. Even continuity hides a structured system of events; if it can be proved at one site, it does not mean that it is valid for the whole former political or geographical unit. Detecting local continuities and understanding their nature is possible; local studies would be an extra benefit for analyzing changes in landscape use over a wider region and interpreting historical events.

My examples are not well-known, obviously significant sites and structures, rather they are archaeologically elusive. These sites were usually known earlier, but the special relationship between them was never a subject that Hungarian scholars felt inclined to investigate further. Hence, the nature of relationships between sites following each other—simply the fact that an earlier site could have influenced a later one—is argued for; understanding the nature of this relationship is not easy

[65] Klára Sz. Póczy, "Sopron, Szt. György utca 15," *Régészeti Füzetek* 19 (1966): 27; Klára Sz. Póczy, "Sopron-Városfal, Lenin krt. 104," *Régészeti Füzetek* 20 (1967): 42; Klára Sz. Póczy, *Scarbantia. Sopron in the Roman Period* (Budapest: Corvina, 1977), 49.

[66] János Gömöri, *Castrum Supron. Sopron vára az Árpád-korban* (Castrum Supron. The fortification of Sopron in the Árpádian period) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 2002), 49–93.

and simple. Based on my research so far, a continuous use of the landscape in the whole territory of Pannonia is quite likely, although some local gaps cannot be excluded. Especially in the late antique period it seems probable that certain parts of Pannonia were not fully separated from the central provinces of the former Roman Empire. However, this is just the beginning of the research; the final picture may differ from that known at present. Migrating populations always had to face the results of a previous spatial organization, but how they were influenced, motivated or constrained by their natural surroundings and the various political, economic, and cultural factors in their lives to alter the landscape around them are questions yet to be answered.[67]

Methodologically, for the reasons explained above, I would suggest first reconstructing local sites and micro-regions and only then building a spatial analysis system on this basis. The location of each archaeological site is important when coming to an interpretation. When investigating the relationship of nearby or overlapping settlements from various periods, one has to take into consideration the relation between a site and its natural surroundings in general. A location supplied with the basic needs for a human settlement (good soil, conjunction of different geographical areas, nearby water, and so on), despite any earlier settlement there, might have been the decisive factor that in certain cases inspired newcomers to settle there, not earlier uses of the landscape. However, the strategic position of a site in the landscape and its relationship to earlier Roman-age conditions was also surely decisive and investigations must focus on this.

It would be an overestimation to rely on landscape archaeology as a method to answer all ambiguous questions concerning the early Middle Ages; this method alone cannot suffice, even to provide a complex and reliable picture of past times. The archaeological evidence utilized in landscape archaeology and the ways scholars actually think about these questions are simply no more than analytic possibilities.[68] Still, they can all serve as additional data for a better appreciation of an era and a better understanding of the relationship between archaeological and historical data.

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[67] The period of the fifth to the eighth century can be considered in a certain sense a coherent era, and is an archaeologically relatively easily definable period. Contrary to this time unit, the ninth century, which also marks the end of the Avar era, is uncertain from both the archaeological and historical points of view. The process of change in that century was already an introduction to the "real" Middle Ages, and can be related to the following rather than the previous centuries. Therefore, it seemed more reasonable to neglect it here and connect its investigation to that period.

[68] Julian Thomas, "Archaeologies of Place and Landscape," in *Archaeological Theory Today,* ed. Ian Hodder (Malden: Blackwell and Polity Press, 2001), 181.

THE SEQUENCE OF ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATION ROUTES IN TRANSDANUBIA[1]

Magdolna Szilágyi

Introduction

The towns and settlements of Transdanubia[2] were not isolated entities either under the Romans or in the Middle Ages. They were connected by roads and rivers, the veins of social and economic life. Roads were opened in both periods to enable the effective operation of government and administration, forceful military defence, fast and safe trade, and convenient communication. Here I investigate the sequence of the nature and role of Roman and medieval communication patterns through examples of shipping on the Danube and of two Transdanubian roads in the Carpathian Basin with Roman and medieval pasts.

The first Roman roads of Transdanubia were built for military use and later the administrative system and the imperial postal service (*cursus publicus*) also made use of them.[3] It was part of Roman military strategy to build roads as soon as a region was occupied and pacified. These roads aided movement for the Roman troops and their supplies between the military camps of the conquered territory and Italy. This was likewise the case in Transdanubia.[4] The construction of the roads began soon after Emperor Tiberius (AD 14–37) had annexed Transdanubia and the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers into the Roman Empire as Pannonia province. The first two roads of Pannonia, the road along the Drava River, and the so-called Amber Road, enabled contact

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[1] This paper is based on the poster "Change and Continuity of Towns and Road Network in Medieval North Transdanubia" presented at the "Urbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Sites" conference held in Leicester on 13 May 2006. I wish to thank Katalin Szende for her kind and unceasing support, Balázs Nagy for all his advice, and József Laszlovszky for his suggestions.

[2] Transdanubia is the western part of modern Hungary that is "across the Danube" viewed from Pozsony/Bratislava, the capital of the country while Buda was occupied by the Ottomans.

[3] Endre Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 24 (1984): 177–178 (hereafter cited as Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia").

[4] Sándor Soproni, "Roads," in *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. Alfonz Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1980), 207 (hereafter cited as Soproni, "Roads").

with Italy. The third main road of the province was constructed on the Danubian frontier in the early second century as part of a great military road that connected the Balkan provinces with Gaul[5] (*Fig. 1*).

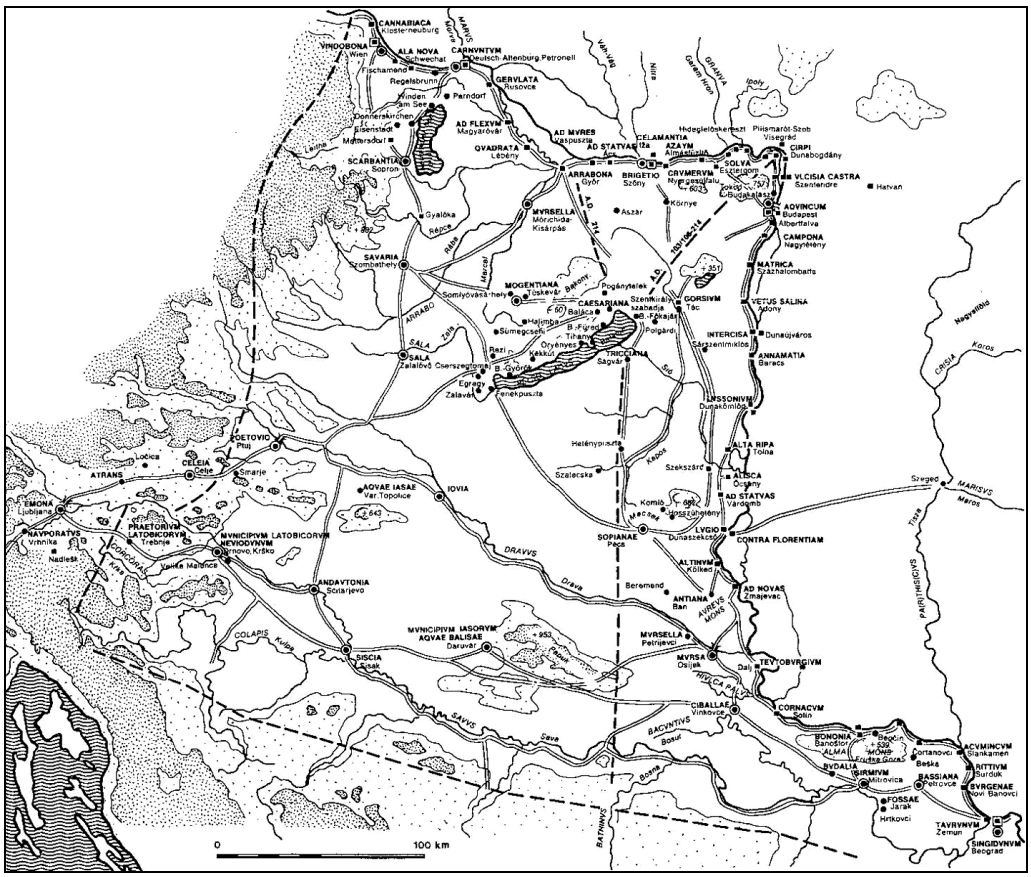

Fig. 1. The main roads of Pannonia. Map by András Mócsy.

[5] For the main routes of Pannonia, consult András Mócsy and Mária Szilágyi, "Úthálózat" (Road network), in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* (The archaeological handbook of Pannonia), ed. András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 118–121; Endre Tóth, "Roman Roads in Transdanubia" in *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Budapest: Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, 2003), 218–221 (hereafter cited as Tóth, "Roman Roads in Transdanubia"); Endre Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, *Római utak a Dunántúlon* (Roman roads in Transdanubia) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2006) (hereafter cited as Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*).

The Romans constantly maintained the well-constructed roads of Pannonia, which thus remained in good condition for centuries even after the territory ceased to be part of the Roman Empire. The roads built by the Romans determined the migration of barbarian peoples who invaded Transdanubia from the north and east in the fifth century.[6] Early Avar cemeteries discovered in the proximity of Roman roads demonstrate that these roads remained in use into the seventh century.[7] Furthermore, there is evidence even for Carolingian-period use of Roman roads in western Transdanubia.[8] Sections of Roman roads were still visible in the Middle Ages, particularly in Western Transdanubia, and they were either used for communication or for indicating the boundaries of properties.[9]

The earliest roads of medieval Hungary were military roads put into use in the tenth and eleventh centuries. King Stephen I (1000–1038), the founder of the Hungarian state, divided the kingdom into forty-eight counties, administrative units with well-defined boundaries, subject to the supreme authority of counts (*comes*). The earthwork fortifications of the counts were the administrative and military centres of one or more counties[10] that needed to be connected by a sequence of roads. Thereafter, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an increase in the exchange of goods also brought about the opening of a growing number of trade routes.[11] These roads enabled trade not only between the towns and marketplaces of Hungary, but they also enabled movement for foreign merchants who arrived in Hungary more frequently in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[12] (*Fig. 2*).

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[6] Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia," 178–179.

[7] Soproni, "Roads," 213.

[8] Tóth, "Roman Roads in Transdanubia," 221.

[9] Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia," 179.

[10] György Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), 204–210 (hereafter cited as Györffy, *István király és műve*).

[11] For the medieval trade routes of Transdanubia, consult Lajos Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata" (The medieval road network of Transdanubia), *Századok* 63–64 (1929–1930): 138–167, 257–285 (hereafter cited as Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata"); and the relevant chapters on the history of counties in György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (The historical topography of Hungary in the Árpádian period) 4 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998), (hereafter cited as Györffy, *ÁMF*).

[12] For long-distance trade routes in general, see Ambrus Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem a középkorban* (Hungarian foreign trade towards the west in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Budavári Tudományos Társaság, 1925) (hereafter cited as Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem*) and András Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak az Árpádházi királyok alatt* (Trade routes through Hungary

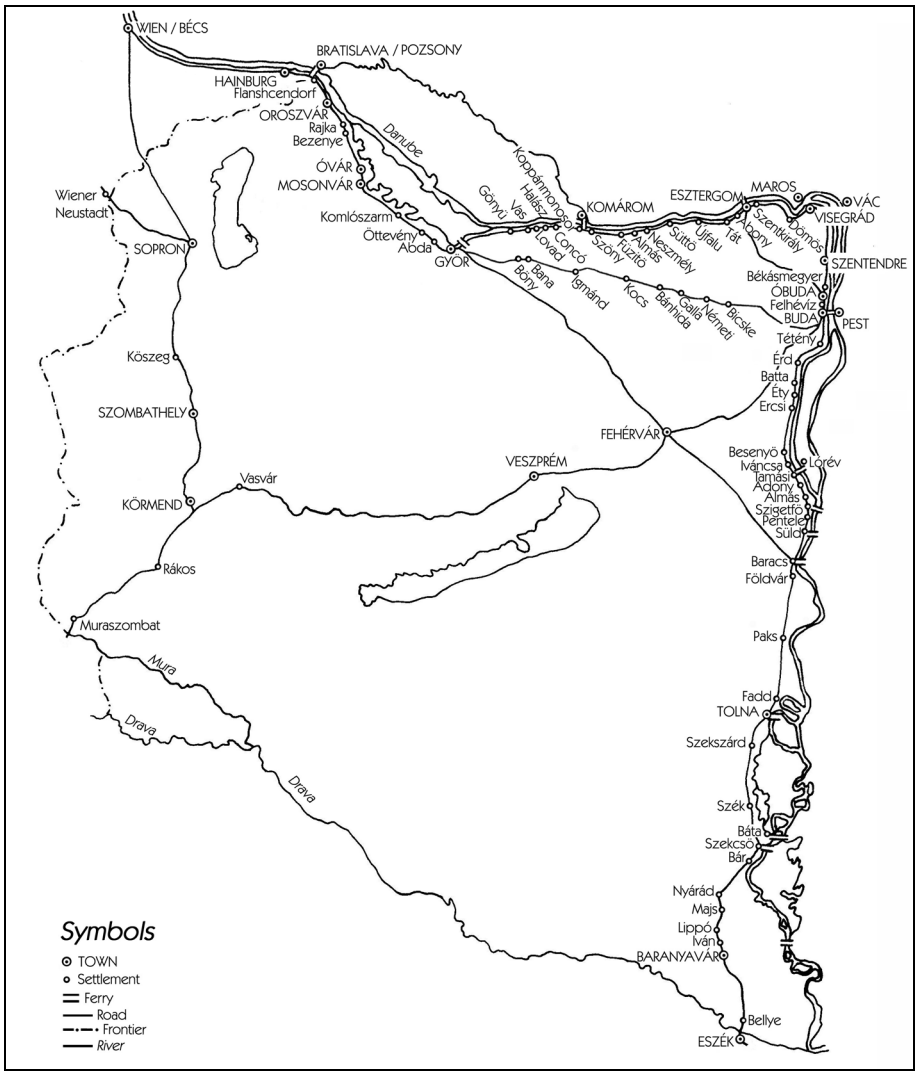

Fig. 2. The highways of Medieval Hungary. Map by Magdolna Szilágyi after Lajos Glaser (1929–1930) and György Györffy (1963–1998).

during the reign of the Árpáds) (Kolozsvár: Stief Jenő könyvnyomdája, 1909) (hereafter cited as Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak*).

