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EDITORS' PREFACE

Lectori salutem!

Volume 14 of our *Annual* presents the main results of the Academic Year 2006–2007. As usual, the first section contains articles based on the most innovative MA theses and on papers presented by our students at conferences. This year's thematic block, edited by Réka Forrai, arose from an international exploratory workshop financed by the European Science Foundation entitled "Hellenism: Alien or Germane Wisdom" on the broad context of Hellenistic culture. Renowned scholars from the European Union, Eastern Europe, Israel, the United States and Japan shared their views and research experience on this wide-ranging subject. As István Perczel's report states, "this workshop was a major event in a series of professional meetings and was also to serve as a new beginning because of the clear formulation of the new ambitious goals set for the scholarly community." The abstracts of the contributions and two of the papers presented here are meant to give a taste of the issues discussed and the further research directions proposed by the participants. The block is augmented by an article based on Cristian Gaşpar's recently defended doctoral dissertation, the topic of which is closely related to the main theme. We hope that the material of the workshop will be published as a whole in the not-too-distant future. For more information on the Hellenic Center and the workshop, please visit www.hellenic.hu.

This year's guest article is based on a conference paper by Willem Frijhoff, Professor Emeritus at the History Department of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, one of the most renowned and influential cultural historians of our times. The Department of Medieval Studies has just introduced a specialization in cultural heritage studies and plans to develop it into a degree program. Exploring and understanding the cultural heritage of Eastern and Central Europe has been at the core of our program from the very beginning and we hope to offer our accumulated experience to a wider scholarly community. Therefore we find it relevant to address general theoretical and methodological issues concerning the contemporary understanding of heritage.

Part II of the yearbook follows the practice of previous volumes, thus the Head's Report gives a summary of the main events of the 2005–2006 Academic Year, whereas the abstracts of MA theses and PhD dissertations offer an insight into our new graduates' work. Besides, this part has an extraordinary addition, the deep-sighted but very entertaining recollections of our founding father, János M. Bak—a talk (or "swan song", as he self-ironically terms it) that he gave in June

2007 on the occasion of his CARA prize for outstanding teaching achievement and his becoming Professor Emeritus.

For more information on recent and forthcoming events as well as on publications, students, and alumni, please consult our newsletter, *Medieval News*, and our website: http://medstud.ceu.hu.

Finally, it is our pleasant duty to thank two of our colleagues, Krisztina Fügedi and Annabella Pál for their good advice and unceasing support in bringing together and presenting the material of this volume, and the Archaeolingua Foundation and Publishing House, our constant partners, for turning the manuscripts into a handsome publication.

CHRISTIAN IMAGERY IN AN OTTOMAN POEM

THE 'ICONS' OF MUSLIM HOLY WARRIORS IN SŪZĪ'S *ĠAZAVĀTNĀME*

A. Ezgi Dikici

The Story and Its Background

This article[1] is about an unusual example of Christianity-related imagery in Ottoman poetry: namely, the "icon" motif that occupies a significant place in the *Ġazavātnāme of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey*, an epic poem written in the early sixteenth century by the poet Sūzī Chelebi (d. 1524).[2] Dedicated to the heroic exploits of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey (d. ca. 1507), an Ottoman frontier lord in the Balkans, this epic incorporates a highly fictional(ized) narrative of the love between the hero and a Wallachian ruler's daughter, who falls in love with him upon seeing his portrait among those of other Muslim heroes displayed in a church in Wallachia. Her inquiry as to the identity of her beloved leads to a "story within the story," told by the monk she meets at the church. According to this, a European prince, who, deeply inspired by yet another portrait of Ali Bey, renounces his wealth and status, becomes a monk and begins to wander the world in the hope of finding the hero, whom he apparently adopts as his spiritual guide. Upon the encouragement of the former prince, the monk—who much later is to tell this story to Meryem—joins him in this quest, at the end of which he manages to find the hero and paint a picture of him. This second picture seems to be the one that eventually finds its place in the peculiar portrait ensemble at the church that Meryem visits. Thus, the pictures of a Muslim *ġāzī* (warrior for the faith) which gain spiritual significance in Christian contexts play a critical part in the plot. They apparently fulfill an important function in the poetic glorification of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey, for

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis, "Painting an Icon of the Ideal *Gāzī*: An Exploration of the Cultural Meanings of the Love Affair Episode in Sūzī Chelebi's *Gazavātnāme* of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey," (Central European University, Budapest, 2007) (hereafter: Dikici, "Painting an Icon of the Ideal *Gāzī*").

[2] For the only critical edition of this work based on its four extant manuscripts, see Sūzī Chelebi, "Ġazavāt-nāme-i Mi̲haloġlı 'Alī Beğ" (The book of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey's holy wars), in *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ġazavāt-nāmesi*, ed. Agâh Sırrı Levend, 228–358 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956). Hereafter both the text of the *ġazavātnāme* and Agâh Sırrı Levend's whole book will be abbreviated as *Gn*.

they serve to justify his worthiness through the Other's willing acceptance of him almost as a holy man. As there is no evidence attesting to the historicity of Muslim warriors depicted in churches as venerable heroes, and in the absence—to my knowledge—of any direct literary parallel in any relevant tradition, the "icons" of the *ġāzī*s have to be credited to the poet Sūzī as an original literary invention. Therefore, in this article, I will seek to identify the multiple references encapsulated in this motif which derive from the conventional themes of the Islamicate literary tradition, the poem's (and Ottoman poetry's common) Sufi texture, the historical and cultural context of the Balkan frontier zone, as well as the poet's identity. I believe that without considering these sources of inspiration it is impossible to establish the extent to which one can speak of the poem's borrowing the Christian concept of icon.

Any analysis of the Christian imagery in this poem should take into account that the *Ġazavātnāme* is by and large a literary product of the social, cultural, and political context of the Ottoman Balkan frontier. The author, Sūzī Chelebi,[3] who was born in the mid-fifteenth century to a newly converted family and brought up in a predominantly Christian town, Prizren, belonged to the first generation of native Balkan poets who wrote in Ottoman Turkish in the second half of the fifteenth century.[4] Sūzī entered the service of the Mihaloğlu family, probably when Ali Bey was still alive, perhaps first in the capacity of a secretary, and then

[3] Sūzī is the poet's pen-name and Chelebi (*Çelebi*) is a common title of honor that applied to educated and cultured men.

[4] See [Aleksije A. Olesnicki] А. Олесницки, "Сузи Челеби из Призрена Турски Песник-Историк XV–XVI Века: Прилог Биографији" (Sūzī Chelebi of Prizren, Turkish poet-historian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: A contribution to his biography), *Гласник Скопског Научног Друштва* 13 (1933): 77–78; Raif Vırmiça, *Suzi ve Vakıf Eserleri* (Sūzī and his pious foundation) (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002), 27–28; *Gn*, 199; and M. Kiel, "Prizren," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991) (Hereafter: *EI*), vol. 8, 337–338. Most of what is known about Sūzī and his work still depends on the Russian scholar Olesnicki's studies, published in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian; also see his "Duhovna služba Bektašijskoga reda u Akindžijskoj vojsci: Prilog proučavanju kulta Đerzeleza i njegove popularnosti u Bosni" (The Bektāshī Order, the spiritual guide of the *akıncıs*: Essay on the origin of the cult of Đerzelez and its popularity in Bosnia), *Viestnik Hrvatskoga Arheloskoga Drustva* 22/23 (1940/1941): 193–206, and *Mihajlo Szilágyi i Srbska Despotija: Akcija Szilágyijeva za Oslobođenje Smedereva od Turaka i njegov poraz od Ali-bega Mihaloglije kod Bazjaša 8. studenoga 1460*. (Mihály Szilágyi and the Serbian Despotate: Szilágyi's action for the liberation of Smederevo from the Turks and his defeat by Mihaloğlu Ali bey near Baziaš on 8 November 1460) (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1943). I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar, for helping me with Olesnicki's works.

as a poet under the patronage of Mehmed Bey, a son of the epic's hero.[5] At that time, the Plevna branch of the Mihaloğlu family constituted the topmost stratum of the early Ottoman landed nobility in the Balkans along with the Evrenosoğlu, Turahanoğlu, and Malkoçoğlu families, to all of whom Sūzī paid homage in his poem by means of the imaginary group of "icons" that the Wallachian lady sees at the church. Known as "frontier lords" (*uç beğleri*), these nobles, at the head of their *aḳıncı* (raider) troops, carried out incursions into neighboring foreign territories, and fought in battles as auxiliary forces beside the central Ottoman army.[6] At the time when Sūzī was writing his epic these dynasties of hereditary *aḳıncı* chiefs were gradually losing power as a result of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman state.[7] Created in such a historical context, the *Ġazavātnāme* is a valuable source that provides clues to the mixed attitude of acceptance, reconciliation, and lamentation which seems to have characterized how the frontier lords saw themselves and their relationship with the Ottoman political centre as they were becoming increasingly subordinate to it.

Using a commonplace legitimization strategy that employed religious overtones, the epic seeks to reassert Mihaloğlu Ali Bey, one of the most renowned and active *aḳıncı* commanders,[8] as an excellent *ġāẕī* leader. The poem is an example of the type of works that are known by the generic name *ġazavātnāme*, which may better be used to define various sorts of *ġazā* (war against non-Muslims) narratives that share similar discursive features rather than a literary genre with established characteristics.[9] Sūzī's *ġazavātnāme* was written in the form of a *meṯnevī*

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5 *Gn*, 197–202.

6 See A. Decei, "Aḳındjı," *EI*, vol. 1: 340. For an assessment of the role of these families in the early development of the Ottoman polity, see Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 55–66. For the Mihaloğlu family in particular, see M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Mihal-oğulları" (The Mihaloğlus), *İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lugati* (The Encyclopedia of Islam: A dictionary of the history, geography, ethnography and biography of the Moslem peoples) (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1997), vol. 8, 285–292.

7 This trend of centralization gained impetus especially during the reign of Mehmed II, whose "land reform" of 1478 brought about the confiscation of a great number of freehold (*mülk*) and *vaḳf* (charitable foundation) lands which had previously been controlled by such hereditary landlords; see Halil İnalcık, "Meḥemmed II," *EI*, vol. 6: 980.

8 For a list of his major exploits, see *Gn*, 188–195. For his activities see also: Olga Zirojević, "Der Sandschakbey von Smederevo Ali-Bey Mihaloğlu," in *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara: 25–29 Eylül 1970, Kongreye sunulan bildiriler* (The Seventh Turkish Congress of History. Ankara: 25–29 September 1970, Papers Presented at the Congress) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973), 567–577.

9 For a list of *ġazavātnāmes* see *Gn*, 15–177

(or *mathnawī*): arranged in couplets each of which rhymes in itself, this was a widely used form for narratives in Islamicate literature.[10] Writing for an audience sufficiently cultivated to appreciate poetic elegance in the high literary tradition in Ottoman Turkish, Sūzī also must have taken some inspiration from the orally transmitted frontier epics of the illustrious *ġāẕī*s of the past, such as Ṣārī Ṣalṭuḳ, Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ġāzi, and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[11]

For unknown reasons, Sūzī seems to have left the poem unfinished in 1513.[12] The 1795 couplets that have survived in four manuscripts[13] give the impression that this is only a small fragment of what Sūzī had planned as a lengthy epic that would probably have covered the whole life of Ali Bey.[14] The extant part of the poem consists of an epic which relates some of the earliest military deeds of the commander and an episode on the love affair, which occupies almost one third of the extant work and was probably meant to be followed by the later military exploits of the hero.

The love story part—for which the fictional encounters between *ġāẕī*s and non-Muslim women in frontier narratives probably inspired Sūzī[15]—provides some important clues as to what Sūzī understood of an ideal *ġāẕī* and his relations with infidels. It seems to me that the *Ġazavātnāme* is distinguished among other *ġazā* narratives by the centrality of love—in both its mystical and this-worldly senses—to its portrayal of the ideal *ġāẕī*. According to Sūzī, the ideal *ġāẕī* appears to be not only one who is ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of the faith or the brave warrior capable of acquiring booty and slaves, but also one who, even beyond being the object of an infidel woman's rather earthly desire, could and would act as a channel of people's love towards God. Ali Bey's portrayal as

[10] See J. T. P De Bruijn, "Mathnawī (2. In Persian)," *EI*, vol. 6: 832-835 and Amil Çelebioğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda Mesnevi: XV. yy'a Kadar* (*Meşnevī* in Turkish literature: up to the fifteenth century) (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1999), 21–25.

[11] For the latter's portrayal as a legendary warrior in Turkish folk narratives, see İsmet Çetin, "'Alī in Turkish Folk Literature," in *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 205–27.

[12] For the endowment deed dated to 1513 which suggests that the poet had left the Mihaloğlus by that time to re-settle in Prizren, see Vırmiça, *Suzi*, 40–50.

[13] For these manuscripts, see *Gn*, 221–226.

[14] See *Gn*, 205–207 for the unfinished state of the poem and possible reasons for that.

[15] For a well-known example recorded in the chronicles of ʿĀshıḳpashazāde and Neshrī, see Paul Wittek, "The Taking of Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend and its Transformation," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 662–672; and William Hickman, "The Taking of Aydos Castle: Further Considerations on a Chapter from Aşıkpaşazade," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99, no. 3 (1979): 399–407.

a blessed person, whose very appearance (or depiction) can lure people into a spiritual quest, is conveyed through his spiritual authority over the two monks in the narrative, who are portrayed almost as Sufi mystics, as liminal characters standing between the two religions. Relatives of the good monk/priest figures appearing in Turco-Muslim frontier narratives,[16] these monks also seem to be the literary echoes of the Qur'anic description of learned and devout Christians who are the closest to the Muslims (5:85–7). They are described with epithets and expressions that would normally be used for Muslims, and more specifically for dervishes.[17] By creating these nominal Christian characters who are Muslims in their hearts despite their maintenance of a superficial Christian identity that rests on a few stereotypical elements,[18] the poet seems to have wished to balance the dichotomizing tone of the *ġazavātnāme* (the Muslims versus the Others) by emphasizing the common inborn human inclination (since everybody is born Muslim according to Islam) that would eventually lead them towards the true faith and the side of the Muslims. The "icons" that convey the hero's saintly charisma constitute the means that lead to the ultimate reconciliation of dichotomies, which happens when the story ends in conquest and conversion.

The positive light in which Christian monks, the Christian place of worship, and even the Christian practice of icon veneration are presented in the narrative, is, therefore, justified as these constitute only an "appearance" that would eventually be removed. Still, taken at face value, the poem's positive attitude towards Christians can be understood with reference to the latitudinarianism, inclusivism, and cross-bordering that characterized the early Ottoman frontier culture in Anatolia and the Balkans alike.[19] Moreover, the Christian characters' veneration of Ali Bey seems less unlikely when one considers that the mausoleum of the fourteenth-century frontier lord, Ġāzī Evrenos, in Yenitsa was still revered

[16] For another example of the good monk *topos*, see Anonymous, "Dānishmendnāme," in Irène Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Dānişmend: Étude Critique du Dānişmendnāme*, vol. 2 (Paris: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul, 1960), 24–26.

[17] Two examples are *pir-i sālik* ("a leading follower of the Sufi path") and *mürşid-i rāh* ("a spiritual guide on the mystical path"), *Gn*, 348, couplet no. 1652.

[18] For a more detailed discussion of the monastic characters, see the Chapter III of Dikici, "Painting an Icon of the Ideal *Gāzī*."

[19] For a discussion of latitudinarianism, inclusivism, and cooperation with Christians in the pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman context, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 66–77 and *passim*.

by the local Christians in the twentieth century as the tomb of "Ġāzī Baba," i.e., as a saint's tomb.[20]

On the other hand, while Sūzī clearly shares with other *ġazā* narratives an inclusivist attitude towards the religious Other, in general he seems careful to avoid hints of unorthodoxy in his work. Sūzī is, indeed, so careful that, for example, unlike in some frontier narratives, the conversion of Christian characters is achieved in the epic without any need for the hero to actively seek recognition by Christians through a display of empathy towards Christian ways. Thus, it is within the framework of this rather elite and rather orthodox narrative that emerged from the plurality of the frontier society that I will try to construe the multi-layered meaning of the "icon" motif.

Ġāzī "icons"

As it appears in Sūzī's poem, what I keep calling "icon" is, first of all, a portrait that has the practical function of conveying someone's physical appearance. As such, the portrait of the Wallachian lady, Meryem, which the monk paints and shows to Ali Bey, performs precisely the same function as Ali Bey's icon in the church, which was painted by the same monk: they both serve the purpose of inciting love towards the person depicted. Sūzī borrowed this motif of the painted image as an erotic go-between from the classical tales of love in the Islamicate literature, namely "Khusraw and Shīrīn" ("Ḫusrev ile Şīrīn") and "Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā" ("Vāmıḳ ile ʿAẕrā"), where the protagonists fall in love with each other by means of pictures. His debt to these stories is explicitly acknowledged in several couplets, such as the following:

> That picturesque beauty [i.e., Meryem] marvelled at this picture
> Just as Shīrīn marvelled at the image of Parvīz.[21]

Unlike in these classical love stories, however, Sūzī chose to place his scene of falling in love in a Christian setting, with the implication of turning the portrait into an icon. As he did that, the poet apparently thought that a Christian place of worship, ambiguously called both a monastery (*deyr*) and a church (*kelīsā*)

[20] Vasilis Demetriades, "The Tomb of Ghāzī Evrenos Bey at Yenitsa and Its Inscription," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39, no. 2 (1976): 329.

[21] *Bu naḳşa ḳaldı ḥayran ol nigārin / Nitekim sūret-i Pervīze Şīrīn*, *Gn*, 335, couplet no. 1475. Parvīz is the other name of Khusraw. The parallel between the two stories is marked even further as the old monk is compared to Shāvūr, Khusraw's servant, who, in the classical tale, acts as an intermediary between the two lovers; see ibid., 344, couplet no. 1591. For the reference to "Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā" see ibid., 341, couplet no. 1555.

in the poem, would be the appropriate place to house objects with figural representations. It seems to me that relocating this important borrowing from the tradition of classical tales into a Christian context and thus investing it with all the connotations attached to this context was an original idea of Sūzī, as I have been unable to find any other literary parallel to it.

Also, by turning the picture of the beloved (in this case, Ali Bey) into a sacred object—i.e., an "idol," as Muslims would identify an icon—Sūzī Chelebi seems to have intended to evoke the double meaning of the word *büt*, which can refer to both an idol and the beautiful beloved. While in several verses Sūzī plays with the two meanings of this word,[22] which were exploited quite often in Ottoman poetry (as well as in Persianate literature in general),[23] the main way in which he employs this ambivalence is by weaving it into the most important moment in the plot: Meryem sees her beloved for the first time by means of an image that is to be "worshipped."

While the manner of Meryem's first encounter with Ali Bey implies that the great *ġāẕī* is a venerable holy man just as much as he is a handsome hero with whom the heroine could fall in love, Ali Bey is not the only person Sūzī found worthy of veneration. Arguably the most memorable moment in the narrative depicts Meryem, the Wallachian lady, who, upon her entrance in the monastery/church, finds herself surrounded by the icons of the great personae of the fifteenth-century Muslim nobility settled in the Ottoman Balkans. Here, apart from 'Isa Bey, who also appears in the *ġazavātnāme* part of the poem as the respectable old *aḳıncı* leader under whom Ali Bey fought in his early years, Sūzī cites the name of one *ġāẕī* from each of the other three noble families who were influential in the Balkans along with the Mihaloğlus: Bali Bey of the Malkoçoğlus, Ahmed Bey of the Evrenosoğlus, and Ömer Bey of the Turahanoğlus, all of whom were contemporaries of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey.[24] In the context of this poetic act of reverence to the other *aḳıncı* families, Ali Bey emerges as the first among

[22] For example, in ibid., 324, couplet no. 1308, Bānū says to Meryem, *Büt-i sīmīnisin bu köhne deyrüñ*, which can be translated as "You are the silver idol/beauty of this decrepit monastery/world."

[23] Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 33.

[24] Hasan Beyoğlu Isa Bey, who appears as one of the main characters earlier in the *ġazavātnāme*, seems to have been Mihaloğlu Ali Bey's commander-in-chief during an expedition in Transylvania in 1458. Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey (d. 1514) was the commander of the *sandjak* (*sandjakbeyi*) of Smederevo and later of Silistra. Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey (d. 1499) was the *sandjakbeyi* of Smederevo and the conqueror of Skadar (Iskenderija or İskenderiyye) and Kroja (Akçahisar), now in Albania. Turahanoğlu Ömer Bey was the

equals. He is shown as the greatest among the great *ġāzī*s, and this greatness seems to be somewhat connected with (and enhanced by) his being chosen as the object of a (non-Muslim) woman's love. At the same time, a sense of solidarity among the members of the early Ottoman nobility is evident in Sūzī's choice to include them in this part, as the poem was written at a time when these men were gradually losing their initial power in the face of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman central administration. Thus, the veneration of these renowned *ġāzī* chiefs in a church which was then still in foreign territory is a remarkable literary image that deserves some further consideration.

Sūzī justifies the appearance of these Muslim heroes in such an unexpected place by claiming that "whenever a hero appeared in this country, he would be depicted in that church;"[25] here, "this country" seems to refer to an ill-defined territory that may be interpreted as the Balkan frontier zone as well as Wallachia proper. This literary construct, i.e., the (customary) representation of celebrated Muslim warriors in a Wallachian church, probably does not correspond to any historical reality, though, as I have already suggested, some of these *ġāzī*s may well have been venerated by Balkan Christians as holy men by means other than icons. Nevertheless, as Olesnicki pointed out, the images of rulers and nobles on the frescoes that covered the walls of Serbian churches may have inspired Sūzī Chelebi. After all, the poet himself was quite likely of Serbian origin and was presumably exposed to Orthodox culture in his hometown, Prizren. Olesnicki considers the use of the icons in this context in Sūzī's poem as an original piece of fiction born out of the imagination of a poet who, unlike most Muslims, cherished a deep understanding of the meaning of icons in Eastern Christianity—a statement with which I incline to agree.[26]

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conqueror of Trikkala in Thessaly; he disappeared without trace during an expedition to Egypt in 1488 (Olesnicki, *Mihajlo Szilágyi*, 13).

[25] *Bu kişverde belürse bir dilāver / Olurdı ol kelisāda muṣavver*, *Gn*, 326, couplet no. 1341.

[26] Olesnicki, *Mihajlo Szilágyi*, 4. Nevertheless, I find it somewhat problematic that Olesnicki takes this motif as proof for his claim that Sūzī was not (in either a religious or an ethnic sense) "an authentic Turk" who—according to him—was supposed to be highly intolerant towards the non-Islamic custom of icon veneration: ibid., 4–5. In my view, his use of the icon motif and even his understanding of the meaning of icons in Orthodox Christianity do not make Sūzī Chelebi an iconodule who falls short of Olesnicki's rather blunt normative definition of a true Muslim. What Olesnicki did not take into account is that the pervasive mystical pattern of Ottoman poetry, which permits writing poems that appear to contradict Islamic principles, must have saved this poem, along with many others, from the accusation of religious unorthodoxy.

In another sense, the presence of the icons of *aḳıncı* leaders in a monastery may be taken as just another way of saying that these brave men had already been immortalized, as their heroism is honored and commemorated even by people on the other side of both the political and the religious frontier. Indeed, the association between being depicted and being famous and memorable is also evoked in the introductory part of the poem where, in the absence of any Christian connotations, another fictitious portrait of Ali Bey is mentioned, perhaps with the intention to indicate a salient motif of the poem that would later be elaborated.[27]

On the other hand, it is also possible to interpret the icons of the *ġāzī*s based on the symbolic use of non-Muslim elements within the Islamicate poetic tradition.[28] Indeed, the term *deyr* (monastery) is sometimes used as a clichéd poetic metaphor that refers to "this world,"[29] which may again lead to the interpretation that the "icons" stand for the *ġāzī*s' immortalization and fame in this world. Alternatively, one may follow another line of interpretation, according to which *deyr* means the "Eternal Divine Presence" and "stands for an effacement of the elements of time and place,"[30] and relate the motif of the pictorial representation of heroes to an implied connection between the great *ġāzī*s and the Divine Presence. Thus, Sūzī's use of Christian imagery needs to be considered in terms of the symbolic meanings it bears within the mystical texture of the poem as well as in terms of its literal meanings.

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[27] *Gn*, 245, couplets no. 224–227, which begin with "It is related that in the realm of Badakhshān / They depicted him in the form of a lion" (*Rivāyetdür Bedaḫşān mülketinde / Ki naḳşitmişler arslan sūretinde*). His depiction in a lion's image may be an allusion to his resemblence to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, see below.

[28] See Annemarie Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 116.

[29] Schimmel, *Deciphering*, 34. The following couplet illustrates this usage: "[She was] An honored icon (*tasvīr*) in the temple (*deyr*) of the world / [She was] Life-giving like Christ, her name was Meryem (Mary)" (*Cihān deyrinde taṣvīr-i mükerrem / Mesīhā gibi cān-baḫş adı Meryem*), *Gn*, 315, couplet no. 1189. Here the poet communicates simultaneously Meryem's picturesque beauty in this temporary world, her Christian identity (with the concentration of specifically Christian terms such as 'icon,' 'monastery,' 'Christ,' and 'Mary'), and her similarity to Ali Bey, who also appears as "an icon in the *deyr*."

[30] This is taken from al-Nabulsi's interpretation of Shushtari's poetry, Omaima Abou-Bakr, "The Symbolic Function of Metaphor in Medieval Sufi Poetry: The Case of Shushtari," *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 12 (1992): 50.

The Icon: Meaning beyond the Form

As suggested above, what I have been calling an icon is, in one sense, merely a picture that functions as a stimulus for love. What makes it an icon is its placement in the Christian context. Indeed, the words employed in the poem in order to refer to the paintings that depict Ali Bey, the other *ġāzī*s, and Meryem, namely, *taṣvīr*, *ṣūret*, and *naḳş*, denote any kind of image, not necessarily an icon. In only one couplet does Sūzī Chelebi explicitly state that Meryem recognized Ali Bey's picture as an icon, for which he uses the expression *kelīsā naḳşı*, i.e., "church picture":

> As she saw the picture of Ali Bey
> She marvelled at it like [or "as if it were"] a church picture.[31]

True, in this couplet the picture of Ali Bey is somewhat distinguished from "church pictures," but the way Meryem responds to it is likened by the poet to a Christian's usual response to an icon. What appeals to Meryem (and also to the former prince who becomes a monk) in Ali Bey's image seems to be less the physical beauty of the hero than the indescribable charismatic quality in him that instills awe and respect in the viewers of his portraits. This characteristic of Ali Bey, which resembles the *hayba* of a shaykh,[32] distinguishes his image from among the images of other great *ġāzī*s.

When expressing her fascination with Ali Bey's portrait, Meryem tells the monk that "among [all] the paintings this seems to be the most life-like"—or "this resembles life the most."[33] As I understand it, in this sentence Meryem is not merely referring to the portrait's technical quality as a true-to-life representation that precisely reproduces visible reality, since the word she uses for 'life,' *cān*, seems to denote an internal essence rather than its external manifestation. Then, the success of this portrait painted by the monk lies in the ease with which it conveys the spiritual authority of the holy *ġāzī* to the spectator.

It is indeed remarkable that Sūzī diverges from mainstream Islam, which equates icon veneration with idol worshipping, as he does not suggest in any way

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[31] *'Alī Beğ naḳşını çün görди ol cān / Kelīsā naḳşı gibi ḳaldı ḥayrān*, *Gn*, 328, couplet no. 1365.
[32] *Hayba* is described as "a combination of awe, fear, and respect" that a disciple would feel in his master's presence; see Margaret Malamud, "Gender and Spiritual Self-Fashioning: The Master-Disciple Relationship in Classical Sufism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 1 (1996): 93. Olesnicki suggested that the epic portrays Ali Bey in the image of a shaykh: Olesnicki, *Mihajlo Szilágyi*, 77–89. For a discussion of this point, see Dikici, "Painting an Icon of the Ideal *Gāzī*," 28–30.
[33] This is how I translate the verse *Ki bu ṣūretler içre cāna beñzer*, *Gn*, 328, couplet no. 1367.

that the Christians he imagines in his poem treat their icons as idols. Quite the contrary, he understands the icon precisely as a "channel" that "transmits divine grace" or the divine beauty that is manifested in Ali Bey's image; and his view of the icon is, in fact, perfectly in line with Orthodox Christian theology—but perhaps not always with the Orthodox practice, since he does not attribute any miraculous power to the painted object itself.[34] It is true that Sūzī's Christian characters stand in a liminal position between the two religions, and therefore it is not so surprising that, as people on the right path who are close to Islam, they do not "worship" the icons. However, Sūzī also does not make any distinction between "bad" Christians who do worship icons as idols and these "good" ones who do not. Nor does he seem to believe that painting icons or keeping them is an error in itself; as long as the icons perform their function by properly transmitting something of the divine to their viewers, they are legitimate tools of devotion that would help one to get closer to God.

Even if Sūzī's Serbian Orthodox background, as Olesnicki believed, was decisive in his understanding and use of the conceptual basis of icons, what seems to me at least equally crucial is the role of the Neoplatonic influence common to the Orthodox and Sufi traditions, which facilitated the poet's (and his readers') access to the idea behind the icon. The key term is *ṣūret* (or *ṣūra*) (image), which Sūzī often employed interchangeably with *taṣvīr* and *naḳṣ* in order to refer to the pictures. *Ṣūret*, however, has a broader connotation compared to the other two words, as it means any image, form, or shape, and therefore, is a term that applies to external forms in general. Sūzī's poem, especially the love story episode, is replete with allusions to the duality between *ṣūra* and *maʿnī* (or *ṣūret* and *maʿnā*), "form" and "meaning," i.e., the outward appearance and the inner essence. This was a perennial topic in Sufi writings, above all in the works of Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–1273)—whose spiritual authority Sūzī acknowledges in his poem[35]—and was an issue of great concern for the Islamic theory of portraiture.[36]

In many verses throughout the poem Sūzī plays with these concepts, and he puts several pairs of words analogous to *ṣūra* and *maʿnī* in the mouth of the

[34] Margaret E. Kenna, "Icons in Theory and Practice: An Orthodox Christian Example," *History of Religions* 24, no. 4 (1985): 345–346 (hereafter: Kenna, "Icons"); for the "theological background to icons," see ibid., 348–350.

[35] For a reference to Mevlana, see *Gn*, 321, couplet no. 1265.

[36] Priscilla Soucek, "The Theory and Practice of Portraiture in the Persian Tradition," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 102. For the form-and-meaning duality and how it relates to the theory of painting, also see Yves Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two *Qalams*' to the 'Seven Principles of Painting': Theory, Terminology, and Practice in Persian Classical Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 109–118.

second monk (the former prince) as he tells his companion in Jerusalem that the portrait in his hand is not just any picture but—just as an icon—it has an essential link with what it depicts, that is, with its prototype. The former prince describes the picture of Ali Bey as a talisman that provides access to (divine or spiritual) treasures and as a moon that reflects the rays of a sun.[37] In fact, the portrait of Ali Bey of which he speaks here was brought by the (Hungarian) king's ambassador to a European court, and therefore was not meant to be an icon as such. But this "gilded picture" (*müẕehheb ṣūret*)[38] turns into an icon in the monk's hands, as it becomes the only means by which he can imagine the owner of this image, whom he regards as a guide for his own spiritual development.[39]

Sūzī Chelebi's use of the icon motif also evokes two other issues related to icons in a Christian context. One of them is the problem of establishing the accuracy of the correspondence between the prototype and the icon, which is resolved through a rather poetic artifice by means of Meryem, who immediately recognizes that Ali Bey corresponds to the rose in the dream she had earlier and therefore reassures herself (and the reader) of the sanctity of the hero and the veracity of the icon.[40] The second issue is the necessity of depicting a certain holy man in a particular way which would distinguish him from others. Accordingly,

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[37] *Bana eydür ki iy pīr-i ṭarīḳat*
Nedür bu ṣūrete ma'nā ḥaḳīḳat
Nedür bildüñ mi bu isme müsemmā
Bu lafẓa ma'nī bu mektūba feḥvā
Nice gencüñ ṭılsmıdur bu peyker
Ne mihrüñ 'aksidür bu māh-ı enver
He said to me, "O master of fraternity,
What is the true meaning of this image?
Do you know what is named by this name,
What is the meaning of this word, what is the import of this writing?
The spell of what [hidden] treasures is this figure?
Which sun does this glittering moon reflect?"
Gn, 330, couplets no. 1399–1401. For the relationship between the icon and what it depicts, see Kenna, "Icons," 349.

[38] *Gn*, 330, couplet no. 1398.

[39] It is also worth noting that the former prince's contemplation of the picture of his absent master, Ali Bey, is reminiscent of a Sufi practice: a disciple's contemplation and visualization (*taṣawwur*) of his shaykh in prayer; see Malamud, "Master-Disciple Relationship," 93 and 99.

[40] The way that Meryem's dream and the icon testify to the veracity of each other can be compared to the cases of icons verified by dreams and visions and vice versa in the Byzantine tradition; see Henry Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 12–15.

in this poem, Ali Bey is consistently depicted in leonine form, which, though explained as a symbol of courage,[41] is at the same time an allusion to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who is often praised as the "lion of God."[42] Thus, Ali Bey's depictions seem to satisfy some other conditions necessary for being considered as true icons.

Conclusion

It is, therefore, possible that Sūzī borrowed the concept of icon from Orthodox Christianity, with which he was familiar, and incorporated it into the Sufi framework of his poem by relating it to the dichotomy between meaning and form. After all, it is quite likely that Sūzī had an intimate sort of knowledge as to what an icon meant in Orthodox Christianity. Even if there is a borrowing, however, it is so subtle and elusive—as it is wrapped in a network of non-Christian references—that it does not permit one to view it as a borrowing of the sort that is found, for example, in the writings of the seventeenth-century Sufi shaykh Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī, who, in an effort to identify himself with Jesus Christ in his self-narrative, did not refrain from having recourse to the Christian narratives of the crucifixion of Christ, and therefore is at odds with mainstream Islam, which would not accept that Jesus was crucified.[43] In other words, the concept of icon that Sūzī perhaps borrowed and inserted into his work is not easily identifiable as an alien concept at first glance. The icon motif is rather part of the Christian façade, the external trappings of Christianity, which—in accordance with the dichotomy between meaning and form—conceal a vast common ground shared by the two religions that, as Sūzī hopes and foresees, will ultimately efface the borderline separating Christians and Muslims.

What is striking in Sūzī's treatment of icon veneration, in fact, lies in his affirmation of the Christian practice. It is interesting to note that as he emphasizes the power of Ali Bey's portraits over their viewers, Sūzī diverges, for example, from the opinion of Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi, his intellectual forebear, who in two anecdotes reported by his disciple and biographer, Aflaki, pointed out the inherent limitations of paintings and even the impossibility of producing an accurate likeness.[44] Sūzī's use of the "icon" motif—as he almost justifies the use

[41] "They called him 'Lion' because he was brave / They depicted him in this fashion" (*Şecī olduġiçün arslan dimişler / Anı bu vechile nakşeylemişler*), *Gn*, 335, couplet no. 1467.
[42] ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is known as Ḥaydara (or Ḥaydar), meaning 'Lion'; Schimmel, *Deciphering*, 23. The allusion to ʿAlī is made explicit in *Gn*, 335, couplet no. 1469.
[43] Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618–1694)," *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 159.
[44] Soucek, "Theory and Practice of Portraiture," 102–103.

of icons for a legitimate end, namely, gaining new converts to Islam—is, therefore, noteworthy as the expression of one of the existing attitudes towards a rival religion in the early sixteenth-century Balkan environment, where competition between the two religions was as intense as it had been in thirteenth-century Anatolia, where Mevlana lived.

The Life of Ferenc Wathay and Its Main Source

The life of the writer of the *Song Book* was not very different from any soldier of his rank in sixteenth-century Hungary. Apart from the correspondence and testament that he left, modern scholarship also has a valuable source on his life, his autobiography.[3] He was born into a Lutheran family in the village of Nagyvág (Sopron County)[4] in 1568 and attended schools in Németújvár (Güssing) and Sopron, which was a Protestant institution.[5] Wathay complains in his autobiography that after the death of his father and brothers, his mother could not afford his education any longer, so he had to finish his schooling prematurely, as Wathay himself complains in his autobiography.[6] Thus he started a career as a soldier, serving in several castles in Transdanubia (the part of Hungary west of the Danube) in the war against the Ottoman army. He married twice: first to Anna Ládony in 1600; but he was soon widowed and married Zsuzsanna Vághy in 1601.[7]

In April, 1602, he was commissioned as the captain of Székesfehérvár. He was wounded and fell into captivity after the surrender of the castle later in 1602,[8] first taken to Buda, then Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade), and finally to the Galata

[3] However, as this genre raises several questions with regard to reliability, it is necessary to briefly introduce the life of the author of the *Song Book* as known from independent sources such as his correspondence.

[4] I introduce the biography of Ferenc Wathay according to *Veszprém a török korban: felolvasóülés Veszprém török kori emlékeiről* (Veszprém in Turkish times: A conference on the monuments of Veszprém from the times of Ottoman rule), ed. Péter G. Tóth (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság, 1998), 169–173, (hereafter: *Veszprém a török korban*) and the epilogue of *Wathay Ferenc énekeskönyve* (The *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay), ed. Lajos Nagy and György Belia, (Budapest: Helikon, 1976). In the autobiography, Wathay writes about his own birth: "Adott engem is azon szent Istenöm az én szüleimnek ez világra azon Nagyvágon, ez új házban az Rába felől való szobában" ("My God gave me to my parents to this world in Nagyvág, in the room by the Rába River in the new house"), 111a.

[5] *A soproni líceum* (The secondary school of Sopron), ed. Sándor Győrffy and Zoltán Hunyadi (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1986).

[6] "És látván már minden fiától szegény megfosztattattnak lenni, egyedül én csak maradván … ugyanazon esztendőben, vetetett ki szegény az oskolából és tanulságból, elég tudatlanságban, nekem eléggé nagy káromra." "And when she found herself deprived of all her sons, only me remaining for her … in the same year she took me from school and education to my great loss." 112b.

[7] *Veszprém a török korban*, 171.

[8] More exactly, on 29 August – which had traditionally been considered a fortunate day among the Ottomans since the battle of Mohács in 1526.

tower in Istanbul in 1604. He tried to escape four times, but every attempts failed. Finally he was released in Belgrade in 1606, when, presumably, his family was able to collect his ransom. After his release he again served as captain of various castles, but after 1609 his fate is unknown.

He wrote his autobiography, attached to the end of his *Song Book,* in 1605, but recounted his life only until 1603. He dealt with the events of the present in the poems of the *Song Book*, giving information about the significant events in the colophons or postscripts of the poems.[9] He wrote the poems of the *Song Book* between 1603 and 1606, stated in the colophons of the poems themselves. The volume contains twenty-eight poems, a preface, an autobiography, a short description of the sultan's army (each unit of soldiers enumerated), a list of towns on the way from Belgrade to Istanbul, and his own illustrations.

In the volume Wathay does not mention a previous book[10] containing drafts, therefore one can assume that he had started to compose the songs before putting them down on paper in Istanbul sometime after 1604. When Wathay was released from captivity in 1606, he presumably took the book with him, because after his death the volume became the property of his relatives into in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[11] Today it is kept in the manuscript collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[12] A full critical edition of the *Song Book* was published in 1959.[13] In 1976, a facsimile edition was published by Lajos Nagy in two volumes. Finally, an online critical edition has recently been published in the Online Critical Edition series of the Department of Early Hungarian Literature at ELTE University, Budapest.[14]

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[9] See for instance the postscript of poem XXIV: "FINIS IN TURRI MARIS DE NIGRI ANNO 1605 IN MENSE JANUARII PER COMPONENTEM." 97a.

[10] Csilla Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv. Kísérőtanulmány az online Wathay-kiadáshoz" (The *Song Book* of Wathay: Study to the online edition of the works of Wathay) (Budapest, 1999, http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/wathay/utoszo.htm, last accessed: 24/05/07).

[11] Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok" (Writers from this side of the Danube), *Vasi Szemle* 56, (2002): 552. (Hereafter: Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok.")

[12] Classification number: K 62.

[13] In the series RMKT (Régi magyar költők tára – Thesaurus of old Hungarian poetry). *RMKT XVII. század.* 1. kötet (RMKT seventeenth century, Vol. 1., ed. Gyula Bisztray, Tibor Klaniczay, Lajos Nagy, and Béla Stoll. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1959), 141–245; 538–573.

[14] Online critical edition of the works of Ferenc Wathay, http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/wathay/, last accessed: 23/05/07.

Patterns and Ideals in Self-Fashioning

The analysis of Ferenc Wathay's self-fashioning in the *Song Book* can take advantage of different kinds of sources: images, poems, and autobiography. The theoretical framework and methodology of New Historicism offers a promising approach. A man in the captivity of the Ottomans, formerly a soldier and a husband, becomes a poet in prison. What motivations did he have for this turn? How did he depict and reflect on himself in his writings and illustrations? In what social and cultural framework did he create his book? What patterns did he follow?

According to the proponents of New Historicism—the theoretical framework in which the notion of self-fashioning was created—traditional interpretations of history make a mistake by treating literature separately from the contexts of everyday life.[15] This critical school of history is based on the idea that the shaping of one's self is always influenced by cultural standards, traditions, and institutions.[16] Stephen Greenblatt, the main figure of the school,[17] created the theoretical basis for the analysis of literary texts. In his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* he studied the relationship of six writers to various manifestations of power. He read literary texts as cultural artifacts related to the cultural, social, and political contexts in which they were produced.[18] Construction of history depends on the current horizon of expectations,[19] thus, history is a system of cultural representations.

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[15] György Endre Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus és a mai amerikai Shakespeare-kutatás" (The New Historicism and current Shakespeare scholarship in the USA), *Helikon* 44, No. 1–2 (1998): 26. (Hereafter: Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus.")

[16] Discussing culture, Clifford Geertz refers to standards and institutions which rule cultural and personal habits, using their power for control. Geertz, quoted by György Endre Szőnyi, "Az én-formálás petrarkista technikái Balassi Bálint és Philip Sidney költészetében" (Self-Representation in Petrarchism. Varieties in England [Sidney] and in Hungary [Balassi]), *Palimpszeszt* 10 (April 1998), http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/palimpszeszt/10_szam/09.htm, last accessed: 16/12/99.

[17] Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison,* (New York: Pantheon, 1977) was an important theoretical foundation for the school. Other important figures were Stephen Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare* (New York: Routledge, 2002), Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and their Contemporaries,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); see also *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989).

[18] John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence. The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe," *American Historical Review* 102, No. 5 (1997): 1313.

[19] Stephen Greenblatt, "Towards a Poetics of Culture," in *New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser, (London: Routledge, 1989), 6.

According to Greenblatt, in the progress of fashioning one's self, one always has to identify and evaluate himself under the given circumstances, expressing one's attitude towards them. The notion of self-fashioning in Greenblatt's vocabulary means conforming and adapting the self to the given social circumstances.[20] Thus, the formation of the individual occurs as a result of the obstructive character of power. Natalie Zemon Davis claims that situations of writing about the self involved a relationship, most often with God, but also with others, like a patron, friend or lover.[21] The use of pictorial sources is also relevant and important in the analysis of the shaping of the self, as for instance Lisa Jardine did with her portrait of Erasmus.[22]

As the *Song Book* contains an autobiography and, moreover, as I intend to show that the volume can be regarded as a *lyrical autobiography*,[23] it is essential to discuss some questions of autobiographies in general and the features of early modern and Renaissance autobiographies in particular. In the case of the *Song Book*, a line of lyrical autobiography is shaped with the help of the poems and images that complete and correspond to the autobiography at the end of the volume.

Philippe Lejeune[24] introduced the notion of the "autobiographical pact" that exists between the reader and the author. According to this, the author guarantees the sameness of the narrator, the author, and the hero of the text. In general, one can differentiate between these three roles of the self in autobiographies: the narrator of the present is talking about the hero of the past, thus, the narrator tells the story of the formation of the self, the route he traversed from a past point

[20] Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus," 18.

[21] Natalie Z. Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-century France," in *Reconstructing individualism: autonomy, individuality, and the self in Western thought*, ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 53–63.

[22] Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[23] The term *lyrical autobiography* refers to a special compositional principle of a volume of poetry in which the lyrical subject of each poem is the same and the arrangement of the poems draws a poetically constructed biography of the speaking self.

[24] The currently most accepted definition of autobiography is also by Lejeune: "[Autobiography is] a retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality." Philippe Lejeune "The autobiographical pact," in *On Autobiography*, ed. Paul John Eakin, tr. Katherine M. Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 4.

to a present one. In the case of early modern life-writing, as Cemal Kafadar[25] argues, in first-person narratives and autobiographical texts there is "no *obvious* distance between the narrator and the narrated self."[26] In the case of Wathay there is one more reason for the closeness of narrator, author, and hero. The texts refer mainly to his current situation, and as he composed the poems and autobiography in captivity and presumably compiled the volume in prison, his hero and narrator are not distinct. His autobiography tells the events of his past which all reflect on the present situation of the author by standing in opposition to it. In this case, the distance of narrator and author is not extended, and this closeness affects the reading of the text; the reader gets closer to the hero and narrator as the autobiographical pact operates more intensively.

Autobiography may be regarded as commemoration of reality—of the reality of one particular man and, moreover, the reality of an era.[27] This is the exact point where New Historicism claims that not only the interpretation of reality, i.e., historical sources, but the literary text itself may be regarded as a source for reality. This is a point on which I will concentrate in the analysis of Wathay's texts; I intend to map the process of his self-fashioning using his volume as an autobiographical source, which on the one hand is a mirror of reality, but on the other is a constructed piece of art that is the main indicator and fulfiller, both the motivation and the result of the process, of shaping the self.

The genre of autobiography belongs to both history and literature, thus the text bears the characteristics of both of them, especially before the Enlightenment.[28] In Renaissance biographies and autobiographies the self is regarded similarly to the works of the author. Life is also a piece of art, and has to be presented and constructed accordingly.[29]

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[25] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121–150.
[26] Ibid., 138.
[27] Yuri Zaretzky, *Renessansnaia avtobiografiia i samosoznanie lichnosti: Enea Sil'vio Pikkolomini (Pii II)* (Renaissance autobiography and individual self-consciousness: Enea Silvio Piccolomini), introduction. (Nizhnii Novgorod: Nizhnii Novgorod University Press, 2000).
[28] *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).
[29] Victoria C. Gardner, "'Homines non nascuntur, sed figuntur:' Benvenuto Cellini's Vita and Self-Presentation of the Renaissance Artist," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, (1997): 447–465.

Variations of Being Personal: Private and Public Spheres

In order to introduce the way the author self fashions himself in the *Song Book*, I will analyze the tone, rhetorics, and narrative patterns of the speaking self in the poems and in the autobiography. The voice of the speaking self that demonstrates the relationship with faith and religion varies over a wide spectrum, giving evidence of a complex system in Wathay's relationship to faith. In religious poems Wathay uses both traditional and non-traditional rhetorical techniques. He practices, for example, the contemporarily well-known and widespread technique in Protestant song-poetry of drawing parallels between the fate of the Hungarian and Jewish nations. The voice which the audience hears in this poem is conventional: the position of the speaking self is humble and submissive.

In one of the poems of the *Song Book* (No. IV) with religious content, one finds a new voice of the speaking self compared to the more traditional, passive voice of the first poem. In this text, the voice of the speaking self is rather dialogic than submissively laudatory; his relationship with faith—in this case with Jesus—is strongly emotional and personal.

> Csoda, oh, mely öröm szállná én szívem is,
> Ily kegyes válaszod ha hallhatnám én is,
> Jövel azért, Uram, vigasztalj engem is,
> S kérlek, könnyebítsd meg keserűségem is.[30] (IV/13)

Furthermore, with the growing desperation of the speaking self in captivity, he comes to the point where he loses his humbleness and uses a debating-reproaching tone in religious poems.

> Íme, most is nem az vagy-e,
> Azki régen? Kisebb vagy-e?
> Engem vajh, mindéltig versz-e,
> Kis sárodat elrontod-e? (VI/6)[31]

This was a fairly new phenomenon in Hungarian literature. Although this more individual tone in literature had been present and widespread in Western

[30] A miraculous great joy would fly to my heart, / If I could hear Your holy response, / Come, my Lord and console me, / and please, ease my miseries.
[31] Aren't you the same that was You / in the past? Are You smaller? / Are You going to chastise me forever, / and destroy Your little piece of earth?

Europe since the Renaissance, the emergence of such a personal manifestation of the relationship of a man and his faith was new in Hungarian poetry.[32]

There is a different kind of individual voice in the case of issues of Wathay's "secular" life. His voice becomes doubly personal in two areas. The first is connected to his private life: his marriage and his love for his wife. The second is when he depicts himself as a military man.

The absence of the loving spouse is, without doubt, the topic that raises most of the intimate elements in the volume, as is demonstrated by rhetorical as well as compositional characteristics. The very first mention of the yearned-for wife of the speaking self is in the first poem. Later in the volume she is the center of a whole thematic cycle of poems.[33] Interestingly, however, Wathay dedicated only one poem explicitly to his wife:

> Ezt, azki írá gondolatjában,
> Wathaynénak küldé ajándékban.[34] (XXVI/16)

This poem, contrasted to the others, is a clear example of love poetry. In other poems he complains about the absence of his wife, but this is the only one that clearly follows the tradition of emblematic love poetry. The traditional love scene of the "lovers in the nature" was a well-known motif from the Song of Songs of the Bible through bucolic poetry and the Middle Ages up to the Renaissance.

> S kedves társammal gyakran örömben
> Én nyugszom vala szép zöld fák enyhében.
>
> S hol ő ölemben, s hol én ölében,
> szép hűsön aluván, valánk szerelemben.[35] (XXVI/ 7–8)

The history of Wathay's marriages is an important aspect of his autobiography. He devoted a full chapter of the autobiography to his two marriages. He speaks

[32] The first poet who introduced this individual way of operating with religious texts in Hungarian literature was the Bálint Balassi, who seems to have influenced Wathay's poetry. If one compares the tone of the Wathay's poem cited above and this one by Balassi their similarity is evident: Vagy ha azt akarod, hogy tűrjem ostorod / Csak rút szégyentől óvd fejemet, ha bántod, / Halálomot inkább elhozd, hogynem rútítsd orcámot!
Balassi: [61+I.] *Egy könyörgés. Új* (A Supplication. New) Or if You want that I bear Your scourge, / Only from ugly shame defend me, / Rather let me die than make me ashamed!

[33] Poems XV–XXI.

[34] Who wrote this in his mind, / would send it to Mrs. Wathay as a present.

[35] With my sweet spouse we were often in joy, / and I would rest in the shadow of beautiful green trees. // And now she's in my lap, now I in hers, / we were in love and sleeping in the nice open air.

of both his wives in a doubly gentle voice: "… when I found my poor wife in Ládony, we forgot all of our miseries for the sake of our love, we consoled each other and desired only each other"—he wrote about his first wife.[36]

The other aspect of Wathay's "secular" life where his personality and self-fashioning can be seen is his consciousness as a soldier; it is expressed on several levels of the *Song Book*, by the means of diverse techniques. The historical song about the siege of Fehérvár (poem No. III) refers to his role as a soldier in more detail. The importance of this event in Wathay's life can be demonstrated with a piece of intertextual evidence, as after he mentions the siege in the autobiography, he calls the reader's attention to the song that deals with this event: "…kikről mind bőven érthet ugyanezen könyvben feljebb azki akar, az Fejérvár énekéből."[37] Furthermore, he illustrated the siege in the *Song Book*,[38] showing his capture in the foreground.

How does Wathay illustrate himself as a military man? First, it is clear from several *loci* of the poem about the siege that he has extensive military knowledge.[39] Second, it is obvious that he has personal knowledge about military movements; he gives an account of his personal knowledge about the reason for the movements[40] and reports his personal view about the process of the siege.[41] Sometimes he even gives an ironical evaluation of certain personalities.[42]

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[36] "…mikoron szegény feleségemet Ládonyban találtam volna, kárunkat egymás szerelmeiért elfelejténk, egymást vigasztalván, egymás életét csak kívánjuk vala." 119a.

[37] "Who wants, may learn about these in more detail in this very same book above, in the song of Fehérvár." 125a.

[38] 9a.

[39] Végezé azért úgyan: megépétsék, / Tavasszal mindjárt hantval, földvel töltsék, / Környül az vizet árokban bevegyék, / Hogy ellenségtűl osztán így ne féltsék. (III/48)
Finally he ordered to be built [the castle], / fill in with earth and soil in the spring, / Take the water in the moat around, / To be protected against the enemy.

[40] Néhány fű magyarnak ez dolog nem tetszék, / És Fejérvárbúl ők búcsúkat vevék, / Tisztességekre, nem tudom, mint esék, / De az fejeknek, tudom, jobban esék. (III/50)
Some of the Hungarian leaders did not like this, / and they left the castle of Fehérvár, / I do not know, how their honour felt about this, / but I know that their heads felt better.

[41] Nem sokkal rosszabb kerétésnél vala, / De hogy alacsonyb, az igen árt vala. (III/ 86)
It was no worse than a fence, / But it was harmful that it was too low. [about the acts of the captain]

[42] Egy fűvajda is megbetegült vala, / Jó Szombathelyi Péter deák vala, / az félszbetegség igen leli vala … (III/63)
One of the leaders got sick, / this was the good clerk Péter Szombathelyi, / who fell ill with the "afraid-illness" …

Wathay himself appears several times in the poem, mentioned by name among the other defenders of the town of Fehérvár among the virtuous soldiers who were not afraid to break out of the castle.[43] The important episode of Wathay's capture is also told in the poem—this event is also commemorated in an image.

> Nehéz sebekben foglyá esett vala
> Ott az Wathay Ferenc, veszett vala,
> Fűkapitánynak ki vicéje vala,
> És magyaroknak fűhadnagyok vala.[44] (III/113)

In this strophe Wathay appears as a soldier of high rank, with all his military titles listed. This enumeration can be regarded as a kind of calling card. In the colophon of the poem Wathay refers to this particular strophe to inform the readers about the author of the song:

> És ha nevemet ti tudakozzátok,
> Száztizenharmad verset ha olvastok,
> Csak haszna legyen, ott megtaláljátok.[45] (III/142)

With this reference to himself he creates a special relationship with the reader, "speaking out" from the poem as a narrator and referring to the author of the text. As the narrator gives information about the author of the poem by referring to one of the heroes of the song, the "autobiographical pact" that unifies the author, narrator and hero starts to operate.

In the autobiography, the episodes described the most individually are Wathay's four failed attempts to escape from captivity. These small anecdote-like stories tell about Wathay's adventurous runaway attempts in a lively and colorful way. They were so important to Wathay that he illustrated all four of them pictorially in the *Song Book*.[46] Perhaps the most vivid among these stories is the one where he made his escape in Belgrade wearing Turkish clothes. Wathay describes of the vineyards above the city, placing himself in this idyllic frame as a runway; he says that "he had to hide like a rabbit" from people. For this escape attempt he changed his clothes; during his next escape he changed another even more important element of his identity. For the sake of being unrecognizable to

[43] Wathay kapusáncban futott vala (III/79)
Wathay ran over the berm of the gate …
[44] Was captured and seriously wounded / there Ferenc Wathay, who was lost there, / he was the vice-captain, / and the lieutenant of Hungarians.
[45] And if you would ask my name, / then if you read strophe one hundred thirteen, / you will find it there for your use.
[46] 27a; 31b; 32b; 33b.

his capturers he changed his name to András Nagy when he was caught and taken back to the captivity. In the caption of the illustration[47] of his being beaten because of his escape attempt he used the help of his changed identity to avoid disgrace for being depicted in such a helpless way. The caption says: "[Aga Mankuc] beat poor András Nagy, but not Wathay, in the ugliest manner..."[48]

Wathay's attitude his wives and military deeds are the most important factors in the fashioning of his self. He identified himself as a husband, a skilled soldier, a friend—and a poet. As was demonstrated with the example of the song about the siege of Fehérvár, Wathay took the audience of the *Song Book* into consideration. As the anecdotes of his escape attempts give evidence, he even made conscious efforts to amuse them.

Ideals

In the progress of self fashioning one always has to identify and evaluate himself in the given circumstances and express his attitude towards the social frameworks and institutions that surround him. This may happen either through rejecting existing patterns or following them consciously.[49] Wathay both followed patterns and imitated ideal figures in his *Song Book*.[50] He emphasizes two important aspects of family history connected to his family members; the first is the story of their marriages and the second is the enumeration of the male ancestors' military deeds. The tendency to more personal in describing these issues remains in the narration even when connected with aspects of his own deeds.

As has been demonstrated, the texts of Wathay become more personal when referring to his marriages, his military career, and escape attempts. Interestingly, one can find role models who contributed to his self-fashioning in both cases. In family life he refers to his grandfather as a great member of the family and as a good husband. Wathay feels him close to himself because they even had the same first name (Ferenc), and, interestingly, their wives also had the same name (Zsuzsanna Vághy was the name of both Wathay's grandmother and his second wife). Furthermore, Wathay noes that there were exactly one hundred

[47] 31b.
[48] "[Mankuc aga] bizonnyal úgy megveré – Nagy Andrást, szegényt, de Wathayt nem –, hogy soha undok verés alig lehet ..." 129b. See *Fig. 1.*
[49] Greenblatt brings up the *imitatio Christi* as the archetypical example of this kind of association, Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 3.
[50] The term *imitatio*, although fundamentally referring to intertextual connections of literary works based on imitating style, tone, techniques, etc., will be used here to denote following patterns in the process of self-fashioning.

years between his and his grandfather's weddings. The autobiography starts with the deeds of his grandfather, thus, Wathay begins counting his genealogy from him.[51] Enumerating the similarities of his grandfather's life and his own, Wathay expresses his positive attitude explicitly towards his grandfather and the role his grandfather played as husband and head of the family.

Wathay's other ideal is connected to the other important aspect of his life: military acts. His ideal as a soldier is Miklós Zrínyi, defender of the castle of Szigetvár. Zrínyi died heroically at the end of the siege in 1566, charging out of the castle when there was no hope of holding it any longer. Wathay's high regard of the figure of Zrínyi even appears in connection with his own birth, as he refers to the year using the siege of Szigetvár as a reference point: " [I was born] when they wrote after the siege of Sziget the year 1568..."[52] He followed Zrínyi's pattern[53] when he was the leader of Hungarians at the castle of Székesfehérvár. He charged out of the castle with his small group of soldiers[54] the same way Zrínyi did. His attempts to follow his grandfather as a good husband and Zrínyi as a glorious hero as a captain failed, however, because of his captivity. Nonetheless, in a particular manner the act of following Zrínyi's pattern meant an important step in the creation of himself as a hero—the hero of captivity, whose self is commemorated in the *Song Book*.

In the process of fashioning himself as a poet, Wathay also had role models to follow. It is obvious that he knew the poetry of Bálint Balassi, the most significant Hungarian poet of the era. According to László Szilasi, the author of a detailed study about the influence of Balassi on Wathay,[55] altogether eight of his poems show concrete connections to the poetry of Balassi. Many uncertainties

[51] 107a.

[52] "Mikoron azért írtanak volna Sziget veszése után, 1568. esztendőben..." 111a.

[53] Wathay's possible imitiation of Zrínyi was first introduced by Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok." The cult of the "hero of Sziget," Miklós Zrínyi (the *epitheton ornans* of Miklós Zrínyi distinguishes him from his grandson who had the same name and commemorated the siege of Szigetvár in a great epic) was a living tradition even before the creation of the epic poem. In his monograph about the poet Zrínyi, Tibor Klaniczay gives an account of the increased interest of contemporaries in the siege. Tibor Klaniczay, *Zrínyi Miklós* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1964), 59–60.

[54] Wathay wrote about the siege of Székesfehérvár in both his autobiography (125a–126b) and his poems (song No. III). See also Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok."

[55] László Szilasi, "Mediocris Wathay avagy a szemérmes extractor. Funkcióváltás, hierarchia-módosítás és eszközcsere: a Balassi-imitáció változatai Wathay Ferenc költészetében" (Medioris Wathay or the shy extractor. Changes of functions, hierarchy and means: Variations of Balassi imitations in the poetry of Ferenc Wathay), http://szelence.com/tan/szilasi_wathay.html, last accessed: 24/01/07 (hereafter: Szilasi, "Mediocris Wathay").

make it difficult to declare any direct connections between them: which copy of Balassi's poems Wathay had access to, how many poems that copy contained or if he had copies of these poems with him in the prison or not are all unknown. Even the media of the poems that Wathay knew is unsure; he might have known the poems in the form in which they spread orally, in the form of a song, or he might have read their written forms. The latter scenario, however, seems more probable, as several features of the *Song Book* indicate that he followed the rhyme structure of Balassi as well as the indications of melody, which, although they refer to oral presentation were in fact indicated in written form.[56] Comparing several fragments of their poetry showing similarities in the texts demonstrates that Balassi played a role in fashioning Wathay's self as a poet.

One of the most evident manifestations of the similarities is present in the emblematic poems of Wathay. The love poem written for his wife and the opening piece of Balassi's compilation[57] are both examples of the emblematic *aenigma* poem: they depict a fictitious story taking place in nature (with a highly vivid and detailed description of the scene) that has an allegorical, secret meaning that only an initiated person would understand.[58] The person addressed is obvious in the case of both poems: Wathay's poem is dedicated to his wife, Balassi's to Iulia, his lover.[59]

> Kéri, fejtse meg okosságában,
> Írja válaszát egy kis cédulában.[60] (Wathay XXVI/16)

[56] He used several of Balassi's poems as indications of melodies for his own songs: e.g., the melody of the sixth poem of Wathay is the *Ó, én kegyelmes Istenem*... ("Oh, my gracious God") of Balassi.
[57] The exact order and arrangement of poems in Balassi's book, however, is still debated by scholars in the field, but the first poem's place seems to be undisputed.
[58] The source of the Balassi poems quoted: Online Critical Edition of the Complete Works of Bálint Balassi, http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/~balassi/versek.html, last accessed: 13/03/05.
[59] The name Iulia is of neohumanist origin in the poetry of Balassi. The figure of the beloved woman and the history of their love is the main organizing power. For the love poetry of Balassi see Tünde Tóth, "Balassi és a neolatin szerelmi költészet" (Balassi and Neoplatonist Love Poetry) (PhD dissertation), http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/bbom/itanulm.htm, last accessed: 05/06/02.
[60] I ask you to unravel this wisely, / and write your answer in a small card.

Jelentem versben mesémet,
De elrejtem értelmemet;
Kérem édes szeretőmet,
Fejtse meg nekem ezeket.[61] (Balassi I, 1)

Although the motif of the nightingale was widespread in contemporary literature, the overlapping of the figure of this bird in the two poems attracts attention. The figure of the nightingale is in opposition with the speaking self in both texts. The bird represents freedom and happiness in contrast to the speaking self's position: in Balassi's poem the chains of love, in Wathay's case physical chains and bars, are contrasted with the posture of the bird. Wathay's poem is also a love poem, speaking of his beloved wife's absence.[62] A further similarity of the poems is that the rhyme structure of both is the same; they are both written in the form of a Balassi stanza.

Áldott filemile, ily nagy énekelve hogyhogy jutál most ide?
Holott, lám, hazámban, harmad Szent György hóban valál,
s mi hoza ide?
S ott szólván kertemben, rózsaágak közben, ki az, ki külde ide?[63] (Wathay XVI/1)

Te, szép fülemüle, zöld ágak közébe mondod el énekedet,
De viszont az ellen az én veszett fejem mond keserves verseket,
Kiket bánatjában, szerelem lángjában szép Juliáról szerzett.[64] (Balassi XLIII, 1)

Further evidence shows that Wathay followed Balassi as an ideal poet. If one traces the thematic and psychological structure of the volume, a lyrical biography is hidden in the order and arrangement of the poems. An example of a lyrical autobiography predating Wathay's *Song Book* in Hungarian literature can be found

[61] I write my tale in a poem, / but I hide the meaning; / I ask my dear love, / to unravel these for me.
[62] According to Pál Ács, this poem is a failed attempt at imitation, as Wathay "does not find the right allegory for *inventio*"("...nem talál az inventióhoz illő allegóriát.") – Pál Ács quoted by Szilasi, "Mediocris Wathay."
[63] Blessed nightingale, how did you get here with your great song, / but you were in my motherland in the month of St. George, / you were in my garden, among the rose branches, who sent you here?
[64] Beautiful nightingale, among the green branches you sing your song, / but my lost self is singing desperate ones, / that he wrote in his sorrow, in the flames of love about Julia.

in the works of Bálint Balassi.[65] In the framework of the connections between the poetry of Wathay and Balassi, it would not be misleading to assume a relationship between the two authors in this respect as well.

Biblical figures who emerge in the *Song Book* might also have influenced the process of Wathay's self-fashioning. They are mainly figures of the Old Testament, the mention of whom is clearly influenced by Protestant literature.[66] The Prophet Jonah is the figure that appears most often in Wathay's poems. He was particularly close to the speaking self, as he was also in a kind of captivity. Wathay reflects upon him in several poems: "Isten, ez cethallal okádtass ki, kérlek"[67] (IX/12). In another song, he mentions Jonah together with Joseph:

> Az József kútban és mind tömlöcben, lám, tartatott vala,
> Jónást is cethal, tengör fenekén el- benyelte vala.[68]
> (XVIII/24)

Self-fashioning in the Composition: Text and Image Relations

Several examples of the overlap of textual and pictorial depictions appear in the *Song Book*. Examining the relationship of text and images gives a more abstract and complete reading of the volume as a unified composition. The most obvious connection between the images and the texts of the *Song Book* is that every illustration matches one of the texts. Wathay refers to making the images in only one place in the volume—the preface.[69] In other texts that refer to the *Song Book*[70]

[65] Some scholars claim that Balassi's model in creating his compilation of poems might have been Petrarch. On the extensive literature on the textological traditions and the composition of Balassi, see Iván Horváth, "Az eszményítő Balassi-kiadások ellen," in *Magyarok Bábelben* (Hungarians in Babel) (Szeged: JATEPress, 2000), 175–197; Iván Horváth, *Balassi költészete történeti poétikai megközelítésben* (Balassi's poetry from a historical poetic approach) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982).

[66] Tibor Klaniczay, ed., *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* (History of Hungarian literature to 1600) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1964), 343.

[67] "Please God, make this whale disgorge me."

[68] Joseph was kept in a well, later in the prison, / Jonah was swallowed by a whale at the bottom of the sea.

[69] "… ily írásimmal [és] egyéb képeknek pepecselésével "[I deal with] my writings and pottering about other pictures," 5a.

[70] "ÉNEKES KÖNYV, MELYET ÉN, WATHAY FERENC … magamtúl szerzett énekekvel, magam tulajdon kezével írtam." "*Song Book*, that I, Ferenc Wathay … wrote with my own hands, with songs that all wrote myself" 3a.

he does not mention the pictures and their sketching. The reason for this might be that the word "writing" also meant "drawing" in this era.[71]

There are three types of illustrations in the volume: decorative, narrative, and emblematic.[72] Decorative pictures include initials, flowers or other decorative depictions, but they do not play an important part in the fashioning of the self in the volume, unlike the two other types of illustrations. The narrative illustrations are important tools in depicting the life of the speaking self in prison. The viewpoint of these pictures coincides with that of the intended audience's; he gives a picture of himself as if seen from the outside.

The narrative images illustrate events that are also described in text. The image where Wathay is tortured in Temesvár (Timişoara) (*Fig. 1*) belongs to this group, as well as that where his capturers take him to Istanbul (*Fig. 2*). The arrangement of these images in the volume attracts attention, as they are put in order in a manner that dovetails with the description of the events of Wathay's life. The images correspond to the events described in the autobiography to such an extent that, for instance, the illustration of Belgrade[73] shows the view of the city exactly from the angle that Wathay describes in the text of the autobiography. He writes that he went up a hill in the southern part of the town, "in order to contemplate the affairs of the country."[74]

Altogether ten images depict scenes from the autobiography;[75] all of them are inserted in chronological order in the volume among the poems, not corresponding to the poems that surround them. The narrative images create a

[71] E.g., Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör, a miniaturist from the second half of the sixteenth century, also refers to his activity as writing: "Ez[en] könyv irattatott Konstantinápolyban, az kapitány Ali basa portáján, szigetvári Csöbör Balázsnak keze által, ezerötszázhetven," (This book was written in Contantinople, in the court of Ali bey, by the hand of Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör, 1570) *Szigetvári Csöbör Balázs török miniatúrái, 1570* (The Turkish miniatures of Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör), ed. Ferenc Szakály, front page. (Budapest: Európa, 1983).

[72] Borbála Gulyás, "Wathay Ferenc 'Emblémáskönyve?' Megjegyzések az énekeskönyv emblematikus ábrázolásaihoz" (Francis Wathay's 'Emblem Book'?), in *Balassi Bálint és a reneszánsz kultúra – Fiatal kutatók Balassi-konferenciája Budapest, 2004. november 8–9* (Bálint Balassi and Renaissance culture – Conference of young Balassi-scholars, Budapest, 8 November 2004), ed. Gábor Kiss Farkas, (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2004), 60–70, here: 64.

[73] 23b–24a.

[74] "hogy ott eszemben vegyem az ország állapatját," 127b–128a.

[75] The castle of the Wathay family (7b); the siege of Fehérvár (9a); the view of Belgrade (23b–24a); his escape attempt from Belgrade (27a); his re-capture near Belgrade (27b); the view of Temesvár (30b–31a); his torture in Temesvár (31b); Wathay is taken to Fellak (Feleac, Romania) (33b); he is taken in a wagon with other captives (35b); the view of Istanbul (37b).

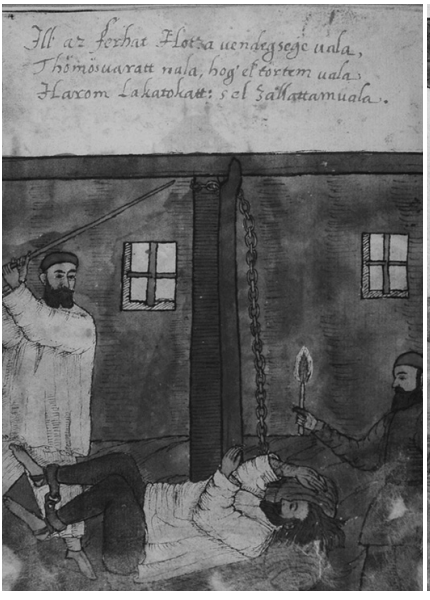

Fig. 1. The torture of Wathay by hoca Ferhát. MTAK K 62, fol. 31b.[76] *(Reprinted by permission)*

Fig. 2. Captives are taken with coach by Ottomans. MTAK K 62, fol. 33b. (Reprinted by permission)

pictorial autobiographical layer in the volume that dominates the arrangement of the poems. This is the main evidence that the whole volume can and should be regarded as a lyrical autobiography. Another piece of evidence for this, moreover a powerful organizing and unity-creating feature of the volume, is that these autobiographical illustrations have captions in verse. These small poems predict and at the same time paraphrase the text of the autobiography. For example, on the image where he is taken to Istanbul (*Fig. 2*) the inscription says:

Illy frissen hattvanon, tíz kocsikval rabok
Viteténk el alá, nyakonkon nagy vasok,
Egy holnopra Császár házát s tengert látok.[77]

[76] Source of all figures: Online critical edition of the works of Ferenc Wathay. http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/wathay/, last accessed: 23/05/07.

[77] The sixty of us, with ten coaches, / With great irons around our necks, / were taken to see in a month's time the sea and the house of the Emperor. 131a.

The other type of image that illustrates Wathay's work is closer to an actual self-portrait.[78] The images that depict Wathay can be interpreted as transitional pictures between the narrative and emblematic types.[79] In one of two pictures (*Fig. 3*) Wathay is looking out the window of the prison, gazing at a rabbit. This scene can be interpreted as the framework of circumstances of the poem, a kind of pictorial colophon, but the presence of the animal offers an emblematic reading of the poem: traditionally the rabbit is the symbol of loneliness.[80]

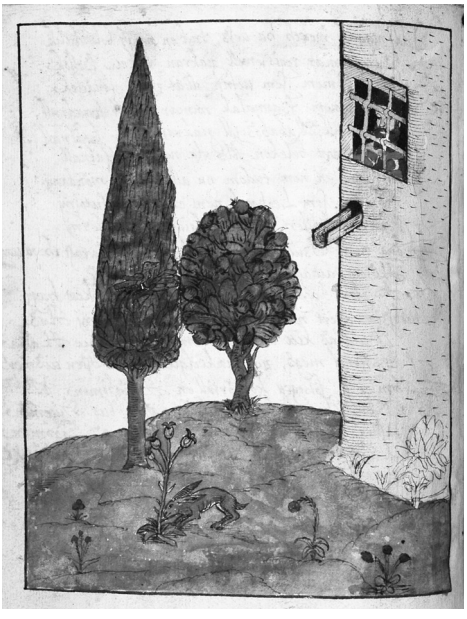

Fig. 3. Wathay is looking out from the prison. MTAK K 62, fol. 74b. (Reprinted by permission)

Fig. 4. Wathay crying in his cell. MTAK K 62, fol. 83b. (Reprinted by permission)

These images are connected to poems that do not tell a narrative story, but describe the situation of the imprisoned author, as, for example, the image that depicts him crying desperately. The self-portraits, like the parts of the

[78] There are two self-portraits in the volume: one depicting him behind the bars of his cell (74b, Fig. 3), and one of him crying in his cell (83b, Fig. 4).
[79] Borbála Gulyás, "Kép és szöveg viszonya Wathay Ferenc Énekeskönyvében" (Relationship of text and image in the *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay), (MA Thesis, ELTE, Budapest, 2002), 36.
[80] Cesare Ripa, referred to by Gulyás, 2002, Ibid.

autobiography and the poems cited above, also operate with strong emotions, especially the one that depicts Wathay crying in his cell (*Fig. 4*). This picture corresponds to the detailed illustration of his miserable position in the poems. As this example shows, the pictures become a tool in giving a more reliable and suggestive picture of his life, thus, they make the lyrical autobiography a whole. To this group belongs also the coat of arms of the Wathay family (see the title page of the *Annual*), which is a traditional sign for presenting social status.

The Relationship of the Author and his Intended Audience

The final question of this paper regarding Wathay's self-fashioning and its manifestations concerns the manner in which he behaves as a writer and his relationship to his audience. Wathay intentionally produced the *Song Book* for an audience. This is confirmed by the existence of a preface[81] that is addressed to a reader. Regarding his motivations for writing, he tells the reader that he found inner peace by praying, contemplating, and writing:

> És hogy az én Istenömnek én is reám bocsátatott erős próbáját ellene való zúgolódás nélkül elszenvedhessem, … ez ily írasimmal, egyéb képeknek pepecselésével, az én szívemnek bánatját könnyebbétsem, és vele az időt [töltvén] múlassam.[82]

This statement gives evidence of the self-creating power of the text, i.e., the *Song Book* itself. Furthermore, it connects Wathay to the confessional tradition of life writing created by Augustine, in his *Confessiones*. Wathay introduces his connection to this tradition in the preface, expressing his relationship to Augustine explicitly: "az Szent Ágostonnal azt mondom én is, hogy az én Istenömet itt találtam meg."[83] Although a direct influence of Augustine's autobiographical text, the *Confessiones*, on the autobiography of Wathay cannot be proven perfectly, this statement in the preface is evidence that Wathay took the literary figure of Augustine into consideration as a model to follow.

[81] "Az olvasó barátinak köszönetit ajánlja" ("Offers his gratitude to the reader"), 4a.
[82] "And in order to bear the trial of God without complaining against Him, ... with this writing and with tinkering of other pictures, I would shorten the sorrows of my heart and take my time." 5a.
[83] "I state, together with St. Augustine, that I found my God here." Ibid. On the contemporary Protestant practice of confession see Klára Erdei, "Modellfejlődés Ecsedi Báthori István prózájában" (Model developing in the prose of István Ecsedi Báthori), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 86 (1982): 620–626.

Wathay's *ars poetica*, which he also expresses in the preface, is focused on his readership as well:

> Bízott barátom annakokáért olvasó, ne véld, hogy én is ez könyvben lévő énekeket, néhány históriákat azvégre egyben szerezgettem és írogattam, hogy én azokból valami ez világi dicsőségre való hírt, avagy nevet keresnék …[84]

In this passage the narrator speaks directly to the reader. This was not unknown in contemporary literature, as most published books also contain a preface, often accompanied by a dedication.[85] What is different in Wathay's case is his position; he writes his texts in prison and he has no idea of his own subsequent fate or that of his volume. He is aware of his peculiar situation and he uses it as the primary rhetorical tool for positioning himself, as, for instance, he does at the end of the preface[86] and in the colophons of several poems, and also in images. Moreover, he even uses the colophon to give an ironic coloring to his position: he finishes his song about the springtime this way:

> Tenger mellett, egy árnyékszéken szerzé,
> Hogy madarakat az ablakrúl nézé.[87] (XXV/27)

Another manifestation of the writer's consciousness is that after lauding the defenders of the town at the end of this historical song about the siege of Fehérvár, he encourages his audience to act:

> Aztot de inkább ti cselekedjétek,
> Jó vitézeket hozzátok gyűjtsétek,
> Szegény rabokat megszabadétsátok[88] (III/141)

This behavior by the author ensures that the relation between the poet and his readers will be alive and active, and, furthermore, strengthen the autobiographical

[84] "My trusted friend, reader, do not think that I composed and wrote the songs and stories of this book in order to earn some earthly honour or fame..." Ibid.
[85] Many dedications from this period used references to fame and reputation. See Iván Sándor Kovács, "Dedikáció: szentelés, áldozás, ajánlás, dedikálás" (Dedication: Consecration, sacrifice, offering, dedication), *Irodalomismeret* 11, No. 1–2. (2001): 72–73.
[86] "Írtam az … Fekete toronyban való nyomorult rabságomban, böjtelő hóban, 1605. esztendőben. Kegyelmednek barátja, szegény rab Wathay Ferenc mp. "I wrote this … in the miserable captivity of mine in the Black Tower, in the month of Fast of 1605. The friend of yours, poor captive Ferenc Wathay with my own hands" 5b.
[87] He wrote this near the sea, sitting on the privy, / while he was looking at the birds from the window.
[88] Rather you do this, / Collect all the good soldiers to yourself, / release all the poor captives.

pact as it refers to reality. The voice of the writer being personal and firm about behavior that is necessary on the part of the audience determines not only the understanding of the poem, but at the same time it is meant to influence the social attitude towards people in captivity of the Ottomans.

Texts that refer to the author himself also exemplify this kind of utterance. A special example of this is the case of the song of Fehérvár, where he sends the reader to a certain strophe of the poem for further information about the author. This behavior presupposes an active reader, who is willing and able to operate with intertextual reading skills.

Similarly to the preface, Ferenc Wathay expresses explicitly that he took the audience into consideration in the autobiography of the *Song Book*.[89] His relationship to the reader frames the entire composition of the volume. If one wishes to map the features of this relationship one has to investigate the intentions of the author, the possible readings the text offers and the reader's horizon of expectations. Wathay states in the volume that he wrote it "for remembrance and to pass time."[90] This statement, on the one hand, refers to the posture of a captive in prison, while on the other, it verifies the general theory that in autobiographical texts memory itself is the creator of identity; the self of the author is organized, formed and communicated to the audience by means of memory.[91]

To investigate the other side of the question, it is clear that autobiography demands a special way of reading. If the reader accepts this sameness of the author, narrator, and the main hero of the text, the autobiographical pact comes into existence, which is expressed explicitly at some point in the text. Wathay gives this statement in the title of his autobiography: "Here follows the story of the life of my grandfather Ferenc Wathay, my father, and myself..."[92]

Probably one of the most substantial questions of the relationship between Wathay and his audience is the supposed readership of the *Song Book*. For whom did he write his volume? In fact, it is known from the history of the volume that

[89] "... azki olvassa megértheti az én Istenömnek az 1600. esztendőtül fogván való erős csapásit és próbáit rajtam...." "Those who read may understand the trials and acts of God on me from the year 1600..." 131b.
[90] "...írtam emlékezetért és időtelésért..." 131b.
[91] Discussing of the significance of memory, Paul Ricoeur claims that the text constitutes a narrative identity, in Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3 vols., tr. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984–1988). This interpretation supports the idea of Greenblatt that self-fashioning, its framework, and the relationship to power exist in the language.
[92] "Következik az én jobb atyám Wathay Ferencnek, az atyám és magam életeknek, minden állapotjukról históriaképpen való megírása..." 107a.

Wathay's real audience was narrow, as his *Song Book* did not spread, but was kept in the archives of his relatives, thus, there is no evidence that a wider, contemporary audience knew the *Song Book*. Therefore, it seems more relevant to wonder about Wathay's intended audience: the readership that Wathay counted on in his volume and the audience which might have read it if it had spread.

The situation is complicated when one tries to draw a picture of the possible audience that would have read the *Song Book*. Concrete hints in the era regarding the readership of literary works can be found in dedications and in author's prefaces, similarly to Wathay's book. According to the most general tradition, authors dedicated their works to a patron, a nobleman, but perhaps also to a successful soldier or the widow of a nobleman, or more generally, to "all the good readers."[93] By the end of the sixteenth century, the quantity of published works in Hungarian had grown significantly,[94] together with the number of secular works. This increase reflected the growth of a non-professional, lay readership, and the increase of literacy as well. Among popular works, the increase of literary texts was significant. After 1600, however, this flourishing of literature came to a sudden halt, and the spread of literary works started to decline,[95] as a narrower layer of nobility became the intended audience of authors instead of a more widely spread group of readers.

Using the verb "read" is not self-evident here, as the form of reception of literature was not that obvious in that era. This was the time when, with the spread of print, oral literature started to become written literature. The characteristics of both can be seen in the *Song Book*; it has indications of melody, but the composition of the volume, together with the images, shows that this book was written for individual reading. Without looking at the pictures, the concept of the volume cannot be understood. This supports the interpretation that the *Song Book* was composed not for reading aloud, but for silent reading. Accepting this, one has to suppose that there was a layer of readers who would correspond to this expectation of Wathay. This layer would consist of readers who had the same level of literacy as the author, and according to the intentions the author enumerated

[93] Katalin Péter refers to the dedications of contemporary works, such as the dedication of a Hungarian New Testament of Gáspár Heltai to Anna Nádasdy, the widow of István Majláth (1561) and others, in Katalin Péter, "Romlás és szellemi műveltség állapotaiban a 17. század fordulóján," (In conditions of destruction and literacy at the turn of the sixteenth century) *Történelmi Szemle* 27, No. 1–2 (1984): 86. On the level of literacy of contemporary Central Europe, see István György Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest – Central European University Press, 2000).
[94] The number of published works doubled between 1571 and 1600. Ibid., 88.
[95] Ibid., 89–94.

regarding his readership, was socially conscious and able to understand and carry out the actions that the speaking self proposed.

Conclusion

I have presented here a case study based on the theoretical and methodological framework offered by the school of New Historicism. During the analysis of the process of Ferenc Wathay's self-fashioning I have showed that the speaking self of the *Song Book* introduced and fashioned himself in different public and private roles, but particularly as a poet. Wathay reflected on the process of writing, and consciously composed the *Song Book* as a whole.

Wathay presented and reflected his self in the role of a believer, a soldier, a husband, a captive, and above all, as a poet. He also presented, explicitly or implicitly, the ideals that played a role in the shaping of his self: his grandfather as a husband, Miklós Zrínyi as a soldier, Augustine as a believer and writer, and Bálint Balassi as a poet. The selection of these figures was determined by the social and cultural framework of the era, but Wathay used them to create grounding for expressing his own identity. His "tools" of self-fashioning were poems, patterns of autobiography writing, and personally depicted images. He also counted on an active and appreciative readership for his book.

In the end, the *Song Book* became a manifestation of this process, the result and memento of his self-fashioning. Thus, the *Song Book* is a unique source for the cultural history of early modern Hungary, as it gives an account of the nature of the literary practices of an emerging lay intellectual layer.

ALLEGORIZING LOVE IN TWELFTH-CENTURY SICILY

PHILAGATHOS OF CERAMI, HELIODORUS' *AETHIOPICA*, AND THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION[1]

Mircea Grațian Duluș

Philagathos' Allegorical Exegesis, Sicily, and the Byzantine Tradition

Under the title "An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia through the voice of Philip the Philosopher" (Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἑρμήνευμα τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου),[2] Codex Marcianus graecus 410 preserves an allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* together with the novel. Elpidio Mioni dated the manuscript to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, concluding that it was produced in a Calabrian *scriptorium*.[3]

The previous scholarly literature which has addressed the issue of the authorship of the *Interpretation* has generally accepted the idea that the author was a Christian but the extent to which his religious identity is reflected in the text

[1] This article is based on my thesis, "Allegorizing Love in the Twelfth Century: Philagathos of Cerami and the Allegorical Exegesis of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," Central European University (Budapest, 2007). I especially wish to thank Dr. Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar and Dr. Niels Gaul, who generously gave their time and energy and made many helpful suggestions for this article.

[2] Hereafter I will refer to the allegorical exegesis of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* as the *Interpretation*; the text was edited as *Commentatio in Charicleam* in Heliodori *Aethiopica*, ed. Aristide Colonna (Rome: Typis Regae officinae polygraphicae, 1938), 372–378 (hereafter: Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*). I will also refer to the first critical edition of this text by Rudolph Hercher, "*Fragmentum Marcianum*," *Hermes* 3 (1869): 382–388; an English translation of Hercher's text is available in Richard Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 306–311 (hereafter: Lamberton, *Homer*); this translation is sometimes seriously distorted because it is based on the improbable attribution of the text to an anonymous late antique Neoplatonist; it should, therefore, be used with great caution. In what follows, all translations of ancient sources are mine unless noted otherwise.

[3] Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti*, vol. 2, *Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300–625* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1985), 166–167.

remains a matter of debate.[4] Therefore, this article will try to assess this point. The underlying postulate of this study follows the well-established hypothesis that the *Interpretation* was the work of Philippos-Philagathos of Cerami, a Basilian monk from twelfth-century Sicily,[5] who is otherwise known as the author of a substantial collection of 96 homilies for Sunday readings and the feasts of the liturgical year. Thus, this article will address the Christian elements in the *Interpretation* looking when necessary to support the argumentation for analogies in Philagathos' critically edited *Homilies*.[6]

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[4] Carolina Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla storia della cultura bizantina in età normanna," *Siculorum Gymnasium* n.s. 31, No. 1 (1978): 16–20 (hereafter: Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami"). Leonardo Tarán, "The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," in *Chercheurs de sagesse. Hommage à Jean Pépin*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé et al. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992), 205, 229 (hereafter: Tarán, "The Authorship"); Bruno Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 28 (1974): 766–67 (hereafter: Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato").

[5] The hypothesis that the *Interpretation* was the work of a Christian monk living in twelfth-century Sicily was argued for the first time by Aristide Colonna, "Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo," *Bolletino del Comitato per l'edizione nazionale dei classici* n.s. 8 (1960): 25–28, and futher advocated by Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 3–12 and Carolina Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami," 1–27, and accepted by Guglielmo Cavallo, "L'età normanna. Vicende di libri e di testi fra Palermo e Bisanzio," *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Vera von Falkenhausen, Marcello Gigante (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1982), 579, and P. Canart, "Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux," *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978): 135–137, and N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1983), 216–217. Although it seemed that the hypothesis of Colonna and Lavagnini had settled the debate once and for all, their arguments were called into question by Leonardo Tarán in two studies, the last one published in 1992, Tarán, *Academica: Plato, Philip of Opus, and the Pseudo-Platonic Epinomis* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975),115; idem, "The Authorship," 203–230, and by Acconcio Longo, "Filipo il Filosofo a Constantinopoli," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 28 (1991): 3–21. In my MA thesis I tackled the problem of the autorship of the *Interpretation* through a thorough analysis of the *Interpretation* from the perspective of Philagathos' *Homilies*, which proved beyond doubt that the *Interpretation* was indeed the work of Philagathos of Cerami.

[6] For critical editions of the *Homilies*, see Filagato da Cerami, *Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno*, ed. Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi, vol. 1, *Omelie per le feste fisse* (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 1969); Gaia Zaccagni, "Dieci omelie di Filagato da Cerami (per il periodo prequaresimale e per l'inizio della Quaresima)," PhD Dissertation, Università di Torino, 1999 (hereafter: Zaccagni, "Dieci omelie"); Francescus Scorsus, *Sapientissimi et eloquentissimi Theophanis Ceramei Archiepiscopi Tauromenitani homiliae in evangelia dominicalia et festa totius anni* (Paris, 1644; repr. in *PG* vol. 132, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1864), coll. 136–1042). Stefano Caruso has published another three

Before embarking on a discussion of how the Christian tradition is reflected in the *Interpretation*, it is necessary to refer to the intellectual context in which Philagathos worked and lived.[7] His exegesis must be placed within the context of the unprecedented revival of allegorical interpretation of ancient Greek literature in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium, as exemplified by the works of Michael Psellos (1018–after 1078), John Tzetzes (ca.1110–after 1180) and Eustathios of Thessalonike (ca.1110–1198).[8] Moreover, as Cesaretti has pointed out, the resurgence of allegorical interpretation should be considered the result of new interest in Neoplatonic philosophy.[9] At the same time, a correspondence must be deduced between the blossoming of allegorical interpretation of secular literature and the rediscovery of the genre of the novel in Komnenian Byzantium,[10] which peaked in the writings composed around the middle years of the twelfth century by Theodore Prodromos (ca.1100–ca.1170), Eustathios Makrembolites (second half of the twelfth century); Niketas Eugenianos (twelfth century), and Constantine Manasses (ca. 1130–ca. 1187).[11]

In searching for an answer that would account for the emergence of allegorical practice in twelfth-century Sicily, one has to consider the court of Roger II and his cultural and artistic patronage, which bolstered the blossoming of Byzantine culture in the context of an overall institutional, economic, and monastic revival that was underway in Southern Italy in the twelfth century.[12] When trying to explain this simultaneous development in Constantinople and Norman Sicily, one cannot help recalling the intensive contacts between Constantinople, the Holy Mountain, and Sicily existing at the beginning of the twelfth century,

homilies, "Le tre omelie inedite 'Per la Domenica delle Palme' di Filagato da Cerami," *Epeteris Hetaireias Buzantinon Spoudon* 41 (1974): 109–27. A significant number of homilies (48) still remain unedited.

[7] For the position of Philagathos within the political context of the time see Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami," 4, where she claims that Philagathos was the official preacher at the court of the Norman kings.

[8] Paolo Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio. Ricerche ermeneutiche XI–XII secolo* (Milan: Edizioni Angelo Guerini, 1991); Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Washington DC: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 2005), 130.

[9] Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 22.

[10] Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 138.

[11] The titles are: Theodore Prodromos, *Rhodante and Dosikels*; Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*; Niketas Eugenianos, *Drosilla and Charikles*; and Constantine Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*.

[12] Guglielmo Cavallo, "La trasmissione scritta della cultura greca antica in Calabria e in Sicilia tra i secoli X–XV. Consistenza, tipologia, fruizione," *Scrittura e civiltà* 4 (1980): 157–245.

personified, for example, in the figure of Bartolomew of Simeri.[13] He traveled to Constantinople sometime between 1110 and 1118 and enlisted the prestigious patronage of none other than Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), who donated books, icons and other precious objects to the monastery of the Mother of God the "New Hodegetria" at Rossano in Calabria. The same Bartholomew of Simeri was recognized as a saint after his death during Roger II's lifetime, and the *Life* that promoted his cult is likely to have been written by Philagathos of Cerami. Minisci has cogently argued that Bartholomew of Simeri, through his contacts with Constantinople and the Holy Mountain, decisively introduced the Stoudite cenobitic reform to Italo-Greek monasticism, completed with the establishment of the Monastery of the Holy Savior in Messina as an archimandritate by Roger II in 1133.[14] Philagathos, who was closely asociated with this monastery, could have read there the profane authors to whom he refers assiduously even in his *Homilies*, since the *typikon* of the monastery testifies to the presence of profane authors in its library.[15] When one considers the place of Philagathos in Roger II's court society, one scholar even calling him a "predicatore ufficiale alla corte dei re normanni,"[16] one ought not be surprised when one finds him producing an allegorical exegesis on an erotic novel which would suit the taste of the Byzantine Italian elite in Sicily as it would have done in Constantinople. It can be inferred that this was indeed the case from Guglielmo Cavallo's study, "L'età normanna. Vicende di libri e di testi fra Palermo e Bisanzio," where he notes the peculiar taste of the Italian Byzantine elite, for this entertaining literature and in particular for Heliodorus' novel. as it can be gauged from the manuscipt production, [17]

[13] Mario Re, "Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Constantinopoli," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 34 (1997): 71–75.

[14] T. Minisci, "Riflessi studitani nel monachesimo italo-greco," in *Il monachesimo orientale. Atti del Convegno di studi orientali sotto la direzione del Pontificio Istituto Orientale* (Rome, 1958), 218–20; See also Vera von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio e politica patrimoniale dei monasteri greci nella Sicilia normanno-sveva," in *Basilio di Caesarea. La sua età, la sua opera e il basilianesimo in Sicilia.* Atti del congresso internazionale Messina 3–6 XII 1979. (Messina, 1983), 782–86.

[15] Timothy Miller, "Luke of Messina: Typikon of Luke for the Monastery of Christ Savior (San Salvatore) in Messina," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundations: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders Typica and Testaments*, ed. John Tomas and A. Constantiniades Hero with the assistance of Giles Constable, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 54 (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 637–48.

[16] Cupane, "Filagato da Cerami, " 4.

[17] Guglielmo Cavallo, "L'età normanna. Vicende di libri e di testi fra Palermo e Bisanzio," in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, et al. (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1982), 577.

Among earlier Byzantine readers Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* appealed to Photios[18] (ca. 820–893) and Psellos, who tried to put forward an apology for Heliodorus' novel which was regarded by some critics as dangerous for the youth; their insight is concerned with grammatical and rhetorical features of the novel, recording what a Byzantine rhetor can find useful in these texts.[19]

The special interest of the *Interpretation* lies in the fact that this is the only systematic allegorical exegesis of a non-epic profane ancient text written up to that time. Philagathos, like many others before him such as Gregory of Nyssa or Origen, deemed that the danger was not posed by the text in itself, but by the manner of reading it that depended on the readers' moral predisposition. If one is not deceived by earthly passions, one is bound to unveil the true meaning of the work one reads. Philagathos' use of allegorical interpretation for a profane text can be explained by the fact that this method was enshrined in a long tradition, which "had so transformed the meaning of certain Homeric episodes that they had become available as images charged with inherent spiritual meaning."[20] Thus, in order to express the fact that an erotic novel was, after all, apt to convey a moral teaching, the author of the *Interpretation* compared Heliodorus' book with Circe's brew (Κιρκαίῳ κυκεῶνι ὡμοίωται), which turned base men into pigs, but made initiates out of those who read it in a philosophical manner, leading them towards higher realities (μυσταγωγοῦσα τὰ ὑψηλότερα).[21] In his homily on the prodigal son, Philagathos made use of the same image of Circe's brew when explaining how men can be turned into pigs by indulging themselves in pleasure. Although not stated explicitly, as in the *Interpretation*, the subtext of such a description is clear: Circe's potion can also be put to good use by those with superior understanding. When consumed properly and with measure, even intoxicating drinks (i.e., erotic contents) may serve better purposes (i.e., attaining a philosophical lifestyle).