Shipping on the Danube

The waterway of the Danube was a means of military[13] and commercial[14] communication through a number of Roman provinces from Sigmaringen to the Black Sea. The Pannonian section of the Danube was guarded by the *triremes*[15] of the *Classis Pannonica* that had moved up from the Sava River at some uncertain date. The first record of the Danubian fleet is from AD 50, when it transported Vannius across the Danube to Roman territory.[16] After Pannonia was split into two provinces in 107, the fleet of the middle Danube was officially assigned to Pannonia Inferior and its naval base was located at Taurunum (Zimony/Zemun),[17] a strategic point close to the junction of the Sava and Danube.[18] In addition, the legionary fortresses of the province, Aquincum (Óbuda, Budapest),[19] Brigetio (Szőny),[20] Carnuntum (Deutsch Altenburg-Petronell), Vindobona (Wien/Vienna),[21] must have all had military ports, too. As attested by the *Notitia dignitatum*, the formerly united Pannonian fleet was divided into several units in the late Roman period. The unit of the Danubian

[13] For navigation of the Roman fleet on the Danube in Pannonia, consult Gábor Téglás, "A rómaiak hadihajószolgálata Pannonia és Moesia területén" (Roman military service on warships in the territory of Pannonia and Moesia), *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész Egylet Közlönye* 44 (1910): 155–171; Margit Balogh, "A dunai hajózás történetéhez" (The history of navigation on the Danube), in *Dolgozatok Békefi Remig egyetemi tanári működésének emlékére* (Studies in memory of the professorship of Remig Békefi), ed. Jenő Pintér (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1912), 44–60.

[14] For trade on the Danube in Pannonia, consult Gábor Téglás, "A rómaiak kereskedelmi hajózása Pannóniában," (Roman commercial shipping in Pannonia), *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész Egylet Közlönye* 45 (1911): 449–457.

[15] Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. 3, *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae* (Berlin: Reimer, 1873), 4025 (hereafter cited as *CIL* 3); *CIL* 3, 4319.

[16] Tacitus, *Annales*, in *P. Corneli Taciti Annalium Libri XI–XII*, ed. Horst Weiskopf (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1973), [12.30] 81–82.

[17] *CIL* 3, 10675: bricks with the stamps of the Classis Flavia Pannonica (CL.F.P) were discovered at Taurunum.

[18] Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 BC–AD 324* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 139–140.

[19] Klára Póczy, *Aquincum. Budapest római kori történelmi városmagja* (Aquincum. The Roman historical city centre of Budapest) (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 2004), 25.

[20] Barnabás Lőrincz, "Zur Erbauung des Legionslagers von Brigetio," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1975): 349.

[21] Alfred Neumann, *Vindobona, Die Römische Vergangenheit Wiens* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1972), 64.

fleet became the *Classis Histrica* with naval bases at Vindobona, Carnuntum, Florentia (earlier Lugio, modern Dunaszekcső), and Mursa (Eszék/Osijek).[22] Trading on the Danube started only after the safety of shipping was secured by a series of military camps built along the right bank of the river in the mid-first century.[23] Roman trade ports have been discovered at Vindobona,[24] and Carnuntum,[25] and others are conjectured at Arrabona (Győr),[26] Crumerum (Nyergesújfalu),[27] and Aquincum[28] on the basis of inscriptions. Further indirect evidence for trade on the Danube is the late third-century coin hoard discovered with the remains of a lead casket in the riverbed near Intercisa (Dunaújváros) where a ship may have sunk.[29]

In the Middle Ages the only evidence for the military use of the middle Danube can be attributed to the Crusaders, who shipped their food supplies and equipment through Hungary. Odo de Deogilo recorded for 1147 that the Crusaders of King Louis VII of France collected their food supplies at Barancs (Braničevo), transported mainly from Hungary on the Danube.[30] In 1189 Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa also led his army to the Holy Land through Hungary. When his troops reached the Morava River, the emperor received several carts of wheat and other presents from King Béla III (1172–1196), and

[22] *Notitia Dignitatum* 32,52; 33,58; 34,28, in *Notitia Dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium*, ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876); Barnabás Lőrincz, "Classis" in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* (The archaeological handbook of Pannonia) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 82–83.

[23] András Mócsy, Mária Szilágyi, "Vízi utak" (Waterways) in *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve* (The archaeological handbook of Pannonia), ed. András Mócsy and Jenő Fitz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 116.

[24] Alfred Neumann, *Der Raum von Wien in ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1961), 28.

[25] Erich Swoboda, *Carnuntum, Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (Graz: Böhlau 1964), 88, 271.

[26] *CIL* 3, 10.179=4363: altar stone dedicated to Neptune.

[27] *CIL* 3, 3662: altar stone dedicated to Neptune.

[28] *CIL* 3, 10430: altar stone dedicated to Neptune by the *collegium negotiarum*; *CIL* 3, 3416: altar stone from Óbuda Island dedicated to *Danuvius defluens*.

[29] Mária R. Alföldi, "Intercisa pénzforgalma" (The money circulation of Intercisa), in *Intercisa* vol. 1, Archaeologia Hungarica 33, ed. László Barkóczi, et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), 119, n.5.

[30] Odo de Deogilo, *De profectione Ludovici VII regis Francorum in Orientem,* lib. 2–3, in *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae,* ed. Albin Ferencz Gombos (Budapest: Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Nominata, 1937–1938), 1721 (hereafter cited as Gombos, *Catalogus*).

in return he gave the Hungarian king all the ships that had escorted him from Regensburg.[31]

The political consolidation of the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of King Stephen I enabled peaceful passage for foreign merchants through Hungarian territories. The products of the towns of the German and Austrian territories (Regensburg, Cologne, Zurich, Augsburg, Strassburg, and Vienna) were shipped on the Danube to Esztergom,[32] where they were transferred on carts and transportation continued overland to Kiev.[33] In 1221 Vienna received a staple right; however, it did not prevail in practice and German merchants continued travelling to and through Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century.[34] The political disarray following the death of King Andrew III in 1301 and the renewed staple right of Vienna in 1312 caused a decrease in transit trade through Hungary on the Danube and in the Danube valley.[35]

From the fourteenth century onwards the west-east reach of the Danube was the medium of internal trade. In 1350, Queen Elisabeth declared the transportation of food and wine from Pozsony (Bratislava/Pressburg) to Buda free from tolls,[36] which was reinforced by her son, King Louis the Great (1342–

[31] Arnoldus Lubecensis, *Chronica Slavorum,* in Gombos, *Catalogus,* [4.8] 306. Cf. Ansbertus clericus Austriensis, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris,* in Gombos, *Catalogus,* 292.

[32] Odo de Deogilo emphasised in his *De profectione Ludovici VII regis Francorum in Orientem* that the Danube carried the goods of several regions to Esztergom. Odo de Deoglio, *De profectione Ludovici*, 1720.

[33] István Torma, ed., *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája,* vol. 5. *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája, Esztergom és a dorogi járás* (The archaeological topography of Hungary, vol. 5. The archaeological topography of County Komárom, Esztergom and the district of Dorog) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 83 (hereafter cited as *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája* 5).

[34] A series of charters from 1255 to 1297 reveal the presence of German merchants in Hungary. See, for instance, the customs tariff of Győr from 1255, György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Buda: Regia Universitas Ungarica, 1829–1844), 4/2:323–324 (hereafter cited as Fejér), reinforced in 1270, Fejér, 5/1:63–64; the customs tariff of Esztergom from 1288, Fejér, 5/3:412–416; and a charter issued by Andrew III for the merchants of Regensburg in 1291, Fejér, 7/2:149.

[35] For the effect of the staple right given to Vienna in 1224 and 1312, consult Pleidell, *A nyugatra irányuló magyar külkereskedelem*, 14–26.

[36] Ferenc Kováts, "Adalékok a dunai hajózás és a dunai vámok történetéhez az Anjouk korában" (The history of shipping on the Danube and the tolls on the Danube in the Angevin period) *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 8 (1901): 437–438 (hereafter cited as Kováts, "Adalékok a dunai hajózás történetéhez").

1382) in 1356 and 1373.[37] This latter charter says that the main sites of toll on the Danube were at Rajka, Bodak, Királysziget, Neszmély, Esztergom, Szob, Visegrád, and Óbuda (*Fig. 2*).[38] After Rajka, shipping was normally on the Moson branch and less frequently on the main branch of the Danube.[39] According to the charter from 1373, the products shipped on the Danube to Buda were wheat, rye, oats, wine, and hay.[40] It must be noted here that grain was normally carried on waterways throughout the Middle Ages because its weight made transportation by land uneconomical.[41]

The Danube played a substantial role in the transportation of wine and salt,[42] for the same reason as grain. Salt from the mines of Transylvania, Dés (Dej/Desch), Szék (Sic), Kolozsakna (Cojocna), Torda (Turda/Thorenburg), Vízakna (Ocna Sibiului/Salzburg) was shipped on the Maros to Szeged. From there it was either taken on carts to the port of Baja or shipped on the Tisza River to Titel and finally transported to Pest on ships towed against the current.[43] The best wines of medieval Hungary were produced in the Srem region, and they were transported on the waterway of the Danube to the fairs of Esztergom or Pest.[44] In addition to the transportation of goods, waterways must have equally been used for floating timber. However, because this latter was not restricted by privileges, there is little charter evidence about it.

[37] King Louis I issued charters in 1356 (Fejér, 9/7:146–147; Fejér, 9/7:144–145) and 1373 (Fejér, 9/4:569–571) to reinforce the toll privilege of the citizens of Bratislava for shipping on the Danube towards Visegrád and Buda.

[38] Fejér, 9/3:569.

[39] Kováts, "Adalékok a dunai hajózás történetéhez," 438–444.

[40] Fejér, 9/4:570.

[41] János Belitzky, *A magyar gabonakivitel története 1860-ig* (The history of Hungarian grain export to 1860) (Budapest: Kovács József, 1932), 4–6.

[42] A charter of King Géza II from 1148: "tributum portus Pest, et Kerepes, navium etiam cum vino sive cum salibus ascendentium, sive cum aliis venalibus descendentium…," Fejér, 2:129–130.

[43] György Györffy, *Pest-Buda kialakulása* (The rise of Pest-Buda) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), 94–95; Oszkár Paulinyi, "A sóregále kilalakulása Magyarországon" (The development of royal privileges on salt in Hungary), *Századok* 57–58 (1923–1924): 627–647.

[44] Piroska Feyér, *A szőlő- és bortermelés Magyarországon 1848-ig* (The history of grape and wine production in Hungary to 1848) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 41–42.

Roads along the Danube

The first sections of the so-called *limes* road were begun during the reign of Claudius (AD 41–54), when the Roman army was stationed along the Danube. By the end of Trajan's reign (AD 98–117), four legionary fortresses (*castra legionis*) and a line of auxiliary forts (*castellum*) were built on the Danubian frontier of Pannonia, the *ripa Pannonica*. These fortifications were connected by an unpaved *limes* road[45] (*Fig. 1*, *Table 1*) that was part of a great military road between the Balkan provinces and Gaul. After the Marcomannian-Sarmatian wars (AD 166–180) the fortifications of the *limes* were reorganised into a linear defensive system. Devastated earth and timber fortifications were rebuilt in stone and a series of watchtowers (*burgi*) and watch stations (*praesidia*) were erected between them.[46] It was during this restoration program that the whole length of the *limes* road was modernised. The new road was constructed with a 70–80 cm deep roadbed filled with gravel and stone at the bottom and stone or gravel bound with lime above. Aerial photographs demonstrate that this 7–8 m wide road ran mostly straight on the high bank of the Danube, as close to the river as possible.[47]

The medieval pilgrimage road to Jerusalem opened by King Stephen in 1018/1019 followed a long section of the right bank of the Danube, and thus the path of the Roman *limes* road. According to the testimony of an itinerary[48] dated between 1031 and 1043, the safety of this pilgrimage route crossing the Hungarian border at Hainburg was secured by the castles of *Raua* (Győr), *Wzzenburch* (Fehérvár), *Hanenburch* (Tolna?), *Duldumast* (Baranyavár/Branjin Vhr?), and *Dordomest* (Valkóvár/Vukovar?) in Hungary[49] (*Fig 2*). After Győr the

[45] G. Parthey and M. Pinder, eds., *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* (Berlin: Impensis Ferderici Nicolai, 1848) 242.1–248.1: the limes road between Laurinum and Cetium (hereafter cited as *Itin. Ant.*). *Itin. Ant.* 266.8–13: Aquincum–Crumerum road section.

[46] Sándor Soproni, "Limes," in *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. Alfonz Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó/Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1980), 219–221; Dénes Gabler, "The Ripa Pannonica," in *The Roman Army in Pannonia: An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica*, ed. Zsolt Visy (Pécs: Teleki László Foundation, 2003), 37–39.

[47] Zsolt Visy, "The *Limes*-road along the Danube," in *The Roman Army in Pannonia: An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica*, ed. Zsolt Visy, (Pécs: Teleki László Foundation, 2003): 43–46; Zsolt Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2003), 131–133.

[48] *Via Hierosolymitana auctore anonymo,* in Gombos, *Catalogus*, 844–845.

[49] For a map and identification of the place-names, consult Györffy, *István király és műve*, 299–301, fig. 47.

pilgrimage road left the Danube, turning southeast towards Fehérvár, the royal seat of the kingdom.[50] From Tolna it continued on the right bank of the Danube down to the confluence with the Sava. Leaving the territory of medieval Hungary, the road continued to follow the path of the Roman military route in the Balkans via Belgrade (Beograd/Roman Singidunum), Nish (Niš/Roman Naissus), Sofia (Sofija/Roman Serdica), Plovdiv (Roman Philippopolis), and Adrianople (Edirne/Roman Hadrianopolis) to Constantinople (Istanbul/Roman Constantinopolis).[51]

Table 1. Roman and medieval roads on the right bank of the Danube

Roman road stations[52]	**Medieval roadside localities**[53]	**Medieval county**	**Modern name**	**Modern location** (H=Hungary)
Vindobona	Vienna		Wien/Bécs/Vienna	Austria
Carnuntum			Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg-Petronell	Austria
	Hainburg		Hainburg an der Donau	Austria
	Flanschendorf	Moson	Petržalka/ Pozsonyligetfalu	Slovak Republic
Gerulata	Oroszvár	Moson	Rusovce	Slovak Republic
	Rajka	Moson	Rajka	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Bezenye	Moson	Bezenye	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
Ad Flexum	Óvár	Moson	Mosonmagyaróvár	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Mosonvár	Moson		
	Komlószarm	Moson	unidentifiable	
Quadrata, Stailuco?		Moson	Barátföldpuszta-Lébény	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.

[50] King Stephen moved his royal seat from Esztergom to Fehérvár in 1018. Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:363, 376.

[51] *Via Hierosolymitana auctore anonymo*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, 845.