[18] *Photius. Bibliothèque*, ed. René Henry (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1991), 73.

[19] H. Gärtner, "Charikleia in Byzanz," *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969): 47–69; Andrew Dyck, "Psellus' Essay and the Byzantine Reception of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius," in *Michael Psellus. The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, ed. Andrew Dyck (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 81–85.

[20] Lamberton, *Homer*, 153.

[21] See Cesaretti, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, 63, for the allegory of Circe's episode in Psellos, which recalls Philagathos' use of a similar interpretation of this myth, considered able to unveil the secrets of philosophy.

Ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, ὦ φίλοι, **Κιρκαίῳ κυκεῶνι ὡμοίωται**, τοὺς μὲν βεβήλως μεταλαμβάνοντας μεταμορφοῦσα πρὸς χοίρων ἀσέλγειαν, τοὺς δὲ κατ᾽ Ὀδυσσέα φιλοσοφοῦντας μυσταγωγοῦσα τὰ ὑψηλότερα.

ἡ γὰρ ἡδονή, καθάπερ **Κιρκαίῳ κρατῆρι**, τῷ ἑαυτῆς **κυκεῶνι** τῶν ἀφρόνων τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὴν χοιρώδη ζωὴν μεταμείβουσα, λάτρας ἑαυτῆς τίθησι.

This book, my friends, is very much like Circe's brew: those who take it in a profane manner it transforms into licentious pigs, but those who approach it in a philosophical way, in the manner of Odysseus, it initiates to higher things.[22]

Indeed, pleasure, as if with Circe's bowl, changes with her potion the mind of the fools to follow the lifestyle of pigs, and makes them her slaves.[23]

Keeping in the backround this intellectual context in which Philagathos lived and worked, in what follows the article addresses the biblical citations embedded in the text, the references to patristic authorities as well as the phrases, words, and ideas that undoubtedly belong to the Christian tradition. Finally, it discusses Philagathos' peculiar manner of allegorizing the number seven in the *Interpretation*, which will be compared to the exegesis of the same number in the *Homilies*. By doing this, it will be argued that the allegory of the number seven in the *Interpretation* reflects the author's Christian identity.

Biblical Citations in the *Interpretation*

An important justification for Philagathos' attempt to provide an allegorical exegesis of an erotic novel was offered by the tradition of the mystical interpretation of the Song of Songs. As a long line of patristic authors had repeatedly stated, the two lovers in that biblical book were not to be interpreted literally as a man and a woman in love, but spiritually as Christ and the Church, or Christ and the individual

[22] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 367, 35–37; trans. Lamberton, 307.

[23] Zaccagni, "Dieci omelie," 38.7, 5–6; see Zaccagni's commentary: "I porci erano considerati dagli Ebrei animali impuri e vengono perciò utilizzati come metafora del τῆς ἀκολασίας πάθος. Ma ecco che Filagato si abbandona ad una similitudine che si rifà all'omerico incantesimo della maga Circe: secondo l'uso risalente agli albori del Cristianesimo, i miti antichi erano riutilizati in veste di metafore cristiane" (ibid., 100). The text of this passage in *PG* is slightly different: see Scorsus, *De filio prodigo*, *Hom.* 17, col. 384B: ἡ γὰρ ἡδονή, καθάπερ Κιρκαίῳ κρατῆρι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυκεῶνα κεράσασα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων νοῦν πρὸς τὴν χοιρώδη ζωὴν μεταμείβουσα, λάτρας ἑαυτῆς τίθησι.

soul.[24] None of the biblical texts susceptible to being interpreted allegorically lent themselves to a mystical interpretation so well as the Song of Songs. There was no better justification for someone who, like the author of the *Interpretation*, attempted to read an erotic novel in a spiritual manner than the mystical tradition of interpretation developed around the Song of Songs. It thus offered Philagathos the perfect justification to apply an ascetic (i.e., "philosophical," in his own terminology) and Christian reading to a dubious text. Significantly, the same quotation from the Song of Songs which Philagathos invoked in the *Interpretation* appears in an unambiguously Christian context in one of his *Homilies*; the lexical and structural parallelism between the two texts is striking.

οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου ἔρωτος γηραιαὶ ψυχαὶ ἢ νηπιώδεις αἰσθάνονται, ἀλλ' αἱ νεάζουσαι καὶ ἀκμάζουσαι, εἴ τι δεῖ **τῷ μυστικῷ** πείθεσθαι **ᾄσματι** λέγοντι, "**διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε**"[25] ὡς μόνης τῆς τοιαύτης ἡλικίας χωρούσης τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ὀϊστεύματα.[26]

Neither gray old souls nor infant souls experience this divine love, but only those souls in their youth and in the prime of life, if we can put our faith in the mystical song that goes, "Therefore do the virgins love thee"[27] since this is the only age of man that has room for the arrows of love.

Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τὴν τελειωτικὴν διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου παρέχων ζωὴν τῆς τελείας ἐφάπτεται ψυχῆς, ζωὴν νοερὰν αὐτῇ παρεχόμενος, ἥτις, διαβᾶσα τὴν νηπιώδη κατάστασιν καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμάσασα, οὐκ ἐπαλαιώθη τῇ ῥυτίδι τῆς ἁμαρτίας καταγηράσασα. Καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγον **τὸ ᾆσμα τὸ Σολομώντειον· "Διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε."**

But Christ, by offering a perfect way of life through the Gospel, reaches out to the perfect soul, offering rational life to it, which, after surpassing the state of infancy and flourishing at the spiritual time of life, will not fade, made old by the wrinkles of sin. And this is what the Song of Solomon alludes to when it says: "Therefore do the virgins love thee."[28]

[24] On the Commentary on the Song of Songs by Gregory of Nyssa, see Verna Harrison, "Allegory and Ascetism in Gregory of Nyssa," *Semeia* 57 (1992): 113–130; on the interpretation of the Song of Songs by Augustine and Ambrose, see F. B. A. Asiedu, "The Song of Songs and the Ascent of the Soul: Ambrose, Augustine, and the Language of Mysticism," *Vigiliae Christianae* 55, No. 3 (2001): 299–317.

[25] Song 1.3: καὶ ὀσμὴ μύρων σου ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἀρώματα μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομα σου διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησαν σε.

[26] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 366–7, 22–25.

[27] Tr. Lamberton, 307.

[28] *Hom.* 6.19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44)

This manner in which the Song of Songs is mentioned in the *Interpretation* and in Philagathos' *Homilies* deserves special attention, for it has not been noted so far in the scholarship on the problem. While the Song of Songs is referred to in the *Interpretation* as the "mystical song" (τῷ μυστικῷ ᾄσματι),[29] it should be stressed that there is no attestation for the combination between μυστικὸν and ᾆσμα in any text that belongs to the "pagan" philosopical tradition. The combination of μυστικὸν and ᾆσμα as a name for the Song of Songs is extremely rare; apart from the *Interpretation* it only appears in Philagathos' *Homilies* and in only one other instance, quite significantly, within the Christian exegetic tradition.[30] As for the *Homilies*, the Song of Songs is referred to simply as "the Song,"[31] the "Song of Solomon,"[32] the "sublime song,"[33] and, finally as just stated, "the mystical song."[34]

The second direct and unacknowledged scriptural quotation in the *Interpretation* comes from 1 Cor 3:13. The very fact that such a text is quoted and especially that the quotation is unacknowledged leads one to believe that the author of the text had in mind a Christian audience when composing it.[35]

[29] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 367, 23.
[30] See Ps.-Chrysostom, *Ascetam facetiis uti non debere*, *PG* vol. 48, col. 1058D: ὁ τὸν μυστικὸν ᾆσμα γεγραφώς. For a very similar, although not identical, expression see Olympiodorus, *Comm. in Job* (ed. U. Hagedorn and D. Hagedorn in Olympiodor Diakon von Alexandria, *Kommentar zu Hiob* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984, 357): "τὸ ᾆσμα τῶν ᾀσμάτων σωματικὰ μὲν διαλέγεται πάντα, μυστικὴ δέ ἐστι βίβλος καὶ ὅλη πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν βλέπει" ("for the Song of Songs although it speaks about everything in corporeal terms, is, however, a mystical book and entirely oriented towards allegory").
[31] *Hom.* 14.8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 95); *Hom.* 17.7 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 113); *Hom.* 23.14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 153); *Hom.* 32.3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 222).
[32] *Hom.* 6.19 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 44); *Hom.* 19.8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 127).
[33] *Hom.* 23.14 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 153): τὸ ὑψηλὸν ᾆσμα.
[34] *Hom.* 7.10 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 49); *Hom.* 39.9 (Zaccagni, "Dieci omelie," 116): καί μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν τὸ ᾆσμα τὸ μυστικὸν ἐν τῷ λέγειν 'ἑξήκοντά εἰσιν βασίλισσαι.'
[35] This biblical reference was in fact identified by modern scholars who analyzed the text; see Lamberton, *Homer*, 156; Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 764.

ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερὸν γενήσεται· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἑκάστου **τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστιν τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει**[36].

... each one's work will become clear; for the Day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire; and the fire will test each one's work, of what sort it is.[37]

ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ δορυφορουμένη πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα πορευσέται καὶ δοκιμασθήσεται μὲν τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ· ἑκάστου γὰρ **τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει**[38].

But the soul escorted will march toward her own country and be put to trial by fire – for
"the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is."[39]

Nothing could indicate better the identity of the author and the spiritual affiliation of the allegorical exegesis in the *Interpretation* than an important passage in which the author describes himself not just as a Christian but even as a monk.

But at present, we have been turned towards our philosophy both in outward appearance and in name.

νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς καθ'ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἀνθειλκύσθημεν[40]

The translation of this passage is crucial for establishing the identity of the author of the *Interpretation*.[41] Curiously enough, Tarán (mis)interprets the key words – "our philosophy" – as referring to a philosopher in the "pagan" tradition, although it is common knowledge that the word "philosophy" in a Christian context routinely refers to the monastic way of life as early as the fourth century.[42]

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[36] 1 Cor. 3:13 as in *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).
[37] Tr. *New King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[38] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 370, 129–131.
[39] Lamberton, *Homer*, 311, translates "spear in hand, the soul will advance toward her own country and be put to trial by fire."
[40] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 366, 20–21.
[41] This is why Tarán, "The Authorship," 215, contrived an explanation that would suit his theory by mistranslating the text: "All the sentence means is: 'But at present we have been drawn (sc. from our youthful education) to the form and name of the philosophy appropriate to our time of life.' "
[42] Disscusing a passage from Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 4.26, G. Rinaldi, *Christianesimi nell' antichità* (Rome: Confederazione Nazionale delle Università Popolari Italiane, 2005), 233 remarked "la designazione della fede cristiana come 'filosofia': ci troviamo in un contesto ben diverso da quello di Col. 2,8; quest'uso, inoltre, anticipa la consuetudine invalsa dal sec. IV in poi per indicare col termine 'filosofia' lo stile di vita monastico." The correct translation of this crucial text did not escape Bruno Lavagnini,

At this point I may add that "philosophy" is the very term employed to describe the highest Christian knowledge in the *Homilies*, as in the *Interpretation* it represents the ascent of Chariclea from ignorance to the highest knowledge. In the *Homilies*, the word "philosophy" is used by Philagathos to denote the Christian faith.[43] It is also worth mentioning in this context the subscript in codex *Vaticanus Barberinus graecus* 465 on fol. XXX, which gives both the baptismal and the monastic name of this author.

A book of the wisest and most educated Philippos of Cerami, who, upon embracing the divine and angelic appearance changed his name to Philagathos the Monk.

βίβλος τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου Φιλίππου τοῦ Κεραμίτου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θέιου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθέντος Φιλαγάθου μοναχοῦ.[44]

The importance of this subscript for ascribing the authorship of the *Interpretation* did not escape Lavagnini, for it proved beyond any doubt that Philippos the Philosopher was the same person who later, when he became a

"Filipo-Filagato," 765: "L'autore, pur sotto il velo della espressione classichegiante, ci fa intendere chiaramente di avere da tempo assunto l'abito e il nome del filosofo cristiano." See also G. Penco, "La vita ascetica come 'filosofia' nell'antica tradizione monastica," *Studia Monastica* 2 (1960): 79–93.

[43] *Hom.* 12.5 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 79), "pagan" philosophy is called ἡ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφία ("the philosophy from outside" as differentiated from "our philosophy," i.e., Christian philosophy); see also *Hom.* 40.3 (Zaccagni, "Dieci omelie," 144): καίτοι καὶ ἡ ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφία πάντων φησὶν ἀδικώτατον τὸ μὴ ὄντα δοκεῖν ("even the pagan philosophy says that the most unjust thing of all is [for something] to appear as it is not"); elsewhere, *Hom.* 14.8 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 95), a distinction is drawn between "true wisdom" (i.e., Christian knowledge, in Philagathos' understanding), ἡ ἀληθή σοφία, and the "Greek wisdom" ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ σοφία). In adition to this, a similar distinction appears in the *Homilies* between the Christian sage and the "pagan" philosophers; see *Hom.* 24, *PG* vol. 132, col. 501A: Λέγεται παρὰ τε τῶν θύραθεν, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σοφῶν, μικρὸς κόσμος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τὸ περιέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνέστη πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς νοερὸν, ὅ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι πιστεύομεν. "Truly was man called a small world by the sage from outside (i.e., outside Christianity) and by our sage, because he embraces in himself all the elements from which is constituted all what is seen, and because of the intellectual part of the soul which we believe to be created after the image of God." For the same distinction see *Hom.* 24, *PG* vol.132, col. 497A and *Hom.* 5.3 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 32–33).

[44] *Vaticanus Barberinus Graecus* 465; for the content and the description of the manuscript, see A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1952), vol. 3, 656; Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami. Omelie*, xxxvi.

monk, changed his name to Philagathos.[45] Lavagnini went on to argue that "il nome monastico é una rettifica del nome di battesimo, in quanto sostituisce 'all'amore dei cavalli,' suggerito dalla etimologia, l'a amore del bene."[46] Philippos may alude to this particular moment when he turned monk and changed his name in the *Interpretation* when it says:

But at present, we have been turned away towards our philosophy both in outward appearance and in name.	νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς καθ'ήμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἀνθειλκύσθημεν[47]

On the basis of what has been said above, I conclude that the author of the *Interpretation*, when writing about the philosophy "appropriate to his time of life," in fact referred to Christian monastic life.

Patristic Authorities and Christian Imagery

Thus far I have examined the biblical allusions as well as the meaning of the word "philosophy" in the *Interpretation*. The remaining Christian allusions are either hidden in the prologue[48] or contained in some words and expressions that refer to Christian imagery.

As was noted long ago, the beginning of the prologue is a deliberate imitation of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*.[49] Another part of the prologue was also identified by Tarán and Lamberton as a close reference to Plato's *Phaedrus*.[50]

Well, since the sage said, "Even graybeards play, but the games are solemn," let us play our part in the solemn mode and venture a bit beyond the meditations of the philosopher and turn to the erotic palinode.[51]	ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα σοφὸν **παίζει** καὶ πολιά, **τὰ δὲ παίγνια σεμνά**, φέρε δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς σεμνῶς τῷ πλάσματι παίζωμεν καὶ τῆς φιλοσόφου συννοίας ἐκστάντες μικρὸν πρὸς παλινῳδίαν τραπῶμεν ἐρωτικήν.[52]

[45] Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 4.
[46] Ibid., 5: in Greek Φίλιππος means "the lover of horses" and Φιλάγαθος "the lover of the Good."
[47] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 366, 20–21.
[48] Ibid., 366–367, 1–35.
[49] August Brinkmann, "Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos," *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 51 (1896): 441–445.
[50] Tarán, "The Authorship," 215; Lamberton, *Homer*, 307, n.1.
[51] Tr. Lamberton, 307.
[52] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 367, 26–29.

In fact, this reference is not only to Socrates, but even more to Basil of Caesarea:

For we have been taught to play by our wise men, but nevertheless the games are holy as beseeming for the graybeards.

παίζειν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐδιδάχθημεν, αλλ' ὅμως **τά παίγνια σεμνά** καὶ οἱονει πολιᾷ πρέποντα.[53]

Moreover, the discussion of the dramatic setting induced Colonna[54] and Lavagnini[55] to assume that "the gates of the temple" mentioned in the prologue[56] alluded to a church of the Virgin Mary. Now, considering that the whole introduction is an obvious imitation of the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, as noted above, the dramatic setting is more likely than not just a literary fiction, and thus cannot serve to identify any real place, although the possibility of this being an autobiographical reference cannot be ruled out completely. What matters for the present argumentation, however, is a fact not hitherto sufficiently stressed; the combination of Δέσποινα and Παρθένος as present in line 34 never occurred together in a text belonging to the non-Christian tradition as referring to the goddess aluded in the *Interpretation*, i.e., Artemis, while in a Christian context this is a typical form for addressing the Virgin Mary.[57]

In a far subtler manner the *Interpretation* alludes to the Jewish-Christian tradition of exegesis when it speaks of "the Egypt of ignorance," the land to be crossed by Charikleia in the company of Calasiris, the teacher who accompanies the soul on its journey of initiation.

How long will he be her fellow traveler and companion? Until she passes through the Egypt of ignorance.[58]

ἀλλὰ μέχρι πότε συνοδίτης καὶ συνοδοίπορος γενήσεται; ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ τῆς ἀγνοίας τὴν Αἴγυπτον.[59]

The Classical Graeco-Roman philosophical interpretative tradition always held Egypt in the highest esteem as the fatherland of theology according to the

[53] Ps.-Libanius, *Epistularum Basilii et Libanii quod fertur commercium*, ep. 23.1 (ed. R. Foerster, Leipzig: Teubner, 1922, repr. 1997).
[54] Colonna, "Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo," 27–8.
[55] Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 5–6.
[56] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 366, 10: τὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπύλαια; 367, 32: τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν τοῦ νέω; 367, 34: αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἱερᾶς πύλης οὐδόν.
[57] Tarán, "The Authorship," 212, noted in footnote 45 that Δέσποινα and Παρθένος were used for Artemis, but not together. He remained staunched in his interpretation, however.
[58] Tr. Lamberton, 311
[59] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 369, 116–117.

principle that says, "the most ancient is the most revered."[60] Only in the Jewish-Christian tradition was Egypt viewed scornfully since it was always a reminder of the sorrowful captivity from which the Jews had to flee in order to become worthy of receiving the revelation of the true God. In the Christian ascetic interpretation, the Israelites' exodus from Egypt was understood as the ascetic flight from the world and their longing to return there[61] as a yearning for "the fleshpots of Egypt."[62] The negative image of the "Egypt of ignorance" used in the *Interpretation* is to be connected with the Christian affiliation of in Philagathos' work.

There is also another allusion to the Christian exegetic tradition, namely the use of the verb πληρόω ("to fulfill") connected to a Hesiodic moral statement. As Lamberton has pointed out, such a use of the verb πληρόω is "abundantly attested in the New Testament but rare, or perhaps absent, in pagan literature."[63]

… the fulfillment of what Hesiod said: "He who contrives evil for another contrives evil for his own heart."[64]	καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου πληρούμενου ὃς κακὸν ἄλλῳ τεύχων ἑῷ κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει.[65]

[60] Aristotle, *Metaph.* A 983B, ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924): τιμιώτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον. In addition, one may recall Herodotus' favourite thesis that the Greeks had borrowed their most notable religious ideas, even their deities, from the Egyptians (Herodotus, 2.123) and Aristotle's claim that mathematical arts were founded in Egypt.

[61] Num. 11:5, 18.

[62] Elizabeth A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 134; Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 32.2, *PG* vol. 31, col. 996A; John Cassian, *Conlationes* 3.7, *SC* 42, 148, 146.

[63] Lamberton, *Homer*, 156.

[64] Tr. Lamberton, 309; Tarán, "The Authorship," 219, argues that "the number of references or allusions to pagan literature are surely remarkable. One must also take into account the narrator's insistence that he is a philosopher and a philosopher in the "Platonic' tradition." But Philagathos was quite familiar with the Platonic tradition. As for the allusions to pagan literature, even more remarkable is their appearance in Philagathos' *Homilies*. Lavagnini, "Filipo-Filagato," 767 noted that "l'interesse per la letteratura profana attestato dallo scritto in difesa del romanzo di Eliodoro appare confermato al lettore di omiliario. A ragione il Rossi, nella prefazione al primo volume, sottolineava nell'autore la conoscenza di scrittori profani (Omero, Esiodo, Platone, Euripide, Menandro, Teocrito, Ippocrate, Galeno)."

[65] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 368, 69–70.

Furthermore, through a fanciful etymological word play on the concept of "fear," the text of the *Interpretation* introduces the concept of "fear of God," which rather indicates once again a Christian environment.[66]

The ruby will keep her unblemished, for the "ruby" is that which "fears all" or "is afraid" and hints at the fear of god, since god is all things.[67]	ἡ παντάρβη ταύτην διατηρήσει ἀλώβητον. παντάρβη δὲ ἡ τὸ πᾶν ταρβοῦσα ἤτοι φοβουμένη ἐστίν, αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν εἰς θεὸν φόβον· θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν.[68]

Also belonging to the Christian tradition is the image of the mystical elevation of the soul "drunk with a sober drunkenness" who scorns earthly things and tends only toward her beloved, representing for the author of the *Interpretation* the longing of Chariklea for Theagenes. Clearly this image belongs to the long history of interpretation of the notion of the soul's "sober drunkenness."[69] The notion is attested first with Philo of Alexandria[70] and was frequently used in the Christian exegetical tradition to describe the Pentecostal inebriation,[71] or, in general, the

[66] Lamberton, *Homer*, 156, observes that "the concept of 'fear of God' as a protective force (387.25–27) is not a part of pagan tradition." In the Christian tradition, fear was interpreted mostly as a spiritual emotion. Basil the Great (*PG* vol. 29, col. 369C) distinguished between a good fear, which brings salvation, and a base fear of God, which was contrasted with fear of punishment. Tarán, "The Authorship," 226–27, in total disagreement with his method, omits analyzing the concept of "fear of God," and argues that the text, by saying θεὸς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν, alludes to a "characteristic 'pantheistic' doctrine that points to Neoplatonic influence and which otherwise would be hard to square with the author's Christianity." However, the "pantheistic" statement has merely a tactical place in the wordplay that Philagathos conceived around παντάρβη and θεὸς in perfect resemblace with the method he employed elsewhere. See the section on the allegorical interpretation of names.

[67] Tr. Lamberton, 311.

[68] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 370, 124–26.

[69] Tarán, "The Authorship," 224, relying on Hans Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1929), 52, connects the notion of the soul's "sober drunkenness" with Plato's notion of "divine madness." The mystical state in Plotinus is expressed seldom through a "drunkeness with nectar, " for "it is better for it [viz. the Intellect] to be drunk with a drunkeness like this than to be more respectably sober" (Plotinus, Enn. vi. 7.35).

[70] Tarán, "The Authorship," 224.

[71] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 17.19: the apostles at Pentecost were "drunk with a drunkenness without wine," μεθύουσι μέθην νηφάλιον; the image of "sober drunkenness" as "inebriation without wine" is also an image found in Philo, *De opif. mundi* 71 (ed. Cohn, 24), μέθη νηφαλίῳ. For more examples, see also Lampe, *PGL*, 838, s.v. μέθη.

mystic state of those inebriated by divine wisdom.[72] Philagathos' used this image in the *Homilies* to describe the state of mind inspired by his reading of Gregory of Nyssa's *Commentaries on the Beatitudes*, when the soul becomes filled with a sober drunkeness.

ὑφ᾽ οὗ πλησθεῖσα καὶ **μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν σώφρονα** καὶ γεγονυῖα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐρωτόληπτος καταφρονεῖ μὲν συνήθων, ἀλογεῖ δὲ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς μόνον δὲ τὸ φιλούμενον συννεύει τὸ φρόνημα.[73]

Filled with this love and drunk with a sober drunkenness – carried away, so to speak, by love – she scorns her former habits, utterly unmindful of her body, and her thought tends only toward her beloved.[74]

ὁ Νυσσαεὺς καὶ μέγας Γρηγόριος ἐν ὁμιλίας ὀκτὼ τὸ ἐν αυτῇ κάλλος ἐξηγησάμενος· καὶ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ τῆς πανσόφου ἐκείνης βίβλου ἀρύσασθαι νάματα, καὶ **μέθην μεθυσθῆναι τὴν σώφρονα**·[75]

And the great Gregory of Nyssa had explained in eight homilies the beauty of this; and he will enable anyone who desires it to draw running water from that most wise book, and to be drunk with a sober drunkenness.

In another passage from the *Homilies*, where Philagathos provides an explanation of the episode of the two sisters Martha and Mary narrated in Lk 10:38, he states that Mary, while hearing the word of Christ, became "entirely drunk with drunkenness without drinking wine."

After she had received in the heart the sweet arrow of his love (viz., of Christ), she became entirely drunk with a drunkenness without [drinking] wine.

τὸ γλυκὺ βέλος τῆς ἐκεινου ἀγάπης δεδαγμένη ἐγκάρδιον ... ὅλη γίνεται ... **μέθην μεθυσθεῖσα τὴν νηφάλιον**.[76]

When searching for Philagathos' source of inspiration for this passage it may be relevant to stress that the only place, as far as can be ascertained, which bears an almost complete resemblance with the vocabulary used in the *Interpretation* and in the *Homilies* is a homily ascribed to Makarios the Aegyptian.[77]

Finally, the metaphorical image of "the wine of contemplation" employed by Philagathos in describing the relation between ἱστορία (lit. "story," i.e., the

[72] *PGL*, 838, s.v. μέθη.
[73] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 369, 104–107.
[74] Tr. Lamberton, 310.
[75] *Hom.* 20.9 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 134).
[76] *Hom.* 51.14–15 (ed. Caruso, 145)
[77] Ps.-Macarius, *Hom.* 63.4.6 (*PG* vol. 34, col. 817D); for a similar image see Eus. *Commentarius in Ps.* 35. 9, *PG* vol. 23, col. 321B: μέθη δὲ σώφρων καὶ νηφάλιος.

literal level of the text) and θεωρία (lit. "contemplation," i.e., the allegorical or figurative meaning of the text) may allude to the wine of the Eucharist. This might be strenghtened by the fact that the same metaphorical image occurs in one of Philagathos' *Homilies*:

παιδαγωγικὴ γὰρ ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἠθικῆς φιλοσοφίας διδάσκαλος, **τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὕδατι τὸν οἶνον τῆς θεωρίας κεράσασα**.

The book is educational and teaches ethics by mixing the wine of contemplation into the water of the tale.[78]

Καὶ προτίθησιν ἡμιν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφὶα διδασκαλίας **κρατῆρα, τῷ οἴνῳ τῆς θεωρίας τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς ὕδωρ κεράσασα**.

And the wisdom of God sets before us the bowl of learning, mixing the wine of contemplation into the water of the parable.[79]

Allegorizing Numbers in Christian Context

Another argument for a Christian reading of the *Interpretation* can be deduced from a highly original feature of Philagathos' exegesis, i.e., his peculiar reliance on the allegorical interpretation of numbers. True perfection or imperfection to the highest degree is often expressed through numbers, "the wisest of beings,"[80] with seven as perhaps the most common number to symbolize perfection. For the present inquiry it is important to note the manner in which Philagathos contrived the allegorical exegesis of the number seven because he connects it with a typical Christian understanding of the human person, offering thus the opportunity for a Christian interpretation of this allegorical exegesis. He wanted so much to emphasize it that he counted separately the three component parts of 777, the total numerical value of the Greek letters which make up the name of Chariclea in Greek, as seven, seventy and seven hundred. According to Tarán,

[78] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 367, 37–39; trans. Lamberton, 307.
[79] *Hom.* 2.2 (ed. Rossi-Taibbi, 10). Rossi-Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami. Omelie*, li, n. 41, already noted the identity between the expression from the *Interpretation* with the one from the *Homilies*.
[80] Proclus, *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria*, 16.5, ed. G. Pasquali (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908), 27: ἐρωτηθεὶς γοῦν Πυθαγόρας, τί σοφώτατον τῶν ὄντων· ἀριθμὸς ἔφε. On the symbolism of numbers and in particular of the number seven see H. Meyer and R. Suntrup, "Zum Lexikon der Zahlenbedeutung im Mittelalter. Einführung in die Methode und Probeartikel: Die Zahl 7," *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 11 (1977): 1–73; F. Dölger, "Antike Zahlenmystik in einer byzantinischen Klosterregel," *Hellenika* 4 (1953): 183–89.

there are no "parallels to the sacred character of 70, 700, or 777 by itself."[81] The triad νοῦς-ψυχή-σῶμα as is pre-supposed by the parsing of the number 777 into three separate parts, "7" corresponding to the body, "70" to the soul, and 700 to the intellect, certainly comes from a Neoplatonic tradition,[82] but cannot be confined to it. This distinction is such a commonplace with Christian authors that it hardly needs a detailed discussion.[83] On the other hand, and this fact needs some emphasis as it has escaped the notice of most commentators, the fact that the union of soul, mind, and body is presented by the author of the *Interpretation* as forming a unity, one substance (μία ὑπόστασις),[84] pleads for an unambiguously Christian context because this particular use of ὑπόστασις for defining the union between body, soul, and mind is atypical for "pagan" philosophy, but very much in line with the language of Christological formulations.[85]

[Chariclea is a symbol of the soul and of the mind that sets the soul in order] …You can understand this more clearly if you count the elements of the name and establish their number as 7, 70, or 700. … It is fitting that the meaning of 7 is maintained on the levels of monads, decads, and hecatontads. The venerable and the perfect are indicated by 700, the soul itself by 70, causing that which is tripartite to be brought into order by the four perfect virtues, since four decads plus three decads equals 70. Seven itself represents the body, to which mind is attached, which holds in the middle of the soul the pentad of the senses and being the substance and the image from which it came to be.[86]

[Χαρίκλεια σύμβολόν ἐστι ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ ταύτην κοσμοῦντος νοός·] … ἐκδηλοτέρως δε τοῦτο γνοίης τὰς τοῦ ὀνόματος μονάδας ἀριθμήσας εἰς ἑπτὰ ποσουμένας καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακόσια. … εἰκότως ἡ κλῆσις ἐν ταῖς μονάσι καὶ ταῖς δεκάσι καὶ ταῖς ἑκατοντάσι τῆς ἑβδόμης σημασίαν τετήρηκε διὰ μὲν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑκατοντάδων σημαίνουσα τὸ σεβάσμιον καὶ τέλειον, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ δεκάδων αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχήν, ταῖς τελείαις τέσσαρσιν ἀρεταῖς κοσμοῦσα τὸ τριμερές· τέσσαρες γὰρ δεκάδες ταῖς τρισὶ συντιθέμεναι πληροῦσι τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα. ἡ μέντοι ἁπλῆ ἑβδόμας τὸ σῶμα δηλοῖ, ᾧ συνάπτεται ὁ νοῦς, διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς τὴν πενταδικὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχων καὶ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐξ ὧν γέγονεν.[87]

[81] Tarán,"The Authorship," 220, n. 87.
[82] Lamberton, *Homer*, 156.
[83] Félix Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homere et la pensée Grecque* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1956), 257–278.
[84] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 385, 30–31.
[85] Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*: 1454–1461 s. v. ὑπόστασις.
[86] Tr. Lamberton, 309–310.
[87] Colonna, *Commentatio in Charicleam*, 368–9, 80–92;

Whilst Photios or Psellos attempted an apology for Heliodorus' novel through sober literary criticism, Philagathos proceded further and conceived a mystical allegory for the *Aethiopica* imbued with Christian allusions. This presence of Christian allusions in Philagathos' allegorization of Heliodorus recalls the coexistance of pagan motifs and Christian allusions in contemporary novels such as *Hysmine and Hysminias* and *Drosilla and Charikles*.[88] However, as Kaldellis pointed out somewhat provocatively, in these novels the Christian allusions "are too few and ambiguous to establish a Christian context … quite the contrary, the context is thoroughly pagan."[89] The unique character of Philagathos' allegory is thus represented by the extent to which Christian allusions are present in the text. Thus, the familiarity with the Scriptures as shown by the unacknowledged biblical quotations, by the manner of referring to the Song of Songs, and to the patristic autorities suggests that this text was meant to be read with a Christian key.

[88] Panagiotis Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 130.
[89] Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 265.

MARGARET OF SCOTLAND AND MONASTIC TRADITIONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Katie Keene

The eventual sanctity of Margaret, an eleventh-century queen of Scotland, is typically assumed to have been the direct result of her uniquely pious upbringing. Biographers assert that she was raised in a strict and unvarying Benedictine tradition, which was complemented and reinforced by her experience at the uniformly Christian courts of Hungary and Anglo-Saxon England.[1] A careful analysis reveals, however, that she was introduced to a variety of coenobitic and ascetic traditions as her life touched upon the emerging kingdoms and cultures on the periphery of Europe, beginning with her father's origin in Anglo-Saxon England, then moving to Sweden, Kiev, Hungary, England, and finally Scotland. Her experience was certainly not one of the *stabilitas loci* so favored by the Benedictines. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to analyze the confluence of various monastic cultures in the eleventh century and to modify the perception that her formative religious and spiritual experiences were purely or even primarily within the Benedictine tradition.

Margaret's father, Edward, was the son of Edmund Ironside, who was briefly king of Anglo-Saxon England before he died and the crown was assumed by the Danish conqueror, King Cnut. The exact details of Edward's fate remain murky and the subject of tangled debate, the result of scant and often conflicting sources. Without summarizing the complex historiographic arguments, which are not the subject of this paper, a brief sketch of the most probable events can be

[1] See, for example, popular biographies such as: T. Radcliffe Barnett, *Margaret of Scotland, Queen and Saint; Her Influence on the Early Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926); Samuel Cowan, *Life of the Princess Margaret, Queen of Scotland, 1070–1093* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Mawson, Swan & Morgan, 1911); A. M. D. Henderson-Howatt, *Royal Pearl: The Life and Times of Margaret Queen of Scotland* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948); and the most recent, Alan J. Wilson, *St Margaret Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1993). More scholarly treatments of her life also tend to make the same assumption; see, for example: Derek Baker, "A Nursery of Saints: St. Margaret of Scotland Revisited," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 119–142; Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003), 14.

reconstructed.[2] Cnut swiftly exiled the infant prince, who sojourned for a time in Sweden before settling in Kievan Rus. There he became acquainted with fellow exiles, the young princes of Hungary who had been expelled by King Stephen. In 1046 he helped one of these Hungarian exiles, Andrew, claim the throne of Hungary and married a women named Agatha whose heritage is the subject of great and inconclusive speculation.[3] They settled in Hungary to raise their three children: Margaret, Christina, and Edgar. In 1057, Edward the Exile, as he has come to be known, and his family journeyed to England at the invitation of the childless Edward the Confessor and as the acknowledged heir to the Anglo-Saxon throne. Within five days of landing in England, Edward the Exile was dead, and any further hope of continuing the Anglo-Saxon line was firmly quashed by the Norman Conquest. Margaret and her family fled to Scotland, where she married King Malcolm III. As queen, she became known for her great personal piety, which was characterized by her ascetic practices and charitable good deeds. Her hagiography was composed within ten years of her death in 1093 by her chaplain and advisor, a Benedictine monk named Turgot.[4] Perhaps not surprisingly, Turgot, as a monk, emphasizes the role of monasticism in Margaret's life, portraying her as an important supporter of monastic communities. Therefore, a more informed understanding of the different monastic traditions which she encountered is an essential component of a critical assessment of her spiritual life.

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[2] For the most detailed examination of Edward's life see Gabriel Ronay, *The Lost King of England: The East European Adventures of Edward the Exile* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Wolfeboro, NH: The Boydell Press, 1989).

[3] For examples of the various arguments regarding the identity of Agatha see: Jenő Horváth, "Anglo-Hungarian Connections in History," *Danubian Review* (1937): 25–37; Ferenc Dőry, *The Family History of St. Stephen* (Budapest, 1938); Sándor Fest, *The Sons of Eadmund Ironside, Anglo-Saxon Kings at the Court of Saint Stephen* (Budapest, 1938); Szabolcs de Vajay, "Agatha, Mother of Saint Margaret Queen of Scotland," *Duquesne Review: A Journal of the Social Sciences* 7, No. 2 (1962): 71–80; David Faris and Douglas Richardson, "The Parents of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 152 (1998): 224–235; Norman Ingram, "Has a Missing Daughter of Iaroslav Mudryi Been Found?" *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 25, No. 3 (1998): 231–270; John Carmi Parsons, "Edward the Aetheling's Wife, Agatha," *The Plantagenet Connection,* Summer/Winter (2002): 31–54.

[4] Turgot, "The Life of S. Margaret," tr. W. M. Metcalfe, in *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints, Part Two*, (Paisley, 1895) (reprint: Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1998), 45–69 (hereafter: *Vita*).

Monastic Traditions in Eleventh-Century Hungary

Let us begin our analysis in Hungary, the place of Margaret's birth and a relatively recent addition to the Christian world. The traditional story is that as result of missionary efforts in 995–996 by St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, and the conversion of St. Stephen before the turn of the millennium, Hungary became a uniformly Christian kingdom in the Latin tradition. Indeed, the pervasive monastic presence of Latin Christianity is evident, furthered by the fact that an integral aspect of Stephen's effort to secure administrative control of his nascent kingdom was the establishment of a number of dioceses, together with significant monastic foundations. The monastery of Pannonhalma, structured on the Benedictine ideal exemplified by the monastery at Monte Cassino, was founded toward the end of the tenth century,[5] as was Veszprém, ostensibly the first Latin episcopal church. Stephen also established monasteries at Zalavár on an island in the marshes of the River Zala, at Bakonybél, and at Pécsvárad.[6] A Benedictine convent near Esztergom, called Esztergom-Sziget and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, is assumed to be an eleventh-century, probably royal, foundation. Evidence of its existence is provided by that fact that King Salamon is known to have visited it in 1073.[7] Another Benedictine convent near the Toma River at the foot of Somló hill, called variously Somlóvásárhely, or Apácavásárhely, or Apácasomlyó was in

[5] On Pannonhalma see: *Mons sacer, 996–1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve* (*Mons sacer, 996–1996: A Thousand years of Pannonhalma*), ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996), esp. Pius Engelbert, "Prágai Szent Adalbert – püspökideál, politika és szerzetesség" (St Adalbert of Prague: ideal of a bishop, politics, and monasticism), ibid., 25–37; Géza Érszegi, "Szent István pannonhalmi oklevele" (St. Stephen's charter for Pannonhalma), ibid., 38–46; Ernő Marosi, "Bencés építészet az Árpád-kori Magyarországon – A "rendi építőiskolák" problémája" (Benedictine architecture in Hungary in the Arpadian Period – The issue of "building schools connected to religious orders) ibid., 131–142; Csaba László, "Régészeti adatok Pannonhalma építéstörténetéhez" (Archaeological data on the building history of Pannonhalma), ibid., 143–169.

[6] On the early Benedictine monasteries see *Paradisum plantavit: bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 2001), especially: Kornél Szovák, "The Early Centuries of Benedictine Monasticism in Hungary," ibid. 580–588 and Szilveszter Sólymos, O.S.B., "The First Benedictine Monks in Hungary," ibid. 588–597.

[7] Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 24 (hereafter: Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*).

existence by 1212, and at least one scholar has hypothesized an early foundation dating to the eleventh century.[8]

Such evidence would seem to corroborate the general perception of a ubiquitously Christianized Hungarian kingdom in the early eleventh century, adhering to the Latin rite. In reality, however, the picture was much more complicated. To begin with, pagan practices persisted, at times conflated with the interests of the native elite against those of the foreign, Christian class.[9] For the purposes of this paper, however, an evaluation of the continuing influence of other Christian monastic traditions is more enlightening. To begin with, in view of Margaret's eventual role as Queen of Scotland and her purported efforts to reform the Irish religion, it is worth contemplating whether and to what degree the monastic culture in Hungary was influenced by the Irish tradition. The Abbey of Saint Gall, which was named after St. Gallus, one of the original twelve companions of the Irish missionary saint Columbanus (d. 650), seems to have provided a possible source for such Irish influence. Bruno, a monk at the abbey, was chosen as bishop to the Hungarians, and is credited with having baptized Stephen's father, Géza. Settlements named Szentgál located around the tenth-century centers of Árpádian royal power bear witness to the more generalized influence of the Irish-based monastery.[10] The earliest liturgical sources reflect the Rhine liturgy and cult with an unusual emphasis on the saints of St. Gall.[11] Finally, the relics of St. Columbanus himself, the quintessential Irish saint, are known to have been at Pécs in the eleventh century.[12] Was their existence and the Irish tradition they represented perhaps known to Margaret?

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[8] Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok,* 71. György Györffy asserts that the foundation dates to the eleventh century. György Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 151–153 (hereafter: Györffy, *King Saint Stephen*).

[9] Nora Berend, József Laszlovszky, Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 319–368; especially 339–340 (hereafter: Berend, Laszlovszky, Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary").

[10] Györffy identifies "the Szentgáls near Esztergom, Kalocsa, Szekszárd and Veszprém, in the vicinity of the quarters of the ruling prince, the prince and the princess respectively, the two Szentgáls in the west of Baranya County were situated on the banks of two streams that lead to Koppány, near Siklós. The sixth, above Orci in the County of Somogy, can be linked to Orci, Géza's Swabian knight." Györffy, *King Saint Stephen,* 54.

[11] Györffy, *King Saint Stephen,* 55–6. Although the surviving sources may be later, they suggest the earlier influence of the cult of St. Gall.

[12] "Historia fundationis coenobii Mellicensis," in Albinus F. Gombos, *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI.* Vols. 1–4. (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937–1938), 1117–1118.

The Orthodox Greek Church had been present in Hungary as early as the mid-tenth century, as is evidenced by the conversion of the Hungarian leaders Bulcsú in 948 and Zombor in 953. Stephen's mother, Sarolt, might also have followed the Greek rite.[13] In addition to individuals, the Byzantine tradition was adhered to by extensive regions of the kingdom. For example, in the tenth century the Byzantine Church was prominent in Transylvania and also in the area of eastern Hungary under the control of Prince Ajtony, as manifested by the Greek monastery of St. John the Baptist at Marosvár (Csanád, Cenad: Romania).[14] A Greek monastery in Szávaszentdemeter (Sremska Mitrovica: Serbia), ancient Sirmium, was revived by St. Stephen and was still in operation as late as 1071, almost two decades after the schism.[15] Also in the eleventh century under St. Stephen, the Greek convent of Veszprémvölgy was founded in a charter written in Greek, perhaps for Stephen's mother, Sarolt, or his sister, the abandoned wife of Bulgarian prince Gavril-Radomir, or the intended Byzantine wife of Prince Imre.[16] It is possible, although direct evidence is lacking, that King Stephen supported communities of Greek monks at Szávaszentdemeter and Pentele. Another community, Oroszlámos, was founded by one of King Stephen's military leaders for the express purpose of housing Greek monks who had been displaced following Stephen's conquest of Ajtony's largely Greek Orthodox territories.[17] At St. Hippolytus at Zobor, the Greek and Latin monks coexisted quite comfortably, each group following their own liturgy.[18]

This Greek monastic presence continued well after the official schism of 1054 and was perhaps even strengthened when King Andrew I (1046–1060) ascended to the Hungarian throne. Andrew and his brothers had been exiled from Hungary to Kievan Rus, which had been converted to the Byzantine rite in the tenth century. He therefore had the opportunity to become familiar with the Eastern tradition, which was then underscored by his marriage to Anastasia, the

[13] Györffy, *King Saint Stephen,* 33; 44–47.
[14] Györffy, *King Saint Stephen,* 99–102; 154; Ferenc Makk, "Les relations hungaro-byzantines aux X^{e}–XII^{e} siècles," in *European Intellectual Trends and Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz (Budapest: Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), 13–15 (hereafter: Makk, "Les relations hungaro-byzantines").
[15] Györffy, *King Saint Stephen*, 152.
[16] Marina Miladinov, "Eremitism in Central Europe Between East and West (Eleventh Century)," PhD Dissertation, (Central European University, Budapest, 2003), 45–46 (hereafter: Miladinov, "Eremitism in Central Europe").
[17] Berend, Laszlovszky, Szakács, "The kingdom of Hungary," 353–354.
[18] J. T. Milik, *Świety Świerad. Saint Andrew Zoeradus* (Rome: Edizioni Hosianum, 1966), 47–57; 184 (hereafter: Milik, *Świety Świerad*).

daughter of Jaroslav, the ruler of Kiev (1019–1054).[19] The two royals probably brought elements of the Byzantine faith with them in 1046 when Andrew claimed the Hungarian crown. The most persuasive evidence of such cross-pollination is the close proximity of Benedictine and Greek communities. King Andrew founded the Benedictine monastery of Tihany on the northeastern shore of Lake Balaton in 1055, where he was eventually buried, and a Greek monastery near Visegrád on the Danube bend, which was named after his patron saint. Each of these coenobitic communities co-existed with their eremitic complements; the caves of Óvár were located near Tihany and those of Zebegény were across the Danube from Visegrád. In both cases, these caves were probably inhabited by monks from a Kievan Cave Monastery (Pechera or Pcherskij Monastery). They were either Russian or Greek, but certainly Orthodox. The geographical locations of the caves near Visegrád and at Tihany—located on a steep incline above a lake or river—were commensurate with those of Kiev, Pskov, and Zymne. Archaeological excavations indicate that they were comprised of individual cells in order to facilitate the seclusion of hermits living in eremitic groups.[20] The Kievan monks were probably ensconced in the caves shortly after the arrival of Andrew and his Kievan queen in 1046, where they remained sequestered until the formal establishment of the abbeys in 1055. In 1056 they might have relocated to the monastery of St. Andrew where they were joined by the exiled monks of Sázava, forming a mixed community practicing Latin and Greek liturgies.[21] In any event, it is likely that the eremitic monks at Zebegény were connected to the St. Andrew monastery at Visegrád, in which Greek monks continued to live according to their rite until the thirteenth century. Two important observations should be highlighted here. First, coenobitic and eremitic communities coincided, with members moving fluidly between them. Second, the Orthodox and Roman traditions coexisted comfortably, a situation which continued well past the schism of 1054 until as late as the first half of the thirteenth century.[22]

Such respect for variant types of eremitism extended to other models. Great reverence was paid to a particular Western hermit who based his asceticism on

[19] Makk contends that Andrew was baptized according to the Byzantine rite while in Kiev, Makk, "Les relations hungaro-byzantines," 16.

[20] On the hermits' cells at Tihany-Oroszkő see Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 68 and Miladinov, "Eremitism in Central Europe," 222–225.

[21] Miladinov, "Eremitism in Central Europe," 219–227; Berend, Laszlovszky, Szakács, "The kingdom of Hungary," 354. Such coexistence was not necessarily unusual in the eleventh century; see, for example, a comparable arrangement at St. Alexius and St. Boniface in Rome.

[22] Makk, "Les relations hungaro-byzantines," 16–17.

the Eastern model. Zoerard-Andrew fled his native Poland in the first half of the eleventh century. He settled at St. Hippolytus at Zobor, a monastic community combining coenobitic and eremitic life. As briefly noted above, it observed both the Latin Benedictine and the Greek-Slavonic rites governed by an Oriental typikon. Zoerard-Andrew seems to have subscribed to the eremitic ideal based on the model of Zosimas, a sixth-century Palestinian monk and confessor to St. Mary the Egyptian. His distinctive brand of asceticism involved such heroic feats as fasting three days a week, living through Lent on only forty walnuts, sleeping while sitting up surrounded by spikes, and wearing a wooden crown with heavy stones in addition to a copper chain that his flesh eventually grew over. After his death, his cult spread quickly, reaching Pannonhalma Abbey, and furthered by a *Life* written 1064 by Maurus of Pécs. In 1083 Zoerard-Andrew was canonized along with Sts. Stephen, Imre, Benedict his disciple, and the martyr bishop Gerard, who was also one of the new hermits.[23]

The new hermits arriving in Hungary from Italy based their ascetic practices on the Italo-Greek model, viewing their eremitism as compatible with the exercise of secular power. They combined intermittent withdrawal from the world for spiritual renewal with an active life in the secular world, not necessarily after a period of monastic training and supervision which was more typical for monks. St. Romuald and his community at Pereum (near Ravenna) provide one of the earliest examples of this type of ascetic practice.[24] Interestingly, one of Romuald's followers might have been Gerard, or Gellért, who figures so prominently in the history of Hungary in the first half of the eleventh century. He was an oblate at an abbey in Venice and later abbot of same abbey. Detained by King Stephen while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he became an advisor to the king and a tutor to Stephen's son and heir, Prince Imre. Although a Benedictine monk, he was critical of indulgent monastic life, which he countered with periodic retreats to his hermitage at Bél. As bishop of Csanád, he was instrumental in engineering Andrew's successful return to Hungary and was regarded as martyr as a result of his death during the pagan uprising that accompanied Andrew's return. He was canonized in 1083 along with his royal patrons, Saints Stephen and Imre, and the two eremitic saints, Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict.[25] Perhaps stories of this saintly bishop and hermit influenced Margaret, who was born about the same

[23] Cf. Milik, *Świety Świerad*.
[24] Cf. Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000–1150* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984).
[25] Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and Their Relations with Rome* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 17–18.

time as his death, to seek a similar advisor and confidant in Turgot, the monk who was coincidentally at the vanguard of the new hermit movement in England.

So, at the very least one can conclude that the Benedictine monastic tradition need not have been the only one to which Margaret was exposed in Hungary. She was probably familiar to some degree with the Greek and perhaps even the Irish tradition; maybe even the varying models of eremitism that complemented the different coenobitic practices.

Monastic Traditions in Late Anglo-Saxon England

In comparison, the monastic tradition in late Anglo-Saxon England was almost exclusively Benedictine after the reform movement of the tenth century. It is likely that Margaret was raised at one of these establishments, probably Wilton Abbey, since these monastic foundations were closely tied to distinct branches of the royal family[26] and Margaret's family was associated primarily with Wilton; Margaret sent her daughter Edith there to be brought up under the guidance of Margaret's sister Christina, who was perhaps the abbess.[27] It would therefore be unusual if Margaret herself had not also resided at the same institution.

It should be noted that these monasteries were more comparable to boarding schools for female nobility than to severe monastic institutions.[28] This was not the life of austerity so often associated with religious houses, and being raised at a nunnery, contrary to so many of the assumptions made by Margaret's biographers,

[26] See, for example Pauline Stafford, "Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status, and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England," *Past and Present* 163 (1999): 25. For further documentation specifically of the dynastic affiliation and royal patronage of Wilton see Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women II: Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 221–231. The most recent treatment of this subject is provided by Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London: Continuum, 2003) (hereafter: Yorke, *Nunneries*).

[27] The issue of when and whether Christina and Edith were at Romsey and Wilton has remained the subject of debate. David Knowles favors their placement at Wilton, although he concedes that Christina might not have been abbess. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, Vera C. M. London, ed., *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales,* vol. I, *940–1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 295. Barbara Yorke supports the view that Edith was initially at Romsey and later moved to Wilton. Yorke, *Nunneries,* 157, n. 95.

[28] Yorke, *Nunneries*, 147–150; Frank Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2002), 78.

would not have implied any degree of religious vocation.[29] Instead, Wilton Abbey was a well-appointed, luxurious residence, even sporting its own zoo of exotic animals.[30] The women would have all been well dressed by court standards and expected to avail themselves of the very best education available. They would have studied languages, the liberal arts, and spiritual devotion, as well as more artistic ladylike pursuits such as embroidery and weaving.[31] The patron saint of the nunnery, St. Edith, was "skilled in painting, writing and working textiles in gold and gems."[32] Queen Edith likewise had been instructed in such fine arts as painting and needlework, and the sciences.[33] Goscelin of St. Bertin exclaims that she was "a most learned queen."[34] In his obituary for the queen, Godfrey of Winchester specifies that she possessed mastery of measures, numbers, and music in addition to languages and grammar.[35] Furthermore, pre-Conquest nunneries, like Wilton, tended to be located in urban settings, where they were major foci of commerce and settlement.[36]

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[29] Pauline Stafford makes this statement regarding Edith's upbringing at the convent in *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 259 (hereafter: Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*) and Frank Barlow, makes the same argument regarding Edward the Confessor and his early childhood stay among the monks at Ely in *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 33, 39.

[30] Goscelin, "La légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin," ed. A. Wilmart, *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938): 298 (hereafter: Goscelin: "La légende de Ste Édith").

[31] Stafford *Queen Emma and Queen Edith,* 258–259.

[32] Goscelin, "La légende de Ste Édith," 68–69: … *manus pingendi, scriptitandi, dictitandi tam decentes, quam artificiose; digiti aurifices, gemmarii, citharedi, citharizantes* …

[33] *The Life of Edward the Confessor Who Rests at Westminster / attributed to a monk of Saint-Bertin*, ed. and tr. Frank Barlow, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 2–3 (hereafter: Barlow, *The Life of Edward the Confessor*).

[34] Goscelin, "Vita Kenelmi" in *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ed. and tr. R. C. Love (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 52: *doctissima regina Edgyde nobis exposuit que de ipso legisse dicebat preclara indicia*

[35] Christine Fell, Cecily Clark, Elizabeth Williams, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of 1066* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1984), 103–107.

[36] Roberta Gilchrist notes briefly that the few nunneries that were located in urban settings were those, like Wilton, that flourished in the pre-Conquest era, during which they were major foci of "commerce and settlement." Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), 63–64 (hereafter: Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*).

Monastic Traditions in Scotland in the Eleventh Century

In Scotland, however, the only monastic tradition was Celtic. Scotland had been converted to Christianity by Irish missionaries beginning in the sixth century, including St. Ninian, who founded Whithorn in the early fifth century, St. Columba, who founded Iona in the late sixth century, and St. Cuthbert, who was bishop of Lindisfarne in the seventh century. It was, therefore, a wholly Christian kingdom in the Celtic tradition well before Margaret's arrival, before even the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. It is, however, misleading to speak of a Celtic Church *per se* since there was no ecclesiastical hierarchy or strict ordering of dioceses, although episcopal centers certainly existed and their relative power waxed and waned through the centuries.[37]

The details regarding the history of the early Christian Church in Scotland are cloudy. It is, however, safe to posit three types of communities: royal foundations with more of a secular orientation, monastic communities, and ascetic communities of Culdees which had emerged in the eighth century as a response to the increasing secularization of Celtic monasteries. Examples of the first include Abernathy, Brechin, St. Andrews, and Dunkeld. The abbots at Abernathy and Brechin were heads of monastic communities that had been secularized. St. Andrews had a bishop and at times boasted an archbishop while it also supported lay priests and their families. The grandfather of Malcolm III, Crinan, was the lay abbot of Dunkeld, who had died in battle while fighting to support his son Duncan against Macbeth. Margaret's son, Aethelraed, would also serve as abbot of Dunkeld.[38]

The most notable monastic community was that of Iona, founded in the sixth century by Columba. Adomnán's *Life of Columba* observes that the monastery, located on an island off the west coast of Scotland, was comprised of various buildings designated to serve specific functions, including a church, a communal

[37] Nancy Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 100 (hereafter: Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*). For example, Old Melrose and Abercorn were centers of episcopal authority in the seventh century. Abernethy gained ascendancy in the early eighth century but was soon eclipsed by Dunkeld in the ninth century. St. Andrews emerged as a center of episcopal power in the tenth century. See Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland,* 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1976), 1–5 (hereafter: Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*).

[38] Alan Macquarrie, "Early Christian Religious Houses in Scotland: Foundation and Function," in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 110–133.

building, and a number of huts intended for diverse purposes.[39] It seems that in terms of its self-sufficiency, enclosure, and separation from the world Iona resembled a typical monastic community. Other monastic communities might have existed but were destroyed by the Norse invasions, such as Coldingham in c. 870 and Tyninghame in 941, or were deserted, such as Old Melrose sometime before 1074.[40]

When considering the Culdees it is important to note that many variant models existed. Some organized themselves into ascetic, communal hermitages. However, with the exception of Skellig Michael in Ireland, very few were located in remote or difficult-to-access areas. Instead they were often found in places with dense settlement and fine agricultural land.[41] One example of such a community is St. Serf's in Lochleven, which was patronized by Margaret and her husband.[42] Many Culdees, however, adopted aspects of secularized priests, co-existing at episcopal centers such as Dunkeld and St. Andrews.[43] Cowan and Easson surmise that in these cases "an early monastic site appears to have existed, and two identifiable communities, one associated with the earlier monastic community and the other with the Culdees, eventually emerged." The monks became secularized while the Culdees continued to work with the bishops. Indeed, it was very much in the Irish tradition for the eremitic Culdee elite to live alongside a monastic community,[44] perhaps not unlike the cave hermits from Kiev and the monasteries at Tihany and Visegrád.

A further possible similarity is the fact that there seems to have been an easy co-existence between the Irish and Roman Churches, analogous to the situation in Hungary between the Roman and Greek. The traditions of the Roman Church had steadily influenced Celtic practices through the centuries of proximity.[45] Margaret and Malcolm were married by a Celtic priest and the couple patronized

[39] Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, ed. and tr. A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1961), 112, 504–507, 113, 220–221, 109, 112–113, 258–259, 536–537. See also A. D. S. MacDonald, "Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic life in Adomnán's Life of Columba," *Peritia* 3 (1994), 271–302. For details on recent excavations at Iona see Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*, 111–112.
[40] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 2.
[41] Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*, 116.
[42] Archibald C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905), viii.
[43] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 2–3.
[44] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 3.
[45] D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), 4 (hereafter: Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*).

the Culdees of Lochleven, as did their predecessors, Macbeth and his queen. Yet, both Thorfinn the Mighty of Orkney and King Macbeth made pilgrimages to Rome. Indeed, the Irish and Roman traditions seem to have been viewed as complementary rather than contradictory.

Although the influence of the Roman Church was evident, a Benedictine presence was entirely absent. Margaret is often credited with establishing the first Benedictine foundation at the site of her marriage in Dunfermline. During Margaret's tenure as queen, however, the extent of the Benedictine influence consisted of exactly three monks sent by Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury.[46] Dunfermline itself remained a modest establishment during Margaret's lifetime. Archaeological excavations have revealed that the original structure was comprised simply of a nave with a square tower on the west side and an oblong choir ending in an apse. It was not until the reign of her youngest son, David I (1124–1153), that Dunfermline was established as an abbey and the building embellished significantly to reflect its enhanced status.[47] Indeed, the Roman monastic orders penetrated Scotland rather slowly over the next half century during the rule of Margaret's three sons.[48] The church that Margaret encountered in Scotland at the end of the eleventh century, however, was Christian, Celtic, and accustomed to

[46] Lanfranc of Bec, The *Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and tr. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979), letter 50, 160–1. I believe that it is possible that Lanfranc was acting, in typical fashion, as an ecclesiastical opportunist by sending these monks. He states that he is sending brother Dom Goldwin, as she requested, and two more brothers since Goldwin alone could not do all that she asked. Evidently only a single monk was expected, but three were sent. Perhaps Margaret, whose letter no longer exists, was asking simply for spiritual guidance, since Lanfranc also thanks her for her request to be her spiritual father, but Lanfranc took the opportunity to expand the mission.

[47] Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, *Eleventh Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan (*Edinburgh: HMSO, 1933), 106–7; Eric Fernie, "The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey," in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews*, ed. John Higgitt (British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions XIV, 1994), 25–27.

[48] Edgar (1097–1107), founded Coldingham, which evolved into a Benedictine monastery with a priory associated with Durham; Alexander (1107–1124) brought Augustinian canons to Scone; and in 1113, before becoming king, David established the Benedictines of Tiron at Selkirk. After ascending to the throne, David (1124–1153), continued to show favor toward the Benedictines, elevating Dunfermline to the status of a Benedictine abbey (1128), and founding the priories of Urquhart (c. 1136), the Isle of May (1153), and Lesmahagow (1144). Additionally, he established the Cistercians at Melrose Abbey (1136), which boasted many daughter-houses, and the Augustinian foundations of Holyrood

and accepting of Roman Catholicism. With the exception of three Benedictine monks at the small foundation of Dunfermline, it was much the same at her death.

Margaret also sought out and patronized solitary hermits who lived outside of any community in the tradition of the earliest ascetics of the Church.[49] The majority of hermits, by the very nature of their seclusion, remain unknown to us, yet the scant evidence available in the sources led G. W. S. Barrow to conclude that probably "a considerable number" existed in Margaret's day.[50] Florence of Worcester records that in 1043 a Scottish monk named Animchadus "who led a life of seclusion in the monastery of Fulda, died on the third of the calends of February."[51] During the reign of Margaret's son, Alexander, an anchorite was living on the island of Inchcolm in the Forth, only a short distance from the royal residence at Dunfermline.[52] Some of the earlier ascetics had become well known by virtue of the hagiographic literature they inspired, such as the successive seventh-century bishops of Lindisfarne, Aidan (d. 651), Cuthbert (d. 687), and Æthelwald, who periodically sought solitude and a respite from their official duties at the hermitage on the island of Farne off the coast of Northumbria.[53] Taking specifically the case of Cuthbert, it is possible to see how he, like Gerard in Hungary, embodied various spiritual traditions; he was a bishop, a missionary, a leader of a monastic community, and during his periodic retreats to Farne, an

(1128), Jedburgh (1138), and Cambuskenneth (1140). Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, 5–6.

[49] *Vita,* paragraph 19: *Quo tempore in regno Scottorum plurimi, per diversa loca separatis inclusi cellulis, per magnam vitae districtionem, in carne non secundum carnem vivebant: Angelicam enim in terris conversationem ducebant.*

[50] G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000–1306* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 77. Clayton attributes the lack of evidence for hermits to "the shortage of evidence in general from the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries," and that subsequent sources are derived almost solely from the monastic reform movement so they understandably do not focus on hermits, Mary Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts,* ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 157 (hereafter: Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England").

[51] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis* ed. B. Thorpe, 2 volumes (London, 1848; repr. Vaduz: Craus Reprint, 1964), 145.

[52] John Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894), 281.

[53] Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," 153; Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914), 1–7.

ascetic hermit. His cult flourished at Durham where his relics had been brought for safekeeping during the Viking raids and it is possible, indeed likely, that Turgot was influenced by his example.

Turgot was part of the early movement of new hermits, who began by concentrating their efforts on reclaiming holy sites which had been destroyed and abandoned.[54] He was at Durham when its bishop, Walcher, advised him to journey to the recently re-established community at Jarrow in order to exchange "the costume of a clerk for the monastic habit."[55] From there, Turgot and a fellow hermit-monk, Aldwin, proceeded uninvited and with similar intent to the devastated site of Melrose, which was under the jurisdiction of Durham. Malcolm, still smarting from his concession to William the Conqueror at Abernathy, "failed to see eye to eye with them on the true relation of spiritual to temporal authority and on property rights at Melrose, and, after much correspondence had passed, came and turned them off his land, even adding insult to injury."[56] Turgot was recalled unceremoniously back to Durham in order to avoid any further conflict with the king. It is difficult to say whether Turgot's presence was the cause or the effect of Margaret's favoritism toward hermits, but it is certainly no coincidence that she chose one of these new eremitic reformers to be her closest spiritual advisor. It is especially significant in view of the documented hostility between Turgot and Margaret's husband.

As a new hermit himself, it is perhaps only natural that Turgot stresses Margaret's ascetic practices in his hagiographic treatment of her life; she ate meagerly, recited the Psalter often, prayed almost continually, washed the feet of the poor, fed the destitute and orphaned, and freed slaves.[57] Yet how does a queen intent on following an ascetic life find the seclusion of a hermit? Female hermits did exist, but they tended to be regularized rather quickly into nunneries,

[54] Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 36–37.
[55] Simeon of Durham, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera omnia* ed. Thomas Arnold, two vols. (Rolls Series, London, 1882–5, repr. 1965), 111 (hereafter: Simeon of Durham, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera omnia*). Jarrow and nearby Wearmouth were of particular significance as the home of the Venerable Bede (673–735). By the late eleventh century, however, they had been reduced to ruins as a result of the Viking invasions, see Rosemary Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2005), 31–38.
[56] Simeon of Durham, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera omnia*, 112: *Graves ab illo [Malcolmo, ad quem iste locus pertinebat] injurias et persecutiones pertulerunt, pro eo quod Evangelicum praeceptum servantes, jurare illi fidelitatem noluerunt.*
[57] *Vita*, paragraphs 18–23.

so they were unlikely to have provided a model for Margaret.[58] On the other hand, she was familiar with the examples provided by others who would seek solitude from time to time for spiritual renewal while holding positions of importance; Gerard retreated to his cave at Bél and Cuthbert would isolate himself on Farne Island.[59] It is possible that Margaret imitated them by frequenting a cave close to the royal residence at Dunfermline. According to an account in the *Annals of Dunfermline*, which were composed by the nineteenth-century scholar Dr. Ebenezer Henderson (and so, it should be stressed, are not true annals at all), St. Margaret was accustomed to retire to the seclusion of a cave near Dunfermline in order to pray in peace. Curious about her nocturnal assignations and perhaps expecting the worst betrayal of their wedding vows, Malcolm followed her one day. When he saw her at prayer, he was both relieved and inspired, and immediately arranged to have the cave properly outfitted. The entrance of the windowless retreat faced west, and the confined interior space measured six feet, nine inches high, eight feet six inches wide, and eleven feet, nine inches long. It is thought that Malcolm arranged to have the cave sparsely decorated with an altar, a bench, some candles, and perhaps a door at the entrance. Dr. Henderson took great care to underscore the veracity of this story by establishing that it was attested to by an aged man, a native of Dunfermline, who remembered how in his youth, in the early 1700s, he recalled visiting the Oratory Cave and seeing the ruins of a stone table or bench with a faint carving of something similar to a crucifix. Thanks to Malcolm's generous impulse, Margaret was able to pray in both peace and Spartan comfort in what has become known as Queen Margaret's Cave Oratory.[60]

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[58] Gilchrist, *Gender and Material* Culture, 90–91.

[59] Perhaps Margaret was also familiar with the story of St. Radegunde (c. 525–587); while married to Clothar, king of the Franks, Radegunde would seek seclusion for prayer in the middle of the night. Venantius Fortunatus, "The Life of the Holy Radgund," in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and tr. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, E. Gordon Whatley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 73.

[60] Ian B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland,* ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1995), 111; Ebenezer Henderson, *The Annals of Dunfermline and Vicinity from the Earliest Authentic Period to the Present Time, A.D. 1089–1878*, ed. Rhoderick and Alison Moncreiff (Rhoderick and Alison Moncreiff, 1999), an. 1080: "An old man, a native of Dunfermline, who died in 1844 at an advanced age, knew an aged man in his young days, who was wont to relate, that he had seen in the Oratory-Cave the remains of a stone table, or a stone bench, or seat, with something carved on it resembling a crucifix. This second aged man's 'young days' probably refers to A.D. 1700, or thereabouts, when this interesting memorial was to be seen." Today, the cave is a tourist attraction, complete with a statue of Margaret at prayer.

Whether or not this specific tale of Margaret's nocturnal devotions is true, it demonstrates that the perception of Margaret's spirituality had come full circle; because she was popularly revered for her personal piety and asceticism, it was assumed that she must have found some means of accommodating her need for seclusion despite her highly public role as queen. She could not live in a cave, but she could retire to one on occasion, finding temporary solitude. Whether this story contains an element of truth and she did indeed imitate the new hermits she had heard of in Hungary, or it is a later legend devised to embroider her reputation for asceticism, it illustrates the popularly perceived need for such pious accommodation, and that this perception was now evident in Scotland.

Conclusion

It can be safely asserted, then, that Margaret encountered a wide variety of monastic traditions during her lifetime. She would have witnessed the easy co-existence of the Roman, Greek, and Celtic coenobitic traditions in addition to the eremitic practices of Kievan monks, new hermits, and Celtic Culdees. Certainly the Benedictine tradition remained a constant in her life, but to view it as the exclusive agent of her pious upbringing would be a misleading simplification. Margaret's monastic world was complex and inter-connected, a catalyst for her unique expression of piety.

ETHNIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CLOTHING:
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARY

Dóra Mérai

In the first half of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Conquest destroyed the political system of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom and after the fall of the capital, Buda, in 1541, the country was split into three parts. The central part of the Carpathian Basin was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, the western and northern parts came under Habsburg administration, and Transylvania was formed as a separate principality under the guardianship of the Porte. The long-lasting state of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused significant changes in the structure of society, ethnic composition, and settlement in Hungary.

The material traces of the Ottoman conquest have been of interest to Hungarian researchers since the nineteenth century: first, Ottoman Turkish epigraphy and architecture; later, fortifications and material culture. Cemeteries provided the remains of different ethnic and confessional groups and their interactions. It has been a peculiarity of Hungarian historical archaeology that the cemeteries of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South Slav newcomers have been studied more intensely than contemporary churchyard cemeteries that contain burials of a much larger and more significant segment of the population, including earlier inhabitants. Research on South Slav cemeteries and the remains of clothing from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has focused on ethnic interpretation to circumscribe the material culture of the Slavic newcomers. These groups have now been treated extensively for decades by historical research based on written sources.

In this study I will use sources such as pictorial images and written documents to examine to what degree elements of clothing known from archaeological contexts can be used as indicators of ethnicity and how archaeology modifies the picture of clothing and the past ethnic, social, and cultural structures that produced it.[1] I will discuss the ethnic character of some archaeological finds in the early modern period in a Central European region. At the same time, the conclusions

[1] This article is based on my MA thesis "'The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions' Ethnic and Social Aspects of Archaeological Remains of Clothing in Early Modern Hungary" defended in June 2007 at the CEU, Department of Medieval Studies.

that can be drawn are significant for general methodological issues such as the possibility of ethnic and social interpretation in historical archaeology.

The Ethnic Re-composition of the Carpathian Basin in the Ottoman Period

The degree and the character of the demographic changes during the Ottoman wars varied across different areas of the Carpathian Basin and different periods in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Ottoman advance mostly affected the southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom: the territory of Croatia, Slavonia, the region of Szerémség (Srijem, Srem),[2] Temes, Bács, Bodrog, Torontál, Csongrád and Békés counties and the southern part of Transylvania. The population of these areas became Slavic; most people were Orthodox Serbs, but Catholic Bosnians, called *Sokác* and *Bunyevác* in the sources, settled in Bács, and an Orthodox Christian ethnic group from the northern Balkans, called *Oláh*, *Eflak* or *Vlachus* in documents, also entered the region. An area inhabited partially by Catholic Croats was formed on the western confines of Hungary. By the middle of the seventeenth century the population south of the line between Mohács, Szeged, and Arad (Romania) and in the southern area of Transdanubia was replaced by newcomers from South Slav ethnic groups.[3] Most members of the Ottoman

[2] In the twelfth century the Hungarian king became the ruler of Croatia, which had special autonomy; from the thirteenth century onwards Croatia was ruled by a ban. Slavonia in the Middle Ages meant the western part of the area between the Dráva (Drau, Drava) and Száva (Sava) rivers and along the Száva. The region of Szerémség (Srijem, Srem) is the eastern part of the area between the Dráva and Száva rivers; its name came from the Roman town of Sirmium.

[3] László Blazovich, "Déli szlávok Magyarországon és a Körös-Tisza-Maros közben a 15–16. században" (The South Slav population living in Hungary and between the Körös, Tisza and Maros rivers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), in *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary), ed. József Kovacsics (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997) (hereafter: Kovacsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*), 117–124; László Makkai, "Magyarok és rácok a Dunántúlon" (The Hungarian and *Rác* population in Transdanubia), in *Magyarország története 1526–1686* (History of Hungary 1526–1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 2, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985) (hereafter: *Magyarország története 1526–1686*), 1430–1435; László Makkai, "Az Alföld" (The Hungarian Plain), ibid., 1440–1444; Géza Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule on Hungary," *Hungarian Studies Review* 28, No. 1–2, Special Volume, Hungary: 1001–2001. A Millennial Retrospection (2001):109–132; Gábor Ágoston, "Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary," in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. László Veszprémy and Béla K. Király, War and Society in East Central Europe 37, East European Monographs 621, Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 114 (New York:

military and administrative system residing in Hungary had Balkan origins as well; they came from Bosnia, Macedonia, and Serbia.[4]

Other ethnicities also played a role in the ethnic re-composition of the Carpathian basin in the Early Modern period, including Romanians in Transylvania, Slovaks in the northern territories, and Ruthenians in the northeastern counties.[5] Western towns like Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), Sopron, and the towns of the northern part of Hungary (today's Slovakia) had a significant number of Germans even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Germans living in the Saxon lands of Transylvania, descended from earlier migrants, still formed a privileged group in this period.[6]

Ethnicity, Material Culture, and Historical Archaeology

The first attempts at ethnic interpretation in archaeology date back to the mid-nineteenth century, based on the assumption that an archaeological culture is a phenomenon amenable to historical interpretation. Although direct ethnic identification and the attempt to find the prehistoric roots of present ethnic groups has been rejected since then, the interpretation of archaeological cultures formed by classifying material culture as the remains of certain definable groups of people is still present as one of the bases of the culture historical approach in archaeology up to the present day.[7]

Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002), 85–110. *Rác* is an adjective used in secondary literature for various ethnic groups of Balkan origin.

[4] Klára Hegyi, "Balkan Garrison Troops and Soldier-Peasants in the *Vilayet* of Buda," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24–26 May 2000*, eds. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003) (hereafter: Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*), 23–32.

[5] Teréz Oborni, "Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség összeírásainak demográfiai forrásértéke" (The demographic documentary value of censuses in the Transylvanian Principality), in Kovacsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, 187–192; László Makkai, "Magyarok, szlovákok, németek a Felföldön" (Hungarians, Slovaks and Germans in Upper Hungary) in *Magyarország története 1526–1686*, 1452–1456.

[6] Vera Zimányi, "Városfejlődés és polgárság" (Development of towns and the burghers), in *Magyarország története 1526–1686* (History of Hungary 1526–1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 1, Magyarország története 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 353–383; István Draskóczy, "Szászföldi összeírások és a Szászföld lélekszáma a 15–16. század fordulóján" (The population number and the censuses of Saxony at the turn of the fifteenth century), in Kovacsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, 125–140.

[7] Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997), 3 and 15–26 (hereafter: Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity)*. For critiques

The new archaeological paradigm of the 1960s replaced the former static and homogeneous culture concept with that of culture as a functioning system. The main scope of inquiry was the reason for cultural changes rather than ethnic groups, which are taken as only one of the components.[8] Subsequent theories about material culture from the late 1970s and 1980s investigated the aspect of style and its distinctive role in and among different groups of people. One model defines style as a result of culturally determined choices of possible ways to do things, which also bears an imprint of ethnicity.[9] The other stream of theories about style in archaeology is characterized by a functional approach; it suggests a conceptualization of style as a form of active communication in a social context, with an active symbolic role, supporting ethnicity, symbolizing social territories or associated with ritual.[10] Both kinds of theories have been criticized from various points of view, like, for example, referring to the active role material culture—and style—play in the mediation of social relations and the construction of identities besides simple transmission functions.[11]

Thus, it is necessary not only to see the patterns in sets of archaeological remains, but also to analyze them within their context so as to find out as much as possible about the social structures and interactions that lay behind their formation.[12] Some elements of material culture may have had a role in constructing and signaling ethnic identities, while others did not, or did not always, overlap ethnic boundaries in space and time. Spatial spread and temporal changes

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of this concept see ibid., 107–111.

[8] On the problem in the so-called "New Archaeology" see Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 5–6, 26–29; Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory. An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 20–27 (hereafter: Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*).

[9] James R. Sackett, "Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology: The Case for Isochretism," in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 36 (hereafter: Conkey and Hastorf, ed. *The Uses of Style*); Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 112.

[10] For this active role H. Martin Wobst introduced the notion of "stylistic behavior." See H. Martin Wobst, "Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange," in *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, ed. Charles E. Cleland (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977), especially 317–321.

[11] Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 117–119 Margaret W. Conkey, "Experimenting with Style in Archaeology: Some Historical and Theoretical Issues," in Conkey and Hastorf, ed. *The Uses of Style,* 12–13.

[12] On possible practical approaches of relating material culture to ethnicity in archaeology see Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 119–127. Ian Hodder emphasized the importance of the combination of the two aspects. Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 182.

in material culture have multi-causal explanations, only one of which might be ethnicity.

This issue is especially relevant in the case of historical archaeology, where a rich (but variable) sample of written sources and depictions can be applied to reconstruct a context for items of material culture. The traditional approach was determined by an understanding of archaeology as a complementary method for supplementing written sources, bound to questions which had been formulated based on historical documents.[13] This has changed over the last decades: texts and objects have been interpreted as basically the same types of sources, as both are signs from the past, albeit created with different purposes.[14]

Interpretation is complex; different types of sources have separate classifications into different categories that may or may not overlap. Comparing patterns observed in the different source groups and attempting to correlate them leads to correspondences and non-correspondences or direct contrasts. All these need to be taken into account as they all form the context together, and neglecting any of them can lead to misinterpretation. Questions about differences arise as a starting point for further investigation, and eventual answers can contribute to forming a more complex picture.

Historical Archaeology and the Issue of Ethnicity in Hungary

Distinguishing the remains of a culture imported by an ethnically different group of a different religion has been the focus of interest in the Hungarian historical archaeology of various periods. Analysis has attested that even if the separation of an ethnic group is preserved by privileges, as in the case of Cumans in the late medieval Hungarian Kingdom, assimilation in various aspects of their culture is not simultaneous and is determined by diverse factors on several levels of the social, political, and ethnic context.[15]

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[13] Anders Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts. Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (New York: Plenum, 1998), 31–32, 122–126 (hereafter: Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts*); David Austin, "The 'Proper Study' of Medieval Archaeology," in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea. Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. David Austin and Leslie Alcock (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 11–14 (hereafter: Austin, "The 'Proper Study' of Medieval Archaeology"); Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, 124.

[14] Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts*, 35, 102–103 and 146–157; Austin, "The 'Proper Study' of Medieval Archaeology," 34–35; Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, 156–161.

[15] Gábor Hatházi, "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön" (Pechenegs and Cumans in Mezőföld), in *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain),

The same questions characterized research into the material culture of Ottoman Period Hungary from the very beginning.[16] Scholars investigating the different cultures represented by the Hungarian, Turkish, Balkan, and Western groups of population that were present in the area did not attempt to make rigid distinctions so as to be able to connect elements of material culture to ethnicities. Instead, an attempt was made to reveal their manifold interactions on different social levels and in various contexts. Such complex issues as ethnicity, workshop traditions, representative functions, social interactions and trade have been involved in explanations for the formation of architecture, variations in pottery, tiles, and metalwork.[17] This study is intended to focus on the ethnic interpretations in a special sphere of material culture: clothing; and on the most representative archaeological source: cemeteries.

Sources and Costume History

The questions of present-day costume history tend towards the subjective aspects of sources – pictorial and written – so as to study clothing both as an element of material culture and as a socially, mentally, and spiritually determined and determining factor. Issues that have come to be a focus of interest center on the role of clothing in the interactions between various groups in the representation and designation of gender, social, and ethnic identity, and visual culture.[18]

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ed. Péter Havassy (Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996), 53; András Pálóczi Horváth, "Régészeti adatok a kunok viseletéhez" (Archaeological data on the costume of the Cumans), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 109 (1982): 105.

[16] On the development of academic studies on the material culture of the Ottoman period see József Laszlovszky and Judith Rasson, "Post-Medieval or Historical Archaeology: Terminology and Discourses in the Archaeology of the Ottoman Period," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, especially 377, 381 and 382; Ibolya Gerelyes, "A History of Research in Hungary into Ottoman Art," in *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005) (hereafter: Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*), 11–18.

[17] See, e.g., the studies in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period* and Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*.

[18] See, e.g., "Costume and Fashion," in Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life. The Limits of the Possible. Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century,* vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 311–333; Catherine Richardson, "Introduction," in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 4–9; Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin, "Introduction. Material Strategies Engendered," in *Material Strategies. Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 1–6; Désirée Koslin and Janet Snyder, "Introduction," in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress. Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave, 2002),

The problem of to what degree images can be considered as authentic sources for costume history has been widely discussed.[19] Important factors to take into account when using images to interpret dress include, among others, the peculiarities of the genre, the complex problem of symbolic meanings, the certitude of the dating, the quality of the artwork, patterns and stereotypes that the representations follow, the audience, and the purpose. The use of written sources in costume history through the identification of certain items with surviving or depicted objects is also rather problematic; the terms used in the past often do not correspond to the attributes of present-day classifications.[20]

In Hungary there was a shift in the number of written sources and depictions of costumes in the transition to the Early Modern period compared to the previous centuries. Printed or painted costume books present the clothing of various ethnic groups as an encyclopedic collection with the same idea that lay behind cosmographies in the same period: to present the whole world. Transylvanian Saxons published their works in Germany and France about the origins, lifestyle, customs, and costumes of Saxon, Romanian, and Hungarian ethnic groups in Transylvania[21] (*Fig. 1*). Such typical depictions suggest what costumes and jewelry

1–3; "Conclusion," in Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 154–156; "Introduction," in Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians 1495–1525* (Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1988), especially 6–8.

[19] E.g., Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Images and the Historian," in *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 19–44; Anne Sutton, "Dress and Fashion c. 1470," in *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 7–9.

[20] "Typen und Namen," in Gerhard Jaritz, *Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit: Einführung in die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 41–49; "From Romance to Account Book" in Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 7–9; on the problem in the context of medieval Hungary, see András Kubinyi, "Über das Alltagsleben im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn," in *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Medium Aevum Quotidianum 22, ed. András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky (Krems: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1991), especially 16–19.

[21] For printed examples see: Johannes Troestler, *Das alt- und neu-teutsche Dacia, das ist: neue Beschreibung des Landes Siebenbürgen* (Nuremberg, 1666); Laurentinus Toppeltinus de Medgyes, *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum seu erutae nationes Transsylvaniae...* (Lyon, 1667). The most significant watercolour volumes are preserved in the Marsigli collection in Bologna and in the Library of the British Museum. In Hungary there are fragments, e.g., in the collections of the Hungarian National Library and the Hungarian Academy, see Géza Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok a XVII–XVIII. századból" (Transylvanian costume albums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), in József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century)

were considered to characterize ethnic groups. Their documentary value, however, like that of all types of images, was determined by the characteristics of the genre rather than absolute accuracy of details.[22] On portraits of noblemen sumptuous costume and a setting with objects characterizing the lifestyle of the high aristocracy were meant to indicate the high position of the person portrayed[23] (*Fig. 2*). Various cultural and social reasons lay behind the phenomenon that funeral genres of the nobility and burgers, like catafalque paintings and tombstones, followed traditional standards, even with regard to the costume worn by the effigy of the deceased.[24]

Written documents from the sphere of commerce, like stock inventories, customs lists, and limitations of prices throw light on the origins and distribution of articles of clothing and raw materials. The earliest pattern books, clothing regulations, and peasants' last wills from the region have survived from this period, and the number of extant legal and private documents of nobleman and burghers also increased. All of these provide a relatively broad view of the stages in the process of production, trade, and consumption as they built on each other, and the contemporary evaluation and interpretation of elements of clothing.

Besides the sources for patterns of production and consumption in the areas of German-Hungarian cohabitation, the data on trade relations between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire has special importance for understanding interethnic interactions. Surviving custom lists indicate the significant role of the so-called

(Budapest: Európa, 1990), 81–85 (hereafter: Jankovics, Galavics and R. Várkonyi, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*).

[22] Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 29–33. Gabriele Mentges interpreted costume books from the point of view of how they contribute "to compose the Western idea of autonomous subject" in Gabriele Mentges, "Vestimentäres Mapping. Trachtenbücher und Trachtenhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 46 (2004): 19–36.

[23] See *Főúri ősgaléria, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március – augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors' galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988), ed. Enikő Buzási (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988).

[24] Enikő Buzási, "17th-century Catafalque Painting in Hungary," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 21 (1975): 87–124; Andor Pigler, "Portraying the Dead," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 4 (1957): 1–75. Géza Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet" (The Hungarian royal court and the art of the late Renaissance) in: *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Renaissance courtly culture in Hungary), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 228–248.

Fig. 1. A Lady from Braşov. Figure 42, in József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból.

Fig. 2. Portrait of Borbála Wesselényi painted by an unknown master in 1662. From A szépség dicsérete. 16–17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus – október *ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 64.*

Greek merchants, whose stock lists – mainly from the eighteenth century – contain ready-made clothing besides belts, footwear, textiles, and cheap accessories. These tradesmen of various ethnicities came from all over the Ottoman Empire, transporting goods from the Turkish and Balkan areas. The documents suggest intensive external trade; goods from Western countries and from various parts of the Ottoman Empire were available in the markets of several Hungarian towns and market towns and in Transylvanian towns as well.[25]

Archaeological Sources for Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Hungary

Elements of garments are often found in excavated settlements as discards and also as the remains of production: raw materials, tools, and waste. Valuable accessories made of precious metals were hidden in treasure hoards, especially in periods of military campaigns. The dating of hoards is generally problematic, as the hidden valuables had often been accumulated for generations. Hoards can be interpreted as topographical data for the spread of certain types of jewelry, however, and they suggest the contemporary evaluation.[26]

Cemeteries form the most significant group of archaeological sources for costume. In the following I will summarize the present stage of research on

[25] On the activity of "Greek merchants" see Márta Bur, "A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik a XVIII. századi Magyarországon (1737–1753)" (Merchants from the Balkans and their stock in eighteenth-century Hungary [1737–1753]), *Ethnographia* 96 (1985): 251–275 (hereafter: Bur, "A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik"); Lajos Gecsényi, ""Török áruk' és 'görög kereskedők' a 16–17. századi királyi Magyarországon ('Turkish goods' and 'Greek merchants' in royal Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója emlékére* (Festschrift for the seventieth birthday of Ágnes R. Várkonyi), ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara, 1998), 185–203; Mária Pakucs, *Sibiu – Hermannstadt. Oriental Trade in Sixteenth Century Transylvania* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 74–100, 145–147; Mária Flórián, "Folyamatok a magyar paraszti öltözködés alakulásában (17–20. század)" (Processes in the formation of Hungarian peasants' clothing [from the seventeenth to the twentieth century]), doctoral dissertation, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnography (Budapest, 2006) (hereafter: Flórián, "Folyamatok a magyar paraszti").

[26] On the numismatic interpretation of treasure hoards in Ottoman period Hungary see György V. Székely, "Differentiation or Homogenisation? Structural Changes in the Composition of Coin Finds in Sixteenth-Century Hungary," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, 337–344; on the jewelry contained in treasure hoards Ibolya Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek* (Turkish jewelry) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum,1999), 41–48 (hereafter: Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek*).

sixteenth- and seventeenth-century burials in Hungary with special emphasis on the methodological problems of fieldwork and attempts at ethnic interpretation.

a. Crypts and burials in churches

Burials inside churches have long excited wide interest, partly for the spectacular finds (textiles, weapons, jewels) because objects owned by relatively wealthy layers of society are generally preserved in fairly good condition, and partly because it is often possible to identify the deceased person from other sources. "Excavating" crypts in the nineteenth century meant unearthing finds without documenting their context.[27] The first proper archaeological excavations were conducted in the first decades of the twentieth century, and since the 1940s a number of burials of noblemen and urban citizens have been excavated inside churches, followed by restoration and historical analysis of the garments.[28]

b. Churchyard cemeteries

Researching cemeteries – especially churchyard cemeteries – is a field of medieval and early modern archaeology that raises peculiar problems.[29] Most of the

[27] The collection of the Hungarian National Museum preserves such ensembles, for example, the gold and silver jewelry from Losonc (Lučenec, Slovakia); Judit H. Kolba, "A losonci ékszerlelet" (The jewelery find from Losonc), *Folia Archaeologica* 40 (1970): 175–193.

[28] E.g., Mária V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából" (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak), *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 151–184; Mária V. Ember, "Az egri Rozália kápolna textiljei" (Textiles from the Rosalie chapel in Eger), *Folia Archaeologica* 9 (1957): 119–236; Mária V. Ember, "Az egri Rozália kápolna cipői" (Shoes from the Rosalie chapel in Eger), *Folia Archaeologica* 13 (1961): 251–268. Costumes from churchyard cemeteries have also been reconstructed, e.g., from Debrecen, Ibolya V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' párta" (A *párta* from Debrecen decorated with beads and *boglár*), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1991): 193–224 (hereafter: V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' párta,"); Lilla Erdei, "A debreceni temető 17–18. századi textil leletei" (Seventeenth- and eigteenth-century textiles from the Dobozi cemetery in Debrecen), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (2002–2003): 285–304.

[29] These problems were conceived by Ágnes Ritoók, "A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei" (The latest results of excavations of village churchyards in Hungary) *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 165–176. The same issue was raised by László Révész in the foreword to the conference on medieval cemeteries at the Hungarian National Museum in 2003. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, eds. *"... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13–16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the

churchyard cemeteries in Hungary were in continuous use from the Arpadian age up to the eighteenth, or even the nineteenth, century. The technical aspect of excavation is complex in many cases due to the great number of overlapping graves dating from different centuries. Moreover, in Hungary it is rare that a cemetery is unearthed for its own sake, determined by academic questions, and it is also a special case when the whole site is excavated.

In the last half century burials have been considered, at best, as additional data for reconstructing building history and as sources for the chronology of churches using dating evidence from graves. Nor does the academic approach determine rescue excavations on sites which are disturbed by earthmoving; this is the way that most early modern cemeteries are discovered. The earthmoving project determines which part and how much of the cemetery is unearthed.

Because of these methodological, temporal, and economic restrictions few medieval cemeteries in Hungary have been excavated completely.[30] The publication and analysis of churchyard sites have brought further problems. Most of the results are known to the profession through short archaeological reports.[31] Before the era of electronic databases there was no possibility of publishing the often more than a hundred or thousand graves, even in the more detailed studies; thus, only a subjective selection of the results was made available.

These difficulties characterize even more the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century burials: the latest graves are often only mentioned, and their dating is not well distinguished. Only a few churchyard cemeteries have been unearthed and published that date solely from the Early Modern Age;[32] the reason for this might be the problematic appreciation of such archaeological research until recently.

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valley of the shadow of death." Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13–16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005) (hereafter: Ritoók and Simonyi, eds. "... *a halál árnyékának völgyében járok"*), 8.

[30] One of these rare examples is a churchyard cemetery in Kaposvár: Edith Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II." (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár II), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 8–57 (hereafter: Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.").

[31] *Régészeti Füzetek* (Archaeological Booklets) published annually in Budapest by the Hungarian National Museum between 1958 and 2001, since 2001 the title has been *Régészeti Kutatások* (Archaeological Research in Hungary).

[32] Such examples are the cemeteries at Egervár, published by Géza Fehér, Jr., "Az egervári leletmentő ásatás" (A rescue excavation at Egervár), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 84 (1957): 66–73; Bobáld by Péter Szőcs, Dóra Mérai, and Jacqueline T. Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető és templom 2001. évi régészeti kutatása" (Archaeological investigation of the Nagykároly-Bobáld cemetery and church in 2001), in Ritoók and Simonyi, eds. "... *a halál*

This ambiguity was manifested at the conference on medieval churchyards which was organized by the Hungarian National Museum in 2003.[33] Demonstrably, the excavation and analysis of Early Modern cemeteries can no longer be neglected, as this period itself has come to the foreground in Hungarian archaeology during the last two decades.

c. Cemeteries of South Slav ethnic groups

At the same conference another group of early modern cemeteries was treated: burials of the South Slav ethnic groups in Hungary that had arrived from the south together with the conquering Ottomans. These sites are characterized by the parallel arrangement of graves with very few overlapping burials and the absence of a church.[34]

Although fragments of such cemeteries had already been excavated in the 1940s and 1950s, they remained unpublished at that time. Attila Gaál first raised the subject of the burials of Slavic ethnic groups in his interpretation of the cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató.[35] He found ethnographic parallels for the burial customs among the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century South Slav population. He identified the population of the cemetery with that of a former village known from written sources as belonging to the ethnic group called *iflák*. The author of the skeletal analysis of the remains referred to these suppositions and found the closest physical anthropological parallels among the Vlach population of the territory of present-day Albania, Crna Gora (Montenegro) and the northwestern part of Greece.[36] Although she expressed methodological doubts concerning

árnyékának völgyében járok," 315–324 (hereafter: Szőcs, Mérai, and Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető"); Poroszló by János Győző Szabó, "Poroszló, Földvár utca" (Poroszló, Földvár street), *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 32 (1979): 132.

[33] Published in Ritoók, Simonyi, eds. *"... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok."*

[34] The group of so-called South Slav or *Rác* cemeteries is circumscribed by Erika Wicker, "A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása" (Research on the Balkan population in the period of the Ottoman Conquest in Bács-Kiskun county), *Múzeumi kutatások Bács-Kiskun megyében az ezredfordulón* 10 (1999–2005): 19–29 (hereafter: Wicker, "A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása").

[35] Attila Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16–17. századi temető" (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató), *A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10–11 (1979–80): 133–223 (hereafter: Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16–17. századi temető").

[36] Kinga Éry, "Balkáni eredetű, török kori népesség csontmaradványai Dombóvár határából" (Anthropological remains of a population of Balkan origins in the period of the Turkish conquest from the area of Dombóvár) *A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10–11 (1979–80): 225–298.

the comparison of an Early Modern and a twentieth-century population, her supposition about the Balkan origins of the group has taken root in the Hungarian literature as a reference point, together with the conclusions of Attila Gaál about the direct relation between the finds from garments and ethnicity.

When József Korek, after almost half a century, finally published the results of his excavation at Zombor-Bükkszállás in 1992, he treated Dombóvár-Békató as the main analogy for his own site and identified it as the remains of a South Slav ethnic group called *Bunyevác*.[37] Erika Wicker took up the question of the South Slav cemeteries in Hungary. She defined a group of cemeteries that she related to South Slav ethnic groups, in some cases based on historical sources that referred directly to the inhabitants of the village to which the given cemetery was supposed to belong. She interpreted certain burial customs and finds relating to garments as archaeological indicators of South Slav ethnicity and Orthodox Christian or Muslim religion, and with the help of these included additional cemeteries that could not be identified by historical methods because of the lack of written sources.[38] She went even further and attempted to particularize any features in the cemeteries that she had earlier defined as South Slav which could be interpreted as the traces of Islamic traditions, using analogies from Anatolia and Afghanistan.[39] In the following I will treat the finds and features that have been defined or used in the Hungarian secondary literature as indicators of South Slav ethnicity.