[52] Roman towns, civil settlements, legionary fortresses, auxiliary forts connected by the Roman road. After the data of the *Itinearium Antonini* and Zsolt Visy, ed. *The Roman Army in Pannonia, An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica* (Pécs: Teleki László Foundation, 2003).

[53] Medieval towns, market towns, market places, villages, castles, earthwork fortifications, and monasteries along the medieval road. After the maps of Györffy, *ÁMF* I–IV, and Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata."

	Öttevény	Győr	Öttevény	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
	Abda	Győr	Abda	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
Arrabona	Győr	Győr	Győr	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.
Ad Statuas	Vas(i)	Komárom	Ács-Vaspuszta	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Lovad (Lóól, Loval)	Komárom	deserted	
	Halász	Komárom	deserted	
Ad Mures			Ács-Bumbumkút	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Concó	Komárom	deserted	
	Koppánmonostor, (Katapánmonostor)	Komárom	deserted	
Brigetio	Szőny	Komárom	Komárom-Szőny	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Azaum, Odiavum	Füzitő	Komárom	Almásfüzitő	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Almás	Komárom	Dunaalmás	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Neszmély	Komárom	Neszmély	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Sénkőaszó (Sénköveszó)	Esztergom	deserted	
	Süttő (Sédtő)	Esztergom	Süttő	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Crumerum	Újfalu	Esztergom	Nyergesújfalu	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Cardellaca, Cardabiaca			Tokod	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Tát	Esztergom	Tát	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Zsidód	Esztergom	Zsidódi puszta	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Abony (Szentkirály)	Esztergom	Esztergom-Szentkirály	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Solva	Esztergom	Esztergom	Esztergom	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
	Szentgyörgy	Esztergom	Esztergom-Szentgyörgymező	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.
Castra ad Herculem			Pilismarót	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.,

	Dömös	Pilis	Dömös	Komárom-Esztergom c., H.,
Pone Navata?	Visegrád	Pilis	Visegrád	Pest c., H.
Cirpi	Bogdány	Pilis	Dunabogdány	Pest c., H.
	Tah	Pilis	Tahitótfalu	Pest c., H.
Ulcisia Castra	Szentendre	Pilis	Szentendre	Pest c., H.
	Orosz	Pilis	deserted	
	Megyer	Pilis	Békásmegyer, Budapest	Pest c., H.
Aquincum	Óbuda	Pilis	Óbuda, Budapest	Pest c., H.
	Felhévíz	Pilis	Budapest	Pest c., H.
	Kocsola	Pest	Budafok, Budapest	Pest c., H.
Campona	Tétény	Pilis	Nagytétény, Budapest	Pest c., H.
	Érd	Pilis	Érd	Pest c., H.
Matrica	Batta	Fejér	Százhalombatta	Pest c., H.
	Éty	Fejér	unidentifiable	
	Ercsi	Fejér	Ercsi	Fejér c., H.
	Besenyő	Fejér	Besnyő	Fejér c., H.
	Iváncsa	Fejér	Iváncsa	Fejér c., H.
	Tamási	Fejér	deserted	
Vetus Salina	Adony	Fejér	Adony	Fejér c., H.
	Almás	Fejér	Rácalmás	Fejér c., H.
	Szigetfő	Fejér	deserted	
	Andornak(vár)	Fejér	Dunapentele, Dunaújváros	
	Pentele(monostora)	Fejér	Dunapentele, Dunaújváros	Fejér c., H.
	Süld (Sild)	Fejér	flooded by the Danube	
Intercisa			Dunaújváros	Fejér c., H.
Annamatia	Baracs	Fejér	Baracs	Fejér c., H.
	Tolvaj (Tolvé)	Fejér	Pázmándpuszta, Baracs	Fejér c., H.
	Földvár	Tolna	Dunaföldvár	Tolna c., H.
Lussonium			Dunakömlőd	Tolna c., H.
	Paks	Tolna	Paks	Tolna c., H.
	Fadd	Tolna	Fadd	Tolna c., H.
Alta Ripa	Tolna	Tolna	Tolna	Tolna c., H.
	Szekszárd	Tolna	Szekszárd	Tolna c., H.
Alisca			Őcsény	Tolna c., H.
Ad Statuas			Várdomb	Tolna c., H.

	Szék	Tolna	Bátaszék	Tolna c., H.
Lugio	Szekcső	Baranya	Dunaszekcső	Baranya c., H.
	Bár	Baranya	Bár	Baranya c., H.
	Nyárád	Baranya	Nagynyárád	Baranya c., H.
Altinum			Hajlokpart, Kölked	Baranya c., H.
	Majsa	Baranya	Majs	Baranya c., H.
	Lippó	Baranya	Lippó	Baranya c., H.
	Iván	Baranya	Ivándárda	Baranya c., H.
Ad Militare			Batina Skela/ Kiskőszeg	Croatia
	Baranyavár	Baranya	Branjin Vrh/ Baranyavár	Croatia
Ad Novas			Zmajevac/ Vörösmart	Croatia
	Bellye	Baranya	Bilje/Bellye	Croatia
	Eszék	Baranya	Osijek/Eszék	Croatia

This route was not only used by pilgrims, but it also functioned as a military road (*via militaris, hadút*).[54] In May, 1096, Valter Sansavoir and his French army marched through Hungary on the First Crusade,[55] shortly followed by the Crusaders of Peter of Amiens, who entered the Hungarian border at Moson-vár.[56] According to Albertus Aquensis, both troops left Hungary at Zemun,[57] but he does not describe what their route was in Transdanubia.[58] In June the

[54] In the foundation charter of the Tihany abbey from 1055 the military road is mentioned near Fadd: "ad Caztelic, et Feheruuarau rea Neneh hodu utu rea," (to Kesztölc, and on the military road which leads to Fehérvár), Fejér, 1:391. The anonymous author of *Gesta Hungarorum* mentions the military road at Baranyavár, Emericus Szentpétery, ed. *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* (Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica atque Societate Historiae Hungarica, 1937; Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 1:96 (Citations are to the Nap edition). The Hadút field between Bellye and Kopács (north of Eszék) also preserves the memory of the military road, Györffy, *ÁMF* 1:261, 1:283.

[55] Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [1.7] 35. On the role of the Hungarian Kingdom in the First Crusade, see László Veszprémy, "Magyarország és az első keresztes hadjárat" (Hungary and the First Crusade), *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 118 (2005): 501–515.

[56] Guibertus Abbas, *Historia Hierosolymitana* in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [2.4] 1096–1097.

[57] Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [1.7–8] 35–36.

[58] According to traditional Hungarian historiography, the French and German troops of the First Crusade used the pilgrimage road for crossing Hungary, Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt* (The history of the Hungarian nation under the House of Árpád) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899), 1:192–193. Endre Tóth has recently questioned this theory, arguing that it was not safe to allow foreign troops to cross

German priest Gottschalk and his army also entered Hungary at Mosonvár, and apparently using the pilgrimage road, they approached Fehérvár, where they were stopped and dispersed by King Coloman's (1095–1116) army for devastating the countryside.[59] In 1189 Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa marched through Hungary to the Third Crusade via Esztergom, Óbuda and Szalánkemén (Stari Slankamen),[60] continuing his way on the so-called *strata publica Bulgarie*[61] along an ancient Roman military road.

Medieval west-east long-distance trade was conducted not only on the Danube, but also along both banks of the river. The overland route on the right bank of the Danube had greater economic importance;[62] coming from Vienna it crossed the frontier of Hungary at Flanschendorf[63] and continued along the Moson branch of the Danube via Oroszvár,[64] Rajka, Bezenye, Óvár, Mosonvár,[65] Öttevény, Abda,[66] and Győr (*Fig. 2*, *Table 1*). This trade route was used by merchants from Regensburg, Cologne, Aachen, Metz, and Maastricht arriving in Hungary for silver and gold in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In

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northern Hungary, where the royal seats of the kingdom (Esztergom, Fehérvár, Veszprém) were situated. He suggests that the crusaders must have marched through western Hungary, turned southeast at Rum (near Szombathely), and continued their route on the path of the ancient Roman road via Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, Pécs, Eszék, Belgrade and Zemun. Endre Tóth, "Via Imperatoris, 1217," in "*Quasi Liber et Pictura*" *Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* (Studies in Honor of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday), ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 576–578.

[59] Albertus Aquensis*, Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [1.24–25] 38–39.

[60] Arnoldus Lubecensis, *Chronica Slavorum*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, [4.8] 305–306.

[61] According to the description of Ansbertus clericus Austriensis in "Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris" the road stations of the *strata publica Bulgarie* were Wizzenburch (Belgrade), Philippopolis, Adrianopolis, and Constantinopolis. See Gombos, *Catalogus*, 292–295.

[62] Diószegi, *A Magyarországon keresztülvezető kereskedelmi utak,* 6, 11.

[63] In the perambulation of Flanschendorf from 1278: "secus viam que ducit ad Vruzwar," in *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg* 4 vols., ed. Hans Wagner and Lindeck Pozza (Vienna, Graz, Cologne, 1955–1986), 2:120 (hereafter cited as *UB*).

[64] Charter of Béla IV from 1266: "transeundo fluvium Pezna … secus Wruzwar … exinde veniendo ad viam regni magnam lapidosam, sunt tres mete," Dezső Szabó, "Két Árpád-kori oklevél" (Two Árpádian-age charters), *Századok* 40 (1906): 630–631.

[65] Fake charter attributed to Andrew II from 1217: "in publica strata ... in strata contra Muson," *UB* 1:71.

[66] Cf. the map of Moson county in Györffy, *ÁMF* 4.

addition, silver from Hungary was used by the mints of Krems and Vienna, set up around 1130 and in the second half of the twelfth century, respectively.[67]

Aerial photographs and charter evidence testify that the medieval road on the right bank of the Moson Danube followed the track of the Roman *limes* road.[68] This road was called *via Etteuen* in the perambulation charter of Kimle after the visible remains of the cemented Roman road.[69] In addition, the name of Öttevény, a settlement northwest of Győr, also testifies to the Roman past of the nearby road.[70]

From Győr, trade continued to Buda on two roads, one running along the right bank of the Danube via the toll stations of Komárom-Szőny, Neszmély,[71] Esztergom, and Visegrád castle,[72] the other passing through the toll stations of Bőny, Bana, Kocs, Bánhida,[73] and Bicske[74] (*Fig. 2*, *Table 1*). Merchants coming from Russia entered these trade routes either at Esztergom or at Pest-Buda.[75] Esztergom was the royal seat of Hungary from 1001 to the mid-thirteenth

[67] Oszkár Paulinyi, "Nemesfémtermelésünk és országos gazdaságunk általános alakulása a bontakozó és kifejlett feudalizmus korszakában (1000–1526)" (The precious metal production and economy of Hungary in the period of early and high feudalism), *Századok* 106 (1972): 577, n. 83.

[68] Zsolt Visy, *A római limes Magyarországon* (The Roman limes in Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), 39–46; Zsolt Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary*, 16–25, fig. 4, 13, 15a, 16, 17.

[69] Charter of Andrew II from 1210: "via que dicitur parata, que vulgo vocatur Etteuen," *UB* 1:60. The term *via öttevény* indicated exclusively Roman roads. *Öttevény* refers to pouring ('önt' in Hungarian) cement between the stones and cobbles of roads, a technique that was only employed in the Roman period. See Endre Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," *Magyar Nyelv* 73/2 (1977): 194–201 (hereafter cited as Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum"). Cf. Lajos Glaser, "A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben" (The names of Roman roads in medieval charters), *Magyar Nyelv* 27 (1931): 317–318; Dezső Pais, "Öttevény," *Magyar Nyelv* 28 (1932): 119–120; Dénes Szabó, "Öntvény," *Magyar Nyelv* 39 (1943): 298–305.

[70] Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:575.

[71] Charters from 1342, Imre Nagy, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis / Anjoukori Okmánytár*, (Budapest: MTA, 1884), 4:224 (hereafter cited as *Anjoukori Okmánytár*) and from 1364, Fejér, 9/7:227–230.

[72] The charter of Sigismund from 1437, Fejér, 10/7:874.

[73] The charter of king Ladislaus from 1288, "sive per Banhida, sive per aliam quamcumque viam, de Buda vel de Pest," Fejér, 5/3:414.

[74] Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 149; Györffy, *ÁMF* 3:399; Fejér, 10/7:874.

[75] In a charter from 1198: "mercator autem de Ruscia veniens unius equi sive in Pest, sive Strigonii, sive alibi descendat," Fejér, 7/5:143.

century and it has been an archepiscopal seat since 1001.[76] Furthermore, it was the economic focal point of Árpádian-age Hungary, as until 1211 the only mint and money exchange of the country was there,[77] and until the mid-thirteenth century Esztergom was the only town in Hungary that had the staple right.[78] From the turn of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century, however, the development of Esztergom was halted by the increasing influence of the Church in the town. The gradual rise of Buda also contributed to the decline of Esztergom. Between 1249 and 1256 the royal court moved from Esztergom to Buda.[79] In addition, the staple right Pest received in 1244 made Pest and Buda the new economic center of Hungary.[80]

In accordance with a commercial agreement in 1335 with John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia (1310–1346), King Charles Robert of Hungary (1308–1342) issued a charter in 1336 in which he prescribed the trade route on which Bohemian merchants were to come to Hungary.[81] The new trade route, opened to evade the staple right of Vienna, crossed the Danube at Esztergom, and continued on the right bank of the river via Piliscsaba, Szentjakab, and Óbuda to Buda.[82] In 1350, on behalf of King Louis I, Ban Stephen of Slavonia

[76] Gyöffy, *ÁMF* 2:237–238, 245–246.

[77] Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet, 1000–1325* (The history of Hungarian coins, 1000–1325) (Budapest: MTA, 1916), 456–457.

[78] It must be noted here that the staple right of Esztergom was, in fact, not a town privilege but customary law according to which foreign merchants had to ask for an export licence at the royal seat. Erik Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilégiumok" (Medieval Hungarian town privileges), *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 14 (1959): 41 (hereafter cited as Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilégiumok"). On the staple right and tolls of Esztergom, consult, Sándor Domanovszky, "A harmincadvám eredete" (The origin of the thirtieth tax), *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből* 24 (1918): 29–39; Boglárka Weisz, "Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története" (The Árpádian age history of the toll of Esztergom) *Századok* 137 (2003): 973–981 (hereafter cited as Weisz, "Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története").

[79] Weisz, "Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története," 973–974.

[80] Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilégiumok," 40–42.

[81] Balázs Nagy, "Transcontinental Trade from East-Central Europe to Western Europe (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries), in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festchrift in Honor of János M. Bak,* ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999): 347–348.