Archaeological Finds Interpreted as Ethnic Markers

Hairpins are one kind of grave find in South Slav cemeteries that have been defined as markers of ethnicity.[40] Hairpins, 6–8 cm long with a small, round head of 3–5

[37] József Korek, "A zombor-bükkszállási 17. századi temető sírleletei" (Finds in the graves of the seventeenth-century cemetery at Zombor-Bükkszállás), *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* (1992): 197 (hereafter: Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás").
[38] Erika Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary" in Gerelyes and Kovács, eds. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 237–248 (hereafter: Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary"); Wicker, "A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása."
[39] Erika Wicker, "Muzulmán elemek a hódoltság kori rácok temetkezési szokásaiban" (Muslim elements in the burial customs of the *Rác* [South Slav] population in the period of the Ottoman Conquest), *Cumania* 18 (2002): 95–124; Erika Wicker, "Adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz" (New data on the burial customs of the South Slav population in the period of the Ottoman Conquest) *Cumania* 19 (2003): 19–84.
[40] Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 238.

mm diameter, are among the most widespread objects on late medieval and early modern sites. They appeared at about the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century and were articles of everyday use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[41] They are common finds in both the churchyards and the cemeteries that have been related to South Slav ethnic groups.[42] The position of the pins, which has proved to be similar in both churchyards and South Slav cemeteries, is not enough information to be able to reconstruct an oriental piece of headgear that distinguishes ethnic groups, as Erika Wicker did.[43]

Ornamented silver hairpins with large spherical heads, also treated as an ethnic marker, have been found in Balkan treasure hoards together with other Turkish-Balkan items of jewelry.[44] Similar hairpins are known in treasure hoards from various parts of Hungary and Transylvania.[45] Several pieces have been found

[41] In burials from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Alajos Bálint, "A Makó-mezőkopáncsi középkori temető sírleletei" (Grave finds from the medieval cemetery at Makó-Mezőkopáncs), *Dolgozatok* 12 (1936), Pl. 74 (hereafter: Bálint, "Makó-Mezőkopáncs"); at Karcag-Asszonyszállás, see László Selmeczi, "Adatok és szempontok a kunok régészeti kutatásához Szolnok megyében" (Data and aspects of the archaeological research on Cumans in Szolnok county), *Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Évkönyv* (1973): 111.

[42] Some examples of churchyard cemeteries with bronze hairpins in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century graves: Bajót, grave No. 16, see Sarolta Lázár, "A bajóti római katolikus templom kutatása" (Archaeological research on the Catholic church in Bajót), *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1999): 297; in eighteen graves at Kaposvár, see Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 20; Kide, graves No. 103, 104, 110 and 112, see Júlia Kovalovszki, "A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)" (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 21–22.

[43] Erika Wicker and Mihály Kőhegyi, "A katymári XVI–XVII. századi rác temető" (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *Rác* [South Slav] cemetery at Katymár), *Cumania* 18 (2002): 21 and 28 (hereafter: Wicker and Kőhegyi, "Katymár").

[44] Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 242; Wicker and Kőhegyi, "Katymár," 54–55, footnote No. 145; Erika Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén a XVI–XVII. században" (*Rác* ethnicity between the Danube and the Tisza in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), in *Ezer év a Duna-Tisza közén* (A thousand years between the Danube and the Tisza), ed. János Bárth (Kecskemét: Katona József Múzeum, 2001), 155 (hereafter: Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén"). Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek*.

[45] Károly Pulszky and Jenő Radisics, *Az ötvösség remekei a magyar történeti ötvöskiállításon* (The masterpieces of goldsmith's work at the Hungarian historical goldsmiths' exhibition), vol. 2 (Budapest: 1885), 9–10; Ana Maria Cipăianu, "Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin" (From the history of Transylvanian silverwork. The hairpins from the treasure hoard of Huedin), *Acta Musei Napocensis* 10. (1973): 653–663; Béla Kövér, "A középkori sodrony-zománcz kérdéséhez" (On the problem of medieval

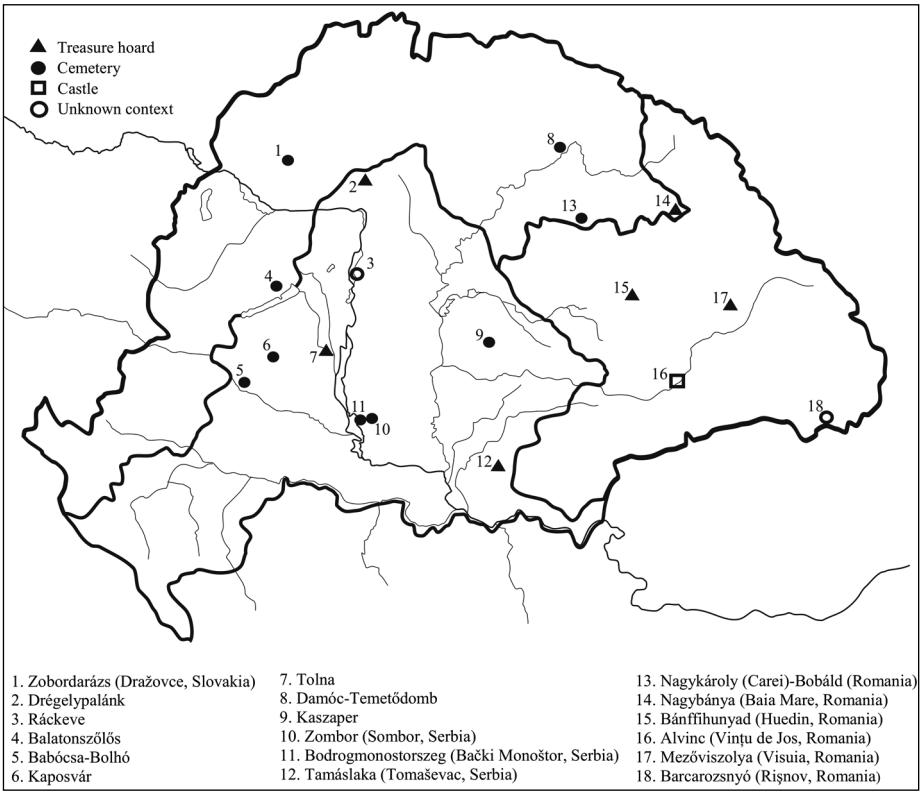

Fig. 3. Distribution of hairpins with large spherical heads in Hungary. Prepared by the author.

in churchyard cemeteries, and probably the reason for not having an even larger sample is the small number of excavated and published churchyards[46] (*Fig. 3*).

cloisonné), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 12 (1892): 33; József Mihalik, "A nagybányai ékszerlelet" (The jewelry hoard from Nagybánya), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 26 (1906): 116–129; Ecaterina Telcean, "Tezaurul de la Visuia (sec. XVI)" (The treasure of Visuia, sixteenth century), *File de Istorie* 4 (1976): 205–216; Zsuzsa Lovag and Annamária T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet" (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna), *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 219–244. (hereafter: Lovag and T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet").

[46] Alajos Bálint, "A kaszaperi középkori templom és temető" (The church and cemetery at Kaszaper), *Dolgozatok* 14 (1938): 161 and pl. 17, fig. 7; Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 22–23; Csaba László, "A balatonszőlősi református templom kutatása" (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszőlős), *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 116 and 120, fig. 12; Alexander T.

A further piece was found in Alvinc castle (Vinţu de Jos, Romania, *Fig. 4*), and another one in a Transylvanian Saxon settlement.[47] Depictions and written sources also attest that Saxon women fastened their veils with similar pins (*Fig. 1*), and portraits of the nobility show how their more valuable items were worn. Thus, silver hairpins with large spherical heads cannot be considered as specific for any ethnic group.

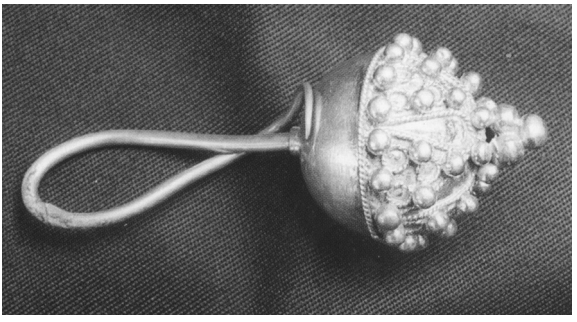

Fig. 4. Hairpin found in the castle of Alvinc (Vinţu de Jos, Romania). Figure 25 from Adrian Andrei Rusu, Gotic şi Renaştere la Vinţu de Jos *(Gothic and Renaissance in Vinţu de Jos) (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998), 130.*

Two-piece clothing clasps consisting of an omega-shaped loop and a hook are still used today. Made of bronze and iron, they occur in burials dating from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century[48] and a significant number of them is known from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Clasps

Ruttkay, "Archeologický výskum kostola sv. Michala v Nitre, časť Dražovce a v jeho okolí – informácia o výsledkoch" (Archaeological research on the church of St. Michael in Dražovce, a part of Nitra, and its surroundings – a report on the results), *Archaeologia Historica* 22 (1997): fig. 8/4; Ioan Németi, "Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul oraşului Carei" (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei), *Studii şi Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5–6 (1981–82): 172–173 and plates XLIV–XLV.

[47] Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gotic şi Renaştere la Vinţu de Jos* (Gothic and Renaissance in Vinţu de Jos) (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998), 36, 68 and fig. 130/25 (hereafter: Rusu, *Gotic şi Renaştere la Vinţu de Jos*); an unpublished piece from Barcarozsnyó (Rişnov, Romania).

[48] E.g., in the cemetery at Makó-Mezőkopáncs, Bálint, "Makó-Mezőkopáncs," plate no. LXXIV; at Kaposvár in grave No. 411 dated with a coin of Sigismund, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 27. At Csút in a fifteenth-century grave, László Gerevich, "A csúti középkori sírmező" (A medieval cemetery at Csút), *Budapest Régiségei* 13 (1943): 156.

with hooks were used to fasten the clothes of both males and females, and they have been found in diverse positions in the graves of various cemeteries. The archaeologist of the South Slav cemetery of Dombóvár assumed that they could have served to fasten the shirts of females and the waistband of the skirt or loose, oriental trousers.[49] A similar female garment was represented on a seventeenth-century watercolour of a *Rác* woman from Transylvania.[50] Compared to the representations of other ethnic groups in the same watercolour series, the depictions testify that the main difference between the clothes of different ethnic groups lay in the cut and colours, which are not known from archaeological contexts.[51] There is no reason that similar buttons or clasps could not have been applied on significantly different garments, and the typical clothing of the same ethnic group could have been fastened with different accessories. Taking up the question of buttons, a similar cautious approach is expedient when reconstructing an oriental, caftan-like piece of clothing (dolman) fastened by the one, two or three buttons situated on the right side just below the neck.[52] Furthermore, the features and objects found in graves reflect burial customs, not necessarily the actual way clothing was worn in daily life. Thus, even if buttons are more frequent in one cemetery than another, this does not indicate the actual popularity of wearing dolmans, but may only reflect a difference in the funeral practice.[53]

Nevertheless, there are indeed objects belonging to garments that have only been found in the cemeteries of South Slav ethnic groups up to now. In both churchyard and South Slav cemeteries women and infants were buried in decorated headgear, but the ornaments are different and characteristic. Items including cowries and pendants, which have not been found in churchyard cemeteries, occur in South Slav cemeteries.[54]

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[49] Attila Gaál, "The Sixteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató," in Gerelyes, Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, 225.

[50] "A Rascian's wife," Jankovics, Galavics and R. Várkonyi, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, fig. 58.

[51] E.g., "A Hungarian Tradesman's wife" wears a similar short dolman with a row of shank buttons, and her hair is covered with a kechief, but the color and the cut of the dress are different, ibid., fig. 12.

[52] As reconstructed by Wicker and Kőhegyi, "Katymár," 59, footnote 163.

[53] Wicker and Kőhegyi, "Katymár," 59, footnote 163, interpreted the number of dolman buttons in the graves as reflecting the popularity of wearing a dolman. It is known from ethnography that in several areas of Hungary, however, they used to bury the deceased in a shirt, e.g., Júlia Csapó, *A tarpai temetés* (Burials at Tarpa), Honismereti kutatások Szabolcs-Szatmárban 4 (Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 1977), 81.

[54] On cowries see Graves No. 65, 84, 100, 130, 224 at Dombóvár, graves No. 72 and 85 in Zombor, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16–17. századi temető," 139, 141 and 143; Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," 183, 190 and plate III; Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from

Similar issues have been raised concerning rituals and the problem of religion and ethnicity. The custom of giving coins to the deceased has been interpreted as a characteristically South Slav ritual.[55] However, giving coins was a practice throughout the Middle Ages,[56] and it became increasingly characteristic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It cannot be related to any single ethnic group, as it has been found among Hungarians, Wallachians, and Serbians.

The wide variety of the positions of the arms, interpreted as ethnically, or rather religiously, specific to Orthodox Christians,[57] has even served as a key for defining sites as cemeteries of the South Slav population of settlements known from historical sources.[58] Similar variations have been documented in churchyard cemeteries, however, especially those that have been published since the emergence of the question in a South Slav context.[59] These examples, at

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the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 239; László Kovács, "Cowry Shells in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Hungary," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 345–350. On pendants see Wicker and Kőhegyi, "Katymár," 55–77 and fig. 7 on page 90; Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," plate No. V, fig. 1.

[55] Sándor Mithay, "A győr-gabonavásártéri XVI–XVII. századi temető" (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery at Győr-Gabonavásártér) *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae* (1985): 194; Sarolta Lázár, "An Ottoman-Age Cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, 234.

[56] On the custom of giving coins in earlier periods in Hungary see Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 10.

[57] Based on János Győző Szabó, "A keleti kereszténység egyik ismertetőjele temetkezéseinkben" (A mark of Eastern Christianity in burials), *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 28 (1983): 83–98. Recently Miklós Takács has compared the positions of arms found in ninth- to twelfth-century cemeteries in the northern Balkans and concluded that the position with hands raised to the shoulder "cannot be considered as an indisputably interpretable ritual element." Miklós Takács, "Egy vitatott kéztartásról" (On a debated gesture), in Ritoók and Simonyi, eds. "... *a halál árnyékának völgyében járok,*" 85–101.

[58] Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 242; Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén," 152; Wicker, "Észak-Bácska a hódoltság korában" (The northern part of Bácska in the period of the Ottoman Conquest), *Cumania* 20 (2004): 82.

[59] Szőcs, Mérai, and Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető," 316 (it is not excluded that the population was Orthodox); Mária Béres, "Az óföldeáki temető üzenete" (The heritage of the cemetery at Óföldeák), in Ritoók and Simonyi, ed. "... *a halál árnyékának völgyében járok,*" 300 and fig. 4; Erika Simonyi, "Középkori és kora újkori temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson" (A medieval and early modern cemetery at Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás), in Ritoók and Simonyi, eds. "... *a halál árnyékának völgyében járok,"* 308. In Bobáld, Óföldeák and Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás burials with hands laid on the shoulders or the pelvis were found, like in South Slav cemeteries. The author of the study on Felsőzsolca did not exclude the possibility that burials in these positions can be related to Ruthenian immigrants mentioned in written sources, ibid., 308.

least, counsel caution until there is a sufficient amount of comparative data from churchyards and cemeteries in the various parts of the Balkans from which the population came.

Comparing the find material of South Slav cemeteries and churchyards, most of the objects and rituals that were labeled as indicators of ethnicity in the earlier secondary literature have been observed on both types of sites, so they do not characterize specific ethnic groups. It can be concluded that ethnic interpretations of a site based on written sources and the archaeological finds must be approached as separate problems. The ethnic definition of a population does not necessarily mean that their objects indicated their ethnicity.

Alternative Explanations: Social Context, Prestige Representation, and Exchange of Goods

According to written sources and depictions, decorative hairpins formed a part of the headdress of noble ladies and urban citizens as well. Particularly valuable pieces are listed in inventories of the movable possessions of the seventeenth-century aristocracy: e.g., "a golden hairpin in which there is one sapphire, five rubies, an old [=big] pearl and two small ones" was mentioned in 1639,[60] "a pin to wear on the head and two roll-up pins made of silver" in 1644,[61] and "two pins with gems, one with diamonds and rubies, the other with sapphires and emeralds" in 1647.[62] Depictions of noble ladies show how hairpins were worn.[63]

Besides a description by Wilhelm Dillich, depictions, for instance in costume-books, also suggest that hairpins were considered to characterize the headwear of

[60] The personalia delivered by the wife of Mátyás Andrássy to the wife of Zsigmond Thököly. Baron Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1896) vol. 2, 270 (Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*). The original texts are in Hungarian, translated into English by me.

[61] The testament of the wife of Mihály Bécsi, ibid., 289.

[62] Owned by Ilona Woiszka, ibid., 294.

[63] E.g., the portraits of Countess Kata Thököly and Éva Thököly, wives of Prince Pál Esterházy, *Főúri ősgaléria, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március – augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors' galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March–August 1988), ed. Enikő Buzási (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988), figs. 12 and 72.

Saxon citizens[64] (*Fig. 1*). In the case of objects from archaeological contexts it is more difficult to define which social layers used them. The hairpin found in the castle of Alvinc was associated with the sphere of the highest nobility of Transylvania (*Fig. 4*), whereas the one from Barcarozsnyó (Râşnov, Romania) was probably owned by an inhabitant of a Saxon fortified town.

The present state of research in Hungary affects the possibilities for attempting to identify the populations of cemeteries. In the churches of Balatonszőlős and Zobordarázs (Dražovce, Slovakia) graves containing hairpins were situated in the sanctuary, which indicates that the deceased were prominent persons in the area.[65] The historical study of the early modern cemetery of Nagykároly-Bobáld, from which the greatest number of hairpins has been published, led to some different conclusions: the gilded silver hairpins and buckle from the graves were owned by the members of a population that belonged to a wealthy upwardly mobile layer of peasants.[66]

In the case of treasure hoards there is no information on the owner of the objects nor on the person who hid them, except for the hoard of Tolna. One of the objects bears the inscribed name of Mátyás Kádas, who probably belonged to a lower but wealthy layer of merchants. The gilded and silver mounts, buckles decorated with vegetal ornaments and small figures, and a chain were originally applied on a textile band and constituted a type of belt that characterized the female costume of the middle layer of sixteenth-century nobility.[67] However, similar belts of lower quality from Transylvania, produced with a less elaborate technology, were part of the costumes of burghers in the second half of the seventeenth century.[68]

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[64] The text by Dillich is quoted by: Lovag and T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet," 226, footnote No. 10; Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 22, footnote No. 35 (my translation); Jankovics, R. Várkonyi and Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, figs. 14, 18, 32, 42.

[65] Alexander T. Ruttkay, "A szlovákiai templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatásáról" (Research on churchyard cemeteries in Slovakia), in Ritoók and Simonyi, ed, "... *a halál árnyékának völgyében járok*," 38; Csaba László, "A balatonszőlősi református templom kutatása" (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszőlős), *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 116.

[66] Szőcs, Mérai, and Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető," 315–324.

[67] Lovag and T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet," 219–244.

[68] In the collections of the Hungarian National Museum and the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest; Ibid., 230, 233–234. A similar belt is depicted on a painting in the Bruckenthal Museum from about 1680, depicting a Saxon woman in gala dress. Sándor Domanovszky, ed. *A kereszténység védőbástyája* (The bulwark of Christendom), Magyar

The problem of dating and quality concerns hairpins as well. The hoard from Tomaševac (Serbia) was related to rustic jewelry of Turkish-Balkan origin by the archaeologist Ibolya Gerelyes.[69] As analogies she refers to hoards from the Balkans and Serbia which are dated to the second half or end of the seventeenth century according to associated coins. The jewelry of these hoards is rather rustic, made of lower quality silver, decorated with granulated silver beads, filigree-work, and glass disks. The pins from Tomasevác are not of this type, however; they are more elaborate, with rich, finely formed filigree and without pendants. Similar pieces from Alvinc (Vinţu de Jos, Romania; *Fig. 4*), Nagybánya (Baia Mare, Romania) and Balatonszőlős are from sixteenth-century contexts. The question is whether rustic style and rather low quality indicate a chronological difference, as seems to be the case with the belts, or the different economic opportunities, ambitions, and social status of the owners. An answer cannot be given at the present state of research without the detailed archaeological context of each object and historical studies concerning the settlements and the populations of the sites.

The decoration of pin heads with granulated silver beads and red and white glass inlay can be interpreted as an imitation of the pearl, ruby, and diamond ornaments of the aristocracy; according to the sources these were the most popular elements of their jewelry.[70] Balkan-type hairpins would have been accessible and visible enough to copy the headgear of the highest strata, and burghers, wealthy peasants and the members of the lower nobility could also afford to possess them and apply them to their traditional headgear. These are the only items of the Balkan treasure hoards that appear in churchyard cemeteries and among the Saxons, however, probably because the other types of Balkan jewelry did not correspond at all to the model set by the elite in this particular area.

A similar example which supports the presumption about hairpins concerning the transmission of forms between social layers and the relation of the quality and material to the social position of the owner, is the female item of headgear called *párta*. The exact meaning of the word *párta* is still debated; it covers different types of decorated women's headgear. Various adjectives specify the term in written

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Művelődéstörténet (Hungarian cultural history), vol. 3 (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d), 380.

[69] Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek*, 41–49 and figs 22–28.

[70] Erika Kiss, "Arany művek, köves marhák" (Goldsmith's work, precious stones), in *A szépség dicsérete. 16–17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus – október* (In praise of beauty. Costumes and habits of the Hungarian aristocracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August–October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 32. (hereafter: Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*)

sources referring to either the form or the function, the marital status or age of the wearer, but the correspondence of the types listed in the documents with the objects known from depictions or finds is rather problematic.[71]

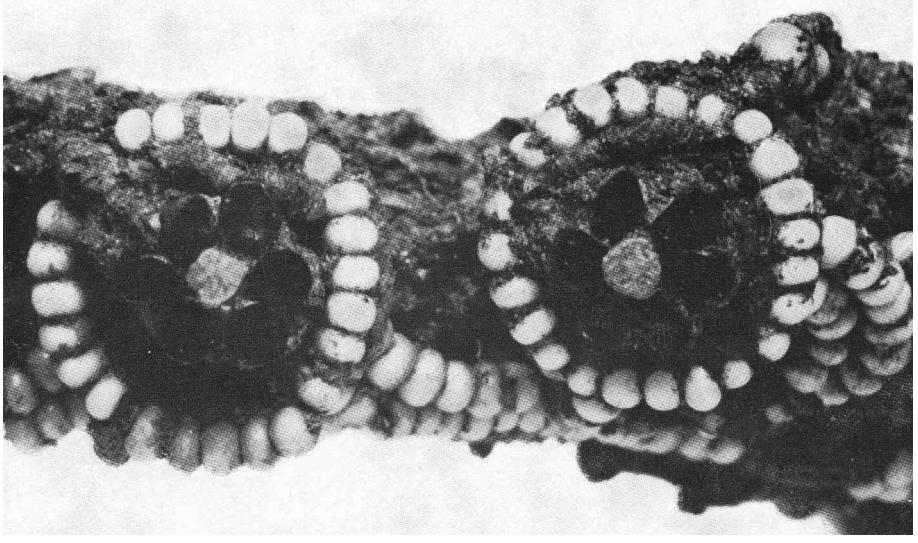

*Fig. 5. Ornaments (*boglár*) composed of rubies and red glass plates on the headgear from Tiszaörvény. Figure 2 in Béla Horváth, "A tiszaörvényi párta és pártaöv" (The* párta *and belt from Tiszaörvény),* Folia Archaeologica *21(1970): 159.*

The headgear of noble ladies was made of gold and silver or precious textiles like silk and velvet, decorated with pieces of ornaments called *boglár* in the sources, composed of diamonds, rubies, and a great number of pearls, usually in the form of a flower (*Fig. 2*). In the case of some *párta* known from archeological contexts, besides golden ornaments, flower motifs were formed of garnet disks[72]

[71] Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 229–235. The explanation provided by Irena Turneau in English in the glossary of her book is a simplification of the meaning; *párta* can take various forms, not just semicircular, and nor does the author refer to the diverse decoration patterns, Irena Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Warsaw: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991), 164.

[72] József Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei" (Archaeological finds from the crypt of the Protestant church in Csenger), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 48 (1934): 108–109 (hereafter: Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei); Ibolya V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' párta" (A *párta* from Debrecen decorated with beads and *boglár*), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1991): 195; Géza

(*Fig. 5*). It is likely that garnets and red glass substituted for the ruby decoration of the objects of the high nobility. Though these burials have not been attributed to particular families, it seems that at least some of them can be assigned to the lower nobility.

Another way to imitate the pieces of *boglár* on the headgear of high nobility was to form knobs of paper, rags or fibrous plants, cover them with textile and decorate them with glass, beads, copper or bronze sequins and metal wire or simply to group beads, spirals of bronze and textile twist, and sequins in a way that they composed a flower motif that stands out in relief. These types of headgear characterize churchyard cemeteries all over the country, in various ethnic contexts.[73] Many items of simple headgear decorated with beads and cowries must have been home-made.

The explanation for the occurrence of similar garnet ornaments in various contexts can be that they were purchased through trade, probably from Bohemia.[74] Retailers also sold ready-made *párta*; and Greek merchants offered various elements that were needed to fabricate one.[75] There seem to have been no clear distinctions between the form and the material of objects owned by the

Megay, "A miskolci avasi templom 1941. évi ásatása" (Excavation in the church on Avas in Miskolc in 1941), *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 9 (1970): 133; Béla Horváth, "A tiszaörvényi párta és pártaöv" (A *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 157 (hereafter: Horváth, "A tiszaörvényi párta és pártaöv"); Dóra Mojzsis, "XVI–XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylózsi leletanyagból" (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century headgear in the finds from Nagylózs), *Folia Archaeologica* 35 (1984): 195–196 and 197, fig. 1; Judit Edőcs, "Középkori párták a jáki templom mellől" (Medieval headgear from the churchyard cemetery at Ják), *Savaria* 28 (2004): 361–362, and 365, figs 1–7.

[73] E.g., in Feldebrő and Kéttornyúlak, Emőke S. Laczkovits, "16–17. századi kéttornyúlaki párták és párhuzamaik" (Sixteenth- and seventeenth- century examples of *párta* from Kéttornyúlak and their analogies), *Veszprémi Történelmi Tár* (1989): 35, 39; Kaposvár, grave No. 836, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 17; Óföldeák, Grave No.74, Mária Béres, "Előzetes jelentés az óföldeáki templom körüli temetőről" (Report on the churchyard cemetery at Óföldeák), in *A legmakaibb makai. Tanulmányok a 75 éves dr. Tóth Ferenc tiszteletére* (Studies in honor of the seventy-five-year-old Ferenc Tóth), ed. Attila Marosvári and István Zombori (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Önkormányzat, 2003), 189.

[74] Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei," 108–109. There are data on significant Transylvanian garnet sources, too, although only from the eighteenth century. Bohemian garnets are of the pyrope type that occurs in much smaller pieces, which might have been the reason for distributing them composed in flower forms. I kindly thank Eszter Horváth for this information.

[75] Mária Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek* (Hungarian peasant's costumes) (Budapest: Planétás, 2001), 83 refers to Antal Horváth, "Szombathelyi kereskedő üzleti leltára a

lower layers of the nobility and wealthy peasants. The archaeological distribution of ornaments suggests that they were spread by trade and members of different social layers acquired their headgear according to their financial resources.

Similarly, the archaeological distribution of the pins might be related to trade. The production place of single hairpins ornamented with large spherical heads has not been investigated yet; it is not known whether they were actually made in Balkan workshops. Their distribution may possibly be related to the so-called "Greek merchants" all over Hungary. Unfortunately, only eighteenth-century lists of their stock have survived, containing household articles, textiles, ready-made clothes, and small notions: buttons, clasps, and also pins, in one case specified as *báb-tű*, which probably means a pin with a head.[76] Mária Flórián has offered the opinion on textiles that the activity of Greek merchants has not been sufficiently researched yet,[77] and the same is true of metal objects that turn up in archaeological contexts. The role of the so-called Greek merchants could have been a contributing factor in the appearance of Balkan elements, but it is hard to interpret the distribution of types unless more finds are published, supported with historical research on their social and ethnic contexts. An alternative explanation instead of the ethnic approach may be that the pins were widely available to substitute for the ruby- and diamond-covered flowers of noble ladies and each ethnic and social group applied them to its own headdress.

Conclusion

The example of the activity of the Greek merchants, which is documented by written sources even before the Ottoman Conquest and after the end of it in the eighteenth century, indicates that patterns of culture and trade do not necessarily correspond to political and/or ethnic boundaries in either space or time. Even if the separation of an ethnic group is preserved, the assimilation in various aspects of their culture is not simultaneous, and is determined by diverse factors on several levels of the social, political and ethnic context. It does not seem to be justified to seek objects and features that are indicators of ethnicity, but rather to seek sets of features or criteria that can be interpreted in the complex recognition of ethnicity in the context of political, social, and cultural structures and processes. There is no other monocausal explanation for the archaeological distribution of

XVII. század közepén" (An inventory of the stock of a merchant in Szombathely in the mid-seventeenth century), *Néprajzi Közlemények* 1 (1956): 256–272.

[76] Bur, "A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik," 257–271.

[77] Flórián, "Folyamatok a magyar paraszti," 16.

material culture to offer instead of ethnicity, but a set of alternative explanations: cultural interchange, trade, and financial and mental factors of the market for certain objects, such as social display, prestige representation, and imitation of the material culture of a higher social strata.

A significant increase in the amount of available data, namely excavated, analyzed and published South Slav and churchyard cemeteries, would form an adequate base for investigating the manifestation of these aspects. Research questions need to be formulated and adapted to the character of the sources, however: archaeological remains represent only fragments of their contemporary context, which was much more complex than just ethnicity.

VIRGIN MARTYRS AND THEIR LATE MEDIEVAL AUDIENCE

Kristina Potuckova

St. Margaret, kneeling on the ground about to be beheaded, looms over a much smaller female figure to her right, the presumed donor of the painting, currently identified as Hedwig of Teschen (*Fig. 1*).[1] Almost inconspicuous, Hedwig directs her reverent gaze downwards, hands clasped in prayer. This scene is one of the four panel paintings dated to 1510–1520 representing the illustrious life of St. Margaret on the open wings of the High Altar of St. Margaret in Mlynica (Malompatak, Mühlenbach), Slovakia. St. Margaret and the donor are not the only women depicted on this altarpiece. A statue of St. Margaret has the central place in the shrine, flanked by St. Elizabeth, St. Barbara, and two other female saints. The closed wings further abound in the images of female saints, most of them virgin martyrs.[2]

Out of all attributes typical of virgin martyr saints, virginity is the one least susceptible to visual representation. Their lives, tortures, triumphs, even their intercessory powers generally find an easier way into the realm of art: panel paintings, murals, statues. Does that, however, make virginity irrelevant for the interpretation of these works? To the mind of a present-day viewer, who looks at an altarpiece several hundred years after it first came to grace the sacred space of a church, much of what constitutes the identity of the saint as a virgin remains lost. Still, traces of the popularity of these saints, too numerous to be regarded as

[1] Hedwig of Teschen was the widow of Štefan Zápoľský (István Szapolyai) of the prominent Zápoľský (Szapolyai) family. For the recent identification of the donor see Jiří Fajt's catalogue entry in Dušan Buran, ed., *Gotika* (Gothic art) (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 752–753. For the activities of the family as patrons of art see Jiří Fajt, "Medzi dvorom a mestom. Maliarstvo na Spiši okolo roku 1500 a magnátska rodina Zápoľských" (Between the court and the town. Painting in Spiš around the year 1500 and the magnate Zápoľský family) in *Gotika* (Gothic art), ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 399–427. Previously, the donor was identified as Margaret Thurzó, the daughter of another prominent family. See Libuše Cidlinská, *Gotické krídlové oltáre na Slovensku* (Gothic winged altarpieces in Slovakia) (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), 62. (henceforth: Cidlinská, *Oltáre*).

[2] St. Christina, St. Lucy, St. Apollonia, St. Ursula (with her eleven thousand virgins in the scene of their martyr deaths), and St. Genevieve are all virgin martyrs. Only St. Martha and St. Mary Magdalene do not belong to this group. The Ten Thousand Martyrs are the only representatives of male sainthood, as standard fellow companions of the Death of St. Ursula.

Fig.1. Life of St. Margaret – The Beheading. High Altar of St. Margaret, Mlynica (Malompatak, Mühlbach), Slovakia. REALonline Datenbank, www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline

second-rate or incidental, are left scattered about Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia), best preserved in the form of statues and paintings on the altarpieces of village and town churches.

It is the aim of this article to offer some interpretations for the ways in which the virginity of these saints might have contributed to their appeal to the lay believer. In particular, I have attempted to outline how this category of female saints and their virginity might have been internalized by a female audience. Such an attempt necessitates a concise discussion of the nature of virginity itself during the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, it is the manifestation of these ideas that originally sparked my interest and therefore a brief introduction of visual material from Upper Hungary shall serve as the starting point of this article.

Virgin Martyrs in Late Medieval Altarpieces of Upper Hungary[3]

The panel paintings and statues integrated in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century altarpieces of Upper Hungary constitute, in terms of the quantity of extant

[3] For an informative, albeit partly outdated, overview of the Gothic altarpieces and their iconography in this region see Cidlinská, *Oltáre*. Ivan Gerát, *Stredoveké obrazové témy na Slovensku: osoby a príbehy* (Medieval pictorial themes in Slovakia: Figures and stories) (Bratislava: Veda, 2001) provides a comprehensive survey of iconographic themes

pieces, a representative body of material that provides some clues to the extent and reception of different cults of saints and their particular features.[4] The four so-called capital virgins[5] in turn represent a group among the virgin martyr saints distinguished by its popularity and number of representations in this region. St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Margaret of Antioch, St. Barbara, and St. Dorothea (who joined the original group later) are the only virgin martyrs whose inspiring lives are not simply conveyed through a figure of the saint accompanied by her attributes. Instead, their legends also appear in scenes or cycles on altarpieces. Even though the capital virgins enjoy a certain prominence, their fellow virgin martyrs do not fall behind. St. Ursula,[6] St. Apollonia, St. Agnes, St. Agatha, and St. Lucy frequently join the capital virgins group (even perhaps replace one or two of the traditional members) and together the virgin martyrs can appear in different combinations. To my knowledge, sixty altarpieces in this region incorporate a figure of (or a scene from the life of) a virgin martyr in their iconography.[7]

In terms of iconographic patterns, virgin martyrs frequently accompany Virgin Mary. This is especially the case in a specific type of altarpiece, the *Viereraltar* (altar of four), which was probably imported from Silesia and spread

present in Slovak medieval art. For some theoretical problems of the interpretation of iconography in Slovak medieval art see: Ivan Gerát, "Konvencie obrazovej hagiografie. Kľúčové scény hagiografických obrazových cyklov: otázka stereotypov" (Conventions of pictorial hagiography. The key scenes of hagiographic pictorial cycles: The question of stereotypes) in *Problémy dejín výtvarného umenia Slovenska* (Problems of the history of visual arts in Slovakia) (Bratislava: Veda, 2002), 79–119; Ivan Gerát, "O porovnávaní neskorogotickej maľby," (On comparing late Gothic painting) in *Pocta Vladimírovi Wagnerovi: Zborník štúdií k otázkam interpretácie stredoeurópskeho umenia 2* (In honor of Vladimír Wagner: A collection of studies on the interpretation of Central European art 2), ed. Štefan Oriško (Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 2004), 79–94.

[4] Mural paintings were also part of the standard "equipment" of the public space of church interiors. I have concentrated on altarpieces since they have been less prone to damage or alterations over the course of time.

[5] *Virgines capitales*. For the usage of this term see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Vol. 8, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Rome: Herder, 1994), 573.

[6] For the origins of the cult of St. Ursula and its visual expressions see Joan A. Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women: Visualizing the Holy Virgins in Cologne," *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 67–118.

[7] This number is tentative. Not all saints are clearly identifiable and there might be fragments I am not aware of. Nevertheless, any additions to the number would not substantially change the overall picture. For the full catalogue of the altarpieces see Kristina Potuckova, "Virginity, Sanctity, and Image: The Virgines Capitales in Upper Hungarian Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," MA Thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2007) (henceforth: Potuckova, "Virgines Capitales").

Fig. 2. Virgin Mary and capital virgins. High Altar of the Virgin Mary, Vlková (Farkasfalva), Slovakia. REALonline Datenbank, www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline

through Upper Hungary in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[8] It is not uncommon for the Virgin Mary to dominate the shrine and be flanked by several virgin martyrs (*Fig. 2*).

The dedications of the altarpieces demonstrate a similar tendency—virgin martyrs most often appear on altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary. If the capital virgins' group is considered indicative, the numbers reveal that in most cases these saints can be found on altarpieces dedicated to the Virgin Mary and female saints.[9] The iconographic programs of some of these altarpieces, especially smaller ones,[10] bear out a preoccupation with female saints. The High Altar of St. Margaret in Mlynica is among the most extensive examples, where even the figure of Jesus

[8] A statue or a painting of the main saint is placed prominently in the shrine of a *Viereraltar*. The central image is flanked by figures of four saints, two vertically on each side. János Végh, "O krídlových oltároch," (On winged altarpieces) in *Gotika* (Gothic art), ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 357–363.

[9] Virgin Mary (25), St. Catherine (4), St. Barbara (2), St. Margaret (1), St. Anne and St. Barbara (1), St. Anne (5), St. Mary Magdalene (2), St. Apollonia (1), St. Elizabeth (1), and St. Sophia (1). Even taking into consideration the possibility that some of these dedications have undergone a change, this is unlikely to have influenced the overall pattern. As popular and powerful saints, the capital virgins are also included in the altarpieces dedicated to male saints and various episodes from the life of Christ or the Virgin Mary. For a more detailed enumeration see Potuckova, "Virgines Capitales," 30–32.

[10] For example: The Small Altar of St. Catherine, Levoča (Lőcse), originally Vyšné Repáše (Felsőrépás); the Altar of St. Catherine, Kežmarok (Késmárk); the Altar of St. Anne, Lipany (Héthárs, Siebenlinden).

Christ in the predella is flanked by the Wise and Foolish Virgins. In some, a different female saint breaks into the capital virgins' group: St. Elizabeth,[11] St. Helen,[12] or St. Mary Magdalene.[13] The Altar of St. Mary Magdalene in Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya, Neusohl), originally from Jakub (Szentjakabfalva), shows the life of the penitent sinner, who stands erectly in its shrine, flanked by St. Agnes (*Fig. 3*), St. Barbara, St. Catherine, and St. Dorothea.

Fig. 3. St. Agnes, Altar of St. Mary Magdalene, Jakub (Szentjakabfalva), Slovakia. REALonline Datenbank, www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline

Whichever particular iconography one scrutinizes, the prominent position that the *virgines capitales,* and female virgin martyrs take in general would support the argument that this type of sainthood, centered on characters from Late Antiquity, still held considerable appeal for a late medieval audience. Their claim to being one of the ideals of female sanctity does not seem to have been weakened through the presence of such popular saintly role models as St. Elizabeth, whose deeds were imitable in urban society. Rather, the female saints whom the beholder could encounter on late Gothic altarpieces often represent much of the spectrum of ideal femininity in the Christian context—from the unattainable Virgin Mary, the ultimate virgin and mother, through St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the ideal of charitable life, joined

[11] The High Altar of the Virgin Mary, Rakúsy (Rókus).
[12] The Altar of the Virgin Mary, Spiška Nová Ves (Igló, Zipser Neudorf).
[13] The Altar of the Virgin Mary, Mlynica.

by St. Mary Magdalene, the penitent, to—last but not least—the female virgin martyrs, epitomes of Christian virginity.

Virgin Body, Virgin Soul

The written legends of virgin martyrs typically share several elements.[14] The saint is described as a beautiful woman and a dedicated virgin. These traits suggest nobility (frequently the saint is a noblewoman) and innocence. She is a devout Christian amidst a heathen environment. She invariably arrives at a point of conflict with a heathen antagonist (a ruler, a father) who in some way threatens her virginity. This threat often takes the form of a marriage proposal or some form of sexual assault and results in a trial. The saint is exposed to a series of physical tortures during this trial, which she triumphantly withstands, ultimately to be beheaded.

The legends promote the idea of virginity in its most comprehensive form, uniting its physical and spiritual aspects. Both the bodies and souls of these saints are virgin, pure, unpolluted, and intact. Nonetheless, it is worth considering how the different facets of this concept are represented. The preoccupation with the body of the saint emerges clearly from the legends as well as from the visual material. The physical intactness of a virgin martyr's body conquers the physical torture that is repeatedly, mercilessly, and often very graphically inflicted upon it. The elementary explanation points to the inherent and intentional *imitatio Christi*, the likeness between the life and passion of the saint and the life and passion of Christ. The martyrdom of the saint is thus elevated in its resemblance to the ultimate example of Jesus Christ. The violent scenes of bodily torture also enable the beholder to become emotionally engaged in the story which, while maintaining its spiritual value, provides elements of entertainment.

The focus on the body in these edifying stories offers abundant lines of interpretation. Whereas virginity is viewed as a most positive characteristic, the body, an agent through which that quality can manifest itself, is far more ambiguous. On one hand, the more numerous and atrocious the bodily tortures are, the more

[14] The following characterization is based upon Samantha J. E. Riches's comprehensive definition of the term virgin martyr: Samantha J. E. Riches, "St. George as a Male Virgin Martyr," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, eds. Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 65–67. Her article also offers an interesting discussion of the problems with this category and its extension to include male saints. In this article the term "virgin martyr" refers to the female saints of this category.

powerful victory over death they signify.[15] Virgin martyrs are powerful and indeed triumphant over their adversaries and it is the combination of their virgin bodies and Christian faith that empowers them. At the same time, the fact that these saintly bodies are female cannot be disregarded. Although bodily experience, for example, fasting, could be given a highly spiritual meaning, at the same time it tied female bodies firmly to weakness and sexuality.[16] As sexual objects, they would be most appropriate. The naked virginal bodies exposed to torture under the gaze of the audience might have played upon the tensions between holiness and sexuality.[17] The link between female sex and weakness has led some scholars to conclude that such a focus on the body actually undermines the function of virgin martyrs as empowering role models for women.[18]

Interestingly enough, virginity, even in its simplest physical form, fervently avoids definition according to our standards. Leafing through different medieval sources, no single dominant concept of virginity can be discovered. Instead, virginity takes a different form in different concepts so that the virginity of a medical treatise differs from the premarital virginity of a young woman or a woman who was raped (the virginity thus taken would be solely physical).[19]

It is necessary to keep in mind that virginity can go beyond the physical intactness of a maidenly body and can, equally firmly, reach into the spiritual realm, signifying the purity and integrity of the soul. The virginity of virgin martyrs, a perfected state natural to a saint of this category, captures only *one* virginity out

[15] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Glyn Sheridan Burgess, *Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths: Two Exemplary Biographies for Anglo-Norman Women* (London: Dent, 1996), XIII (henceforth: Wogan-Browne -Burgess, *Virgin Lives*).

[16] Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 200–202.

[17] Eamon Duffy, "Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England," in *Women in the Church*, ed. D. Wood and W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 188. (henceforth: Duffy, "Holy Mayden").

[18] Brigitte Cazelles points out that the virgin martyr acquires male attributes as she defends her body, whereas Gail Ashton deals with the ways in which male authors attempted to regulate the transgressive nature of these saints. Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as a Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Gail Ashton, *Generating Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[19] For different forms of virginity in various types of sources see Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2000) (henceforth: Kelly, *Virginity*).

of many, but it is precisely this fluid nature of virginity that provides space for an opportunity to restore lost physical virginity through spiritual purity.[20]

Virginity encompasses both physical and spiritual purity, the integrity of the body as well as the soul. Thus it is both the unpolluted soul *and* the impenetrable body that renders a virgin martyr victorious in her fight against an earthly antagonist as well as over death.[21]

The Appeal of Virginity

Even with the importance of virginity clear, the popularity of these saints begs the question: What in these stories of bodies at the same time untouched and tortured, of Christian women rejecting marriage proposals and thereby the chance to become mothers and wives, accounts for their appeal to women whose lives revolved around these two roles?

The study of the iconographic programs of the extant altarpieces from Upper Hungary reveals that more often than not they display more than one model of female sainthood. The virgin martyrs, while generally present in great number, frequently share the visual space of these altars with other female paragons of Christianity, such as St. Elizabeth of Hungary or St. Anne. At first glance, these holy mothers and widows, the pious and the charitable, seem to reflect better the devotional needs of a late medieval audience[22] leading an active and worldly life in cities and villages of Upper Hungary.[23] Such clear divisions would, however, be too simplifying. Similar to different concepts of virginity, an inherent versatility is present in the lives and cults of virgin martyrs facilitating manifold ways of "appropriation" by the audience.

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[20] Kelly, *Virginity,* 1.

[21] "Saints' lives are also concerned in distinctive ways with the body, as one might expect in a genre so largely founded on the martyrs' imitation of Christ's passion. … Saintly bodies remain unharmed or are triumphantly reconstituted after torture, and so they function as powerful signs of integrity and wholeness, of triumph over dismemberment and death. ... The more beaten and dismembered the martyr, the more powerful the triumph over death, and the more insistently the permanent, glorious body of the resurrection is signaled." Wogan-Browne – Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, XIII.

[22] Karen Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 10 (henceforth: Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*).

[23] For reasons still disputed, the number of female monastic houses in medieval Hungary was significantly lower than the number of male monasteries. I am grateful to József Laszlovszky for pointing this out to me. Even though there are female convents of considerable importance, to my knowledge, none of the altarpieces from Upper Hungary can be traced back to such a setting.

Perhaps one should first, as Wogan-Browne notes, distinguish between "exemplary" and "imitable."[24] If virgin martyrs are taken as models to be emulated (and so become imitable), only members of monastic orders or clerical state aspire to such ideals and profess adherence to them in their everyday lives. The immense importance of virginity as an ideal state for a Christian had long been established in the tradition of the Church[25] and high esteem of its value never disappeared throughout the Middle Ages. The strong presence of such ideals notwithstanding, the lay members of Christian communities could hardly be expected to adhere to this venerable, but for their purposes impractical, state. In most cases virgin martyrs thus became exemplary rather than imitable.

Nevertheless, there is a particular stage of a woman's life when she is expected to imitate such models. Virginity is more than commendable to those who are to become wives and mothers but find themselves in that transitory stage of women's life between reaching maturity (whatever the legal definition) and becoming a "fully fledged" woman through marriage and motherhood. Young women at this stage of life were supposed to comply with society's (as well as the community's, kin group's or family's) expectation that their bodies entering the marital bed on the wedding night still preserved their virginal purity and intactness (and later issued a legitimate heir).[26] Moreover, the usefulness of virgin martyrs as models for young women stretches beyond the premarital virgin state.

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[24] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture ca. 1150–1300: Virginity and Its Authorizations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), XIII. (henceforth: Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives*).

[25] For an engaging analysis of the notion of virginity see Peter Brown, "The Notion of Virginity in the Early Church," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century,* ed. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad, 1985), 427–443. Any discussion of the roots of medieval concepts of virginity inevitably turns to the writings of the church fathers and the attitudes toward sexuality in Late Antiquity, but problems of such complexity are beyond the scope here. The seminal work of Peter Brown is a starting point for any inquiry into late ancient sexualities: Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). For feminist readings on these issues consult the works of Elizabeth A. Clark.

[26] The fundamental value of premarital virginity as it emerges from English court cases is discussed by Kim M, Phillips, "Four Virgin's Tales: Sex and Power in Medieval Law," in *Medieval Virginities,* ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 80–101. She also makes a case for this stage being the perfect stage of woman's life. Kim M. Philips, "Maidenhood as the Perfect Age of Woman's Life," in *Young Medieval Women,* ed. Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 1–24.

When the Dominican preacher and later cardinal, Giovanni Dominici, wrote his *Rule for the Management of Family Care* (1403), he commented on the kind of images one should have at home and what effect these ought to have upon the most impressionable members of the family, the children:

> [One should have] paintings in the house, of holy boys, or young virgins, in which your child...may delight as being like himself, and may be seized upon by the like thing, with actions and signs attractive to infancy. ... And so too little girls should be brought up in the sight of the eleven thousand virgins, discussing, fighting, and praying. I would like them to see Agnes with the fat lamb, Cecilia crowned with roses; Elizabeth with many roses, Catherine on the wheel, with other figures that would give them love of virginity with their mother's milk, desire for Christ, hatred of sins, disgust at vanity, shrinking from bad companions, and a beginning through considering the saints, of contemplating the supreme Saint of saints.[27]

This recommendation not only highlights the role images could play as a means of imparting ideas to their beholders, but also points to the ideals embedded in the cultural image of virgin martyr saints. Women as members of the lesser nobility, gentry, and urban elite were offered models for conduct—forms of ideal femininity[28] in the shape of virgin martyrs. Lewis, for example, argues that these saints could perform an "authorizing cultural function."[29] On the basis of material from England, Lewis suggests that women were responsible for the edification of their children, at least up to a certain age, and that the virgin martyr stories could be used for this purpose. In particular, St. Catherine of Alexandria was singled out for the well-rounded learning that she achieved through studies and could thus become an example for education of girls and young women even though the scope of such an education would have been far more limited compared with their saintly model. The versatility of the function of these exemplary women extends even to the realm of more practical household matters. St. Catherine, whose cult was wide-spread and very popular throughout Europe, was after all

[27] Cited from David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 4.
[28] For an interpretation of the legends as actually representing how women should *not* behave see Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 65–70.
[29] Katherine J. Lewis, "Model Girls? Virgin-Martyrs and the Training of Young Women in Late Medieval England," in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 35 (henceforth: Lewis, "Model Girls").

responsible for running her royal household.[30] The realities of women's lives would necessarily have rendered these powerful examples in much more timid fashion, more compliant with the expectations of society, community, and family.

The appeal of virginity could have reached an even broader audience if one does not insist on taking virginity in an absolute way and disregards the potential of this ideal to transform into something closer to everyday experience. I would suggest that virginity could have been appropriated in terms of a more "practical" form, chastity. Chastity, a vital part of Christian morals, could have been alluded to through the example of virginity, using the ultimate example of the saint in order to strengthen the resolution to comply with the Christian view of sexual relations. Chastity, continence, and restraint, rather than virginity in its absolute meaning, would have been more easily approachable while retaining high value within Christianity. Not as constrained, chastity (or some other form of moderating sexual behavior) is not so much in apparent discord with the marital state and is especially appropriate for a proper Christian widowhood.

Even though virginity could indeed take various forms and perform a range of functions, its fundamental cultural value, especially relevant for women, stemmed from its firm anchor in the Christian view on proper sexual behavior and mode of life. Some evidence suggests that the loss of virginity was still a concern even for wives and mothers. An especially intriguing point is raised by Katherine Jansen in her study of the cult of St. Mary Magdalene.[31] Jansen argues that St. Mary Magdalene, the *beata peccatrix*, the Holy Sinner, could serve as a mediator reconciling married and widowed women to their loss of virginity. The depth and extent of Mary Magdalene's penance eventually earned her the place *before* the choir of virgins in heaven, second only to the impeccable virgin, the Virgin Mary herself.[32] The definition of virginity as a state of physical and spiritual intactness even permits her virginity to be restored to her. This opens an opportunity for those women who had lost the physical integrity of their bodies through wedlock to achieve the highest reward reserved for virgins through penance, asceticism, and devotion.[33] It could be argued that such anxieties, apart from prompting

[30] Lewis, "Model Girls," 33–36.
[31] Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[32] Ibid. 287.
[33] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne also points to this aspect of virginity (appearing as early as the thirteenth century); through "honorary virginities" women could, by the means of penance and asceticism, reclaim the power of virginity. Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives,* 124–125.

female believers to turn to penitent saints such as St. Mary Magdalene, could also have enhanced the attraction of the female virgin martyrs' cults.

Conclusions

Writing on the cult of virgin martyr saints in late medieval England, Eamon Duffy emphasizes that "what it [the virginity of the saints] gave to the ordinary Christian man and woman was not so much a model to imitate, something most of them never dreamt of doing, but rather a source of power to be tapped."[34] I have attempted to illustrate that strict imitation might not necessarily have been the sole or the ultimate goal for ordinary Christian women. Virginity—restored, physical, or spiritual—retained a specific value as a part of the Christian worldview while virgin martyrs firmly held their appeal to the late medieval audience. As exemplary models, they could undergo a range of transformations for the sake of their worshippers: from young women of marriageable age, whose virginity was a crucial asset on their wedding nights, to pious and penitent mothers and wives, the virginity of their bodies long gone yet still possibly present in their souls. Whereas at the core of the concept of virginity lies a powerful Christian view on sexuality and proper behavior in general, on its surface the very versatility of the concept opens possibilities of "imitation" feasible even to laywomen obliged to be wives and mothers far from the experience of the perfect virginity of the virgin martyr saints.

[34] Duffy, "Holy Mayden," 189.

TWO APPARENTLY CONFLICTING NOTIONS OF ASCENSION IN THE WORKS OF AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM

Noel Putnik

Introduction

The aim of this article is to examine the notion of ascension (deification) in the work of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), particularly in his magical-philosophical summa *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Three books of occult philosophy), and in his short treatise *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (On the three ways to know God), the first integral and autonomous exposition of Agrippa's philosophical and religious views. In my opinion, the theme of ascension is one of the central concepts in Agrippa's thought. Given the tremendous diversity of influences that shaped Agrippa's philosophical output, however, a question inevitably arises: How did this German humanist understand the process of ascension, or deification, in the context of the various spiritual paradigms he relied upon, and did it not result in two opposing and conflicting models that he ought to have reconciled?

Ascension is one of the central themes in religious thought generally, as it deals with the existential position of man in this world, his ontological status and relationship with God, the question of his coming into the world and the possibility of his leaving it, usually conceived of as a kind of "return." In treating this subject I rely upon the general formulation of ascension given by Moshe Idel, namely that it is a kind of personal transformation fostered by various rites, techniques, exercises, methods, and processes with primarily intending "to remove sin, corporeality, lust or imagination so that the pure or purified core of the aspirant is then capable of touching or being touched by the divine."[1] In addition, I rely upon Ioan Petru Culianu's general discussion on the *ascensus* of the soul, both *in corpore* and *in spiritu*, and both within one's lifetime (the so-called cathartic elevation) and after death (the eschatological elevation).[2]

Agrippa's religious thought has been in the focus of scholarly interest for some time and it is my intention to use that impetus for my own examination.

[1] Moshe Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism. Pillars, Lines, Ladders* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2005), 23.

[2] Ioan Petru Culianu, *Psychanodia I* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 10–15.

I have taken into consideration, however, that there is an aspect or mode of ascension in Agrippa other than purely mystical or spiritual, one that above all aims at an ascent to *power* and counts on man's ability *to become like God* and acquire the divine prerogatives of creating and manipulating nature. For the sake of my analysis, I have introduced two tentative categories of "magical" and "spiritual" ascension with the initial presumption that there are enough reasons to consider such a distinction, but with the idea that these two are not and cannot be entirely different in kind.

My examination thus follows the line of the long-standing scholarly debate over Agrippa's apparently "split position" or "inner conflict." The Renaissance magus who, at certain points scorned and rejected his involvement in magic and later took it up again (if he ever made a break) at the same time displayed a genuine and exemplary vigor in pursuing Christian virtues throughout his life, has never ceased to puzzle the students of his thought.

Basing my approach to some extent upon Christopher I. Lehrich's "textual methods for the study of renaissance magic,"[3] which suggest a shift of the analytical focus from the writer to the text itself, I have conducted a close reading of certain passages of the *De occulta philosophia* with occasional references to Agrippa's second major work, the *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* (hereafter: *De vanitate*), and the *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (hereafter: *De triplici ratione*). The focal points of my interest have been all the loci that discuss the concept of ascension within the framework of what I term the cosmological and anthropological aspects of that phenomenon.

The Inconsistency of Agrippa's Spiritual Program

The author of the *De occulta philosophia* makes it clear that his mission is to restore magic to its "original," antique form, and that he intends to do so by rejecting the current versions of "corrupted" magic, detached from its theoretical context and practiced with anti-natural intentions.[4] This program is explicitly expressed in the dedicatory letter of the twenty-three-year-old Agrippa to Abbot Trithemius, where its pious character and the linking of magic with Christianity are obvious. Agrippa starts with an intriguing question, "one great question amongst the rest," wondering how it was possible that:

[3] Christopher I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels. Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18. On his methodology see 18–24 of this work.

[4] Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, ed. V. Perrone Compagni (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 15 (Perrone Compagni's introduction). Hereafter: *De occulta philosophia.*

> magic, whereas it was accounted by all ancient philosophers the chiefest science, and by ancient wise men and priests was always held in great veneration, came at last after the beginning of the Catholic Church to be always odious to, and suspected by, the holy Fathers, and then exploded by divines, and condemned by sacred canons, and moreover forbidden by all laws and ordinances.
>
> *[Quaestio erat] cur magia ipsa, cum olim primum sublimitatis fastigium uno omnium veterum philosophorum iudicio teneret et a priscis illis sapientibus et sacerdotibus summa semper in veneratione habita fuerit, deinde sanctis Patribus a principio nascentis Ecclesiae catholicae odiosa semper et suspecta, tandem explosa a theologis, damnata a sacris canonibus, porro omnium legum e placitis fuerit proscripta.*[5]

In his answer to this question, Agrippa views magic in relation to the *orthodoxa religio* and God. Magic had degenerated because:

> Many false philosophers crept in, and these under the name of magicians... set forth very many wicked and unlawful books…to which they have by stealth prefixed the most honest name and title of magic.
>
> *Subintroierunt multi pseudophilosophi ac mentito nomine magi, qui ...multos admodum reprobatae lectionis libros ediderunt, quibus magiae honestissimum nomen atque titulum furto et rapina praefixerunt.*[6]

These words imply that there once had been such a thing as pious and lawful magic. This clearly unorthodox idea, when expressed with such a strong feeling for "orthodoxy," immediately raises the question: Which spiritual tradition is Agrippa referring to? The answer is what Charles Nauert terms "a myth of a continuous esoteric tradition," according to which "the revelation given to Moses supposedly included an esoteric interpretation which passed into cabala of the Jews and into the Hermetic literature of the Egyptians,"[7] and from there into Christianity and the philosophical mysticism of the Pythagoreans and the Platonists, respectively. Sharing this belief with many of his fellow humanists, such as Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Johannes Reuchlin, the author

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[5] *De occulta philosophia*, liii. The English translation is by James Freake, in Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, tr. James Freake, a commentary by Donald Tyson (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1997), 68. The letter is from April 8, 1510.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Charles G. Nauert, "Magic and Skepticism in Agrippa's Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 18, No. 2 (1957): 167.

of the *De occulta philosophia* wants to go beyond "corrupt" medieval magic and reach that long lost and forgotten well of ancient wisdom.

If one suspects that the young Agrippa's idea of *magia renovata* is far from being as clear and self-evident as he expresses it in his letter to Trithemius, the question of consistency becomes clearly problematic concerning the author of the final, published version of the *De occulta philosophia*. By then, Agrippa had already written and published his deeply skeptical and recanting treatise the *De vanitate* and, less known but equally passionate, the *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae* (A dissuasion against pagan theology). This brings forth the famous problem of Agrippa's retraction: Why did he, having written and published his strongly recanting *De vanitate*, nevertheless revert to his extremely "credulous" *De occulta philosophia* and make great efforts to rewrite and publish it?

The complexity of the problem can perhaps best be illustrated with the example of Agrippa's famous retraction of the *De occulta philosophia* and his magical past as a whole. The retraction is, at least at first glance, given clearly and determinedly in chapter 48 of his *De vanitate*:

> I also as a young man wrote on magical matters three books in a sufficiently large volume, which I have entitled *Of Hidden Philosophy*, in which books whatsoever was then done amiss through curious youth, now being more advised I will that it be recanted with this retraction, for I have in times past consumed very much time and substance in these vanities.
>
> *Verum de magicis scripsi ego iuvenis adhuc libros tres, amplos satis volumine, quos de Occulta philosophia nuncupavi: in quibus quidquid tunc per curiosam adolescentiam erratum est, nunc cautior hac palinodia recantatum volo: permultum enim temporis et rerum in his vanitatibus olim contrivi.* [8]

Some scholars, such as Marc Van der Poel and Christopher Lehrich, have interpreted this as condemning only *magia mala* and those who practice it, rather than condemning magical practices themselves, thus leaving room for a "pious" non-demonic magic.[9] This kind of multilayered reading of the *De vanitate*—suggesting that the retraction is not what it appears to be and that Agrippa was,

[8] *Henrici Cornelii Agrippa ab Nettesheim, armatae militiae equitis aurati et iuris utriusque ac medicinae doctoris operum pars posterior* (Lyon: per Beringos fratres, n.d.), 82 (Hereafter: *Opera*). The English translation by James Stanford is given in Lehrich, *Language of Demons and Angels*, 40.

[9] Lehrich, *Language of Demons and Angels*, 41–42; Marc Van der Poel, *Cornelius Agrippa, the Humanist Theologian and his Declamations* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 51–55.

so to speak, a subversive or at least very subtle writer—has become a common approach among most of the present-day Agrippan scholars. I address this issue by examining Agrippa's treatment of the notion of ascension within the basic conceptual framework of religion and magic as he perceived it.

Conscendere ad archetypum mundum. Man the Operator

Agrippa introduces the idea of ascension in the very first sentence of the *De occulta philosophia* as a natural possibility in a hierarchically structured universe:

> Seeing there is a threefold world, elementary, celestial, and intellectual, and every inferior is governed by its superior, and receiveth the influence of the virtues thereof … magicians conceive it no way irrational that it should be possible for us *to ascend by the same degrees* through each world, to the same very original world itself, the Maker of all things, and First Cause, from whence all things are, and proceed.
>
> *Cum triplex sit mundus, elementalis, coelestis et intellectualis, et quisque inferior a superiori regatur ac suarum virium suscipiat influxum… non irrationabile putant magi nos* per eosdem gradus, *per singulos mundos, ad eundem ipsum archetypum mundum, omnium opificem et primam causam, a qua sunt omnia et procedunt omnia, posse conscendere.*[10]

A magus should engage in this apparently religious program through the process of magical *operatio*. What this process means exactly the author briefly explains in the ensuing lines: it means "collecting virtues from the threefold world" (*a triplici mundo virtutes colligere*), "joining them together" (*connectere*), and "ratifying and confirming all these through the sacred ceremonies of religions" (*haec omnia per religionum sacras ceremonias corroborare atque confirmare*).[11]

It appears that, for Agrippa, ascension implies a shift of one's position in the so-called Great Chain of Being *during one's lifetime*. Ascension fostered by faith

[10] *De occulta philosophia*, I 1, 3 (72). Hereafter, I will refer to this work in the following way: the abbreviated original title, the book and chapter number, the page number in James Freake's English translation, and the page number (given in parentheses) of the original text in Perrone Compagni's critical edition (see footnote 5). Where necessary, I have modified Freake's translation. Emphasis mine.

[11] Ibid. This leads the author to a brief synopsis of the work, organized according to the threefold division of magic into natural, celestial, and intellectual. Note the plural *religionum*, which Freake rendered as a singular. On Agrippa's "cosmopolitism" see the following section, below.

makes the mind divine (*mentem redditque divinam*)[12] as one becomes able "to ascend to the scrutiny of secret things and to the power of wonderful workings, or miracles" (*ad rerum secretarum scrutinia atque ad mirabilium operationum virtutem scandere possumus*).[13] Consequently, "man is made somewhat the same with the superior beings and enjoys the same power with them" (*efficitur homo aliquid idem cum superis eademque potestate fruitur*.[14] It is important to note that this ontological shift, whereby one attains superhuman powers, is conceded and favored by God:

> [N]othing is more pleasant and acceptable to God than a man perfectly pious, and truly religious, *who so far excelleth other men as he himself is distant from the immortal gods*; therefore we ought, being first purged, to offer and commend ourselves to divine piety and religion…
>
> *Nil Deo gratius et acceptius quam homo perfecte pius ac vere religiosus,* qui tam homines caeteros praecellit, quam ipse a diis immortalibus distat. *Debemus nos igitur prius quidem purgatos offere et commendare divinae pietati et religioni*…[15]

Thus it is evident that Agrippa formulates his program of magical ascension as a kind of spiritual enterprise strongly motivated by religious sentiments. But, what would be the aim of a man desiring to become "somewhat the same" as the superior beings? The reader of the *De occulta philosophia* is repeatedly confronted with one clear answer: To develop superhuman powers and be able to perform miraculous works. In a chapter entitled "How by these guides the soul of man ascendeth up into the divine nature, and is made a worker of miracles" (*Quomodo his ducibus anima humana scandit in naturam divinam efficiturque miraculorum effectrix*) Agrippa gives a straightforward account of what magical ascension results in:

> Hence it comes to pass that though we are framed a natural body, yet we sometimes predominate over nature, and cause such wonderful, sudden and difficult operations as that evil spirits obey us, the stars are disordered, the heavenly powers compelled, the elements made obedient; so devout men and those elevated by these theological virtues command the elements, drive away fogs, raise the winds, cause rain, cure diseases, raise the dead…

[12] Ibid., III 1, 441 (402).
[13] Ibid., III 3, 448 (407).
[14] Ibid., III 5, 453 (413).
[15] Ibid., III 1, 441 (402–3). Emphasis mine.

> *Hinc provenit nos in natura constitutos aliquando supra naturam dominari operationesque tam mirificas, tam subitas, tam arduas efficere, quibus obediant manes, turbentur sidera, cogantur numina, serviant elementa; sic homines Deo devoti ac theologicis istis virtutibus elevati imperant elementis, pellunt nebulas, citant ventos, cogunt nubes in pluvias, curant morbos, suscitant mortuos…*[16]

That Agrippa does not see the "utilitarian" side of ascension as something entirely different from, or opposite to, the "spiritual" side of it is indicated by his claim that for a truly illuminated soul it is only natural to perform works of magic and that this is how the miracles of the prophets and apostles should be explained. Immediately after his enumeration of miracles accomplishable by a deified magician, the author adds: "So the prophets, apostles, and the rest, were famous by the wonderful power of God" (*sic prophetae, sic Apostoli, sic caeteri viri Dei maximis claruere potentiis*).[17] This is stated even more elaborately in the *De triplici ratione*, in a passage in which Agrippa "Christianizes" the well-known statement from the *Asclepius*, a late Hellenistic hermetic text, that "man is a great miracle" (*magnum miraculum homo*):

> Surely the Christian man is a great miracle; though bound by the world, he dominates over it and performs deeds similar to those of the very Creator of the world; these deeds are commonly called miracles, the root and foundation of all of them being faith in Jesus Christ. Through faith alone man is made somewhat the same with God and enjoys the same power with him.
>
> *Magnum certe miraculum est homo Christianus, qui in mundo constitutus, supra mundum dominatur operationesque similes efficit ipsi Creatori mundi; quae opera vulgo miracula appellantur, quorum omnium radix et fundamentum fides est in Iesum Christum. Per hanc solam efficitur homo idem aliquid cum Deo eademque potestate fruitur.*[18]

Furthermore, it is exactly on the basis of this conviction, as Nauert points out, that Agrippa attacked the church's corruption in his time: if the leaders of the church were unable to perform miraculous works like the apostles and their

[16] Ibid., III 6, 455 (414).
[17] Ibid.
[18] *De triplici ratione* 6, 16, in Perrone Compagni, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, 146. Translation mine. Note the striking similarities with the above-quoted passage from the *De occulta philosophia.*

immediate successors, it meant that they no longer possessed the pure and spiritual knowledge of the Revelation and were, consequently, not capable of ascension.[19]

If the "miracle working" aspect of ascension can be seen as possibly utilitarian from the viewpoint of a magician, the author of the *De vanitate* makes it clear that for him the idea of ascension bears a more spiritual connotation, whether one achieves it through magic or pure faith. Having divided all magic into black (*goëtia*) and white (*theurgia*), and having asserted that the main problem of *theurgia* is how to discern between the good and the bad superhuman agents (*discessio spirituum*), Agrippa refers to the authority of the Neoplatonist Porphyry for the claim that ascension is possible through theurgy:

> Now Porphyry discusses this theurgy, or magic of the divine, at length and finally concludes that by means of theurgic consecrations the human soul can become capable of reaching the spirits and angels, and of seeing gods.
>
> *Verum de hac Theurgia, sive divinorum magia, plura disputans Porphyrius, tandem concludit Theurgicis consecrationibus posse quidem animam hominis idoneam reddi ad susceptionem spirituum & angelorum, ad videndos deos.*[20]

On the other hand, the achievement of those who ascend by pure faith, as exemplified by some well-known biblical figures, is depicted in more eschatological tones:

> Many have, while still in this lifetime, pursued the same [path] empowered by the deifying spirit, such as Enoch, Elijah, and Moses, whose bodies have been transformed into a spiritual nature and have never met their ruin.
>
> *Multi hoc ipsum virtute deifici spiritus in hac vita consecuti sunt, Enoch & Helias & Moyses; quorum corpora transmutata in naturam spiritualem non viderunt corruptionem.*[21]

The question is whether these two passages suggest two distinct concepts of ascension, the former being on a lower level than the latter, or only different aspects of one and the same process. In other words, does the author of the *De vanitate* differentiate between a magical (temporary) ascension and a spiritual one, which would imply a definite ontological shift, without returning to an earthly existence?

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[19] Charles Nauert, "Agrippa von Nettesheim in Renaissance Italy. The Esoteric Traditions," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959), 207; Perrone Compagni, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, 154.
[20] *De vanitate,* chapter 46, in *Opera*, 77. Translation mine.
[21] *De vanitate*, chapter 45, in *Opera*, 76. Translation mine.

One further important point to make here is that ascension, as seen by the author of the *De occulta philosophia*, is achieved by *the magician's own will and effort*—the concept Frances Yates calls "Man the operator."[22] Reflecting upon the change of perspective of the Renaissance magus, she notes that he is "no longer only the pious spectator of God's wonders in the creation, and the worshipper of God himself above the creation, but Man the operator, Man who seeks to draw power from the divine and natural order."[23] This idea lies in the core of Agrippa's notion of ascension as set forth in the *De occulta philosophia*.

Magic and Religion

There appears to be no clear boundary between magic and religion for Agrippa, both serving as a basic conceptual framework for *operatio* and *ascensio*. Here "religion" refers both to Christianity and to pagan and heathen religions. They all share a common supernatural origin with magic, being nothing but different branches of one and the same ancient revelation. This conviction, as D. P. Walker emphasizes, gives Agrippa the grounds for "treating magic, pagan religion and Christianity as activities and beliefs of exactly the same kind,"[24] once the formal declarations of orthodoxy are left behind. At the same time, it is the backbone of Agrippa's call for the rehabilitation of magic, which he regards, in its pure form, as "the most perfect, and chief science, that sacred and sublime kind of philosophy" (*haec perfectissima summaque scientia, haec altior sanctiorque philosophia*) and which contains "the most profound contemplation of the most secret things" (*profundissimam rerum secretissimarum contemplationem … complectitur*).[25] It is a "science," the author explains, as it embraces both natural and mathematical philosophy, and it is "sacred" as it teaches about God, the soul, sacred rites institutions, mysteries, and so on (Agrippa calls this part of magic "theology").[26]

At the beginning of the third book (ch. 3.1–9), in the context of the theological aspect of magic, Agrippa elaborates his approach to religion. It appears to be somewhat functionalistic and utilitarian, for the author considers

[22] Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002), 161; Lehrich, *Language of Demons and Angels*, 66–67.
[23] Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 161.
[24] D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic From Ficino to Campanella* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1958), 96.
[25] *De occulta philosophia*, I 2, 5 (86).
[26] In almost the same wording Agrippa formulates the religious aspects of magic in *De vanitate*, chapter 41, *Opera*, 70: it embraces all philosophy and mathematics, and adds *vires religionum* to them.

religion, at least to some degree, to be a kind of *praeparatio magica*.[27] The proper religious attitude is important because it protects the magician against evil spirits and makes his magic "good." Whoever neglects religion, says Agrippa, is often deceived by demons. Hence religion becomes a vital part of ceremonial magic both as a means of purification and as a safeguard. This is the context in which Agrippa's expressions, such as "to operate through religion" (*operari per religionem*), should be understood.[28] Agrippa's ceremonial magic is strongly religious in its core and functions, as Perrone Compagni points out, as a reinforcement and safeguard of both natural and celestial magic.[29]

What binds religion and magic as a necessary prerequisite for any pious achievement and magical operation (and hence for ascension) is *faith*, which Agrippa regards as the highest of all the three guides of religion—love, hope, and faith (ch. 3.5). Faith is not a merely a state of mind; it is an archetypal virtue that descends to our intellect "by reflection from the first light" (*superne a primo lumine descendat*) and is, consequently, the key to ascension: "For faith is the root of all miracles, by which alone (as the Platonists testify) we approach God and obtain the divine power and protection" (*Est enim fides omnium miraculorum radix, qua sola, ut Platonici testantur, ad Deum accedimus divinamque adsequimur protectionem virtutemque*).[30]

Agrippa draws a line between Christianity as the only religion "allowed by God" and other religions. He immediately blurs it, however, by asserting that:

> The rites and ceremonies of religion, in respect of the diversity of times and places, are diverse. Every religion hath something of good, because it is directed to God the creator; and although God allows the Christian religion only, yet other worships which are undertaken for his sake, he does not altogether reject and leaveth them not unrewarded, if not with an eternal, yet with a temporal reward…
>
> *Religionis autem ritus ceremoniaeque pro temporum regionumque varietate diversi sunt et unaquaeque religio boni aliquid habet, quod ad Deum ipsum creatorem dirigitur. Et licet unam solam christianam religionem Deus approbet, caeteros tamen eius gratia susceptos cultus non penitus reprobat; et, si non aeterno, temporaneo tamen praemio irremuneratos non reliquit…*[31]

[27] Ibid.
[28] *De occulta philosophia*, III 6, 455 (414).
[29] Ibid., 18. See also Yates, *The Occult Philosophy*, 41.
[30] Ibid., III 5, 453 (413).
[31] *De occulta philosophia*, III 4, 450 (410).

What follows as a logical consequence of this kind of religious "cosmopolitanism" is the claim that both Christianity and heathen religions, through the medium of faith, can be the basis for magical miracle working and ascension. Even though the author makes passing efforts to reassert his orthodoxy, the reader is ultimately left with the impression that "magic and religion, Christian or pagan, are for Agrippa of the same nature."[32]

Cosmological and Anthropological Prerequisites for Ascension

In order to establish a worldview within which to attempt his synthesis of different spiritual and esoteric traditions, Agrippa introduces the concept of a cosmic hierarchy at the very beginning of the *De occulta philosophia*, expressed through his tripartite division of the world into intellectual, celestial, and elementary. Subsequently, he develops his threefold typology of magic with the ambition of embracing all known forms of it. This typology provided a theoretical basis for his repeated claim that studying magic requires, so to speak, a holistic approach, in which neither natural philosophy and mathematics nor religion should be neglected. It is a typical example of the so-called organic world model, characteristic of pre-modern times, contrasting with the Cartesian, seventeenth-century mechanistic model of the universe. The former was likened to a macrocosmic living organism with the active presence of God, whereas the latter was compared to a machine or a clock only initially wound up by God and then left to run on its own.[33]

In simplified terms, in order for ascension to be possible at all there should be some kind of ladder or rope leading upwards. As Gy. E. Szőnyi has pointed out, in a uniform or horizontal cosmos there is no transcendental sphere and, consequently, no possibility of, or even need for, ascension. For Agrippa in his time, of course, any world model other than the vertical one would have barely been conceivable. He establishes a logical and causal connection between the possibility of ascent and the factual descent of the divine virtues through the process of emanation (the opening causal *cum*).[34] It is precisely the latter that enables the former and, what is equally important, makes it a natural or "rational" idea, as he puts it.

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[32] Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 93.

[33] For a detailed discussion on the organic world model see György E. Szőnyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation Through Powerful Signs* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2004), 24–34; Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, 130–145.

[34] *De occulta philosophia*, I 1, 3 (85). The words *cum triplex sit mundus* ("since the world is threefold") effectively introduce the image of the steps of a cosmic ladder that it is possible to climb.

Agrippa's scheme of emanation is clearly Neoplatonic: there is a first cause (*prima causa*) or the maker of all things (*omnium opifex*), from whom all things are and proceed (*a qua sunt omnia et procedunt omnia*). The first cause conveys the virtues of his omnipotence to the world through a hierarchical chain of being consisting of angels, the heavens, stars, elements, animals, plants, metals, and stones (*per angelos, coelos, stellas, elementa, animalia, plantas, metalla, lapides, Suae omnipotentiae virtutes exinde in nos transfundat*). As previously mentioned, faith is the most important among the divine virtues that descend. All the levels created by emanation are united under the rule of dependence; every inferior is governed by its superior and receives influence from above (*quisque inferior a superiori regatur ac suarum virium suscipiat influxum*).[35]

Such a structure allows for the possibility of influence and communication between the worlds, as they are built of the same ingredients, however increasingly less subtle and less spiritual. The same principles pervade those beings or objects from all three levels that are connected by way of the descending virtues. The task of the magician is to locate these connections and use them to exert influence on the levels different from his own. This is what makes possible disciplines such as alchemy, astrology, and magic in general, as well as the chief ambition of a philosophically minded magician: to achieve deification by coming in contact with the first cause. In his exposition of the theory of emanation, Agrippa significantly aligns himself with the Platonists.[36] It opens the question of Agrippa's understanding of the ontological relationship between the Creator and the created, i.e., whether the claim that "all things are in all" and that, consequently, the same elements are both in God and his creation somewhat blurs the ontological gap so peculiar to Christianity.

The anthropological basis of man's ability to achieve deification, according to Agrippa, is his likeness to God. Among all the created beings, man is the only one to whom the dignity of divine image has been granted (*hoc est peculiare hominis donum, a quo haec dignitas divinae imaginis sibi propria est et cum nulla alia creatura communis*).[37] This idea is certainly orthodox and peculiar to all variants of Christian mysticism, going back to the key "man-making" passage in the Old Testament

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid., I 8, 26 (101).
[37] *De occulta philosophia*, III 36, 580 (509–510). This chapter, which is entitled "Of man, how he was created after the image of God" *(De homine quomodo creatus ad imaginem Dei)*, introduces an important series of chapters on this issue.

(Genesis 1:26): "And God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.'"[38] However, at the beginning of his own exposition of the *homo imago Dei* doctrine, Agrippa does not refer to this passage or to the Judeo-Christian tradition at all, but to the authority of Hermes Trismegistus. According to the hermetic version, man is not the immediate image of God, but the image of another image, the world:

> The most abundant God (as Trismegistus saith) hath framed two images like himself, viz. the world and man, that in one of these he might sport himself with certain wonderful operations: but in the other, that he might enjoy his delights.
>
> *Exuperantissimus Deus, ut Trismegistus ait, duas sibi similes finxit imagines, mundum videlicet atque hominem, in quorum altero luderet miris quibusquam operationibus, in altero vero deliciis fruerentur.*[39]

The author asserts that man is not the immediate image of God, but that "as the world is the image of God, so man is the image of the world" (*sicuti imago Dei mundus est, sic imago mundi homo est*), in other words, that he is "the image of the image" (*quasi imaginis imago*).[40] This leads to two important conclusions: that the world is a living and rational creature, and that man, being the image of the world, should be understood as the Microcosm, or the "Lesser World" (*iccirco microcosmous dictus est, hoc est minor mundus*).[41]

The notion of man as the Lesser World is important because it implies that man "contains in himself all that is contained in the greater world" (*in seipso habet totum quod in maiori mundo continetur*), which enables him not only to "comprehend all the parts thereof" but also to "receive and contain even God himself" (*non solum homo alter mundus effectus ipsius partes omnes in se complectitur, sed etiam ipsum Deum concipit et continet*).[42] This hermetic standpoint is further supported by its Christian counterparts such as St. Paul's concept of man's soul as the temple of

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[38] King James Version, see http://www.biblegateway.com/ passage/?search =Genesis%20 1:26;&version=9 (last accessed: January 30, 2008). For a general discussion on the role of the *imago Dei* doctrine in Christian mysticism concerning deification, see Wolfgang Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 142–151.
[39] *De occulta philosophia*, III 36, 579 (507).
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid. This is a direct reference to the *Asclepius*, I 10, see Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica. The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 72–73. There, God is denoted as "the first god," the world as "the second," and mankind as "the third god."
[42] *De occulta philosophia*, III 36, 579–580 (508).

God and Augustine's theory of *vestigia trinitatis*.[43] However, it apparently leads to a fine blurring of the sharp ontological boundary between God and man peculiar to Christianity, as can be gathered from the following words: "Neither is there anything found in man, nor any disposition, in which something of divinity may not shine forth; neither is there anything in God which may not also be represented in man" (*nec reperitur aliquid in homine, non ulla dispositio, in quo non fulgeat aliquid divinitatis, nec quicquam est in Deo, quod ipsum non etiam repraesentetur in homine*).[44]

For Agrippa, man's likeness to God is the basis for both magical and spiritual ascension and it is precisely at this point that one can perceive how these two aspects overlap and intersect:

> [B]y how much the more everyone shall know himself, by so much he obtaineth the greater power of attracting it [the perfection of magical art], and by so much operateth greater and more wonderful things, *and will ascend to so great a perfection that he is made the son of God, and is transformed into that image which is God and is united with him*, which is not granted to angels, the world, or any creature, but to man only, viz. to have power to be made the son of God and to be united to him.
>
> [*Q*]*uanto autem magis quisque seipsum cognoscet, tanto maiorem vim attrahendi consequitur tantoque maiora et mirabiliora operatur* ad tantamque ascendet perfectionem, quod efficitur filius Dei transformaturque in eandem imaginem quae est Deus et cum ipso unitur*, quod neque angelis neque mundo nec cuiquam creaturae datum est, nisi soli homini, posse scilicet filium Dei fieri et uniri Deo*.[45]

The result of ascension is, therefore, twofold: on the one hand, it is becoming the son of God and uniting with him, and on the other, it is ascending to perfect power, which gives man the opportunity to *act* like God.

In his *De occulta philosophia* Agrippa does not say much about man's Fall from paradise.[46] However, a detailed and rather standard biblical account of the Fall can be found in the first chapter of the *De triplici ratione*. Having created various types of beings, God prescribed limits to all of them, but some of the angels, led by Satan, were not satisfied with their sublime position and wanted a higher status. It is highly rewarding to examine the words Agrippa puts into Satan's mouth:

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[43] Ibid., III 36, 580–581 (508–509), referring to I Corinthians 3:16 and Augustine's *De trinitate* 10.2.
[44] *De occulta philosophia*, III 36, 580 (509).
[45] Ibid. Emphasis mine.
[46] See, for instance, ibid., III 39, 591 (520).

> I will ascend to the heavens and exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will sit upon the mountain of the testament on the northern side. I will ascend above the high clouds and be similar to the Highest one.
>
> *In coelum ascendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in monte testamenti in lateribus aquilonis. Ascendam super altitudinem nubium et similis ero Altissimo.*[47]

As is evident, this biblical quotation bears two mentions of the verb *ascendere* and the idea of one becoming similar to God. However, the context is radically different than in all the passages quoted above. Even though it is clear whom Agrippa's condemning voice is referring to, what makes the fallen angel different from the magician might not be so clear when it comes to the question of their motivation, at least from the standpoint of a straightforward Christian.

Once Satan, "that first transgressor of the divine will," had fallen into this world, he tempted and influenced man, who committed the same sin and was expelled from the Garden of Eden into this world. This is how man's tenebrous existence in this world began. On the other hand, it is only in such an existential position that one can think of returning to the previous state, as there can be no ascent without a preceding fall. As discussed above, this was strongly foreshadowed by the opening sentence of the *De occulta philosophia*.

What marks the type of ascent advocated by Agrippa, considered either in its magical or spiritual aspects, is its *active* character, as opposed to a more "passive" type of ascent peculiar to Christian mysticism, in which the essential component is God's grace. In simplified terms, the magician is supposed to *do something*, to make his own effort, in order to ascend, with various religious elements serving only as an auxiliary means for a *discessio spirituum*. From this perspective, whether the magician's effort can be successful at all depends on the question of man's inborn capacity for deification. In other words, the question is whether man has retained some of his prelapsarian God-like qualities that could be woken from their dormant state. Agrippa's response to that question is strongly affirmative.[48] This inborn "apprehension and power of all things" is what Agrippa calls the "natural dignity" (*naturalis dignitas*) of a qualified magician and it has been granted to humans only.[49]

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[47] *De triplici ratione* I 3, in Perrone Compagni, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, 92–96. Translation mine. It is a quotation from Isaiah 14:13–14.

[48] *De occulta philosophia*, III 3, 449 (408).

[49] His claim relies upon the idea of man's ontologically undefined, hence absolutely free, position in the world as developed by Pico della Mirandola in his concept of "the dignity

Conclusion

My examination suggests that the religious thought of Cornelius Agrippa is marked by the overlapping and intertwining of the two concepts of ascension almost to the point of perfect ambiguity. It is evident that the "spiritual" side of Agrippa's doctrine of ascension reveals his intimate involvement in Christianity, particularly in the biblical humanism of the Erasmian type and apophatic mysticism as taught by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Nicholas of Cusa, whereas the "magical" side of it points to his involvement in Neoplatonism, hermeticism, cabala, and medieval ceremonial magic. However, does it necessarily imply a split? All the latter traditions, with the possible exception of ceremonial magic, claim an equal right to spiritual ascension, regardless of their theological differences from Christianity. And vice versa, as Keith Thomas has shown,[50] early and medieval Christian thought and practice were strongly marked by the presence of magic that inevitably led to at least the implicit idea of magical ascension. Thus, Agrippa's "perfect ambiguity" is the ambiguity of inherited traditions and paradigms and the ambiguity of their historical interactions.

Agrippa's notion of emanation and the cosmic hierarchy is more Neoplatonic than Christian, for he interprets it almost as an act of necessity that leaves the path upwards *naturally* open. His treatment of the grand themes of the Judeo-Christian tradition—those of man's likeness to God, Original Sin, and the Fall—is also more Neoplatonic and hermetic than Christian. The ontological boundary between God and man is blurred; man is conceived of more as a "fallen god" than God's creature; the importance of Original Sin is somewhat reduced, otherwise there would be no room for thoughts of magical ascension at all. The notion of man's dignity, strongly hermetic and re-established by Pico della Mirandola, fits perfectly with this picture and makes the idea of man's own initiative for ascension both logical and natural.

In short, from the viewpoint of established historical categories such as Neoplatonism as contrasted to Christianity, a conclusion of two *conflicting* notions of ascension in Agrippa seems inevitable. Different interpretations are possible only by a thorough reconsideration of the standard hermeneutical categories applied to this problem.

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of man." It is man's absolutely free will, argued Pico, which enables him to model his existence according to his own desires. See Pico della Mirandola, "Oration On the Dignity of Man" in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, John Herman Randall, Jr. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), 223–254.

[50] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1991).

THE FAILED EXPERIENCE

WHY DID MANUEL KOMNENOS LOSE THE BATTLE AT MYRIOKEPHALON?

Roman Shlyakhtin

On the 17th of September, 1176, a huge Byzantine army entered a defile some 40 km east of modern Konya. The Byzantine chronicles call it Myriokephalon. The Byzantine army was moving slowly because of a large siege train. A faulty battle plan made by the leader, Emperor Manuel Komnenos, allowed the enemy to occupy the heights above the defile. In this plan, the wagons with ballistas and other *machinae* were separated from the main divisions of the army. As a result, the Seljuq forces, led by Sultan Kilidj-Arslan II of Ikonion, successfully attacked the Byzantines. By nightfall it was finished. Most of the Byzantine army lay dead in the ravines and on the hills, while the remainder defended themselves against the fervor of the enemy on a small fortified hill at the eastern end of the defile. The next day a peace treaty was signed and Manuel's army started its long way home.

This is the general outline of the battle of Myriokephalon which can be found in many works dedicated to the history of Byzantium.[1] Nearly all the authors blame Manuel Komnenos, but not so many of them have tried to find out what he is to blame for and why he made such mistakes. In other words: What factors affected the decisions of the emperor on this unlucky day? This article is an attempt to answer this question, but first one must give a more detailed description of the battle itself.

[1] F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène. Etudes sur l'empire Byzantin au XIe et au XIIe siècles*, vol. 2, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris: Picard, 1912), 504–514; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071–1330*, tr. J. Jones-Williams, (New York: Taplinger, 1968) (hereafter: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*); S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971) (hereafter: Vryonis, *The Decline*); P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) (hereafter: Magdalino, *The Empire*); R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and Crusader States*, tr. J. C. Morris and J. E. Ridings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) (hereafter: Lilie, *Byzantium*).

The Battle

On the morning of 17 September 1176, the imperial army began to enter the long defile of Myriokephalon.[2] The marching order, according to Choniates, was: the first division of the army, headed by John Doukas and Andronikos Angeloi, then the second regiment, headed by Constantine Macrodoukas and Andronikos La(m)parda, which probably consisted of experienced eastern border guards. The right wing was headed by Baldwin of Antioch, the brother of the emperor's wife, and the left wing by Theodore Maurozomes. They were followed by the wagons, the supplementary units, then by the emperor with his personal guards; finally, the Byzantine order was completed by the forces of the rearguard under the command of Andronikos Kontostephanos (*Fig. 1*).[3] The first two regiments successfully passed through the difficult terrain, and, according to a special order apparently given by Manuel, moved forward at high speed to occupy positions at the end of the defile. They were attacked by the Seljuqs. Nevertheless, the imperial archers forced the enemy to withdraw back to their first positions. The next unit of the Byzantine army was attacked immediately after its passage; its inexperienced commander, Baldouin of Antioch, exhibited miracles of bravery,[4] but without great success. According to Choniates, this was a key moment in the battle; the next phase was actually a catastrophe. The Turks attacked the core of the Byzantine army, namely, the left and right wings, the baggage, and the personal guards of the emperor from the left, right, and above. The arrows poured down from the skies like rain, killing horses, people, and, what was more important, the oxen that drew the wagons with siege weaponry.[5] The situation was extremely dangerous; the enemy seemed to be everywhere and this provoked some understandable fear.

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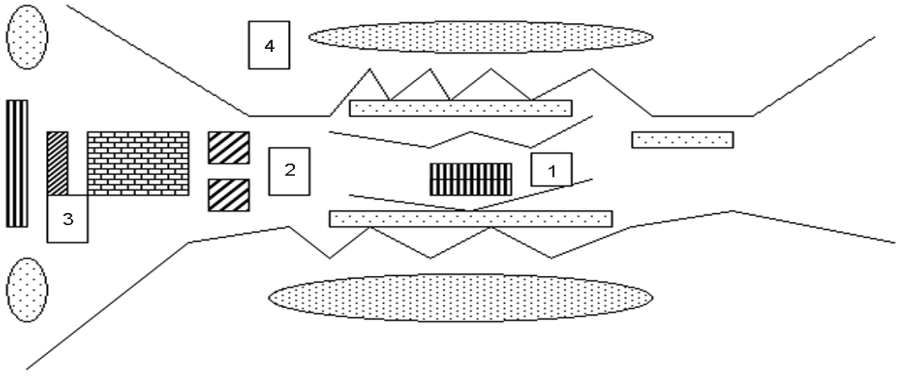
[2] The reconstruction presented here is based primarily on three sources: Michael the Syrian, *The Chronicle*, tr. J. P. Chabot, vol. 3, 20.5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), 370–372 (hereafter: Michael the Syrian, *The Chronicle*, ed. Chabot); Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. Van Dieten (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 178 (hereafter: Choniates, *Historia*); and *Epistola Manuelis Constantinopolitani imperatoris* in Roger of Howeden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1868), 102–104, tr. A. Vasilyev, "Manuel Comnenus and Henry Plantagenet," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 29 (1929–1930): 237–244. I am aware of at least ten other related sources, discussed in detail in my thesis: "Images and Representations of the Enemy in the Byzantino-Seljuq conflict of the Twelfth Century: A Case Study of the battle at Myriokephalon," (Central European University Budapest, 2007), but they are less important in the context of this study.

[3] Choniates, *Historia*, 180, lines 81–89.

[4] Choniates, *Historia*, 181, lines 6–13.

[5] *Epistola,* ed. Stubbs, 103, lines 22–23: …*et tela quasi imbres super nos interimebant* (Vasilyev, 238).



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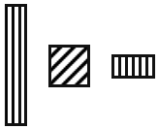
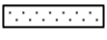


Regular divisions of Byzantine army

Baggage train of Byzantine army

Manuel I with personal guard

Seljuq light cavalry

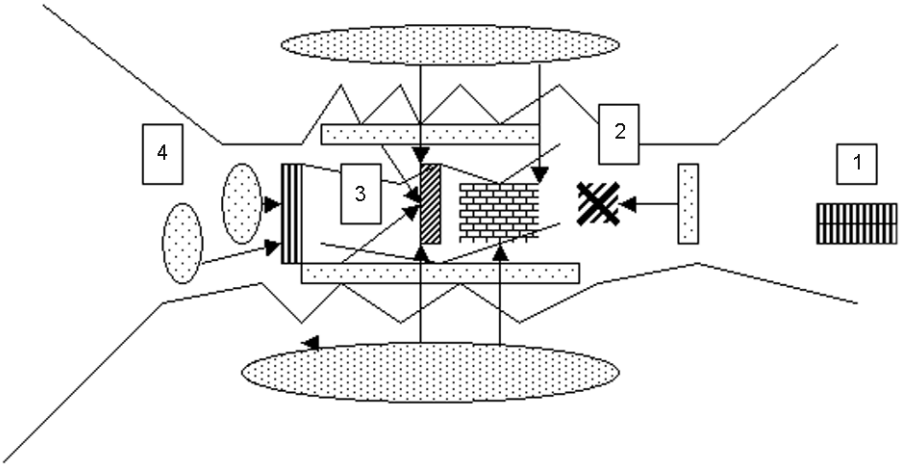


Seljuq heavily armed Gulyam cavalry

Actions:

1. The divisions of the vanguard headed by the Angeloi, Makrodoukas, and Lampardas are passing through the defile at high speed.
2. The rest of Byzantine army (the corps of Baldwin of Antioch and Maurozomes and the huge siege train) are entering the defile.
3. The column is covered from behind by the forces of Manuel and a regiment led by Andronikos Kontostephanos.
4. The Seljuqs on the tops and slopes of the hills are preparing to start their attack

Fig. 1. The beginning of the battle at Myriokephalon.



Legend:

Regular divisions of Byzantine army

Baggage train of Byzantine army

Manuel I with personal guard

Seljuq light cavalry

Seljuq heavily armed Gulyam cavalry

Action:

1. The vanguard of the Byzantine forces fortifies the hill on the eastern end.
2. The divisions of Mavrozomes and Baldwin of Antioch are destroyed.
3. The siege train is under attack and blocks the movement of Manuel's guards.
4. Turcomans attack the division of Andronikos Kontostephanos.

Fig. 2. The height of the battle at Myriokephalon.

At the same time, the way was also blocked by the Seljuqs from behind. Byzantine sources are silent concerning the moves Andronikos Kontostephanos made, but from the chronicle of Michael the Syrian, whose informants were probably with the Seljuqs, it can clearly be seen that the rearguard of the army was also attacked by a great multitude of Turcomans, who can be expected to have paid special attention to the carriages with food and water.[6] The Byzantine army was blocked from all sides (*Fig. 2*). These were the catastrophic results of the ill-fated battle plan of the emperor which Byzantine leaders had approved the day before. But why was it so ill-fated?