[82] Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Magyar diplomácziai emlékek az Anjou-korból* (Hungarian records of diplomacy from the Angevin period) (Budapest: MTA, 1874), 1:343–344 (hereafter cited as Wenzel, ed *Magyar diplomácziai emlékek az Anjou-korból*).

transcribed this charter for the German merchants of Cologne and the Rhineland who arrived in Hungary through Moravia and Bohemia.[83]

The medieval road between Győr and Buda on the right bank of the Danube followed the path of the Roman *limes* road. The term *kövesút* (cobbled road) used in medieval charters for road sections between Győr and Komárom,[84] and between Tát and Mogyorós[85] indicates Roman road remains.[86] At Vicsep the Roman and medieval roads were differentiated as *via antiqua* and *via nova*.[87]

From Buda the medieval trade route continuing south on the path of the Roman *limes* road was called *Baranyai nagyút*[88] (Baranya great road). Charters mention this road at Iváncs(a),[89] Szentgyörgy, Fadd,[90] Szekcső, Bár,[91] Nagynyárád,[92] Majsa, Iván, Baranyavár, and Bellye[93] (*Fig. 2*, *Table 1*). It formed part of an important long-distance trade route (also used as a pilgrimage route and

[83] Wenzel, *Magyar diplomácziai emlékek az Anjou-korból* 2:391.

[84] In a charter from 1435: "magnam viam Kwesuth vocatam per quam de Komarom itur ad Jaurinum," Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 146, n. 82.

[85] The charter of the chapter of Esztergom from 1356: "iuxta quandam magnam viam vulgariter kuvesuth nuncupatam," *Anjoukori okmánytár* 6:515. Cf. *Magyarország régészeti topográfája* 5:323–324.

[86] The term "kövesút" means a cobbled and gravelled built road, which may refer to Roman roads still visible in the Middle Ages, since medieval roads were normally not built in this way, Glaser, "A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben," 318; Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 195.

[87] Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:219, 317; Cf. *Magyarország régészeti topográfája* 5:270.

[88] In the charters of the Buda chapter from 1431, "viam Barnyaynogut dictam antiquorem," Magyar Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár (The Hungarian National Archives, Collection of Charters), 12377 (hereafter: MOL Dl), "viam Baranyawt vocatam antiquam," MOL Dl 12366; Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 140–141; Györffy, *ÁMF* 2:341.

[89] In the charter of Queen Fennena from 1291 it is referred to as "magna via," Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Árpádkori új okmánytár / Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus* (Budapest: MTA, 1860–1889), 10:39 (herafter cited as Wenzel, *ÁÚO*).

[90] In the charter of chapter of Kalocsa from 1424: "magnam viam, que de villa Zenthgurg ad predictam villam Faad duceret," Fejér, 10/6:632.

[91] In the perambulation charter of Bár from 1329: "magnam viam qua itur in Zekchew," MOL Dl 7345; Györffy, *ÁMF* 1:279.

[92] Charter from 1413, "per magnam viam, que duceret de Zekchew ad villam Narad," in Imre Nagy, ed., *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő* (Budapest: 1894) 6:243.

[93] Györffy, *ÁMF* 1:261.

military road) that connected Western Europe and the Balkans along the track of a Roman military road.[94] Until its capture by the Ottomans, Constantinople was the main eastern depot of Levantine trade, and Eastern luxury products were transported from there by and along the Danube to Central and Western Europe until the rise of Venetian and Genoese shipping companies in the thirteenth century.[95] From the twelfth century onwards Hungarian merchants themselves took an active part in Levantine trade. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela noted in his itinerary of 1173 that the markets of Constantinople were frequented by Hungarian merchants.[96] In addition, Hungarian merchants had trading settlements at Barancs and Philippopolis on the long-distance trade route to Constantinople.[97]

Roads in Western Transdanubia

The main north-south road of Roman and medieval Western Transdanubia was a natural route that developed during the prehistoric great migrations along the most convenient course the terrain dictated.[98] It was part of a long-distance trade route on which amber was carried from the Baltic Sea to Northern Italy from prehistoric times onward,[99] hence its modern name, the Amber Road. Following the Roman conquest of Transdanubia, this route gained great strategic importance as the main line of military advancement from Italy to the Danube. The construction of the road via Poetovio (Pettau/Ptuj), Salla (Zalalövő), Savaria (Szombathely), and Scarbantia (Sopron), Vindobona (Vienna), and Carnuntum (Deutsch-Altenburg)[100] started as early as the third

[94] Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 77–78 (hereafter cited as Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*).

[95] Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Egy évszázados történészvitáról: áthaladt-e a levantei kereskedelem útja a középkori Magyarországon?" (On a century-long historical debate: Did the Levantine trade route cross Hungary?) *Századok* 106 (1972): 850, 867–869, 882–883.

[96] M. A Signer, M. N. Adler, and A. Asher, ed., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, Travels in the Middle Ages* (Malibu: John Simon, 1983), 70.

[97] Ambrus Pleidell, "A magyar várostörténet első fejezete" (The first chapter of Hungarian urban history), *Századok* 1934 (68): 309; Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, 77–78.

[98] Soproni, "Roads," 207.

[99] For Roman trade in amber, see M. Pasquinucci, "Aquileia and Amber Trade," *Savaria* 16 (1982): 273–281.

[100] *Itin. Ant.* 261.4–262.2: Vindobona–Poetovio road; *Itin. Ant.* 262.3–262.8: Poetovio–Carnuntum road; *Itin. Ant.* 266.4–266.7: Savaria–Vindobona road. For the latest

decade of the first century AD[101] (*Fig. 1*, *Table 2*). The Roman road was built with a 50–60 m high embankment, which is still visible almost intact near Nádasd. At other places, where ploughing destroyed the embankment and the pavement of the Roman road in the later periods, a wide strip of gravel indicates the Roman track.[102]

Table 2. The Roman and medieval roads of Western Transdanubia.

Roman road stations	Medieval roadside localities	Medieval county	Modern name	Modern location
	Muraszombat	Vas	Murska Sobota/ Muraszombat	Slovenia
	Rákos	Vas	Nagyrákos	Vas c., Hungary
Sala		Zala	Zalalövő	Zala c., Hungary
	Nádasd	Vas	Nádasd	Vas c., Hungary
	Körmend	Vas	Körmend	Vas c., Hungary
Savaria	Szombathely	Vas	Szombathely	Vas c., Hungary
	Kőszeg	Vas	Kőszeg/Güns	Vas c., Hungary
Scarbantia	Sopron	Sopron	Sopron/ Ödenburg	Győr-Moson-Sopron c., H.

The use of the Amber Road did not stop with the end of Roman rule. Byzantine gold and bronze coin finds from Celje, Ptuj, Wiener Neustadt, Vienna, and Deutsch Altenburg–Petronell testify that commercial activity continued on the Amber Road into the seventh century.[103] By 803 much of western Transdanubia had come under Carolingian-Frankish rule, and thus the Amber Road again became the road of one empire along its whole length from north Italy to the Danube. In addition to its strategic significance, the Amber Road regained its role in trade, attested by ninth-century Byzantine and Eastern coins discovered along its track.[104] Between 896 and 907 the Middle Danube region finally came under control of the Magyars. After their defeat at Augsburg

archaeological investigations into the road stations of the Amber Road, see János Gömöri, ed., *A Borostyánkőút tájai és emlékei* (Landscapes and monuments along the Amber Road) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 1999).

[101]Tóth, "The Roman Roads of Pannonia," 176.

[102] Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 21.

[103] Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány, *Savaria-Szombathely története a város alapításától 1526-ig* (The history of Savaria-Szombathely from the foundation of the town to 1526) (Szombathely: A Szombathely Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 1998), 73, 81–82 (hereafter cited as Kiss, Tóth and Zágorhidi, *Savaria-Szombathely története*).

[104] Kiss, Tóth and Zágorhidi, *Savaria-Szombathely története*, 88.

in 955 the Magyars started to set up a frontier defence system to protect western Transdanubia. The earthwork fortifications erected in the second half of the tenth and eleventh centuries on the western frontier formed three defensive lines (*gyepű, indago*) together with the geomorphic and hydrographic features of the landscape. The earthwork fortifications of the outermost defensive line were situated along the Amber Road at Körmend, Velem-Szent Vid, Locsmánd (Lutzmannsburg), Sopron, and Darufalva (Drassburg), which in itself demonstrates that this Roman road was of strategic importance in tenth- and eleventh-century Hungary.[105] Road sections and fields called *öttevény* at Kálócfa,[106] Zalalövő,[107] Körmend,[108] Nádasd,[109] Szombathely,[110] Borsmonostor,[111] and Enyed[112] testify that remains of the Amber Road were still recognisable in the later Middle Ages.[113]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the north-south road of western Transdanubia via Muraszombat, Rákos, Körmend, Nádasd, Szombathely, Kőszeg, and Sopron served as a route of transit trade between Venice and

[105] Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, "Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli korai magyar gyepű topográfiájához" (The topography of the early Hungarian frontier defence system of western Transdanubia) in *Magyarok térben és időben* (Hungarians in time and space), ed. Éva Mária Fülöp and Julianna Kisné Cseh (Tata: Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumi Szervezet, 1999), 105–123; János Gömöri, *Castrum Supron. Sopron vára az Árpád-korban* (Castrum Supron. Sopron castle in the Árpádian age) (Sopron: Scarbantia Társaság, 2002), 32–34.

[106] A field is called Ötevény at Kálócfa. László Papp and József Végh, ed., *Zala megye földrajzi nevei* (The toponyms of Zala county) (Zalegerszeg: Zala megye tanácsának végrehajtó bizottsága, 1964), 303 (hereafter cited as Papp and Végh, *Zala megye földrajzi nevei*).

[107] The charter of Béla IV from 1265: "magna via, que vulgaliter Ehttewen dicitur," "via Ettewen," Imre Nagy, ed., *Hazai okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus*, (Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1876), 6:131; a street of Zalalövő is called Ötevényi út, Papp and Végh, *Zala megye földrajzi nevei*, 101.

[108] In a charter from 1329: "pervenit ad viam magnam Ethuenuth vocatam," MOL Dl. 42068.

[109] Öttevényes-út at Nádasd, Frigyes Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei történeti, földrajzi és nyelvészeti tekintetben* (The toponyms of Hungary in historical, geographical, and linguistic respects) (Budapest: MTA Történeti Bizottsága, 1888), 1:242.

[110] Charter from 1259, "viam Ettevin," "de via…Ettevin," *UB* 3:265–266.

[111] Charter of Andrew II from 1225: "ad antiquam viam, qua vulgo dicitur utwengut," *UB* 1:105.

[112] In the charter of the chapter of Győr from 1237: "per quandam antiquam viam, que dicitur eetheven," Fejér 6/1:75; *UB* 1:173.

[113] Cf. Tóth, "Eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," 195–196.

Vienna[114] (*Fig. 2*, *Table 2*). Venetian merchants arrived at the border of Hungary on a route that closely followed the path of the ancient Roman Amber Road. However, after Pettau the road continued via Muraszombat (Murska Sobota) and Rákos instead of the shorter ancient route via Muraszerdahely (Roman Halicanum) and Zalalövő (Roman Salla). From Körmend the Roman and medieval roads again followed more or less the same path. The change of the route between Pettau and Körmend can be explained by the hydrographic features of the terrain. The Roman road provided a shorter path across the heavily winding reach of the Mura River and the surrounding marshy area, but it was only made passable by constant road maintenance. In the Middle Ages the water level of the Mura was higher and the roads were not so carefully maintained. Thus, the medieval road crossed the Mura further to the west, on a longer but safer route where the river was not so winding.[115] Minor differences in the tracks of roads have also been demonstrated by field surveys on a northern section of the Amber Road. In the region of Szombathely medieval settlements were not situated along the Roman road but along the Gyöngyös brook nearby. The medieval road connecting these settlements often passed a mere 20 to 50 metres from the remains of the Roman road that was no longer used. Endre Tóth explained medieval divergences from the Roman track by the fact that the same geomorphic features were used in different ways for settlement in the two periods.[116]

Following the construction of the Semmering trade route in the last third of the twelfth century, transit trade through western Transdanubia stopped and the route via Nádasd, Szombathely, and Sopron was used only in internal trade.[117] With the rise of Italian-Hungarian trade relations in the early thirteenth century, Venetian merchants started to use the so-called Italian road in Hungary. As far as Muraszombat this road was identical with the road used before the opening of the Semmering route, but there it forked towards Vasvár, Veszprém,

[114] Zsuzsa Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a XIII–XV. században* (Venetian-Hungarian trade relations between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 22 (hereafter cited as Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*); Glaser, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," 142; Dénes Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a középkorban* (Hungarian-Italian trade relations in the Middle Ages) (Budapest, 1941), 99 (hereafter cited as Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*).

[115] Gábor Kiss and Endre Tóth, "A vasvári 'Római sánc' és a 'Katonák útja' időrendje és értelmezése" (The chronology and interpretation of the so-called 'Roman earthworks' and the 'road of soldiers' at Vasvár), *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1987): 112.

[116] Tóth, *Itineraria Pannonica*, 20.

[117] Kiss and Tóth, "Adatok a nyugat-dunántúli magyar gyepű topográfiájához," 107–108.

Fehérvár, and Esztergom or Buda[118] (*Fig. 2*). After the commercial treaty of King Andrew II (1205–1235) with the doge of Venice in 1217,[119] Venetian merchants arrived in Hungary regularly on this route bringing, Italian and Levantine luxury products (silk and other expensive textiles, pearls, precious stones, spices) in exchange for gold.[120]

Conclusions

The Danube River had a decisive—but fundamentally different—importance in the historical landscapes of Roman and medieval Transdanubia. In the Roman period the middle Danube formed part of a military defensive system that separated Roman Pannonia from the Barbaricum. Contrarily, in the Middle Ages the whole middle Danube region belonged to one country, and thus it lost its role in frontier defence. Instead, it functioned as a means of transportation between towns and settlements situated along and across the river.

Fundamental differences can be pointed out in the role and nature of Roman and medieval roads as well. Roman roads provided the shortest possible movement between towns and military centres, and *villa* estates were connected to these main roads by approach roads. Medieval roads, in contrast, connected towns, villages, marketplaces, and fortifications alike. The main Roman roads were constructed and maintained by the army, paid from public funds. Medieval highways and bridges were maintained by royal order and finances, and it was the right of the king to collect tolls in return, but he could also donate the privilege of free passage or toll collection. Roman roads were paved over a high, solid embankment, and followed a mostly straight track carefully designed according to natural landscape features and strategic considerations. Although the opening of roads also required some preparation (forest clearance, land drainage, management of fords, and creation of ferry ports or bridges) in the Middle Ages, these roads were not built like the Roman roads and their routes developed in a more or less natural way. Although the two roads investigated here followed basically the same route in the Roman and medieval periods, they did not always follow the same track, which can be explained by changes in the hydrographic system, the different use of the same geomorphic features, or other, human, factors the demonstration of which would require further investigation on a local level.

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[118] Teke, *Velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*, 22.
[119] Wenzel, *ÁÚO* 6:380–383.
[120] Huszti, *Olasz-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok*, 29–30.

PART II.

Report of the Year

REPORT OF THE YEAR

Gábor Klaniczay

This year I have replaced József Laszlovszky as Head of the Department. After having served in this position between 1992 and 1997, this time I took over the responsibilities for a very different institution from the one I used to handle during the nice and chaotic founding years.

My first words should go, consequently, to praise the departing head, more informally, Jóska, for having built, during the six years when he was in charge, such a well functioning and warm-spirited department. Under his direction we were able to harvest the results of our previous and ongoing work: between 1999 and 2005 no less than 37 PhD dissertations were defended and the number of MA theses was augmented by 142. After having successfully managed the final recognition of our curriculum in the U.S. by earning accreditation from the Middle States' Educational Board, he directed the thorny process of having our doctoral program accredited by the Hungarian Accreditation Board (MAB), and made the first draft of the project of a two-year MA in History, to be taught at CEU together with the Department of History, maintaining, however, a distinct medievalist specialization in the second year and an MA in Medieval Studies. During this time the Department also arranged dozens of important international conferences, quite a few successful summer schools, and engaged in a number of exciting new research projects. He initiated the publication of a newsletter called *Medieval News*, which now keeps our friends and colleagues informed of current and upcoming departmental events. The *Annual* itself became a fairly well-known academic journal during his tenure, and a book series initiated and edited by Jóska, *CEU Mediaevalia* has produced eight volumes.

We have to thank Jóska sincerely for all his effort, dedication, and proficiency. The institutional solidity of the department when I took over the direction can best be demonstrated by the fact that this year we did without the presence of three of our most important founding members. Not only was Jóska on sabbatical this year, but also our other "founding father," János Bak, who, before becoming emeritus at the end of the academic year, spent a semester in Istanbul, teaching at Sabanci University (and recruiting future

Turkish students), and subsequently made a tour in the U.S. and Canada. Thirdly, István Perczel, away already the previous year, stayed until summer, 2006, on his research leave in Kerala, India, researching and digitalizing Syriac manuscripts, in cooperation with the University of Tübingen.

The academic year started as usual with a departmental field trip, this time to the southwest of Hungary (Ráckeve, Ozora, Szekszárd, Balatonboglár, Cikádor). One of the highlights was a wine-tasting at the Takler Winery in Szekszárd. After this, another interesting "immersion" in medieval studies occurred; at the end of September our department welcomed a large group of visitors coming from the Center for Medieval Studies of Bergen. 17 professors, post-doctoral fellows, and PhD students from this Norwegian center of excellence came to Budapest, with their director, Sverre Bagge, to present their projects and to become acquainted with our faculty and students.

The beginning of the school year was also marked by another festive event: the joint Hungarian-Slovak exhibition on "Mary of Hungary, the Last Medieval Queen of the Hungarian Kingdom." It opened in the Budapest Historical Museum and the chief curator was Orsolya Réthelyi, a PhD student in our department.

The academic year unfolded as usual; we had two principal tasks: to resolve our educational program in the absence of several of our key professors, and to continue the intensive series of planning discussions for the two-year MA program which would adapt our education to the "Bologna Process." This planning process and its accreditation in both the U.S. and in Hungary are still underway in 2007.

At the same time, we had our usual share of various public events. We organized a Curriculum Resource Center workshop to discuss: "The Bologna Process and its Consequences for Curriculum Development in Historical Studies." We participated in a conference on "Hagiography: Historiography, Sources and Methods" in October, 2005, in Dubrovnik, organized by our former PhD students, Marina Miladinov and Zrinka Nikolić, where I had the honor of giving the inaugural address and several of our PhD students (Cristian Gaşpar, Ana Marinković, Lovro Kunčević, Trpimir Vedriš, and Rozana Vojvoda) were among the conference speakers.

Our regular interdisciplinary workshop, in March, 2006, was organized on the theme: "Religion and State Formation: Comparative Perspectives from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages." This workshop was co-organized with the Norwegian Center for Medieval Studies. Furthermore, we invited our Polish, Czech, Russian, and Croatian colleagues to active participation and strengthened our cooperation with these developing new centers in our region. Another objective of the workshop was to elaborate a comparative approach to Central

European historical evolution. In May we participated as usual in the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, where several professors and students presented papers.

The Spring Field Trip involved travel to the Kvarner region of northwest Croatia, targeting the islands of the north Adriatic: Krk, Cres, and Rab. This allowed us to see a number of wonderful early medieval monuments, churches, small towns, and fortresses. Our Croatian students and faculty (Robert Kurelić, Trpimir Vedriš and Prof. Neven Budak) did a marvelous job in organizing the trip; they introduced us to places where they themselves go and which they know better than any travel agent. Furthermore, they can be considered the best expert historians of these hidden treasures and monuments.

The thesis-writing period demanded the usual incredible effort from both the students and faculty. In the end, it yielded, despite all the anxieties and worries, wonderful results equal to those of any previous cohort. Some of the theses produced in this year were among the very best in the whole history of our department, as it turned out at the defenses, where we were, again, assisted by our long-time recurrent visiting professors, Nancy van Deusen and Patrick Geary, and the art historian Joan Holladay from Austin, Texas.

The end of the school year did not mean the end of our activities; on the contrary, we had an important summer program to offer to a number of this year's MA students. While on sabbatical in Italy, József Laszlovszky started an important, EU-funded, international research project targeted at excavating the early medieval basilica of San Severo in Classe, Ravenna. Other participants in this project included the universities of Ravenna, Barcelona, and Leicester. A team of about a dozen CEU students participated in the excavations under the direction of Jóska, getting real experience in digging up history.

Another important summer program was the International Sermon Studies Society symposium on "Texts to Read and Texts to Preach: Medieval Sermons for Private Reading and Public Dissemination," co-organized with the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba. One of the chief coordinators of this conference was our PhD student, Ottó Gecser, and several other PhD students made presentations before this prestigious international public.

Among the important events in the summer, as usual, the International Medieval Congress in Leeds had a prominent place, with a number of professors and students presenting papers. Balázs Nagy and Gerhard Jaritz sit on the program committee of this prestigious medieval event, which started at the same time as the activities of our department, 13 years ago. A promising new initiative unfolded here this summer: a special discussion was held to organize a new network of medieval studies' organizations in Europe, CARMEN, and it

was proposed that the first meeting of this new network be held in Budapest at CEU in March, 2007.

Finally, at the end of the summer holidays, there was still a CEU-organized conference in a remote corner of Europe, the island of Muhu near the Estonian coast in the North Sea. This conference, with the appropriate title: "The Edges of the Medieval World," was organized by Gerhard Jaritz with two of our Estonian alumni, Anu Mänd and Juhan Kreem, and successfully brought together several of our former Baltic students and one of our current PhD students.

MA THESIS ABSTRACTS

The "Image-within-Picture" and the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi

Péter Bokody (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Fabio Bisogni (University of Siena)

The thesis investigates the emergence of a peculiar phenomenon in painting, when the picture also depicts another representation such as a relief, statue, mosaic or painting. This phenomenon appeared at the end of the thirteenth century as a concomitant of the representation of realistic space and it has been variously considered as a bearer of symbolic content or a decorative detail of the background. The thesis argues that the "image-within-picture" can be both, therefore generally and universally it is impossible to define whether it is a symbol or not. As a response to this indecision, a method is developed to analyze whether the embedded "image" in each case is a fanciful ornament or a detail with definite symbolic implications. This method is applied in the thesis to the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi, which is the first known example of this phenomenon. The analysis of the "images-within-pictures" of the cycle shows that when the painting of the frescos began in Assisi these details were decorative motifs of the background, and then at a later time (frescoes 21, 22, and 23), they took on symbolic content, presumably as a result of an impulse from the hagiographic tradition of St. Francis and from the Franciscan order. The thesis concludes that the direction of the historical development shows that the symbolic emerged out of the decorative. This model is an example for the investigation of other "images-within-pictures" in the painting of the fourteenth century.

Physical Violence and the Church: The *De Declaratoriis* Petitions from the German-Speaking Area during the Pontificate of Paul II

Dan Sebastian Crişan (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Katalin Szende
External Reader: Torstein Jørgensen (Center for Medieval Studies, University of Bergen)

This work deals with physical violence in the petitions addressed to the Apostolic Office of the Penitentiary during the pontificate of Paul II (1467–1471). In these petitions clergymen and laymen alike asked for absolution and dispensation which could be granted only by the pope himself, due to the seriousness of the faults and crimes involved. An important part of this source has been published by Ludwig Schmugge for the German-speaking territories in the collection *Repertorium Poenitentiariae Germanicum*. Only a few scholars have explored and analyzed the material so far, however.

The research on the *De declaratoriis* supplications, one of the two categories of petitions which contain mostly cases about violence, revealed important patterns in how acts of violence occurred. These patterns concern time and space, social status, the weapons used, and injuries inflicted. They show to what extent the practice of physical violence in the supplications can be linked with the norms of canon law and secular law and to what extent violence was regarded and handled as part of the everyday life of clerics and laymen.

Adornment, Devotion and Prestige. Sixteenth-century Stalls in Transylvanian Churches

Zsuzsanna Eke (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Charles Tracy (Independent scholar, Ipswich)

This thesis focuses on stalls from Transylvanian churches as objects with several layers of function and meaning. The stalls were not merely objects of high value, but were also, along with other furnishings, objects used to represent the wealth of the congregation.

Transylvanian stalls have thus far been of little concern in the scholarly literature of Romania. Both material and textual sources are scarce, and it is difficult to trace their evolution and significance through history. This thesis is an endeavour to amend this situation, looking at stalls not just from the point of

view of art history, but also involving patterns of behaviour concerning the display of prosperity and social prestige.

The thesis focuses on three churches in medieval settlements of different economic and social statuses: the free royal town of Sighişoara (Segesvár), the market town of Biertan (Berethalom) and the village of Băgaciu (Bogács). In the interpretation of the material I took into consideration the location, quality, and quantity of stalls, which are often decorated with intarsia, *Flachschnitzerei* carving, and/or paint. The fact that the settlements all owned stalls of high quality may be confusing at first glance, but when seen in the context of secularization in the usage of stalls and a power struggle between thriving communities, it confers new meaning on the perception of the problem.

In conclusion, the stalls had several layers of function starting from aesthetic purposes to showing status. They were used to adorn the interior of the church, and to make it more comfortable. Donating them played as important a role in social life as sitting in them. They were integrated into liturgical usage and also into secular display and representation. After the process of secularization, when lay people could also use them, they became a place where one could show wealth and status as well as devotion.

Medieval Challenges Modern: The Posthumous Fate of *Christianus monachus* and His Legend

Elena Glushko (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Dušan Třeštik (History Ustav, Prague)

The authenticity of the so-called Christian's legend, which contains the *Lives* of St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmila in broad historical context and claims to have been written at the end of the tenth century, was one of the most debated issues in Czech historiography from the late eighteenth century onwards. For a long time scholars felt the need for writing a history of this debate; however, not much more than a standard overview of previous literature, written from a certain standpoint, has been given until now. This thesis deals with one aspect of this debate, namely, the image of *Christianus monachus* in the works of a number of scholars who were especially active in this discussion from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. I distinguish three elements which constitute this image: 1) the author of the legend 2) the historical figure, the son of a nobleman from the circle of St. Adalbert of Prague, and 3) the image of Strachkvas as given in the *Chronicle* of Cosmas of Prague. This allows an analysis

of how the images of medieval Bohemian history, created by different scholars, were influenced by their reading of Christian's legend, and how this reading influenced their dating of the legend. Mainly aesthetic preferences determined the dating of the legend and the choice of proofs. The analysis of the legend was made more difficult by the existence of two other images connected with its author; scholars solved this problem in different manners. In the last few decades all three sides of *Christianus monachus* have been united and the authenticity of Christian's legend is recognized.

The Landscape of Power: The Spatial and Territorial Dimensions of Urban Leadership in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Sopron (ca.1480–1580)

Károly Goda (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende
External Reader: Peter Johanek (Institut für Vergleichende Städtegeschichte, Münster)

The main aim of this thesis is the study of the power relations and topographical presence of the civic leaders (judges and mayors) in sixteenth-century Sopron, an important border town in Western Hungary. According to former scholarship, the governing burghers were historically determined by their economic background and exercised power for two or three decades without any family continuity. This analysis detailed evidence on different levels in order to reach beyond generalizations created earlier.

Using the theories and tools of network analysis and spatial reconstruction, the thesis presents a double approach resulting in an archontological and topographical reconstruction. Key findings include the observation that a concentration of power took place in the period examined and the circles of leaders were drawn from consecutive generations. It is also argued that the political elite were closely held together by social and spatial bonds. Nevertheless, the investigation highlights that the leading circle was neither a closed group of patrician families nor an ever-changing constellation of relationships. The formation of the groups reflected both familial and meritocratic recruitment.

In the second part of the thesis, the question of whether the above-described pattern also had an impact on the territorial dimensions of urban leadership is discussed. In the rivalry for material resources four shifts could be observed in the structures of possession in downtown Sopron. Moreover, other economic holdings in the suburbs as well as in the neighboring wine-producing areas played a crucial role in developing and maintaining a personal power base.

Consequently, the different lands around Sopron, on the one hand, functioned as links to former leaders, and on the other hand, they reflected strong relationships among contemporaries. Finally, they indicated continuity with the succeeding generations. As a result of the multidimensional approach applied in the thesis, the patterns of political cooperation and spatial continuity proved to be as strong as economic competition and social change in power structures of the town.

Study on Parallel Translations of Passages from the Seventh Chapter of *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite into Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic

Tsvetelina Hristova (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisors: György Geréby, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Reader: Heinz Miklas (Universität Wien)

The thesis explores the presence of translated passages from the works of Pseudo-Dionysius in the Slavic world and analyses three examples found in the *Symeonic Florilegium* of 1073 as a case study of the rendition of excerpts from the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. The passages used are from the copy of 1073 and the thirteenth-century Hilandar copy of the *Izbornik*. They are juxtaposed to the corresponding passages in the full translation of *Corpus Dionysiacum* accomplished in 1371 by the Athonite monk Isaja and a short quotation found in a fifteenth-century hesychast miscellany, No. 641, from the library of the Hilandar monastery. The translation technique and translation decisions in the passages are analysed in three parts: syntax, word formation, theological and philosophical terminology. The conclusions that result from the analysis concern the differences in translation praxis and some changes in word formation patterns that resulted from the development of Slavonic as well as changes in the Slavic equivalents of Greek philosophical terms.