Factors of Failure

The sources

The main source for the imperial battle plan of Myriokephalon is the *Chronike diegesis* of Nicetas Choniates. The author did not participate in the battle himself, but his position and connections in the imperial bureaucracy allowed him to gain access to documents dedicated to the battle. Despite the fact that his account is full of intricate rhetorical allusions and complicated images, it is still valuable for discussing some details of the event, about which Nicetas seems to have been well-informed. One such detail is the meeting of the emperor's military council in the Byzantine camp on the eve of the battle:

> The emperor was leading the army in order, according to the rules of strategy … One day the sultan sent to him for peace. All who were not inexperienced in war, and especially in war with the Persians, and the ones who were older asked Manuel to receive the embassy [of peace] and not to put all hopes on the symbol of war. They put to his attention the very complexity of the fight, the hardness of the place … showed him the flourishing of the Seljuq cavalry, pointed also to the disease which troubled the army. But the emperor … opened his ear to young inexperienced people … and sent the messengers [from the sultan] back.[7]

After this Nicetas continues his tale about the reasons for failure:

> Having the idea to go by such a road the emperor didn't care before about anything which could make this road easier for the army. He

[6] Michael the Syrian, *The Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, vol. 3, 20.5, 371.
[7] Choniates, *Historia*, 179, lines 40–57.

> did not leave behind the big siege train, he did not leave the wagons which carried siege machines. He also did not try beforehand to clear the Seljuqs out of the passage with a division of light cavalry … In the opposite way—in the same order in which he went into the valley—he went to the defile, despite the fact that before he heard, and later saw with his own eyes, that barbarians occupied the heights …[8]

The second source—the so-called Letter of Manuel to Henry Plantagenet—is totally silent about any potential failures.[9] This can be explained by several reasons. First, it is a relatively short letter, which merely has the aim of informing the reader (or, more precisely, the listener) about the event.[10] The second reason is one line towards the end of the letter, in which the emperor informs his English addressee that participants in the battle will arrive with the document and explain all the details personally. Still, what is important here is the total silence about the reasons for losing the battle. The attack of Seljuqs seems to have been an ambush which was totally unexpected by the soldiers of the Byzantine army. Thus, only the intricate tale of Choniates would be left if not for the Latin ally of Manuel, Bishop William of Tyre, who could speak with survivors of the battle:

> About the same time … Manuel emperor of Constantinople met with a serious disaster with Ikonium … because of our sins he suffered there a great massacre.This involved not only his personal following, but also the imperial forces which he was leading with him in numbers so vast as almost to exceed human imagination … The emperor himself succeeded in his army and reached his own land. This tragedy is said to have been due rather to the imprudence of the imperial officers in charge of the battalions than to the strength of the foe.[11]

Thus, at least two episodes from narrative sources deal with the problem of the battle plan. At least three factors must be noted here. The first is the "rules of strategy," probably military treatises, which, according to Choniates, the emperor knew. The second are the very officers whom William and Nicetas unequivocally

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[8] Choniates, *Historia*, Manuel 6, p. 180, lines 69–80.

[9] *Epistola Manuelis Constantinopolitani imperatoris* in Roger of Howeden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1868), 102–104, tr. A. Vasilyev, "Manuel Comnenus and Henry Plantagenet," *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift* 29 (1929–1930): 237–244.

[10] The structure and technology of the creation of the *Auslandsbriefe* are described according to F. Dölger and J. Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1968), 90–93.

[11] William of Tyr, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*. Transl. E. A. Babcock, A. C. Key (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 414–415.

blame for seducing the emperor into the wrong way. The third factor is Manuel's experience and personal qualities as they are depicted in the sources. I will discuss each factor in turn.

Military treatises?

The main problem with the Byzantine military treatises is that the degree to which they were applied to reality is unknown.[12] In rare cases, such as that of Nicephoros Phocas, a treatise is clearly attributed to a military leader who had great practical experience. The special language of the treatises and rare references to them also create a problem of chronology. All these things led to the development of military treatise studies as a special division of Byzantine Studies, which, in recent years, has produced several valuable works.

They do not help much with Myriokephalon, however, as no original military treatise seems to have survived from the twelfth century, if indeed one ever existed. Information about whether any of the older ones were used is also absent from the sources. Still, some of the battles of the Komnenian emperors enable one to think that they probably knew and used military literature.[13] What did this literature suggest to the emperor? A sixth-century military guide, the *Strategicon of Maurice*, suggests that:

> In the time of movement it is necessary to put the siege train in the middle of the battle order. The army should not make a movement together with the baggage train, but do it separately, so that the separate parts of the army will be followed by its wagons. The common wagon train must follow the light-armed warriors.[14]

[12] About this problem see a discussion in [V. V. Kuchma] В. В. Кучма. Военная организация Византисйкой империи (Military organization of the Byzantine Empire) (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2001), 6–9. Some of the prominent scholars of the topic, e.g., John Haldon, consider them to be tightly interconnected. See J. Haldon. *Byzantium at War* (Oxford, Osprey, 2002), 56–57.

[13] Anna Komnena clearly shows that Alexios knew and used military treatises. See Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E. A. Dewis (London, 1928), 397. At least one of his battles, with Crusaders near Constantinople, seems to have been inspired by the *Stratagem of Maurice*. Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, 259–260. More than that—Anna herself seems to know some laws of tactics and, thus, John Komnenos who grew up in the same family could also have known these things.

[14] H. Mihaescu, *Mauricius. Arta militara* in *Scriptores Byzantini* 6 (Bucharest: Academia Republicae Romanicae, 1970), Book 5, Section 4, Chapter 4, line 10–16.

In a much later period, Nikephoros Phokas (963–969), who in contemporary literature is often compared with Manuel, suggested another idea: "If the place is narrow, then … you should put two divisions in front to make one gap between them, the same thing in the rear and put four divisions on the remaining two sides [of the column]."[15]

The third recommendation for such a situation appears in the military treatise *De velitatione bellica*, which also dates back to the tenth century: "If there are high mountains, …on the border of the enemy, it is there one should set up the posts [of soldiers]… It is important to occupy the tops of the mountains… and infantry should be placed on both sides [of the road]."[16]

Thus there are three recommendations. The first comes from a source which, according to modern studies, was one of the most influential among all Byzantine military treatises and thus could have been used by Manuel.[17] The usage of the second source is under debate: Manuel was compared to Nicephoros Phocas by several ancient writers, but it is unknown whether he read this military treatise or not. Still, as is obvious from the description of Choniates, Manuel followed the first two recommendations. The strict prohibitions of last treatise were those which were unknown to the emperor, or—the other option—were suggested by officers whose opinion he did not want to hear. Another important thing to note here is that the commanders were basing their opinion not only on textbooks, but on their own field experience. This enables one to pass to the next question. Who were commanders-in-chief of the Byzantine army at the battle of Myriokephalon and which campaigns had they participated in before the battle?

The officers?

Nicetas Choniates provides a list of the persons who led the army. Using this description helps identify these young people who gave Manuel such awful advice.

1) John Doukas was one of the most successful officers in the Byzantine army in the twelfth century. He participated in the battle of Brindisium (1157) and siege of Zeugminon (1165). Already middle-aged (in 1185 Choniates

[15] E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 23 (1995), 12–58.
[16] G. Dagron, H. Mihaescu, *Le Traité sur la guérilla de l'empereur Nicephoros Phocas* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968), 37, lines 5–15.
[17] See [V. V. Kuchma] В. В. Кучма. Стратегикон Мавкрикия (Strategicon of Maurice) (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2004), 1–2; [I. S. Chichurov] И. С. Чичуров. Политическая идеология Средневековья. Византия и Русь (Politics and ideology in the Middle Ages. Byzantium and Rus') (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 118–127.

calls him "an elder"),[18] after the battle of Myriokephalon he participated in a rebellion against Andronikos Komnenos and in a war against the rebellious Bulgarians.[19]

2) Andronicus Angelos was the father of two future emperors, Isaac and Alexius. There is no data about his military experience before Myriokephalon, but the information about his later deeds enables me to speak about very limited military talent (if any).[20]
3) Constantine Makrodoukas' biography is more or less unknown. He was a nephew of Manuel, fought at Myriokephalon, and later supported Andronikos Komnenos but was impaled by the latter on an accusation of treachery.[21]
4) Andronikos Lampardas, as can be seen from his name, probably had connections with the famous Byzantine fortress region of Lampe (upper Menderes, western Turkey). He participated in several wars of the empire in the west, if one is to believe Eustathtios of Thessaloniki, Kilidj Arslan II so respected him that he gave him the honorable nickname of "Falcon."[22] Later, after the usurpation of Andronicus, he tried to raise an uprising in the borderlands in Asia Minor, but was arrested and blinded.[23]
5) Mavrosomes is mentioned in the sources only once before, when he is said to have been one of the supplementary commanders of the Egyptian expedition in 1175. Magdalino has shown that he was *mesazon* (prime minister) of the empire at the time of Myriokephalon.[24] In this battle, however, he was not functioning as a civil official, but as a military commander, being in charge of the divisions of the left wing of the imperial army.
6) Andronikos Kontostephanos started his career as an envoy of Manuel to Antioch. Later he successfully participated in the military campaigns against the Hungarians. In the Egyptian maritime expedition (1175) he was

[18] Choniates, *Historia*, Alexios Komnenos, p. 458, line 43: πεπαιτερος ων.
[19] About him see A. F. Stone, "The Grand Hetaireiarch John Doukas: The Career of a Twelfth-Century Soldier and Diplomat," *Byzantion* 69 (1999):145–164.
[20] See a colourful descripition of his ignoble deeds by Choniates. Choniates, *Historia*, Manuel 6, 195–196.This source is biased—but is still a source.
[21] About him see J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations a Byzance, 963–1210* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990), 281.
[22] Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, tr. J. Jones (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1988), 3.
[23] Choniates, *Historia*, Andronicus 1, p. 279, lines 89–91.
[24] Magdalino, *The Empire*, 257

appointed commander of the whole enterprise.[25] As far as I know there is still no special study of Kontostephanos.

7) Baldouin of Antioch is mentioned only once, as a brave warrior but a bad general. I do not have at my disposal data about his deeds before the battle of Myriokephalon, but the conduct of his forces there shows some lack of experience.

Thus there were seven commanders, among them two (John Doukas and Kontostephanos) who were not young at the time of the battle and clearly had military experience. If one is to believe Nicetas Choniates, they cannot have been the bad councillors of the emperor. The same thing can be said about Lampardas, who, according to Eusthathios of Thessaloniki, had great experience in wars with the Seljuqs. Thus, the main subjects of Choniates' accusation are Mavrosomes and Baldouin of Antioch. I think that their lack of experience and their bad advice could have led Manuel to devise a disastrous battle plan. Besides these possibilities, however, is another one—that the experience which failed was that of Manuel Komnenos himself.

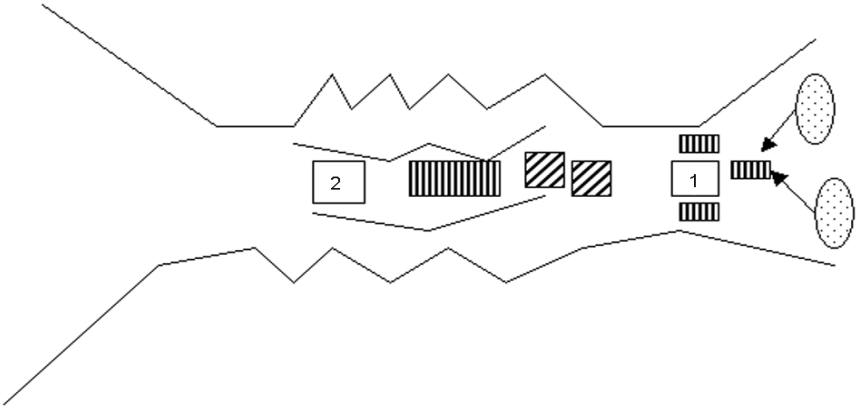
Past experience?

A leading military historian, John Haldon, has suggested that Manuel probably had an idea that he would be attacked at Myriokephalon by the Seljuqs, which, as the events of the next day show, was what actually happened. He just did not manage to predict the direction of the attack.[26]

In 1147, the young Emperor Manuel Komnenos had led an expedition against the sultan of Ikonion, Mas'ud I (1118–1152). It was nearly successful: the Seljuq forces were destroyed in two battles in central Anatolia, the Byzantine forces captured Philomelion and, for a significant time, Byzantine divisions even besieged Ikonion, which had not seen soldiers from Constantinople in such large numbers since the time of Mantzikert (1071). The sultan retreated to the north, where he asked for the help of the Danishmendids. Finally, after long maneuvering near Ikonion, Manuel decided to retreat through a mountain pass which lay to the west of the city. The Byzantine army entered the defile, while the emperor, to show his bravery, tried to find a good opportunity for a show of valor. This nearly led to disaster, and if the help of his brave entourage had not come just in time, the reign of the emperor would have been much shorter. Manuel was almost surrounded (*Fig. 3*), but managed to escape and counterattack

[25] Choniates, *Historia*, Manuel 5, p. 160, line 37.
[26] J. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 142.

the forces of the sultanate and the Danishmendids, who at that time were allied with Ikonion. After a hard battle, the imperial forces put the enemy to flight and began their march through the mountains. The main Seljuq forces, after several fruitless attacks, went back to their capital, while Manuel, trailed at some distance by enemy scouts, successfully reached the plain of Lake Pousgouse. [27]



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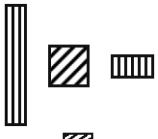

Regular divisions of Byzantine army

Manuel I with personal guard

Seljuq light cavalry

Actions:

1. Manuel with a small regiment is fighting the Seljuqs on the eastern end of the defile
2. The core of the Byzantine army is entering the central part of Myriokephalon

Figure 3. The first battle at Myriokephalon (1146).

[27] This paragraph is a summary of the long and colorful story of Kinnamos, who probably saw the events with his own eyes, see Kinnamos, *Epitoma,* ed. Meineke, 2.6–2.9, 43–60 (tr. Brand, 41–53).

I think it possible to elaborate on the statement of John Haldon. The experience of 1146 was probably one that Manuel (and his generals) used in planning the battle of Myriokephalon. From their point of view, the most vulnerable point of the defile, as in 1146, was the exit to the east. The unfortunate experience acquired during an expedition to Sarapata Mylonos (1160), when the Byzantine regiments were attacked by archers who occupied the peaks of low mountains, probably was not taken into consideration.[28] The messages of the reconnaissance forces (if there were any) did not reach the ears of the emperor.[29] As a result, the next morning, a vanguard of the Byzantine army led by a most experienced commander, John Doukas Vatatzes, I infer, *received an order* to go quickly and occupy the exits of the valley. The emperor and/or his advisors expected trouble to come from the east. Reality was a bit different. They were attacked from above.

Revenge

In the spring before the battle at Myriokephalon, a large division of Byzantine forces led by the above-mentioned Dhu al-Nun Danishmendid and Andronicus Vatatzes, a nephew of the emperor, tried to attack the city of Neokaisarea. They were turned back thanks to the cunning of the local population. Their representatives first advised the Byzantines not to believe the Danishmendids and later attacked the camp of the imperial soldiers, impelled them to flee, and killed the emperor's nephew, one of his favorites.[30]

The reaction of the Byzantine emperor was predictable. Choniates draws a beautiful picture of Manuel's wrath: "Making his army so great, he prepared for the war in the way, as if he wanted to destroy Persian nation, level Ikonion with its walls, make the Sultan submit and put his foot on his neck."[31] This image finds

[28] The expedition to Sarapata Miloniensis is described by Kinnamos in *Epitoma,* ed. Meineke, 4.23, 197–198, (tr. Brand,149–151).

[29] If they were, their work was extremely difficult. As Michael the Syrian puts it, the Turcomans killed everyone leaving the Byzantine camp. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, 20.5, (ed. Chabot, vol. 3, 371): "Les Turcomans … massacraient ceux qu'ils trouvaient en dehors du camp des Grecs."

[30] Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, 507; Vryonis, *Decline*, 123; Lilie, "Die Schlacht," 259. Strangely enough, the whole episode was omitted in the only recent book about Komnenian warfare, and even from the brilliant work of Magdalino; see J. W. Birkenmeyer, *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081–1180* (Cologne: Brill, 2002), 127 (hereafter: Birkenmeyer, *Komnenian Army*); Magdalino, *The Empire*, 99

[31] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia,* ed. Van Dieten, ibid. Manuel 6, 178, lines 5–7 (tr. Magoulias, 100) (hereafter: Choniates, *Historia*); Jacob Ljubarskij considered this piece to be a literary

support in Michael the Syrian: "Quand l'empereur des Grecs Manuel apprit que son neveu avait été tué à la porte de Néocésarée, il partit en colère pour venir tirer vengeance des Turks."[32] The Syrian chronicler, thus, gives a short description, while his Byzantine colleague draws a more detailed (and partly ironic) picture. The strong emotion of revenge could have affected Manuel in his actions besides his other personal qualities, which will be discussed below.

Stubbornness?

In one of his last articles, Jacob Ljubarskij carefully pointed out the differences which he found between the descriptions of Manuel Komnenos by Kinnamos and Choniates.[33] These descriptions have many things in common, however. One thing is the constant depiction of Manuel as a stubborn, proud person, who liked to give, but not to carry out, orders. At the age of eighteen, he ignored his father's orders and entered a skirmish near Neokaisareia. The punishment was serious: John Komnenos flogged the boy with his own hand.[34] This fervor for battle just grew when Manuel inherited the throne.

In the description of Manuel's expedition against Ikonion in 1146, his army was moving back through the long defile to the east of the Seljuq capital. Being enthusiastic, Manuel decided to attack the enemy in person. His relatives were behaving differently and even this became a point of conflict:

> Leaving the others in ambushes, as aforesaid, the emperor … went toward them [the Seljuqs] with such speed as was possible, while Poupakes showed them the way. He became so annoyed with his brothers-in-law[who left behind] that with each and all of them he took a fearful oath that they never would go with the emperor in battle.[35]

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invention because of its rhetorical repetitions. From my point of view, the literary device here is rather a method of decorating a real event, see Jakob Ljubarskij [Якоб Любарский] "Мануил I глазами Киннама и Хониата," (Manuel I Komnenos through the eyes of Kinnamos and Choniates) *Vizantiyskiy Vremenik* 64 (2005): 99–110, here 108 (hereafter: Ljubarskij, "Manuel I") Another point to note here is an exaggeration which the author usually uses to mock Manuel's grandeur: but still this exaggeration could have a basis. See Magdalino, *The Empire*, 4–14.

[32] Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, vol. 3, 20.5, 370–371.

[33] Ljubarskij, "Manuel I".

[34] Kinnamos, *Epitoma*, ed. Meineke, 1.9, 21–22, lines 14–2 (tr. Brand, 26); Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, John Komnenos 1, 35, lines 27–38.

[35] Kinnamos, *Epitoma*, ed. Meineke, 5.2, 48, lines 5–15 (tr. Brand, 45);

Later, a direct accusation is put into the mouth of the guide, Poupakes, who says to Manuel: "Cease, really cease, master! Don't you see how much trouble we're in? Consider your own safety … The emperor paid no attention to what was said."[36]

So, even according to Kinnamos, who is generally inclined to underline the good qualities of the emperor, in military things the latter was very stubborn. This stubbornness probably just progressed with the years, and, thus, mixed with a wish for revenge, affected the formation of the battle plan the night before the battle at Myriokephalon.

Conclusion

To sum up, one can speak about several factors which affected the outcome of the battle at Myriokephalon for the Byzantines. The main one was Manuel Komnenos himself, who, after several years spent in the capital, led his army to the field. The whole state system of the Komnenoi was strictly hierarchical and depended greatly on the person of emperor; in the reign of Manuel this "personalization" only developed, not decreased. Thus, the decision about the battle plan depended on the emperor, who, being stubborn and full of a desire for revenge, did not take into account the experience of professional soldiers and (if we are to believe Choniates) listened only to those whose opinion was similar to his. In addition, Manuel's did not have enough theoretical understanding to predict the stratagems which the Seljuqs might use. The main reason for failure, however, was the practical experience of 1146, when Manuel, passing with his army from Ikonion, managed to evade a great battle and successfully repelled the advancing Seljuqs. In thirty years the situation had changed and the Seljuqs had changed, too, but the emperor of the oikoumene was too proud to take any notice of this. He used his brilliant experience of the past—and failed the battle of Myriokephalon.

[36] Kinnamos, *Epitoma*, ed. Meineke, 5.2, 48, lines 5–15 (tr. Brand, 45).

REPORT ON THE WORKSHOP "HELLENISM: ALIEN OR GERMANE WISDOM?"

István Perczel

Our meeting was held on 23–25 November 2007, at Central European University (CEU). The meeting was convened by the Center for Hellenic Traditions (CHT), an institute founded in 2004 at CEU to promote research into the broader context of Hellenistic culture, to renew our concept of Hellenism, once so important for constructing a specific European culture. A specific mission of the CHT is to encourage research into what one might call "the Eastern face of Hellenism," that is, the interactions between Greek culture and Oriental and Slavic cultures and to see the radiation of Greek thought in the East European, East Mediterranean and Asian contexts. Our workshop was specifically connected to this latter focus of the CHT.

The workshop received its main funding from the European Science Foundation (ESF), with a significant contribution of the Special and Extension Programs office of CEU. There were 27 participants from the European Union, Eastern Europe, Israel, the United States, and Japan. Many of the participants already knew each other, but the workshop aimed at a much wider sweep than usual, giving opportunities for new encounters, too. This was especially true for the East European participants, who have had less opportunity to participate in international scholarly meetings than their Western European colleagues.

The presentations were organized so that in every session there was one lecture and one or two responses, leaving ample room for discussion. This permitted exploration of every subject treated, to see what has been achieved and what is yet to be achieved in scholarship. Throughout the meeting the atmosphere was very cordial, people were happy to be together, to meet old friends and to make new friends. It was clear that this workshop was a major event in a series of professional meetings and was also to serve as a new beginning because of the clear formulation of the new ambitious goals set for the scholarly community.

These goals were partly formulated during the lectures, responses, and subsequent debates. There was a remarkably unanimous conviction among all the

participants about the way a new direction in Hellenic studies could be opened and about where the most important scientific challenges lie, namely, that we should think in terms of a wide European–North African–Asian *Oikumene*, where the achievements of Hellenic spirit and society (itself a melting pot of diverse influences) have spread. There was also a preexisting agreement, with no need to convince anyone, that what we should try to discover is a kind of global world *avant la lettre*, but there was a very interesting debate about the feasibility of initiating an overarching team project to map this world.

The workshop was about bringing together scholars working on the diverse channels of the transmission of Greek philosophy, science and, partly, literature in order to initiate an ongoing Eurasian interdisciplinary network for the comparative study of the contexts of this cultural transfer, its motivations, and the vehicles of its transmission among Romans, Arabs, Jews, Egyptians, Syrians, Georgians, Armenians, Slavs, and Indians from Hellenistic times to the Late Middle Ages or Early Modern times. As several participants observed, a panel on Iran and Central Asia would have been necessary to round out the picture. A focus on art was also seriously missed.

Given that the workshop was conceived as an antithesis to the concept of "alien wisdom" as originally formulated by Arnaldo Momigliano in the first half of the 1970s, it was only natural to start with Momigliano. Thus, in the first session, György Geréby discussed Momigliano's concept, while Guy Stroumsa presented an alternative concept of Late Antique wisdom traditions. In Guy Stroumsa's presentation the huge progress of this discipline since Momigliano, founding its enquiries on documents written in the most variegated languages, came palpably to the fore. The general conclusion was that the way Momigliano saw these issues was definitely outdated and that we need a sweeping and generous view of the geographic, sociological, and cultural entity that we might call the Late Antique and Medieval *Oikumene*.

It would be possible to assess the import of our workshop from many different angles. In regard to its original purpose, the workshop has proven mainly two things:

1. A critical mass of scholarship is now available to initiate overarching and more or less systematic research into what we would call the cultural world of the Late Antique and Medieval Hellenistic *Oikumene*. Not only have such studies been conducted for more than a century, but they have now acquired such weight that important breakthroughs can be expected.
2. That there is both a need and a willingness to set up a network for coordinating such research. While we do not have to initiate anything

radically new, we would gain exponentially if various initiatives were united into one network.

This is the proper place to address more concretely the question of what we can expect from the planned co-operation. We separate this into three main sets of expectations, (A) one general, theoretical and pertaining to the sociology of knowledge, (B) one specific, methodological, and content-aware for our eminently historical discipline, and (C) one pertaining to the question of how to proceed toward attaining these goals.

A. *The theoretical impact on how Hellenic studies are being done and their role in present-day society, with special regard to European integration.* Hellenic studies, within the framework of "Classical studies" or "Greco-Roman studies" played a crucial role in the formation of modern Europe and the Western world. Particularly the examples of ancient Greek concepts of what it is to be Greek: democracy, virtue, literature, philosophy, science, and art governed attempts at creating the modern European nation states, establishing democratic governance, establishing a new civic ethos, founding national literatures, developing philosophies, sciences, and arts in the Modern West. However, in the new global, hi-tech and IT era, with the emergence of new Asian superpowers such as China and India, the importance of all these European and eminently Hellenic "cultural values" seem to subside, Hellenic studies virtually withdrawing to a residual state. The causes of this phenomenon have been investigated by several thinkers and were found to lie in diverse factors, not without involving harsh accusations against either a "new barbarism" of present-day society, or old-type Western Classicists sticking too closely to an outdated and by now irrelevant canon (Edward Said), or the recently emerging multicultural Classicists having destroyed the good old Western canon (John Heath and Victor D. Hanson).

We think that the results of our meeting show a way out not only from the impasse of the aforementioned analyses, but also from the gradual loss of the social relevance of Hellenic studies. Both the "conservative" idea that Hellenic studies should be maintained because they constitute a humanist bulwark of Atlantic culture against non-Western "barbarism" and the "progressive" one that sees their relevance lost because of the new multicultural era, seem to be based on an erroneous identification of the Greek heritage and Western Europe. It seems to us that while there is still much to be done to trace the way the Hellenic heritage lived on in Europe and, in general, in the Western world, and why it proved to be foundational for Western identity, most interesting discoveries await us if we focus our enquiries on how this heritage was absorbed by key Asian and North African societies and cultures. In order to understand this process

we have to see this absorption in a larger context, which defines Hellenism as an originally synthetic culture, perfectly capable of entering into new syntheses in its subsequent encounters with other civilizations. In this way the common heritage of Hellenism may become a meeting point for the West and the East, the North and the South. Seeing and making known these historical antecedents might convince us that we can safely remain Western and European without fearing the impact of unfamiliar cultural interchange with others.

B. *Our meeting has indicated concrete and specific research directions that the participating scholars,* with the inclusion of a number of other colleagues who were only coincidentally absent, *may efficiently pursue.* We are only listing those that eminently need teamwork and cannot be completed through individual study.

1. A comprehensive study of Eurasian and North African wisdom literatures, as proposed by Guy Stroumsa.
2. A comprehensive study of monastic traditions and their philosophies, including Egyptian, Syriac, Cappadocian, Byzantine, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, eventually Tibetan and Indian traditions and philosophies.
3. The edition of a number of crucial philosophical and scientific texts which are still in manuscripts such as:

3.a. Comprehensive editions of medieval Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew philosophical and scientific texts.

3.b. Critical work on the Oriental (Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian) and Latin text traditions closely connected to the Greek, of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, a basic text for European and also Asian cultures, as proposed by Lela Alexidze.

4. A comprehensive work on the figure, in different geographic and cultural contexts, of Alexander the Great, especially on the Alexander Romance, as proposed by Anna Akasoy.
5. Great Silk Road studies, eventually resulting in a conference and a published volume.
6. Multilateral studies of Byzantium, the Persians, the Arabs, the Jews, the Slavs, and the Oriental Christians, as proposed by Maria Mavroudi.
7. A systematic comparative study of Greek and Indian philosophy and science, also enquiring into possible historical interactions, as proposed by Joachim Lacrosse and Ferenc Ruzsa.
8. The study of the survival and impact of some key concepts of Hellenistic political theology: empire, the unity of mankind, consensus and peace *vs.* war, as suggested by György Geréby.

9. We mention separately a proposal made by Fr. Columba Stewart, Director of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN, U.S.A. (HMML). HMML runs a complex project of preserving Oriental Christian manuscripts through digitisation and the archiving of electronic data. HMML's teams are working in the Middle East, North Africa, East Europe, and India (eventually in close cooperation with two of the participants, Stephen Gerö and Istvan Perczel). Fr. Columba has proposed to provide the material thus collected, containing a huge number of hitherto unknown texts and text variants, archival documents and historical data for scholarly study, so that joint teams would participate in the cataloguing and publication of this material. The appropriate method would be to assign the cataloguing and publication work as subjects of PhD dissertations for doctoral students at the institutions represented by the scholars participating in the planned network.

C. *Reviewing the possibilities and facilities where our working group can aim for realising the aforementioned goals*, we have come to the following conclusions:

There is a need and a wish to set up a European research network to work on the achievement of these goals. For this, the appropriate instruments should be found, for which we expect to receive crucial advice from the ESF staff.

This European network will be helped and complemented by cooperation with:

- Japanese colleagues, represented at our meeting by Hidemi Takahashi;
- HMML, represented by Fr. Columba Stewart;
- the Higher Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute (New York–Budapest), which has its mission for those East European, Southeast European, Central and Inner Asian (former Soviet Block) countries which are not members of the EU; and
- Indian institutions for our plans involving India; we expect to invite representatives of these institutions to our next meeting.

Through these cooperative programs the European network that we intend to set up will be embedded in a larger, global network of like-minded scholars. Besides convening meetings and publishing volumes, we intend to focus our attention on directing interested doctoral students in these directions, so that the planned renewal of Hellenic studies goes on through the research work of the coming generations.

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István **Perczel** (Central European University, Budapest)
Lorenzo **Perrone** (University of Bologna)
Samuel **Rubenson** (Lund University)
Ferenc **Ruzsa** (ELTE, Budapest)
Yossef **Schwartz** (Cohn Institute, Tel Aviv)
Erna-Manea **Shirinian** (Matenadaran, Yerevan)
Columba **Stewart** (Hill Monastic Library)
Guy **Stroumsa** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Sarah **Stroumsa** (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Vasileios **Syros** (CNRS, Paris/Helsinki University)
Hidemi **Takahashi** (Tokyo University)
David **Taylor** (Oxford University)
Francis **Thomson** (Belgian Association of Slavists)
Péter **Tóth** (ELTE, Budapest)
Tamás **Visi** (Palacký University, Olomouc)
Alexander **Zanemonets** (Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris)

ABSTRACTS

Did Petritsi "Baptize" Proclus?

Lela Alexidze

The question of how far Petritsi "Christianized" Proclus is very old. No one among the Petritsian scholars has been able to ignore it. The most common and accepted opinion is that Petritsi's work is a sort of synthesis of Antique (Proclean) Neoplatonism with Christian thought. As for myself, recently I am more and more inclined toward the idea that Petritsi in his *Commentary* (I say definitely: *Commentary*, because his so called *Epilogue* is another thing and should be discussed separately) tried to show a "pure" Proclus – Proclus by himself, without an attempt to adapt his philosophy to Christian thought.

I try to answer the following questions:

1. Why do I think that Petritsi in his *Commentary* did not try to "baptize" Proclus?
2. What do I regard as a weakness of this theory? (In other words, in what I do not quite agree with myself?)
3. What is Petritsi's work in general?

Alexander the Great in the Islamic Tradition: Recent Developments and Fields for Future Research

Anna Akasoy

The last ten to fifteen years have seen great progress in scholarship concerning the role of Alexander the Great in various Islamic traditions, above all Arabic and Persian literature. The purpose of this paper is to summarise some of the results of this research in the fields of: 1) philology and text transmission and 2) the image and imagery of Alexander, to point out general tendencies (diversity and unity), and to suggest questions for future research supported by some of my research on Arabic geographical literature.

Medieval Slavonic Writing in Its Byzantine Context: Recent Developments, Concerns, and Perspectives

Margaret Dimitrova

What I am not going to discuss is the long-lasting discussion on the character of the Byzantino-Slavic symbiosis in the Middle Ages and the period of "Byzance après Byzance" (to use the famous term of Iorga). Rather, the focus of my paper is on particular difficulties which a student of Slavonic culture experiences when analyzing the reception and adaptation of Byzantine models in the *Slavia Orthodoxa*. These difficulties are due to three main reasons: first, lack of proper information on Greek tradition, especially on peripheral, non-Constantinopolitan sources; second, lack of a typological juxtaposition with the Caucasus, Near East and the West; and third, a lack of proper understanding of medieval Christian mentality. Thus, the general point I want to make is that Byzantine-Slavonic cultural relations could be further evaluated in a better way if they were seen in a more general context of the Caucasus, Near East, and West. For instance, the discussion of the character of the medieval Slavonic literary language and translations could be placed in the context of other Christian literary languages, such as Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Old English, and Gothic.

Zosimos of Panopolis: Syriac Alchemical Texts

Erica C. D. Hunter

Hellenistic works often passed into the Islamic realm via the aegis of Christian scholars who were affiliated with the 'Abbassid court in Baghdad. The transmission of Greek into Syriac and Arabic was, of course, not without difficulties and the abilities of translators sometimes formed the subject of comment. Challenges of translation also emerged in conjunction with Cam. Mm. 6.29, which arrived at the University Library in Cambridge in A.D. 1632, following the donation of 86 Oriental manuscripts by the widow of the Duke of Buckingham. Written in Western Syriac, in the distinct but typical Sertō script, the unvocalised manuscript, consisting of 151 leaves, is a miscellany of philosophical and alchemical works that were translated from Greek. Its contents include part of the 28 volume alchemical encyclopedia of the third-century alchemist, Zosimos of Panopolis [Akhmin]. At what point Zosimos' original Greek text (now lost) was translated into Syriac is unclear, but this may be surmised to be at an early date, perhaps even the fifth century. The proliferation of Greek and Persian loan-words in Zosimos'

text supports a northern Mesopotamian provenance: the regions stretching from Antioch to Edessa and Nisibis that lay on the politico-linguistic fault-line between the Roman-Byzantine and the Parthian-Sassanid empires.

The Treatises of Zosimos (fol. 9 *recto* – fol. 90 *recto*) comprise 12 books extracted from the aforementioned larger work, which discuss the properties and qualities of various metals and alloys including silver, copper, tin, mercury, lead, iron, and electrum. Each metal or alloy is the subject of a particular book or chapter—the order is reminiscent of the fourth-century Leiden Papyrus—with recipes for the manufacture of metals being sandwiched between metaphysical passages. This combination of philosophy and metallurgy (over and above alchemy) presents differing levels of literacy, and correspondingly different challenges regarding the techniques of translation. Cam. Mm.6.29, combining philosophy and alchemy, was, above all, a practical manual, which must have been consulted and used in the workshops of goldsmiths (*officines des orfèvres*) and artisans of precious metals in Late Antiquity. Apart from the practical knowledge—which could be purposefully applied in making church plate (thus taking it out of the hands of pagan smiths), the knowledge of metal production implied a mastery or control of techniques—its acceptance into a Christian domain implied a "victory over paganism."

The importance attached to metallurgy emerged in the concept of "refining the soul," which became dominant in Christian mystical thought. In this international situation: Egypt > Syria, Greek > Syriac Cam. Mm 6.29 is a vital link in understanding the technology of the Classical world, where techniques became corrupted beyond recognition.

Greco-Roman Views on Indian Philosophers

Joachim Lacrosse

I am not able to tell everything that should be done in the field of Greek-Indian comparative studies. My aim is to tell what, in my view, should be done as regards the topic "Greco-Roman views on Indian philosophers" and the methodology involved in the study of intercultural contacts. I leave aside the topic "Indian views on Greek philosophy," hoping that other participants talk about it. The purpose of this paper is to propose a new way to make the historical and comparativist approaches work together. Though history and comparativism imply very different methodologies and have to be sharply distinguished, it seems important to work

at both levels to re-examine the problem of the so-called "Indian influences on Greek philosophy."

When one compares two systems of thought such as Greek and Indian, which, though sometimes philosophically very close, are geographically/culturally very distant, the first question to deal with is whether the philosophical schools considered might have been in contact, in one way or another, with each other. This question should be preliminary to the quest for some invariant archetypes or "perennial" human experiences of the Divine.

In other words, is there any possibility that some thinkers in each cultural area might have been "influenced" by thinkers or ideas coming from the other area? In some cases (namely, Pyrrho and Plotinus), despite the common view adopted by modern scholarship on the matter, we may state that there is some minor evidence that actual influence might have happened.

The aim of this paper is to put some methodological questions about the information we might find in rare but existing and quite relevant documents in order to be able to consider such information carefully and seriously:

- What is the exact meaning of the covert concept of "influence" with regard to terms of comparison?
- What is the relationship between philosophical traditionalism (involving issues of cultural identity) and syncretism (involving interest in cultural otherness)?
- How can one make historical and comparativist approaches collaborate?
- What would the ways of transmission/translation, if any, have been?

Byzantium and the Arabs: A Survey of Past Work and Possibilities for the Future

Maria Mavroudi

This paper presents a brief survey of work done in the field of Graeco-Arabica and Byzantino-Arabica from the nineteenth century until now and examines what greater narratives in Byzantine and Islamic history (as well as modern politics) have determined the direction that the existing work has taken. It also presents some kinds of primary source material that scholars have not used much in their description and analysis of the Byzantine-Arabic encounter and suggests possible research avenues for the future.

Outline:

- Nineteenth-century Graeco-Arabica in the service of constructing a grand narrative for the history of Western philosophy and science.
- Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Byzantino-Arabica in the context of the European archaeological exploration of the Middle East and the development of Christian archaeology, as well as manuscript collecting for European and Russian libraries.
- Modern historiography on Byzantino-Arabica in the shadow of modern historiography on the Crusades and on the economic history of the medieval Mediterranean.
- Byzantium and the Arabs after the eleventh century.
- The history of Christian Arabic institutions and Christian Arabic literature as an avenue to retrieve chapters of the Byzantine-Arabic encounter (the potential and the limitations).
- Greek and Arabic as medieval *Weltsprachen*.
- Hellenism's encounter with "alien wisdom" in Antiquity as described by Arnaldo Momigliano: analogies with the Middle Ages.

Egyptian Hellenism and the Gnosis of the Ascetic

Samuel Rubenson

Arnaldo Momigliano did not spend much ink on Egypt. He gives two reasons for this. Firstly, Egypt was well-known and considered an important repository of religion and science by the Greeks even in the fifth century B.C.E., and there was little change in that image. Secondly, direct Greek control led to a decline of native Egyptian culture and instead of contemporary Egypt Hellenes preferred the myths of ancient Egypt. The Hellenization of Egypt was thus early and unproblematic. Not denying the general truth in these statements I would like to present some suggestions for a different perspective on the Egyptian reception of Greek culture and the specific Egyptian transformation of the Classical Greek heritage as a result of Hellenization. I limit myself to the areas of philosophy and religion, a vast field in itself, and a field with repercussions in art and science as well.

I want to argue that there is a major shift in the process of Hellenization beginning in the middle and second half of the third century C.E. with the rise of new religious movements and their use of Coptic. Although Egypt had been part of the Hellenic world since the late fourth century B.C.E., I suggest that

Hellenization on a more profound level began only with the advent of Christianity and the religious traditions associated with it, primarily Manichaeism and various forms of Gnosticism. These movements were, on the one hand, part of Hellenic culture and thoroughly Greek-speaking, on the other, not fully integrated into traditional Greek literature, whether mythological or philosophical. They were, moreover, interested in conquering native Egyptian culture, not simply ruling over it. Accepting translation into Egyptian by the use of Coptic writing, their followers were willing to risk a genuine transformation of their traditions in order to gain the native population. It is with this process that we can speak of a real Hellenization of Egypt. Even if it is Alexandria that stands out as the major example of Hellenic Egypt, it is actually only with the Coptic translators and authors of the fourth and fifth century that there is a Hellenization—if we want to understand the term as a process of acculturation and transformation resulting in a real synthesis, in something new.

The Hellenistic Legacy of Medieval Jewish Intellectual History

Yossef Schwartz

The full description of the Jewish encounter with Greek culture requires several steps. 1) Detect the original setting and sources, beginning in the early formative stage of imperial Hellenistic hegemony. 2) Follow the historical developments from late antiquity throughout the Middle Ages, and 3) Evaluate the real significance of the impact of Greek culture on different centers of medieval Judaism as well as in different phases of Jewish modernity. Such an endeavour lies not only far beyond the limits of this paper, but probably beyond the limits of present scholarship in general. Indeed, while preparing my presentation I deliberated with myself concerning its scope. On the one hand, the title given by the organizers and the general nature of the discussion calls for a rather general presentation. On the other hand, such a presentation by its very nature must remain superficial. Therefore I decided to begin with a few general methodological remarks concerning the special difficulties that must be overcome in any study concerning pre-modern Jewish cultural history. A central point here derives from the fact that Rabbinic Judaism, i.e., the canonic form of Jewish life that developed during the Hellenistic age, defined from the very beginning a specific realm (even if not always clear in its borders) of Greek wisdom (*hochmah jevanit*; Bab. Talm. Trak. Sota 49b; BQ 82b), also known as "foreign sciences" (*hochmot hizoniyot*), pointing out qua generic name the formal locus for any reflexive discussion of the

topic in traditional terms. Following this general remark I examine one particular type of writing—philosophic collections of moral stories (*exempla*), a popular literary genre that combined popular literature with elitist philosophical ideas. I shall pay special attention here to Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina Clericalis*, perhaps the most striking example of the basic multilingual and intercultural nature of medieval reception of Hellenistic models.

The Reception and Creative Appropriation of the Common Legacy of Greek Thought in Armenia

Erna-Manea Shirinian

The medieval intellectual development of Europe and the Near East is significantly based on the reception and creative appropriation of the common legacy of Greek thought of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Late Antique periods. The general trends and characteristics of this momentous process in the Latin, Byzantine, and Arabic traditions have already been elucidated in great detail. In contrast, those of the Armenian and Syriac traditions have not yet been exposed to important scrutiny. Fundamentally, the study of Armenian history has been confined to broad political and ecclesiastical issues with scant attention being paid to the formation of a distinctly Armenian intellectual tradition with its own integrity and typological features. To date, such works as exist provide only broad overviews of the development of Armenian thought, the veracity of which is not easily subject to review, since most of the primary texts have not been edited yet, let alone translated into languages of wide currency. In any case, this process can be associated with the scholarly activities of the academies founded in various monasteries during the Bagratid and Cilician periods (tenth to fourteenth centuries), which led to an intense expansion of Armenian intellectual horizons marked by moves toward greater comprehensivity and sophistication of the approach to problems and a complex and nuanced worldview.

In my paper I discuss the following issues:

- Reconciliation of philosophy and Christian revelation.
- Armenian translations of Greek philosophical writings.
- The Hellenizing school in Armenia.
- The continuity of the Alexandrian School – First and Second (Christian).

- "Subtle" writings in Armenian sources; about their hypothetical origin from Aratus of Soli and Callimachus; translations of their writings into Armenian (for Callimachus, the testimony by Grigor Magistros).
- The Armenian Aitiological compendium or most important early encyclopaedic work, the *Book of Causes*.
- The case of interesting details in the *Book of Causes* I have recently uncovered regarding the death of Homer, which have close parallels to anecdotes transmitted by Heraclitus of Ephesus and in the later series of *Vitae Homeri*.

Origen, Evagrius and John Cassian: A Channel for the Transmission of Hellenism to Latin Monasticism

Columba Stewart

This lecture considers the question of Hellenism in early Latin monastic traditions, with a particular emphasis on the transmission of the thought of Origen and Evagrius Ponticus to monasticism in Gaul and Italy via John Cassian.

Eastern Wisdoms in Late Antiquity

Guy G. Stroumsa

I plan to investigate the powerful attraction for late antique intellectuals, both pagan and Christian, of traditions of wisdom from "oriental peoples" such as those of Iran, India, Israel, or Egypt. This powerful attraction, which is related to, but not identical with what Franz Cumont called "Oriental religions in Roman paganism," was expressed over the centuries in a diversity of ways. Despite its importance for a variety of Greek- and Syriac-writing intellectuals and for the formation of their own cultural and religious identity, it seems never to have elicited a synthetic and sustained study.

I deal, for instance, with figures such as Apollonius of Tyana, Numenius, and Bardaisan, intellectuals in search of Eastern traditions of wisdom. From Apollonius of Tyana's trip to India, the Hermetic writings and their Egyptian roots, Numenius and his conception of Plato as an "Atticizing Moses," the Chaldean Oracles and the construction of a hypostatized Assyrian tradition of religious wisdom, Plotinus and Jamblichus' interest in Eastern wisdom traditions, up to the later Neo-Platonic philosophers' attraction to Iran, one can follow a

thread of Orientalism among late antique intellectuals writing in Greek. A similar appeal of the East is present, of course, in Christianity from its beginnings, with the legend of the Magi and the Thomas traditions, which bring the Apostle to Mesopotamia and India. A major Christian author in this respect is Clement of Alexandria, with his strong attraction to Indian and Egyptian wisdom traditions. The formation and development of the Gnostic myth of Sophia, as well as the formation of Manichaean mythology, owe a great deal to Mesopotamian and Iranian mythical traditions. These ought to be studied together, within the overall intellectual frame of the proposed study.

This conflict, mainly between "Eastern" conceptions of wisdom (first and foremost among them Christianity in its earliest stages) and "Western" (i.e., Greco-Roman) schools of wisdom, eventually led to a highly complex transformation of the very concept of wisdom. Wisdom traditions cannot be studied in isolation from their *Sitz im Leben*. The varieties of schooling and educational institutions in late antiquity, their structures and role in society, will be reviewed.

Translation and Reception of Secular Greek Learning in Syriac

Hidemi Takahashi

In my paper I consider the reception of the secular Greek sciences in Syriac. In talking about the transmission of knowledge from Greek into Syriac, one cannot, of course, completely separate the transmission of secular learning from that of religious, or in this case Christian, learning, but I restrict myself to discussing the transmission of non-Christian sciences.

There is some point, too, in focusing especially on these secular sciences, since, as is well-known, the transmission of these Greek sciences to the Syriac world that began in the middle centuries of the first millennium prepared the ground for and greatly facilitated the large-scale transfer of these sciences to the Arabo-Islamic world after the Arab conquest of the lands inhabited by the Syriacs in the latter half of the same millennium, and that from there in turn the same body of knowledge was transmitted to the Latin world in the early centuries of the second millennium, with important consequences for the subsequent development of the sciences in the "West" and in the world. – As Ernest Renan put it with regard to the tradition of Aristotelian philosophy, *series ergo continua est a schola inde Alexandrina usque ad Syros, a Syris ad Arabas, ab Arabibus ad scholasticos*, even if this statement is somewhat simplistic and requires some qualifications.

First, I say a few words about what characterises the circumstances in which the Syriacs came into contact with and began to appropriate Greek learning and how these circumstances compare with those of other groups represented at this symposium. After that I shall give a brief description of the kinds of materials that were translated from Greek into Syriac, together with some comments on the state of research on each of these areas, which will then be followed by some remarks on a number of features of interest relating to the reception of Greek learning among the Syriacs.

The Slav Reception of Classical Greek Culture from the Late Ninth to the Early Eighteenth Century

Francis J. Thomson

Prior to their conversion none of the Slav peoples had any written culture and hence no knowledge of Greek culture. The West Slavs, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks were converted to Latin Christianity between the ninth and eleventh centuries and used Latin as their liturgical and literary language and hence their knowledge of Greek culture can be compared to that of the Germans.