Nymphaion: A Byzantine Palace in Exile

Julia Jedamski (Germany)

Thesis Supervisors: József Laszlovszky, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Reader: Michael Angold (University of Edinburgh)

The main focus of this thesis is the Late Byzantine palace at Nymphaion in western Asia Minor, probably built under the reign of John III Vatatzes (1222 to 1254). The palace was the imperial residence during the aftermath of the occupation of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, when the Byzantine elite was driven away from the capital.

Byzantine art historians analyzed the style and elaboration of the inner design of the building in several articles between the 1950s and 1970s. The investigation of this thesis adopted the method of *Residenzenforschung*, dealing not only with the archeological remains of the building, but also with contemporary written testimonies (authored by Akropolites and Pachymeres) and their reports about Nymphaion as such. Thus, the aim was on one hand to show the concept of the palace, and on the other, to place the site Nymphaion into the territorial organization of the Laskarid realm. By combining these sources it becomes clear that a decentralized system of several locations, connected through regular imperial travel, *itinera*, was set up to cope with the loss of Constantinople. Nymphaion can be seen as one important imperial residence among others in a decentralized Byzantine territory, following the Western model of *Reisekönigtum*.

Diet and Social Stratification in Árpád-Period Hungary: A Paleostomatological Analysis

Katherine Kondor (Canada)

Thesis Supervisors: Alice Choyke, József Laszlovszky. External supervisors:
Ildikó Papp, Zsolt Bernert (both: Natural History Museum, Budapest)
External Reader: Zsuzsanna Guba (Natural History Museum, Budapest)

This study analyzes two Árpád-period populations from the area of Visegrád-Várkert in Hungary. These came from the cemeteries of the archdeacon's church, interpreted as a more elite social group, and the nearby village/parish church, interpreted as a less elite social group. Physical anthropological analyses had been already carried out on the cemetery populations and many archaeological studies have been done in the area. This study combines these completed examinations with history and paleostomatological analyses in a study of 109

skulls. The teeth of the two cemetery populations were examined on the basis of pre-mortem tooth loss, dental caries, dental wear, cysts/abscesses, and enamel hypoplasia. The data were then used to draw conclusions about the diet and health, hence social and economic surroundings, of the two populations.

A historical introduction is followed by a short history of paleo-stomatology, a general overview of the pathologies examined in this study, and a discussion of taphonomy and its implications for physical anthropological research. The results of the earlier physical anthropological analyses of these two cemetery populations are summarized and the methods used here are presented. The last chapter describes what was found for the two cemeteries, and subsequently compares the two results.

The conclusions can be divided into two parts: diet and health. What was found through the analysis of dental wear and dental caries is that the diet of these two populations did not differ a great deal; the dental wear in these two populations was nearly the same. This suggests that both populations used similar quality flour for their bread, probably coming from the same mill. The analysis of dental caries showed that the distribution of protein and carbohydrates in the diets of the two communities did not differ extensively, and it can be concluded that both communities consumed almost equal amounts of animal protein. Not much difference was found in the frequency of cysts and abscesses between the two populations, so nothing can be concluded about their general health based on these factors. Enamel hypoplasia showed that the general health of those in the village community was worse during childhood than for children of the elite community.

Changing Roles in Demetrius Kydones' Correspondence to Manuel II Palaiologos

Florin Leonte (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis
External Reader: Margaret Mullett (Queen's University, Belfast)

Among its four hundred and fifty letters, Demetrius Kydones' correspondence contains a large number of epistles addressed to Manuel II Palaiologos, one of the last emperors of Byzantium, written over a span of approximately thirty years during the second half of the fourteenth century. Up to now scholars have considered this epistolary corpus almost exclusively as a reservoir of historical data. The thesis argues that these letters can also be viewed as documents attesting the reality of a complex relationship between Kydones and Manuel in

the framework of a larger social network detectable in late-fourteenth-century Byzantium. This relationship is based on a series of different roles Kydones constructs in his epistolary collection: a teacher speaking to his disciple, a subject addressing an emperor, and a friend communicating with another friend.

Methodologically, I approached the text from two directions: first, I highlighted the main landmarks in the social and intellectual landscape where Kydones took an active part; second, I identified the main options he had for rhetorical expression which he used in composing his texts. These concerns represent the two pillars of the subsequent analysis of the elements he included in the process of constructing his social roles.

The study is aimed to constitute a section of a more comprehensive investigation of the social connections which united the political and intellectual members of the Byzantine elite in the late fourteenth century. In spite of the difficulties concerning the nature and the completeness of sources, by taking into account elements of epistolary discourse such as the official titles, adjectives connected to them or other added meanings, one can get a clearer picture of how people interacted and acted in those times.

Kitchens in Medieval Hungary

Krisztina Orosz (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky
External Reader: John Steane (independent scholar)

This thesis focuses on the kitchens of medieval castles and monasteries in Hungary, dealing not only with the architectural layout and parts of the kitchens, but the kitchen staff and kitchen utensils as well. A catalogue is attached at the end of the thesis which contains almost all of the approximately 30 medieval monastic and castle kitchens which have been published or for which pictorial evidence remains. The main goal of this thesis is to answer the following questions: How many and what kinds of kitchens were in medieval Hungarian castles and monasteries and what did they look like? Where were the kitchens located in a given building and for whom and by whom was food prepared in them?

Examination of monastic kitchens revealed that Hungarian monasteries contained only one kitchen, which catered for the monks. Only the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island had more kitchens. This does not mean that most monasteries had just one kitchen in medieval times, only after the examination of further examples can this question be decided. I am convinced that in larger

monasteries which have not survived or have not been excavated yet there must also have been more than one kitchen catering for the abbot, the guests or the sick, but examples of these have not survived. The monks' kitchens were mostly situated in the wing which was opposite the church, beside or near the refectories, and were square or oblong in plan. Polygonal, detached kitchens, as in Western Europe, were not built in Hungarian monasteries.

As to castles, only in the cases of the castles in Visegrád and Esztergom can it be demonstrated, and assumed in the case of Buda Castle, that there was more than one kitchen in the building complex (a privy kitchen and a great kitchen), which would show high social status. In most Hungarian castles only one kitchen or in several cases none, are known, but because of the large-scale destruction of medieval castles it cannot be precluded that there were more. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the great kitchens were mostly situated near the dining halls, while from the early sixteenth century onwards one can observe a tendency to place them in separate domestic buildings which might also contain bakeries and storerooms. Privy kitchens were mostly situated near the apartments of the owners of the castles or palaces and their family since this kind of kitchen catered for them. While the kitchen tower was usual abroad, in medieval Hungary only in the case of Lánzsér Castle (Landsee, Austria) can it be assumed that such a tower existed.

A general feature of Hungarian castle kitchens may be the great pyramidal chimney. The collected information on kitchens reveals that they usually contained only one fireplace. These fireplaces resembled Central European examples and differed from English and French fireplaces, which had other forms. According to the scant evidence, table-like hearths were used in Hungary only from the first half of the sixteenth century. Built-in stone basins used to pour out wastewater were also characteristics of Hungarian castle kitchens. Unlike Western European castle kitchens, Hungarian kitchens did not contain a well in the Middle Ages. Mostly wells and cisterns provided water for the kitchens; they were situated in the castle courtyards, usually near the kitchens or, in the case of monasteries, in the cloister garths or in the domestic courts. In monasteries, monk cooks worked in the kitchens doing weekly service. The kitchen staff of the late medieval royal court was complex, managed economically by the clerk of the kitchen, with the cooking directed by the chief cook.

The Finances of Braşov at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century

Zsolt Simon (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende
External Readers: Andrea Pühringer (University of Marburg), István Draskóczy (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the finances of Braşov (now Romania; in Latin: Corona, in German: Kronstadt, in Hungarian: Brassó), one of the largest towns of medieval Hungary. The sources of the investigation were all the remaining medieval town accounts, covering the period between 1506 and 1526.

After a short introduction to the sources, secondary literature, and historiography, I present the town's financial administration. The finances of Braşov were strongly interlocked with the finances of the district of Bârsa, of which the town was the centre. That i,s taxes, juridical expenses, the costs of envoys and guests were administered commonly by the town and the district. These expenses were controlled by the financial officer of the district, called the *villicus*. The town's finances were in the charge of the two stewards (*procuratores*) who were elected by the council and were responsible to the council.

The town's yearly income usually varied between approximately 3000 and 4000 florins; the average value was 3600 florins, the extremes 1000 florins and 6000 florins. On average, 92% of the income came from taxes, 4% from an indirect wine tax, and 1% each from an indirect beer tax and mills; finally, less than 1% of the tax income resulted from estates, sales, and fines. These data show that Braşov's finances were mainly based on one source of revenue, the direct tax, and that urban estates and enterprises were not important for the town's income.

The town's yearly expenditure usually varied between 3000 and 5200 florins; the average value was 4100 florins, the extremes 2000 florins and 6000 florins. Most of the expenses, almost 70%, were dedicated to paying taxes. The next largest items were the military and construction costs, the latter being mainly costs of fortification.

Comparison with two other Hungarian towns, Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg), showed that the finance structures of the three towns were similar. In some German towns, in contrast, the direct tax did not play as important a role among either the incomes or expenses, but the share of indirect taxes was larger.

Devotion, Donation, and *Memoria*. Urban Society and the Dominicans in Late Medieval Reval (Tallinn)

Gustavs Strenga (Latvia)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität Hagen)

Testaments and other devotional sources of the Late Middle Ages from Reval show the role the Reval (Tallinn) Dominicans played in local urban society. Until now, scholars have researched only the structural history of the Dominican friary in Reval, and no one has looked at the spiritual influence which the Dominicans had in the society of the Late Middle Ages (1400–1524). This paper argues that the Dominicans had important influence not only on the religious lives of individuals, but also on the structural groups of Reval. This paper also shows the preferences of individuals who donated money and objects to the Dominican friary in Reval and what kind of religious services they requested from the friars in return.

Imaginary Space in the *Carmina Burana*: Urban Scholars and the Forest in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance

Svetlana Tsonkova (Bulgaria)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy
External Readers: Ágnes Dukkon (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), Herman Braet (University of Antwerp)

The *Carmina Burana* is the largest and most significant collection of medieval Latin poetry in Europe. Created at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, it contains a large number of poems on satirical, love, and gambling themes. Most of the authors are anonymous; still, there are data about their rich intellectual urban background. Thus, their poetry can be examined in the context of the twelfth-century Renaissance and its major intellectual tendencies.

The research here is focused on the love songs of the *Carmina Burana* and more specifically on the forest space in these texts. Although many scholars have examined the book and its contents, the sylvan element of the love songs remains almost untouched so far. The goals of this thesis are to collect and present in one paper all the love poems, which contain an image of the forest, to trace the characteristics of the forest as an imaginary space, and to put this

image against the philosophical and rhetorical background of the twelfth-century Renaissance.

After presenting the research question and the methodology, an overview is given of the twelfth-century Renaissance, the *Carmina Burana*, and its authors. Further chapters present the image of the forest in twelfth-century philosophy, rhetorics, and poetry. The final chapter analyses the forest as an imaginary space with three aspects: *silva*, *nemus* and *Walt*.

The conclusion is that the forest in the love songs of the *Carmina Burana* is not simply a poetic ornament. It is a complex image, developed in several directions. The sylvan space in an imaginary idyllic *locus amoenus* had a number of common features with the pagan sacred grove, but also with the image of the primordial womb, as it was presented in neoplatonic twelfth-century philosophy. At the same time, the forest appears to have been one of the fantasies of twelfth-century intellectuals, who lived in an urban environment but dreamt of birth-giving nature and magical woods.

Bathsheba in Late Medieval French Manuscript Illumination: Innocent Object of Desire or Agent of Sin?

Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo (Spain)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Eva Frojmovic (University of Leeds)

This research focuses on Bathsheba and her visual representations in French manuscript illuminations from the Late Medieval period. During this time, images of David watching Bathsheba bathing were very popular as the number of surviving manuscripts attests. Yet, for all its popularity, this subject has been neglected by contemporary scholarship in general. In the few studies undertaken on Bathsheba she is usually presented as a negative figure, as a seductress from the Old Testament, but is she? The two main questions that this study addresses are: Why were the images of David watching Bathsheba so popular during the Late Middle Ages? How was the image of Bathsheba understood by a medieval audience?

The first chapter analyzes the scholarship written on Bathsheba; it describes the primary evidence, and the problems presented by reading images. The second chapter focuses on King David and the visual representation of his story emphasizing the position of Bathsheba within his complex narrative. The third chapter focuses on the independent episode of David watching Bathsheba bathing clothed or in the nude. The fourth chapter focuses on the context of

nudity, the gaze, and its visual representation. In this chapter other subjects depicted in the nude are considered. The fifth chapter presents Bathsheba in a cultural context which shows her as a vehicle for multiple meanings and possibilities beyond that of seductress.

The conclusion is, first, that Bathsheba could be presented to the medieval viewer not only as a seductress, but also as an innocent object of desire; the prefiguration of the Church; a positive image to arouse sexual desire in a married couple; a warning against Vanity, or she could be all of these depending on the medieval viewer or reader. Second, due to the multi-layered "reading" experience that Bathsheba could be subjected to, the popularity of her iconography cannot be ascribed solely to the naturalistic rendition of her body in a highly erotic and seductive situation. Hence the representation of the body of Bathsheba becomes a vehicle for social meaning which moves beyond mere sensuality and eroticism towards a deeper and more complex array of possibilities for the medieval viewer, which might have been the key to its popularity.

PhD DEFENCES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2005–2006

Iron Making in the Migration Period. The Case of the Lombards

Vasco La Salvia (Italy)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on March 4, 2006 consisted of: Ruben Mnatsakanian (CEU, Dept. of Environmental Sciences and Policy), chair; József Laszlovszky (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Alice Choyke (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Neil Christie (University of Leicester); János Gömöri (Museum of Sopron); Tivadar Vida (Institute of Archaeology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences); the external readers were Riccardo Francovich (University of Siena) and Andrea Augenti (University of Ravenna).

This study seeks to explore the contribution of the peoples of the *Barbaricum* to the shaping of early medieval technology in Europe, with particular reference to iron-making. Within this general cultural framework, the case of the Lombards has been analyzed in more detail, tracing the way their iron-making technological heritage developed: first, during their settlement on the Lower Elbe (in the first centuries AD) characterized by a western Germanic technical culture, then, in Central Europe (third/fourth to sixth century), where they came into contact with a Celtic and provincial Roman sub-stratum, and finally in Italy (from the second half of the sixth to the eighth century). At this stage, Lombard craftsmen, who possessed the full range of technical-artisanal skills of iron production that were integral to western Germanic culture, would have come into contact with practitioners embodying the technical knowledge of the Mediterranean heritage. This encounter of material cultures seems to have resulted in reshaping the entire economic structure on the Italian peninsula.

This economic reshaping involved important developments in iron production as well. This kind of change has been analyzed through the archaeometry of metallurgical production processes (from ore exploitation to the finished product), that is to say, through *archaeometallurgy*. In fact, archaeometallurgical analyses of various iron artifacts, performed on Migration Period

objects, are an integral part of this work and therefore Chapter 1 is devoted to clarifying the terminology and methodology of archaeometallurgy.

In addition, since this study is concerned with interaction between cultures, basic terminology must inevitably be defined in that respect as well. Therefore, Chapter 2 lays the theoretical groundwork for how to define identities based on the analysis of material culture. Using this general theoretical framework, the chapter proceeds to the specific case of defining the identity of the Germanic peoples, then, more precisely, that of the Lombards. Moreover, it discusses the most recent scholarship on the relationship between the Roman and so-called barbarian civilizations, and contributes to this debate through the lens of the archaeology of production. The first two chapters of this study are, thus, devoted to methodological issues.

The third chapter includes a "demonstration" that Lombards were an integral part of this Western Germanic *isotechne* and how their traditional iron making technologies were enriched through various contributions during their migration in central-northern Europe. This process has been followed through metallographic analyses performed on swords, knives, and other iron objects of the period. The comparison and evaluation of the technical features of these swords and knives, certainly manufactured in a "Lombard" milieu, makes it possible to confirm the existence of a German *koiné* with regard to at least some artifacts.

The fourth chapter, then, explores the ways that portions of this Western Germanic technical knowledge penetrated into the Mediterranean areas of Europe, introducing instruments and modes of production that were alien to the Graeco-Roman world (such as a specific typology of iron agricultural tools and stirrups). This process as related to iron technologies has been studied in particular as it evolved in Italy. Here, the contribution of material culture of Lombard origin or which reached the peninsula through the mediation of Lombards seems to have contributed to the formation of a new production system which was too complex to be explained as simply the result of a juxtaposition of Germanic and late Latin elements. Rather, it underwent a real reconstruction or restructuring based on new criteria after a profound economic crisis in the long period between the end of the fifth and the first half of the seventh century. In this respect, the investigation of the various trajectories of iron-making technology, through the use of archaeometallurgical analyses, can contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of interaction of these different material cultures. Thus, it was possible to assess the Lombard contribution to the development of the tool assemblage of the Italian Early Middle Ages through the evaluation of the production methods used to manufacture agricultural tools, swords, and other iron artifacts. Moreover, it seems

clear that the Lombard kingdom was a vital part of the cultural and commercial network that connected and permeated the entire eastern Merovingian area. In this way, a fairly uniform zone was shaped that, far from being simply on the periphery of the Frankish kingdom, played an important role in the transmission of technological and cultural patterns from Northern and Eastern Europe into the Mediterranean regions.

Church in Town: Urban Religious Life in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills

Judit Majorossy (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on March 30, 2006 consisted of: Katalin Péter (CEU, Dept. of History), chair; Katalin Szende (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Juraj Šedivý (Univerzita Komenského, Bratislava); István Petrovics (University of Szeged); the external readers were András Kubinyi (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) and Peter Johanek (Institut für Vergleichende Städtegeschichte, Münster).

The main issue behind this case study of the religious life of the burghers of medieval Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony) is connected to various historiographic approaches concerning the religiosity of late medieval people. In the view of certain scholars, towards the end of the fifteenth century pious considerations and devotion dominated and overwhelmed all segments of everyday life. At the same time, others have stressed the corruptness of the age. The Church was stated to have become cynical, materialistic, manipulative, and calculating. Thus, people sought purity and the whole atmosphere of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century cried out for religious reforms and paved the way for the Reformation. Was it as simple as that? My intention was to investigate what religiosity actually looked like in the urban community of Pressburg. From this point of view, those readings proved inspiring which suggested in one form or another that religiosity was not necessarily equivalent to overwhelming piety or all-out devotion, and that medieval piety was many things at the same time: "excitable, lazy, repressive, accepting, gendered, hierarchical, socially leveling, deeply devout and deeply skeptical." Thus, accepting the general concept that late medieval people were actively religious, one has to investigate how this religiosity manifested itself in the everyday life of a given community.

Despite the formulaic and legal character as well as the limited nature of the last wills which formed the main corpus of sources for this dissertation, they

are still suitable for getting close to the manifestations of community religiosity. Among Western scholars this type of source material has been exploited and several different methods applied to provide answers to the issues of religious life in different urban communities. However, such investigations could not be supported in the Carpathian Basin because in most of its towns the number of surviving wills is insufficient. However, the medieval royal town of Pressburg is an exception and this why it was chosen for such a study. For a period of approximately one hundred years (mainly after 1400 and until 1529), nine hundred wills have been preserved. Eight hundred forty-four are available in a town protocol set up specifically for this purpose (*Protocollum Testamentorum*), with the remainder came down to us as individual charters.

The question of methodology necessarily emerged in the face of such extensive serial source material. Should these wills be approached quantitatively? This method has the disadvantage that certain nuances in behavior can be lost or at least made insignificant. Or, should these wills be treated qualitatively? In this case, since drawing up one's will was usually the last and determining act of a person's life, one needs to make clear all possible motives held by each testator and understand all the influencing factors behind their individual bequests. Thus, such sources need to be interpreted within the framework of case studies. The final decision was to combine the two methods. The choice was essentially determined by two factors. First, in earlier historiography on the town (basically Tivadar Ortvay's monograph on the history of Pressburg), a number of individual cases were selected and generalized, without contrasting the micro level to the material as a whole. Determining norms with quantitative methods allows one to return to the micro level and judge how individual cases differed from the general trend. An exclusively qualitative approach would not have allowed the discovery of temporal changes and preferences on a general level. Second, I also decided to revisit those sources which had already been used but not completely exploited (sometimes even on the level of individual charters) in order to clear up certain issues and questions which had been the subject of earlier misinterpretations. A more thorough treatment of the various sources was necessitated by the fact that in the light of certain statements in the older literature I was not able to interpret some of the bequests in the wills and, thus, in order to clarify contexts, I had to go back to the same sources. These were issues, for example, in relation to hospitals, several confraternities, and some of the altars. On a third level, to place my results gained through "counting piety" into a broader context, I tried to integrate other sources besides the wills (church inventories, confraternity regulations, accounts and membership lists, hospital accounts, mass foundation charters, indulgence letters) as much as the surviving material of the town allowed it. At certain points, especially

concerning the ecclesiastical institutions, I also tried to incorporate results from archaeology, art history, and urban topography. I elaborated a new method where the support of the testators was contrasted on a time scale with phases in the life of given institutions (mainly parishes and monasteries) known from other documents, archaeology, and art history, in order to reveal what the wills together with the other related sources could add to the picture already known.

All the pious deeds of a dying person were much interrelated since all the stipulations were to be fulfilled for the salvation and commemoration of the testator's soul. However, by investigating the palette of choices separately, more can be disclosed about certain aspects of religiosity and, thus, conventions as well as elements of individuality are also revealed. The range of choices provided the structure for my study of Pressburg wills.

The first chapter presents the context of Pressburg (its urban development, demography and economic position) together with the ecclesiastical institutions serving the religious needs of its inhabitants. The source material and database are described. The two main sub-chapters were organized according to the different acts and considerations found in wills and those of the institutions themselves.

In the second chapter the acts and actors were placed at the centre of the study through discussing the different types of pious deeds and focusing on whom testators involved and in which ways to preserve their memories. The motives and circumstances surrounding the preparation of wills were examined, investigating in parallel what these last arrangements revealed about the religious rituals associated with dying. After the acts around the death-bed, several aspects of the funerary process and burial as well as the performance of different types of masses, together with bequests for their performers (priests) and places of performance (altars) were thoroughly examined. Finally, different forms of charity and *post-mortem* pilgrimages end the discussion.

Various institutions lie at the centre of the third chapter. Through a combination of a systematic analysis of wills and reconstruction of the history of the parishes, monasteries, and confraternities, the chapter aims at defining their place and their relation to each other on the ecclesiastical map of Pressburg from the viewpoint of acts of commemoration. Along with calculating the extent and character of the donations given to the parish churches of Pressburg, the rank and size of the parishes were also defined, together with their estimated territories. Then, a similar analysis of the patronage provided for the monastic communities and the chapels of the town was carried out. Finally, the confraternities were presented separately and the intensity and character of their support was compared.

The religious ethos of medieval people revolved around a serious concern about the fate of one's soul after death. However, beyond general strategies for reaching the desired "eternal heavenly peace," several factors and considerations at work in a community could affect the tools chosen by its members to reach this happy spiritual end. For this reason, the practices found in one town do not necessarily apply in all respects to another. The systematic analysis of the last wills of the citizens of Pressburg highlighted their preferred deeds to insure the salvation of their souls as well as the ups and downs, temporal changes and social affordability of the various pious acts.

Wills, due to their character, are only limited mirrors of the religiosity of a whole urban community. This is partly because their surviving number represents a confined circle—those who could afford to leave behind written legacies. On the other hand, one of the reasons to record a will was to diverge from the usual system of inheritance. And frequently, besides family reasons, it was exactly the intended pious bequests which necessitated production of a written document. The question is whether and to what extent these pious considerations represented individual intentions as reflections of social status and family circumstances, and to what extent they were reflections of community standards and expectations. Naturally, it is hard to provide adequate answers for such issues where personal motivations were so much involved. Yet, with the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis I attempted to reveal patterns, helping to reconstruct some of the religious norms operating within the fifteenth-century secular community of Pressburg.

This research has shown that the ecclesiastical system of the Pressburg community was sufficiently differentiated to meet the religious needs of its burghers. The Church in the town adapted itself to the demands of its members. Simultaneously, due to the mutual character of this interaction, the burghers actively took part in the formation of certain practices, the establishment of new institutions, and investment in creating the conditions for meeting the religious and liturgical needs surrounding their dying and death. In fact, it seems that in case of Pressburg the burghers found ways to form their own ecclesiastical network, thus leveling out "supply and demand." Their late medieval piety was not necessarily overwhelming, exorbitant or ostentatious, but was quite practical and "earth-bound." Religion and its everyday practices determined and were intertwined with the daily life of the burghers. Certain elements of devotion were further accentuated by calamities, especially the plague epidemics around the turn of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, this devotion manifested itself in specific acts, and often took the form of efficient and utilitarian thinking. The example of Pressburg fully supports that devotion and the relationship between the faithful and the Church was active and alive through actions. Apparently, at

the dawn of the Reformation people did not completely turn away from the institutions of the Church, but managed to find the forms which served their religious needs in institutions within the ecclesiastical network.

The Early Ibn Ezra Supercommentaries: A Chapter in Medieval Jewish Intellectual History

Tamás Visi (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on May 17, 2006 consisted of: István Bodnár (CEU, Dept. of Philosophy), chair; György Geréby (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; Aziz Al-Azmeh (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external readers were Joseph Schwarz (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Moshe Idel (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

This study focuses on largely unedited and unstudied source materials concerning the history of Jewish philosophy and biblical exegesis in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. My primary intention is to make as much information available as possible about the early Ibn Ezra supercommentaries—about the authors and the texts in general, and about philosophical and exegetical ideas contained in them. My secondary intention is to outline an overall interpretation of the material in the broad context of medieval Jewish intellectual history. This analysis focuses on the relationship between philosophy and biblical exegesis in post-Maimonidean Jewish thought.

By an Ibn Ezra supercommentary I mean any text that is a commentary on the twelfth-century Jewish exegete, Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch. By *early* Ibn Ezra supercommentaries I mean those Ibn Ezra supercommentaries that were written after the publication of Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation of Maimonides' *The Guide of the Perplexed* (1204) and before the Black Death (1348/1349).

The early Ibn Ezra supercommentaries are gold mines of information about almost every facet of medieval Jewish civilization. They are evidence of interesting readings of Ibn Ezra's commentary not attested to by surviving Ibn Ezra manuscripts. Textual emendations are often explicitly discussed by the supercommentators. Sometimes there is information about differences in biblical manuscripts as well. Interesting textual variants are attested in quotations from the Talmud and other post-biblical literature up to Maimonides' *The Guide*

of the Perplexed. Supercommentators often treated a wide range of scientific problems pertaining to philosophy, physics, astronomy, astrology, and Jewish theology, including the Cabbala in one case. Observations about everyday life, natural and political history, human psychology, and ethnography also found their way into the supercommentaries. Occasionally, there are critical reflections on the behavior of contemporary people; halakhic questions are discussed and decided in Eleazar ben Mattityah's work and Moses Nagari suggests a liturgical change as a result of his analysis of Ibn Ezra's text.

Although excellent bibliographical essays have been written on the Ibn Ezra supercommentaries by Solomon J. Rapoport, Moritz Steinschneider, Abraham Berliner, Michael Friedlaender, Yehudah L. Fleischer, Naftali Ben-Menahem, and recently by Hannah Kasher, Abraham David, Uriel Simon, and William G. Gärtig, and much information can be learnt from the manuscript catalogues of Steinschneider, Neubauer, Schiller-Szinessy, and Cassuto as well, these studies do not highlight the nature of Ibn Ezra supercommentaries as such, for they offer little more than biographical and bibliographical data. Needless to say, results of this kind are important; they form a solid foundation for further research. Unfortunately, in recent publications such data about Ibn Ezra supercommentators are often given incorrectly. Therefore, I briefly review and revise the biographical and bibliographical in Part One of the dissertation.

As for the deeper analysis of the texts themselves, almost nothing has been done before the present attempt. Nineteenth-century scholars evaluated the supercommentaries according to the degree the medieval authors supported their own images of Ibn Ezra. Supercommentaries were occasionally consulted in order to gather information about the textual history of Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch. However, little attention was paid to the Ibn Ezra supercommentaries as a *sui generis* phenomenon of medieval Jewish thought and literature.

Dov Schwartz's monograph (*Old Wine in a New Barrel: The Philosophy of a Fourteenth-Century Jewish Neo-Platonic Circle*), published in 1996, is the first study that uses Ibn Ezra supercommentaries extensively and systematically as sources for the reconstruction of the philosophical ideas of a group among late fourteenth-century Jewish thinkers. However, Dov Schwartz's book does not treat the *early* Ibn Ezra supercommentators at all.

In this dissertation the early Ibn Ezra supercommentaries are approached as a subject in their own right; therefore, their significance in reconstructing the textual history of Ibn Ezra's commentary or in understanding Ibn Ezra's original thought is de-emphasized. They are interpreted rather in the context of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century post-Maimonidean philosophy and biblical exegesis pursued in the Jewish communities of the Mediterranean basin.

In Part One, the available data about the early supercommentators and their works are summarized. Contrary to the accepted opinion, I argue that a widespread supercommentary entitled *Avvat Nefesh* was not written by Asher Crescas in the fifteenth century, but by Jedaiah ha-Penini in the early fourteenth century. Consequently, the corpus of early supercommentaries includes five texts: (1) fragments from Moses Ibn Tibbon's lost supercommentary (Provence, second half of the thirteenth century); (2) Eleazar ben Mattityah's largely extant supercommentary (Byzantium, late thirteenth century); (3) Joseph Caspi, *Parashat ha-kesef* (Provence, ca. 1298); (4) Jedaiah ha-Penini, *Avvat Nefesh* (Provence, first half of the fourteenth century); (5) Moses Nagari's untitled supercommentary (Italy, first half of the fourteenth century). Moses Nagari was certainly familiar with Jedaiah ha-Penini's work. In other cases I was unable to detect any relationship among the surviving texts.

A survey of the manuscript evidence leads to the conclusion that two patterns can be discerned in the transmission of the texts. Joseph Caspi and Jedaiah ha-Penini's supercommentaries were "international texts" in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; they were copied everywhere in the Mediterranean basin. On the other hand all the extant copies of Eleazar ben Mattityah's work were produced in the Byzantine zone and Moses Nagari's supercommentary is attested only in Italian manuscripts.

The post-Maimonidean supercommentators on whom we have information belonged to the Tibbonide tradition of Jewish philosophy and as a rule they were rich and influential people. Philosophy was a cultural mark distinguishing the elite from the simple people in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Provence. Learning philosophy was a way of achieving higher social status; for the members of the Tibbonide family even the highest circles of Christian society (e.g., the court of the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick II) were opened.

During the first Maimonidean controversy (Provence and Spain, 1230s) the traditionalist opponents of philosophy condemned anyone who a followed different path than Rashi in biblical exegesis. In reply, a forged "Ethical Will" attributed to Maimonides declared that only Ibn Ezra's commentary was worthy of being studied. Thus, Ibn Ezra's biblical commentaries were canonized within the Maimonidean school.

Joseph Caspi's introduction to his supercommentary evidences the "Ibn Ezra game" of thirteenth-century Jewish philosophers. Anyone who wanted to belong to the exclusive club of philosophers had to prove his competence in philosophy by explaining the "secrets" of Ibn Ezra's commentaries. Caspi questioned the ability of other supercommentators to understand Ibn Ezra's "secrets" and, in turn, he expected that his opponents would raise similar

criticisms against him. In the Maimonidean-Tibbonide tradition Ibn Ezra's text acquired a role comparable to Peter Lombard's *Sentences* in Latin scholasticism.

Part Two discusses in extenso the supercommentators' interpretation of Ibn Ezra's words concerning the first three words of the Bible (*be-reshit bara elohim*—"In the beginning God created…"). The analysis of the concept of creation in the supercommentaries establishes important facts about the doctrinal pedigrees of the supercommentators. For example, I argue that Jedaiah's interpretation of Genesis 1:1 was probably inspired by a Latin scholastic theory of time expounded by Peter John Olivi, Durandus of Saint Pourçain and William Ockham. Another supercommentator, Moses Nagari, was definitely influenced by Christian neo-Platonic ideas that he probably read in Judah Romano's Hebrew translations of Aquinas and Giles of Rome's works.

In Part Three, the supercommentators' approach to the biblical text on the one hand and to its authoritative commentaries—Ibn Ezra and Maimonides—on the other hand is discussed. I argue that due to the influence of Leo Strauss' famous collection of essays (*Persecution and the Art of Writing*, 1952) the relationship between philosophy and biblical interpretation has often been misunderstood in recent secondary literature. Inspired by Michel Foucault's notion of "spirituality" (as expounded in his *L'herméneutique du sujet*, 1982, published in 2001) and Mary Carruthers' studies on medieval memory culture (*The Book of Memory*, 1990, and *The Craft of Thought*, 1998), I argue that the Bible was a "thinking machine" (Mary Carruthers) for medieval Jewish philosophers. In their opinion, Biblical exegesis was not an addendum to philosophy; it was the heart of all philosophical activities. By meditating on the meaning of biblical passages, Jewish philosophers hoped to complete their intellectual and spiritual perfection and to attain salvation.

In Praise of Unlikely Holy Men: Elite Hagiography, Monastic Panegyric, and Cultural Translation in the *Philotheos Historia* of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus

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The Examination Committee at the public defense on July 20, 2006, consisted of: Gábor Betegh (CEU, Dept. of Philosophy), chair; István Perczel (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies), supervisor; László Török (Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), György Geréby (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Gábor Klaniczay (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); Gerhard Jaritz (CEU, Dept. of Medieval Studies); the external reader was

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This dissertation attempts to provide an answer to what at first sight may seem a hopelessly naive question. Why would a fifth-century Christian bishop write a collection of monastic *Lives* in pretentious language which few of his contemporaries could read and appreciate, teeming with intricate Classical allusions and textual references, about such unlikely heroes as a group of eccentric Syrian ascetics whose understanding of Christianity seems to have been reduced to living their lives on tops of pillars or hanging from trees in wooden boxes? And, most of all, how could such an author claim, in spite of all the evidence, that his was a work targeting a large, average Christian audience, and that the outlandish holy men he described were, in fact, the perfect models of Christian life?

The search for an answer began by trying to recover the author. In order to do so, I first tried to extricate Theodoret, the bishop of Cyrrhus (b. ca. 393–d. ca. 460, *sed.* 423–ca. 460) from the ideological maze of the fifth-century Christological controversies in which he took an (over)active part as the main opponent of Cyril of Alexandria. Going against the *communis opinio*, in the first chapter I argue that the author of the *Philotheos historia*, the primary source explored in this dissertation, was not, as strange as it may seem, Theodoret the theologian. Indeed, trying to view his collection of monastic *Lives* from the perspective of his theological involvement and ecclesiastical policy is counterproductive; instead of a magnifying glass, this approach only provides the modern reader with a distorting mirror. An overview of old and recent attempts to read the *Philotheos historia* as part of the theological cold-war propaganda directed either against Cyril and the Alexandrian party (as claimed recently by T. Urbanczyk) or against the Syrian monastic luminaries with whom Theodoret found himself at loggerheads on one occasion (an opinion championed by P. Peeters and, recently, by H. Leppin) shows that such attempts are unsupported by the available evidence. Even less helpful, in spite of its wide popularity, is the view of P. Brown, who wished to turn the *Philotheos historia* into a sort of late antique "Handbook of the Perfect Rural Patron."

The man who wrote the *Philotheos historia*, I argue, is Theodoret the Christian rhetor, a first-class practitioner of the art of panegyric. At the time when he wrote his work, in 444, he was one of the most influential members of the ecclesiastic establishment in the Eastern Roman Empire. He wrote the *Philotheos historia* from a well consolidated position in order to express his pride of belonging to the newly emerged Christian elite of the later Roman Empire. He also intended his work as a weapon in the "biography war" in which

"pagan" and Christian members of the late antique elite engaged with gusto during the fourth and fifth centuries CE. This conflict, if not the apocalyptic life and death struggle advertised in mainstream Christian discourse, was nevertheless, I believe, an important cultural confrontation.

Theodoret thought he could play his part in it by composing a series of *enkōmia* of the most admired and the most hated symbolic figures of his own intellectual elite—the Christian ascetics. His *Philotheos historia*, as I attempt to prove in the second chapter, is not a monastic history like the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* or Palladius' *Historia lausiaca*, but the Christian equivalent of Eunapius' *Lives of Sophists*. A careful comparison of the language and repertoire of Classical literary allusions with Theodoret's other, less elaborate, works makes it clear that the *Philotheos historia* did not target a wide audience. I believe it was not aimed at the pious Christian masses, but a very select urban audience of classically trained men of *paideia*, both "pagan" and Christian. That it is why, unlike other monastic histories, it was written in the traditional and prestigious form of the panegyric speech, and cast in the most elaborate linguistic register available in the middle of the fifth century CE, the high-brow Atticist Greek of the Second Sophistic. In spite of its author's tongue-in-cheek protestation, which has misled many modern scholars, Theodoret's *Philotheos historia* is nothing else than a specimen of the finest epideictic rhetoric created in the fifth century. As such, contrary to the claims of previous scholars who have used it mainly as a historical source (A.-J. Festugière, P. Canivet, A. Vööbus), the *Philotheos historia* can tell us little about real-life Syrian ascetics. I believe, however, it can and should be used as a first-rate source for the cultural history of fifth-century Christian Hellenophone elite in the Eastern Roman Empire. Theodoret structured his work as a series of individual panegyrics dedicated to a group of carefully hand-picked Syrian ascetics, all of whom were connected, in one way or another, with himself. These panegyrics attempt to advertise their subjects in the guise of exceptional individuals, philosophic heroes of whom the Christian elite could be proud, and whom even "pagans" could view as dignified bearers of a "new" philosophy, no less prestigious and no less attractive than its older, Classical counterparts. The *Philotheos historia* is, therefore, both an apology for and a protreptic to Christian (monastic) philosophy.

The third chapter explores anti-monastic criticism, both "pagan" and Christian, in order to identify the literary expectations of Theodoret's intended readership, against whom he would then shape the heroes of his monastic panegyrics. By addressing such criticism in its contemporary rhetorical context—an approach not used so far by scholars, with the recent (and limited) exception of D. Caner—my research shows that "pagan" anti-monastic accusations follow the traditional guidelines of a rhetorical genre known as the

psogos, i.e., "blame," the opposite of the panegyric. In order to criticize the monks, "pagan" authors tacitly forced them into existing negative rhetorical stereotypes such as that of the "false philosopher." By this move, such authors made use of consecrated anti-philosophical stereotypes while denying the monks' claims—and especially those of their vocal Christian intellectual supporters—to philosophic status and citizenship in the world of thought of a timeless intellectual elite. The rhetorical profile of the typical Christian monk, as it emerges from adverse sources, emphasizes the lack of a proper social origin, undistinguished appearance, the lack of proper education, irrationality, a lack of restraint—both mental and corporal—and impiety. In my view, all this converges into a spectacularly un-heroic profile meant to effectively undermine any claims to elite status and philosophical identity. In sharp contrast to "pagan" anti-monastic criticism, that coming from Christian circles is, on the whole, less motivated by rhetorical stereotypes, and focuses instead on concrete and topical issues such as the monks' problematic attitude to the ecclesiastical establishment and their disruptive interference in various areas of secular administration.

In the fourth chapter I examine in detail the way Theodoret built his monastic ideal profiles within the traditional rhetorical framework of the panegyric, taking into account the expectations of his educated audience and trying to react to the existing negative stereotyped image of Christian monasticism. In doing so, I started, in part, from the valuable suggestions provided by P. Canivet's meritorious work, although, much against his and other scholars' skepticism, I took Theodoret the rhetor very seriously. I investigate, in turn, the way the author built a heroic image of his heroes by dwelling on their distinguished appearance, excellent social origin and education, and virtuous lifestyle. My research has shown that whenever his Christian ideals ran counter to traditional rhetorical expectations intrinsic to the encomiastic conventions, he was able to subvert them. In a masterful move, he turned all disadvantages to his favor by the clever use of rhetorical artifice and by emphasis on specific Christian themes such as the visible victory of humble Christianity over the educated elite, God-given wisdom vs. secular education, and so forth. I also analyze the way Theodoret integrated his ascetics into the world, making them move freely and confidently in the civilized urban milieu of his educated readership. He achieved this, at first sight, by building a philosophical profile for his ascetics dominated by a pervasive sense of measure which strives to make sense even of the most outrageous forms of asceticism. His "new philosopher" profiles are built around what I called "interface virtues," namely, civic and civil virtues that render inter-human interaction easy, unproblematic, and civilized. Theodoret's heroes emerge from his panegyrics as accomplished philosophers, perfectly trained in using the language of the elite and in practicing self-control,

a mark of the exceptional individual in the Greek intellectual tradition. To the extent that all these features were usually identified by educated members of late antique elite with a Hellenic (as opposed to barbarian, i.e., uncivilized) identity, Theodoret's *Philotheos historia* can well be described as a work of "cultural translation." Furthermore, I have tried to show that Theodoret depicted his ascetics as fully conscious of their place in the world and respectful of the established authorities, both secular and ecclesiastic, and, furthermore, always willing to use their power in a way sanctioned by tradition and according to the expectations of the educated elite. In this respect his rhetoric included a large dose of wishful thinking, mercilessly disproved by the often disruptive behavior of his monastic contemporaries.

In several case studies I have documented in depth Theodoret's inventive use of the traditional framework of the panegyric, either at a purely formal level (the *topos* of "acceptance by a prestigious authority" analyzed in connection with Symeon the Stylite or the one which I call *homo unius vestis* in the panegyric dedicated to Aphraates) or on a higher, ideological level (documenting Theodoret's clever use of a problematic notion, i.e., the "worldly fame" of the ascetics, on which he was able and willing to capitalize through some interesting work of cultural translation of a "pagan" concept such as *kleos*, the epic "heroic fame"). The example of James of Nisibis shows how Theodoret was able to fabricate a Christian hero to whom he could attribute mostly fictitious warlike exploits, thus filling one of the requirements of traditional panegyric most unsuited to Christian holy men.

At the end, Theodoret's *Philotheos historia* appears as a successful encomiastic enterprise, well anchored in Classical rhetorical tradition, yet, at the same time, distinctly Christian in tone and preoccupation. Theodoret's perfect blend of Classical rhetoric, scriptural exegesis, and literary talent achieved a remarkable performance of cultural translation, by tailoring his Syrian ascetics, unlikely subjects of a Classical panegyric, to the tastes and expectations of the cultured, urban elite of the later Roman Empire. The literary characters this bishop fashioned with skill and dedication were the carriers of an important model of intellectual religious behavior, one that Theodoret felt his own and which he wished to present as perfectly compatible with the notion of a Christian intellectual elite.