The Greek influence on *Slavia orthodoxa* was enormous but was restricted to the spheres of Christianity without dogmatic theology and ecclesiastical art and architecture. Hellenism in the sense of philosophy and science was notable by its absence. When, in the eighteenth century as a result of the efforts of Peter the Great (1682 [1689]–1725), Russia turned to the West, Western intellectual thought and ideas did not replace Hellenism since it had never been assimilated. As Sir Dmitri Obolensky aptly put it: *Old Church Slavonic was responsible for restricting the range of Greek culture accessible to the Slavs* (The Byzantine Commonwealth. London 1971, p. 324).

ALIEN WISDOM?

ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO ON THE HELLENISTIC PERCEPTION OF BARBARIAN CULTURE[1]

György Geréby

First of all let me thank the conveners for their trust that I can live up to the expectations of this honourable company of scholars, classicists, orientalists, and historians. It is with due trepidation that your humble lecturer, a philosopher so deeply ignorant of the respectable trade of the historians and philologists, is allowed to offer you reflections on the views of the great Arnaldo Momigliano about the problem of Hellenisation in the antique world.

In trying to find a vantage point for my approach I finally settled on the very first sentence in the book of Arnaldo Momigliano, which inspired our conference.[2] He began his book devoted to *Alien*, that is, non-Greek, or barbaric *wisdom* with the remark that "the philosophic historian will never stop meditating on the nose of Cleopatra." Momigliano detects in the nose of Cleopatra the problem of "an intellectual event of the first order," namely, "the confrontation of the Greeks with four other civilizations," and he is going on to analyse the nature of these confrontations. The four cultures on his list were the Roman, the Celtic, the Jewish, and the Persian or Iranian. An obvious case, the Egyptian, which is mentioned only in this witty note, Momigliano either left out because of a lack of expertise, or because he might have thought that Egypt had been in contact with Greeks well before the Hellenistic period he was interested in.

"What I want to ascertain—Momigliano says—is how the Greeks came to know and evaluate these groups of non-Greeks in relation to their own civilization." The analysis then turns to the relationship of "the Greeks and their neighbours" (as the title of his first chapter says), one by one with great erudition and wonderful rhetoric. His assessment of these relationships is summarized by the subtitle of his book, the "limits of Hellenisation," since in the end he arrives at a rather pessimistic conclusion.

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[1] A rewritten version of the lecture held at the ESF Exploratory Workshop "Hellenism. Alien or Germane Wisdom?" on 23 November 2007. I thank István Perczel, Judith Rasson, Niels Gaul and Katalin Szende for their suggestions and corrections. If not indicated otherwise, translations are by the author.

[2] A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom. The Limits of Hellenisation* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

In Momigliano's eyes the ideal of universal Hellenic culture had severe inherent limitations. The limitations are best exemplified in the last chapter of his book, when, at the end of the case by case studies, Momigliano finally analyzes with great lucidity Hellenistic accounts of Persian culture. In his assessment, the Greek intellectuals facing "a state with its own political organization, its moral code and, vaguely in the background, its religion" stopped short of a veritable confrontation. Among the Greeks, says Momigliano, "nobody really cared to know what Zoroaster had been or what he had written or truly inspired." Whatever the Greeks (whom I am more inclined to call Hellenists for a reason I will soon try to justify) attributed to Persian spiritual masters, was to a large extent the result of Greek imagination, put forward in pseudonymous treatises, or, if you wish, in blatant forgeries. And while the Greeks, in Momigliano's view thrived in these forgeries, and "admired their own forgeries as manifestations of a foreign civilisation," there was "the living and powerful reality of genuine Zoroastrianism, of which the forgeries were only pale shadows."[3]

Ultimately, Momigliano finds fault with Hellenisation precisely on this score. The forgeries feigning to be documents of other, foreign, civilizations meant for him a loss of faith in the very principles of Hellenism, a "subordination of Greek thought to Oriental wisdom"[4] and Momigliano attributes the cause for that to the reluctance of the Greeks to learn foreign languages. While

> as early as the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the Greek philosophers and historians had shown keen interest in foreign doctrines and customs and had been inclined to recognize some value in them, … The intellectual influence of the barbarians was … felt in the Hellenistic world only to the extent to which they were capable of expressing themselves in Greek.[5]

What Momigliano was concerned about was "real understanding" of a different culture, and this the Greeks and their Hellenised allies never managed to achive.[6] The "assimilation of many techniques and notions does not necessarily imply a real understanding."[7]

In Momigliano's assessment the Greeks possessed all the instruments for knowing other civilizations—except the command of languages. In addition, as mentioned above, the attribution of the invention of so many ideas to various

[3] Ibid., 147–8.
[4] Ibid., 147.
[5] Ibid., 7.
[6] Ibid., 147.
[7] Ibid., 13.

barbarian nations shows, Momigliano thinks, that the Greeks also lost faith in their own wisdom.

The subject of my musings will be these judgments. Was Hellenisation indeed such a failure? Was it really inherently inhibited by these characteristics? Was there indeed arrogance or some other reason why the Greeks showed no inclination to appreciate foreign languages? Does a loss of confidence explain the attribution of the invention of every important cultural element to barbarians? Is this the only way to read the story of Greek encounters with barbarians? Or is there something more to it, embedded in the accounts, an unusually successful program not at all that naïf?

I will try to suggest that another reading is possible, and that this shows a program clearly characteristic of a deliberate and well thought-out cultural policy appropriate to a culture with a universalistic tendency. My main point is that Hellenic culture did find acceptance in the *οἰκουμένη*[8] precisely because of its non-particularist character, of which the symptoms seemingly indicating a "loss of self-confidence" are a consistent manifestation.

In developing an alternative to Momigliano's thesis I will first address the question of perspective. It is true that the interpretation of the exchange between the Hellenistic and the barbarian world is restricted in the sense that the documents for the latter point of view have survived only in a very fragmentary way (and largely as archeological data). Therefore, we inevitably remain restricted to the Hellenic perspective, to which, and in this I agree with Momigliano, we are ultimately all confined in some way or another. While this is true, it has to be noted that the Hellenistic perspective is in no way restricted only to representatives of Greek extraction. By everything that we know, a symbolic figure of Hellenistic culture such as Plotinus was an Egyptian from Lycopolis. His most famous disciple, Porphyry, was a Syrian originally called Malchus in his native Phoenicia, and his former classmate in Alexandria was Origen, who was, in fact, Horigenes, as some scholars (like Reinhold Merkelbach) pointedly call him. Neither did their teacher, the mysterious founder of Neo-Platonism, Ammonius, receive his name from a native Greek deity. Iamblichus in the next generation was born in Chalcis, in Coele-Syria. Favorinus was "a Gaul but led the life a Hellene."[9] Before them, Alexander of Aphrodisias was probably of Cappadocian extraction, where his

[8] There is an equivocation hidden in the concept of the *οἰκουμένη*, to be sure. It can mean: 1. the *οἰκουμένη* as identical to the Roman Empire, 2. the realm of a shared culture of ordered life and reasoned ideas. In what follows I shall use the second meaning.

[9] Philostratus, *VS* I.8. Olearius 489. *Philostratus and Eunapius. Lives of the Sophists,* tr. W. C. Wright, Loeb Classical Library 134 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), 25.

mother-tongue was spoken in his days (at least we have rumours that translations were made into that tongue even as late as the Christian period), and Lucian, the greatest Atticist of the second century, was Syrian. And we could expand the list indefinitely, like with Anacharsis the Scythian, or Zeno of Citium, who was known to be a Phoenician. The Hellenistic perspective, therefore, has to be taken to include the voice of the Hellenised "barbarians" as well. These Hellenes were not subservient "colonial" cronies of an empire. They were not forced, but attracted. Philostratus, speaking about various sophists, mentions the most varied people of this stock, like a certain "ruler of the [Kimmerian – GG] Bosporus, a man who had been trained in all the education of the Hellenes"[10] or Timocrates "who came from Pontus, and his birthplace was Heraclea, whose citizens admired Hellenic culture."[11]

A second point leads us to the cultures missing from Momigliano's list. With due respect, we have to mention that the Hellenic—for the reason above I would rather say Hellenic rather than Greek—view was not directed only towards the cultures investigated by Momigliano, but to everywhere it could possibly reach. Indeed, to his list we should certainly add not only the already mentioned Egypt, but also Numidia and Aethiopia, let alone the Scythians, or even the legendary Pygmies and Troglodytes. The extension of the list does not serve some petty pedantry. The Hellenic mind relates not just to neighbouring nations. I think it was important for a culture thinking in terms of a universal *οἰκουμένη* that it knew about *all* nations that dwell in the habitable part of the world. The ethnography might be fantastic, but the preconception hidden in the idea of the *οἰκουμένη* is the unity of mankind, despite the wild variety of the peoples. "We are of one descent," says the apostle Paul on the Areopagus,[12] in a Stoic vein appropriate to his Stoic (and Epicurean) audience. We are citizens, *συμπολῖται* inhabiting the same world-city, the *κοσμόπολις,* a term so suggestive for the Hellenistic view of the world.

In developing a rival theory of antique Hellenisation we do well to begin with Homer. Hellenic culture commenced with Homeric poetry since it was not only considered as its founding document historically, but also in the practical sense. The educational curriculum relied on the epics as the primary means to "Hellenise the tongue" well into the Byzantine period. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were acutely aware of the existence of barbarians, that is—to cast it in modern phraseology—of the "Other." If we look at the meaning of the term "barbarian,"

[10] Philostratus, *VS* I.25. Olearius 535. Loeb 117.
[11] Philostratus, ibid.
[12] *Acts* 17: 26

we should probably translate it as that. It is not just *ἀλλογένης, ξένος,* or *alienigena,* but those who are essentially "different in their ways," that is, different in their culture. What kind of picture can be gleaned from the epics?

I think it is a curious fact that in Homer the term "barbarian" does not occur, except on a single occasion, when it is mentioned that the Carians speak a foreign tongue.[13] This is all the more interesting since the Trojans are not Greeks, and their allies come from the most varied and faraway parts of the world one can imagine, like the Amazons. As if the epic wants to intimate that it is aware of the term, but does not want to make extensive use of it. A wider use of the term would look very strange indeed in a world where Glaucon and Diomedes, Priam and Achilles, all the allies and confederates, could talk to each other without ever mentioning an interpreter. What is more, they apparently not only share a common language, but a world of common values, too. The manners, the values, even the gods, are just the same for the opponents. Both sides are under the rule of the same Zeus and the same inexorable Moira.

In this Homeric context I just can't see that the Greeks would not have been ready to learn. Just the opposite. I suggest that we read the famous line in the beginning of the *Odyssey* as a program of travelling for gaining knowledge about the "Others": "Many were the men whose cities he saw and whose mind he learned."[14] This line is not just an isolated admonition, but an idea, the importance of which is well shown by Horace's popularisation of it in Latin.[15] True, Odysseus is not said to have learned the language of the Laistrygons or of the Lotus Eaters, but he learned what is really important: the minds, that is, the different characters of the "cities and peoples."

The Hellenic mind knows that the world abounds in peoples and cities, and looks at them with an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. The Hellenic mind is ready to learn about them and, by becoming acquainted with them, to familiarise their "otherness." Momigliano himself observed that the Asians were said to be sisters by the Greeks. In the tragedy of Aeschylus about the Persians practically no Greek name occurs, but Dareius' shadow speaks like the ideal Persian ruler (as imagined in the idealizing picture of the Greeks), reproaching his son for his unbridled *hybris*. Why would Aeschylus try to raise compassion among his victorious Greek compatriots for a distant and beaten enemy? Why would Xenophon, in a later instance, project his vision of the ideal ruler to a not-so-

[13] *Iliad* 2, 868 ***Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων.***
[14] *Odyssey*, I, 3.
[15] Horace, *Ep.* 1, 2, 19–20. ... *qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbes // et mores hominum inspexit latumque per aequor* …

distant and openly hostile power? Why would Philostratus describe the travels of Apollonius as a series of meetings with the Persian king, the Brahmins of India, far beyond the narrower *οἰκουμένη*, "in a country which Alexander never assailed,"[16] or with the Aethiopians at the cataracts of the Nile—all conducted in Greek and about Homeric or Platonic questions, like about the show trial against Palamedes?[17]

To the modern reader it sounds pretty unlikely that Indian wise men would have discussed such *Quaestiones Homericae* with Apollonius. Once again, it is not the historical truth which matters, but what the story tells us about the mind of Philostratus, the author of Apollonius' *Life*. He apparently thinks in terms of a universal culture. Common culture creates familiarity. In order to achieve this familiarity, Philostratus seems to know that he has to presuppose not just a common language (the Brahmins are made to speak wonderful Greek in his account), but a common cultural frame of reference. Homer played an important role in that. A beautiful example of this role of a common cultural language founded in the Hellenic *paideia* can be read in the meeting of the Christian Justin Martyr, and Trypho the Jew in the second century. If I may remind you, Justin is waiting for his ship when he is addressed by a stranger as: "Hail philosopher!" Justin, who was identifiable since he wore the robe of the philosophers, turns to the stranger with the following words: "Who of the mortals art thou, mightiest one?"[18] It takes some time for the modern reader to realize that this line is a pun, a slightly twisted Homeric quotation, replacing "of the gods" in the original with "of the mortals," but retaining the meter. Why the joke? Since, I suppose, it was meant to be a test, whether the stranger addressing Justin belonged to the club of educated persons or not. And the stranger proved himself to be a member of the club, since—as when Homeric heroes met—he related to Justin his "name and extraction." The formulation, Justin leaves no doubt about this, was done in a mockingly Homeric fashion. And then they sat down in the neighbouring gymnasium to discuss the characteristically Hellenic questions of "*πῶς βιωτέον;*" that is, which is the true philosophy by which one has to live, with rational arguments.

It is against this backdrop of a shared culture that it becomes less implausible when Cassius Dio relates the story of a letter which Emperor Nerva sent to Trajan, the Hispanic, who was then stationed in Germania, a letter written by

[16] Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* II. 33, 13. Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, tr. F. C. Conybeare, Loeb Classical Library 16 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912), 205.
[17] Philostratus, *Vita*, III, 22, 14 sq. Loeb, 277.
[18] Justin, *Dial* 1, 3. *Τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε βροτῶν;* cf. *Iliad* 15, 247. *Τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε θεῶν;*

his own hand: "May the Danaans by thy shafts requite my tears,"[19] meaning, of course, the vanquishing of the valiant Germans. Or how else would the story of the other Dio, Dio of Prusa, be plausible for Philostratus' audience, when the sophist, doing menial work in his exile, jumps on an altar during a mutiny, throws off his rags, acting out the returning Odysseus, and quotes aloud the appropriate line from Homer, first, to attract the attention of the soldiers, and then to win them over with an appropriately fiery speech, to act in accordance to the will of Rome?[20]

The ubiquitous use of Homer as a rhetorical mould, in which communicative situations can be cast, brings us to the issue of the common language. The Hellenistic world, the *οἰκουμένη*, was characterised by several common languages, primarily Greek, but also Latin and later Aramaic/Syriac (nicely symbolised by the inscription in these three languages on the cross of Christ). No realm remotely reminiscent of an *οἰκουμένη* can do without a common language. A vehicle for mutual understanding is required for transmitting ideas, but this is not the only task the common language can do. We should not imagine cultural exchange in an old-fashioned or naive way. Cultural exchange does not mean that people take things over ready-made and appropriate them in their original native sense. Influences work in a much more complex way. *Quidquid recipitur, recipitur per modum recipientis*, as the adage says. Whatever is received is received according to the capacity of the recipient. Again, when we speak about transmitting ideas, we tend to forget that reception implies not only a cohabitation of ideas; but, by allowing them to show up side by side, allows for their competition, too. The fellow citizens, the *συμπολῖται* of the cosmic city, meet in the abundantly available public spaces, the *fora*, the *ἀγοραί*, the halls, porticos, covered walkways, baths, and *gymnasia* of the ancient city, where those who want to tell something to others can do so. These are the places to stir up, to argue with, or to convince others. All sorts of people can speak up there in a language in which they can be understood. The ubiquitous theatres of every city in the Hellenistic world, peppered around the *οἰκουμένη*, secured precisely such opportunities. Allowing the public presentation of the ideas created the context of the competition, the *ἀγών*.

It is against this background that the famous speech of St. Paul on the Areopagus becomes so fascinating. It is probably not without benefit to quote at length the preamble of the speech to make the Hellenistic character of the event conspicuous:

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[19] *Iliad* 1, 42

[20] Philostratus, *VS* I.7. Olearius 488, Loeb Classical Library 134 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 20.

> Therefore Paul disputed in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He seems to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them Jesus, and the resurrection. And they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speak, is? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean. (For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.) (Acts 17, 17–21)

From the account it is clear that Paul first disputes with Jews, who are his most natural audience. But then the Hellenes get wind of this new speaker. What are they doing then? They make Paul speak out in public. Their attitude fits the principles underlying the abundant urban public spaces. Here it was the theatre of the Council of Athens. The audience takes seat, places Paul in the middle of the stage and, then, says: "Let's listen to you! Convince us! At least we'll have some good fun in listening to something yet unheard of." Paul clearly failed although he delivered a discourse being a patchwork of Classical quotations (he would convince only a handful of his listeners), but the situation described by the text seems to be entirely realistic.

The *Acts of the Apostles* clearly implies that Paul spoke in Greek, the *langue axiale* of the period, which both helped him to explain his message, and enabled his audience to understand it. We can see, what is more, that the common language also allowed the Hellenic philosophers to compare Paul's new ideas and to judge them.

That Paul had to speak Greek to his audience was not considered by him as submission to Greek cultural imperialism. I suggest that the role assigned to a common language by the Hellenistic realm did not result from a colonizing attitude, but rather from the ideal of a common realm of human culture, where every idea would have a chance to present itself and where values can be judged in open competition. Along these lines Momigliano seems to reproach the "Greek" attitude unjustly. His regret expresses, for the Hellenes, not so much a loss of the genuine perspective of other cultures, but in fact implies a preference for the anti-Hellenistic, the anti-*oecumenic* voice, or, to put it bluntly, the national, or particularist voice.

Let us reflect here for a moment on language, which, as I said above, is the indispensable requirement for understanding between different cultures. In recent discussions, language has often been considered as a vehicle of colonisation. However, let us look at the Hellenistic situation with unbiased eyes. Who were those who colonised in the name of Hellenisation, without promoting their own language? The Romans. The Romans, however, did not impose their own language on the larger part of the empire (except in the realm of law, but that was a different business). Again, considering the social complexity of the (later) Roman army, we can not talk here about a single colonising *nation*, like many times over the course of history. It is rather a political system which can be called the actor. Therefore it should not be surprising that the use of Greek intensified in Egypt after the Roman conquest. Another interesting fact can be gleaned from Tscherikover's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, which shows that the inter-Jewish correspondence was conducted in Greek well into the 3rd century A.D.[21] And which Greek language are we speaking of? The educational program of the Hellenistic schools was based on more-or-less fictitious Greek dialects, namely, Attic for prose and the artificial archaic Homeric dialect for heroic verse (not to mention the Doric and the Aeolic, not being identified with Greek tribes, let alone with a nation, but with literary genres). The artificiality of the educated language meant that it had to be mastered not just by foreigners, but even by native *koine* speakers.

If the above reflections are acceptable, we might also find an explanation for that curious tendency of Hellenistic authors to impute the discovery of every important cultural invention to barbarians. To remain with Momigliano's own example, the "multicultural" preface of Diogenes Laertius, the second-century doxographer, is a telling paradigm case. Diogenes reports that it is often said, especially by Aristotle and Sotion, that philosophy began with the barbarians. He lists the Magi of the Persians, the Babylonians, the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the naked philosophers of the Indians, the Druids and the God-fearing among the Celts, the Galatians, the Phoenicians, the Thracians, and the Libyans. So far it is true that Diogenes gives preference to the barbarians. He says very little, however, about their native wisdom. This is understandable: the barbarians had not put forward their wisdom in a comprehensible language. This is a situation hard to acknowledge—but experienced by many a Romanian, Georgian, Armenian, Hungarian, etc. scholar—who, at a certain stage of his or her career,

[21] Victor A.Tcherikover and A. Fuks, ed., *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).

was forced to realize that whatever they published in their mother tongue could be considered as virtually lost to the universal culture of their times.

So why does Plato make Timaeus relate the story, put into the mouth of the Egyptian priest addressing Timaeus' grandfather, according to which "you, Greeks, are just children," meaning: you learnt all your wisdom from your elder brother, that is, from us, Egyptians? We have seen that Momigliano attributes this phenomenon to the Greeks having lost confidence in their own Greek culture. However, was this really due to a dissatisfaction of the Greeks with their own achievements? Let me begin my answer by trying to establish what such an imputation really means. An emphasis on indigenous developments, the attribution of invention to natives in a particular foundation myth, is parsimonious. Emphasis on the indigenous, the national, would create the Other. If I am the originator, the inventor, then the Other can only be a disciple, an inferior. (Some may remark that this is precisely the ideology that present neo-Weberian ideologists and politicians are promoting concerning the achievements of so-called "Western civilisation." We also see the results thereof—a growing anti-Western sentiment all over the world.) By attributing familiar ideas, however, to our opponents, we establish a familiarity with that group. If the origins of my own art are attributed to Others, the Other not only becomes familiar, by definition, since we are pursuing the same art, but this attitude also allows for a balanced relationship, since the story of an adapted wisdom not only allows, but even requires to elevate the Other to my own rank. If the role of the *πρῶτος εὑρέτης* is attributed to an alien, a barbarian, then the alien is drawn into the club on the ticket of something mutually important, a shared heritage. I am inclined to say, therefore, that this Hellenic tendency of attribution to others was, rather than a sign of a loss of self-confidence, a technique of inclusion, that is, a sign of deliberate openness by which the *Other*, the *Alien* could be turned familiar, both in terms of a magnanimous gesture and as objective grounds for acquaintance.

Now let me quote just two examples for the "technique of inclusion." Numenius, the second-century philosopher, is attributed with the famous saying, "What else is Plato, than an Atticising Moses?" This can be taken as an example of "syncretism," but at a closer look it expresses nothing else than the non-imperialistic relation of the Hellenistic philosopher to barbarian wisdom. If Hellenism would have been imperialistic, he would have said: "What else is Moses, than a barbarian Plato?" But he said the opposite.

Another instance of this approach, albeit from the opposite direction is the *Oracula Sibyllana*. I think it is not by chance that this marvellous many-layered theological forgery of the Hellenistic period formulates a Jewish missionary

message and Christian accounts about the baptism of Christ in Homeric style under the name of the mythical soothsayer of Rome. Here, I suspect, we can observe a converse application; the Jewish, and later the Christian, propagandists apply the same strategy of "acclimatisation" by putting prophecies about the Jewish God (or the Christ) in the mouth of the gentile divine, and thereby achieve a *per definitionem* familiarity of the gentile nation with the Jewish and Christian doctrines. If this interpretation is correct, we can detect here a popular technique which might have played a role in the development of the "Oriental religions" in the Roman Empire, too.

Therefore, as to the putative dissatisfaction of the Hellenestic thinkers, with their own culture I just do not think this was the case. The Hellenes were perfectly ready to allow for the first inventor having been a barbarian but, from Plato onwards, they would add an important qualification, namely that perfection belongs to the Hellenes. As Celsus, the second-century philosopher, remarked: "The Barbarians are great in inventing doctrines, but the Hellenes are those who can judge and confirm and apply these doctrines to the practice of virtue."[22] In this statement, however, Celsus did nothing other than voice a view that was prevalent among the Graeco-Roman intellectuals. Plato said that, "whatever the Greeks take from the Barbarians, they turn it to something better,"[23] and this was repeated by Pliny: "To invent splendid things, and announce them wonderfully, the Barbarians can, too, but to arrange them properly and design them in various ways belongs to the educated only."[24] This general principle also applies to theology. Celsus says repeatedly that whatever the Christians say "has been said far better by the Hellenes,"[25] that is, without the uselessly unreasonable doctrines. This attitude is hardly that of someone with an inferiority complex.

I have stressed that we are probably wrong when we assume that Hellenisation was an imperialistic encroachment on native cultures. First of all, the *οἰκουμένη* can be considered, in a general sense, derived from the Roman polity, as a welcome development for the public commensuration of ideas. It helped not only the then-proselitising Jews, or later the Christians and the Manichees, but allowed all nations of the *οἰκουμένη* to develop their skills in the public of others. The cultural attraction can be seen well in the example of the sixth-century historian, the Christianised Goth, Jordanes. His *History of the Goths* described this nation

[22] Celsus, *Alethes logos* 1.3. *τὰ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων εὑρεθέντα ἀμείνονες εἰσιν Ἕλληνες*
[23] Plato, *Epin.* 987e
[24] Plinius, *Ep.* 3, 13, 3: *Nam invenire praeclare, enuntiare magnifice interdum etiam barbari solent, disponere apte, figurare varie nisi eruditis negatum est.*
[25] Celsus, 6, 1: *φάσκων βέλτιον αὐτὰ παρ' Ἕλλησιν εἰρῆσθαι ...*

with the words apparently adopted by all major Hellenistic historians: "Nor did they—the Goths—lack teachers of wisdom. Wherefore they have ever been wiser than other barbarians and were nearly like the Greeks, as Dio relates, who wrote their history and annals with a Greek pen."[26] How does the proud history of this people end, though? Jordanes finishes his account with the victory of Justinian and Belisarius over his own nation, and the story ends with the "union of the race of the Anicii with the stock of the Amalii."[27] With this marriage, the history of the valiant Goths ended, and little regret can be detected in Jordanes' words. He seems to have favoured the view that at last the Goths achieved their destiny, becoming full members of the universal civilised realm.

Why should we regret that this Hellenic cultural realm proved so attractive for the various peoples? There is no sign that anyone forced Greek on the peoples of the realm. Rather I would suggest that for many this culture (propagated by educationally defined citizenships, that is, political rights) secured entry to the great *cosmopolis*, the citizenship of which carried so many serious advantages (amusingly summarised in the discussion of the Jewish revolutionaries about the cultural impact of Rome in the *Life of Brian* by Monty Python). To the advantages of the universal realm in commerce and urban civilisation one could add, for example, the rule of law. This legal thought appealed by developing concepts like *bona fides* (acting in good faith and assuming the others to act similarly) or *aequitas* (fairness). Of course, these concepts were often more ideals than reality, but the ideals a society develops do characterise a peculiar society. Or consider just one little example, less well known, but a characteristic feature of the Hellenic world nonetheless. It is the phenomenon termed *parrhesia*, freedom of speech, which is contrasted to servile submission. The lives of the sophists are full of accounts of arguments with emperors (even at the risk of life), that is, cases of speaking freely in the company of the sovereigns. The significance of this political term can be seen from the fact that it made its way into theology as well. Origen, for example, in his treatise on prayer, speaks about the novelty of the Christian prayer *Our Father*. He identifies this novelty in the opening address—the free and open frankness of speech—which is "meet and right" for human beings empowered and privileged to become not just children, but "friends" of God.

In addition to all benefits, the Empire was primarily associated with peace. The Jewish Philo "celebrated Augustus in no equivocal words for extending the territory of Hellenism," as Momigliano himself mentions, in a way the Christians also did later.

[26] Jordanes, *Getica* V. 39.
[27] Jordanes, *Getica* LX, 315.

> This is he [Augustus – GG] who reclaimed every city to liberty, who led disorder into order and brought gentle manners and harmony to all unsociable and brutish nations, who enlarged Hellas by many a new Hellas, and Hellenized the outside world in its most important regions, the guardian of peace who dispensed their dues to each and all ...[28]

Were these ideas unrealistic? Of course. The dire reality of noble imputations to the non-Hellenes was encountered by the Hellenistic philosophers after the so-called closure of the Academy in Athens in A.D. 529, when they went over to Persia to the court of Chosroes II. Here followed utter disappointment, as can be gathered from Agathias' remark about their homesickness. This case indicates, perhaps, that when Hellenistic thinkers said that the citizen of the *cosmopolis* feels himself at home in the whole *οἰκουμένη*, what they said was not a statement that could have been established empirically, but a normative requirement. A citizen of world, someone raised in Hellenistic culture, should approach the whole world with a readiness to feel himself or herself at home. This idea, was beautifully formulated in the famous passage of the *Letter to Diognetus,* about the Hellenistic Christians who "live in their home city as foreigners. They participate in the life as citizens everywhere, but they remain in every a place as if foreigners. Every foreign city is native to them, and every native city a stranger."[29]

This is why I suggest that the "forgeries" or "imputations" criticised by Momigliano are expressions of, or rather, logical consequences of, an intended worldview. These fictitious tracts, and their imaginative content were not meant to be faithful and factual descriptions, but they formulated—as said above—a normative view. Intentions nonetheless are objective, even if they are not about the real. The facts of life may speak against the imaginative, but it is more important how people face an admittedly hostile world. Take it, as it were, as a benign application of the program of third book of the *Republic*, where Plato proposes the employment of "useful lies" in the education of the citizens.

We can now conclude this sketchy reflection on Momigliano's important problem. Is barbaric wisdom alien or germane? What seems to emerge of Hellenistic imagination is a gesture both magnanimous and shrewd at the same time, a generous attribution of the role of originator to others, allowing at the same time for the self-assured claim of Plato, Pliny, and Celsus quoted above, that the barbarians might be good at inventing things, but securing them remains for

[28] Philo, *Leg ad Gaium* 147. tr. F. H. Colson, J. W. Earp (slightly modified), Loeb Classical Library 379 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 75.
[29] *Ep. ad Diognetum* 5, 5, 1–3.

the Hellenes, since it is they who can deal with the issues confidently trusting their superb education and promoted by an environment geared to competition.

This is why, I think, that the well-meaning program of the 1970s about promoting cultural diversity—we should not forget that Momigliano delivered his lectures in 1973—was not necessarily conducive to its own best conceived aims. I think Momigliano forgot about the implications of the Hellenic ideal of agonistic curiosity. The true Hellene is characterised by intellectual interest and inquisitiveness, be it respectful or irreverent. So it has to be—from where else would the Hellene develop the characteristic interest in anything alien and distant? The Hellene wants to understand and to investigate, but one can not conduct a good discussion with inferiors. So allow the barbarians to stand on an equal footing, since they can be credited with inventing all the major cultural achievements, after all.

If the barbarian remains enclosed in his own world, in his own national tradition, which *qua* national tradition has great difficulties in communicating with other national traditions, the barbarian will remain a barbarian. Along these lines the barbarian can be defined as culturally solipsistic. It should be wisdom which matters, after all, not being a Greek, a barbarian or a gentile. Where could the nations form a community and where could the competitive testing grounds for their best ideas for solving the problems of humanity be found if peoples were doomed to silence in the proud isolation of self-centred national traditions?

EASTERN WISDOMS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Guy G. Stroumsa

Some time ago, I realized that there was no Late Antique sequel to what Arnaldo Momigliano had done for the Hellenistic period in his *Alien Wisdom*. If I wanted to read such a book, the next chapter in the history of the cultural relationship between East and West, I soon realized, with some anguish, that I might have to write it myself, with my obvious limitations, and from my own viewpoint. In such a book, I hope to investigate the seduction exerted by traditions of wisdom coming from the old *Kulturvölker* of Iran, India, Israel and Egypt, "among the oldest and the wisest peoples," as Origen calls them, on late antique intellectuals (both pagans and Christians) in the Eastern Roman Empire.[1] I refer here to the perception of wisdom traditions expressed in both religion and "philosophy," i.e., in myths and their interpretation. Such traditions, which had circulated since Classical antiquity and through the Hellenistic period, retained their potency in late antiquity. Their powerful attraction is related to, but not identical with, that of the "Oriental religions," a label forged by Franz Cumont a hundred years ago which oddly ignored both Judaism and Christianity. It was expressed, over the centuries, in a diversity of ways. This attraction is of major importance for a number of Greek- and Syriac-writing authors and for the formation of their own cultural and religious identity. Moreover, these traditions of Eastern wisdom seem to have had a major impact upon the Arabization of Greek philosophy in early Islam. Despite a great number of monographs, this topic has never elicited, it seems, a synthetic and sustained study.

Since at least Herodotus and Plato, Greek culture has shown a sustained curiosity for, and powerful attraction to, the wisdom traditions of Eastern peoples. Around 300 B.C., Megasthenes thought that essential concepts of Greek philosophy had been anticipated by the Indian Brahmins and the Syrian Jews. This curiosity and attraction eventually passed to European culture, of which they became a constant component, until it was picked up and transformed by modern Orientalist philology. A study of the powerful interest in Eastern wisdom in late antiquity might shed some light on the dynamics of this passage. Both before and after the religious revolution of the fourth century initiated by Constantine, several intellectuals, particularly in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, expressed a lively interest in traditions of wisdom coming from

[1] *Contra Celsum*, I.14.16.

a number of Eastern peoples endowed with a long cultural tradition. Often, they considered these traditions to express a truth deeper than the one found in Greek philosophy. The appeal of these traditions is essential for understanding the cultural and religious syncretism of late antiquity, in particular in the Near East, where Hellenism was in direct contact with a number of ancient and sophisticated literary cultures.

Many, although by no means all, intellectuals interested in the dialogue between Greco-Roman thought and "barbarian philosophies" belonged to one of the Near Eastern ethnic groups. Hellenic thinkers of Syrian origin, in particular, seem to have been fascinated by non-Greek traditions of wisdom. One can mention here Hellenic (or "pagan") intellectuals such as Numenius of Apamea in the latter half of the second century,[2] or Jamblichus of Chalcis in the late third and early fourth, as well as Christian thinkers such as Tatian in the second half of the second century and Bardaisan in the late second and early third century. In a sense, the "seductive power of the East" reflects the resilience of ethnic identities in late antiquity and their refusal to surrender to the domineering power of Greco-Roman cultural traditions, a phenomenon that Patricia Crone has recently sought to analyze under the generic name of *shu'ubyya*. To some extent, the phenomenon is similar to the Hellenic "spiritual resistance" against Rome studied long ago by Harald Fuchs. One can also find, however, a powerful interest in "barbarian" religions and wisdom traditions among thinkers such as Clement of Alexandria (who in no way considered himself to be an Egyptian) or Philostratus of Athens, while some Hellenic thinkers of Syrian background, such as Porphyry, show no particular interest in Eastern traditions of wisdom—although the fact that he ventriloquizes his debate with Jamblichus, Plotinus's other powerful disciple, through an Egyptian holy man, is odd, and still needs to be explained.[3]

One should seek to offer a general interpretive framework for the seductive power of "barbarian" wisdom traditions in late antiquity. The attraction of oriental wisdom traditions must be seen as a major pattern through which Hellenized intellectuals in the Roman Empire learned to cope with the presence of foreign cultures (often those of their own ethnic background) which remained beyond the boundaries of the empire or continued to resist Hellenization. The interest in oriental wisdom traditions reflects, on the one hand, ethnological and intellectual curiosity, and represents a sign of respect toward the long cultural tradition of some foreign peoples, expressed in architecture, administration, science, medicine

[2] See for instance his Fragment 1a des Places, from "On the Good."

[3] See P. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers and the Limits of their Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 206.

or magic. On the other hand, it also reflects the inability to fathom the secret of their historical success, namely their languages, and even their systems of writing. In the absence of serious efforts to learn foreign languages—an absence emphasized by Momigliano—few translations of major representative works from foreign literatures appeared in Greek. The Septuagint remains here more an exception than a model. Under such conditions, foreign cultures became known mainly through oral reports, often of a mythical nature. It was only natural for Hellenic intellectuals to approach these reports in the manner they had learned to approach Greek myths. They developed a hermeneutics that insisted on the fact that myths, open to all at the superficial level, also hid a deeper meaning only attainable by philosophers through considerable and sustained intellectual effort. Beyond the exoteric level of myths lay esoteric wisdom. It stood to reason to assume a similar dual structure of myth and wisdom in foreign cultures. The next and easy step would be to assume that wise men (philosophers) from all cultures had reached a similar understanding of the secrets of the universe. Such a conclusion, reflected, for instance, in Celsus's *Alethes Logos*, permitted a dual (and paradoxical) attitude toward the highest among foreign cultures: although their exoteric level remained sealed, the kernel of their esoteric teaching could be guessed, as it was assumed to correspond to Greek philosophical hermeneutics.

The study of Oriental wisdoms in late antiquity will necessarily deal with phenomena in the *longue durée*, starting with the emergence of Christianity and ending with the birth of Islam. I shall not presume, however, to bring the story up to its conclusion, with the Arabization of Greek philosophy and the establishment of the *Dar al-hikma* (the "House of Wisdom") in ninth-century Baghdad. In a sense, the Arabization of Greek philosophy could not have taken place so smoothly had it not been prepared by centuries of reflection on the potency of native traditions in their contact with Greco-Roman culture. In other words, the Arabs were able to appropriate Greek philosophy because a hermeneutical pattern for foreign cultures had already been developed in the late antique Near East, a pattern transmitted to the new rulers by Christian (as well as Sasanian) elites. It is this hermeneutical pattern that we should seek to decipher.

The military clashes between the Roman Empire (and later Byzantium) on one hand and the Zoroastrian Sasanians (and later the Muslim Arabs) on the other hand did not prevent a continuous and rich flow of ideas across the fluid boundaries in both directions. Travelers of all kinds, such as soldiers, merchants, pilgrims, and prisoners, constantly crossed cultural and linguistic as well as political borders. They brought with them many stories about foreign cultures, often of a mythical nature. These stories became crucial elements in the formation of the

syncretistic religious systems of the late ancient Near East. It seems, indeed, that barbarian wisdom appealed especially to religiously-minded Greek intellectuals. These were passionately involved in the search for perennial wisdom, and they looked for it outside the Greek tradition. The wise men of older peoples, such as the Egyptian priests, the Indian *brachmanoi*, the Persian Magi, and the Jews, often considered to be a nation of philosophers or to represent (according to Porphyry, for instance) the philosophers among the Syrians, playing a role similar to that of the Brahmans among the Indians, were perceived as the heirs of a deep, esoteric and philosophical interpretation of their various myths. At the price of a serious intellectual effort, one could reach, beyond the multiplicity of these myths, an ultimately single and perennial tradition of wisdom common to the philosophers of the various ancient peoples.

My goal will be to analyze *together* a series of phenomena, most of which have already been studied individually, but almost always independently from one another. I hope to then be able to understand better the mechanisms through which late antique intellectuals dealt with the complex "globalization" of culture and the tensions between the ruling culture and the indigenous traditions of the conquered peoples.

One could approach the topic through the individual authors from a chronological viewpoint. Such a method has some obvious advantages, but it might entail unnecessary repetitions. I therefore prefer to deal with the various traditions related to the leading peoples from the East: Indians, Persians, Jews, and Egyptians. Such an approach should permit a better understanding of the ways ideas diffused among cultures in late antiquity. In particular, I wish to study various "communities of wisdom" (such as philosophical schools, Christian monastic communities, the Nisibis academy, rabbinic *yeshivot*) beyond the individual authors, such as those reflected in the different philosophical schools and learning institutions, and in the different translation efforts.

One can follow a thread of Orientalism among late antique intellectuals writing in Greek, from Apollonius of Tyana's trip to India, the Hermetic writings and their Egyptian roots, Numenius and his conception of Plato as an "Atticizing Moses," the Chaldean Oracles and the construction of a hypostatized Assyrian tradition of religious wisdom, or Plotinus' and Jamblichus' interest in Eastern (or Egyptian) wisdom traditions, up to the Neo-Platonic philosophers' move to the court of the Sasanian king after Justinian's closure of the Academy in 529. A similar appeal of the East is of course present in Christianity from its beginnings, with the legend of the Magi and the Thomas traditions, which bring the Apostle to Mesopotamia and India. A major Christian author in this respect

is Clement of Alexandria, who shows a strong interest in Indian and Egyptian wisdom traditions (Clement, for instance, is the first Greek author to mention the Buddha and Buddhism). The formation and development of the Gnostic myth of Sophia, as well as the formation of Manichaean mythology, owe a great deal to Mesopotamian and Iranian mythical traditions. These ought to be studied together, within one overall intellectual framework.

Much has been written on almost all aspects of the problem at hand. What is striking, however, is the absence of a study analyzing these traditions from a comparative perspective, as so many expressions of a *single* grand phenomenon. Such a comparative, synthetic study might shed new light on the dialectical transformation of the interface between East and West in late antiquity. The important insights of Pierre Hadot on philosophy as a way of life, as well as the seminal study of Henri-Irénée Marrou on education, ignore all traditions other than the Greco-Roman one, such as the Iranian or the Jewish conceptions of wisdom and traditional ways of achieving it. Indian traditions, or at least the perceptions of them which reached the Greco-Roman world, played a significant role in giving the concept of wisdom a real universal dimension in our period. The story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, a Christian reworking of Buddhist traditions, attributed to John of Damascus, is a striking example attesting to this fact. Incidentally, the interpretation of this text in the framework of interdisciplinary research on the transformations of wisdom from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (including Byzantium and the Arab Caliphate) is an urgent desideratum.

The tension between "Eastern" conceptions of wisdom (first and foremost among them, early Christianity) and "Western" (i.e., Greco-Roman) schools of wisdom eventually brought about a highly complex transformation of the very concept of wisdom. Wisdom traditions cannot be studied in isolation from their *Sitz im Leben*: the varieties of schooling systems and educational institutions in late antiquity, their structures and role in society. The emergence of the medieval (theological) conception of wisdom among both Christians (in Greek as well as in Latin) and Muslims, has traditionally been interpreted as reflecting the interface between Greek philosophy and Christianity or Islam. The commonly accepted grand historical narrative may, however, be simplifying the actual dynamics between both religions and cultures in the late ancient Near East. One should ask whether it should not be perceived, rather, as the final product of a more complex dialectical process which also involved Eastern wisdom traditions and their reinterpretation in the late antique Roman Empire.

I propose to approach the topic as one of intellectual history. I wish to start with philology, and deal with concepts and textual genres involving wisdom. In a

second stage, I shall ask questions of social, intellectual and religious history, and deal with the carriers of wisdom, the social infrastructures permitting the schools of wisdom to function and play an essential role in societies in which religion had become the prominent factor of identity. In particular, I shall focus on the representation among Greek writers, both pagan and Christians, of the perennial traditions of soteriological knowledge from Iran, India, Israel and Egypt.

The many aspects of Wisdom in Late Antiquity, from the growth of the Gnostic Sophia myth, to Christianized Wisdom traditions and the attraction of "Eastern Wisdoms" for authors writing in Greek (and Syriac) can only be fully understood if we grasp their evolution and transformation through the centuries. In other words, the new formulations of wisdom and its role in various religious systems should be seen as a late avatar of the place of wisdom in ancient Near Eastern religious and literary traditions, as well as the "abstractization" of wisdom in Greek philosophy and the growth of both theology and the intellectual critique of religion. The late antique phase of the complex dialectics between wisdom and religion reflects the synthesis between the religious roles of wisdom in both ancient Near Eastern and Greek and Roman cultures.

Note that while Egypt may not properly belong to the "East" in the ancient world (it is only since the Islamic conquest that it became part of the Near or Middle East), it should be considered together with "Eastern nations" as it was perceived in late antiquity as a key link for the transmission of Eastern wisdom to Greece, be they of Iranian, or even originally Indian origin. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Zoroaster had received knowledge of the systems of the universe and the pure rituals of religion from the Indian Brahmans, and had in his turn passed this knowledge to Pythagoras (Porphyry). Egypt had held pride of place as the land of origins par excellence in Hellenic consciousness since Classical times, and retained it in late antiquity, thanks in particular to Hermeticism (van Bladel). But India competed with Egypt more and more on this account.

Let me illustrate what I have said so far with one example from the attraction to Indian wisdom in the first half of the third century. In approximately 243, Plotinus, who was then thirty-eight years old and had already been Ammonius Saccas's student for eleven years, joined the Persian campaign of Gordian III, in the hope to "investigate the Persian method [of philosophy] and the [philosophical] system adopted by the Indians." Thus Porphyry, in his *Life of Plotinus*, 3. Gordian's death, soon after a Roman defeat in Fallujah, in 244, cut short Plotinus's hopes to discover for himself Eastern patterns of wisdom.

We cannot know for sure, either, what Plotinus—a contemporary of Mani, who might have heard of him, according to Henri-Charles Puech—was seeking in

his attempt to learn Iranian and Indian wisdom. Was it pure intellectual curiosity for exotic traditions, essentially different from his own—or was it rather an attempt to find the *sophia perennis*, the common denominator between the various intellectual (and spiritual) traditions of a world in process of globalization? Plutach might put us on the right track, when he records that a friend of his, Cleombrotus of Sparta, traveled beyond the borders of Egypt into the Indian Ocean in order to collect materials for a work of *theology* he was writing.[4] Referring to Hermeticism, Marie-Jean Festugière has spoken of "the end of an age of reason." Is it the new, religious coloration of Sophia in late antiquity that explains the growing attraction of India among intellectuals in search of the roots of the sacred?

Another Hellenic intellectual, Philostratus of Athens, has left us a major document on the contemporary perception of Indian wisdom. The *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (written between 217 and 238) tells us more, indeed, about its author and his times than about its first-century hero. We do not know who the real Apollonius was, but what is important here is the portrait of a new kind of person, a holy man, for whom prophecy, direct contact with the divine, counted more than received doctrine, and for whom religious observance and self-denial were the essential prerequisites of wisdom.[5] "My abstention from animal foods comes from [Pythagoras's] wisdom," he says (I.32.2).[6] Apollonius goes to India with a specific purpose: to visit the Wise Men (*sophoi*) who live there. On his way to India, he meets the Magi in Babylon and Susa, a fact which he considers to be "an extra dividend." When asked about them, he answers that they are wise, "but not in every respect" (I.26). On his way to the Wise Men, Apollonius crosses the cultural *limes* of the Hellenic oikoumene, signaled by a bronze tablet with the legend: "Alexander stopped there [*Ἀλέξανδρος ἐνταῦθα ἔστη*]"—a stele

[4] *de def. orac.* 410 A-B (Plutarch, Moral Works, vol. V; Loeb Classical Library; 352-353 Babbit).

[5] See C. P. Jones, ed., tr., Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Books I-IV (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), Introduction, 12-13, and 13, n. 7. From the long list of studies devoted to this text, see in particular E. L. Lowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16.2 (1978), 1652-1699.

[6] Since Alexander's campaigns, the Indian "naked sages" had enjoyed a high reputation, augmented, in the third century by an embassy to the Emperor Elagabalus (218-222) commemorated by Porphyry (*Abst.* 256 Nauck). According to Mark Edwards, this may have been the inspiration for the fictitious visit of Apollonius of Tyana to India. See M. Edwards, tr., Porphyry, *Neoplatonist Saints: The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 6 and n. 34, 35.

established by the Indians, presumably to boast that Alexander had advanced no further (II.43, at the end of Book II).

The limits of Alexander's empire, however, are not quite identical with those of Hellenic impact, since one finds in India various idols of Greek gods (as well as of Egyptian ones), which the Indians "set up and worship with Greek rites (II.14.3)." Moreover, Apollonius's conversations with Iarchas, the leader of the Wise Men, take place in Greek, a language mastered by Iarchas, as well as by many others (III.16.2). Damis, Apollonius' companion, "never would have thought that an Indian could master Greek so completely" (II.36). Philostratus insists on the surprising character of this fact. Asked by Apollonius about the Wise Men's concept of the soul, Iarchas answers that it is identical to that taught by Pythagoras to the Greeks, which he himself had received from the Egyptians, to whom the Wise Men had originally transmitted it.

The Wise Men let Apollonius attend all their rites, and during the four months of his stay among them, Apollonius absorbs all their doctrines, both avowed and secret [*φανερούς τε καὶ ἀποῤῥήτους*] (III.50). Their wisdom is summarized by Iarchas: "Those who love prophecy, my virtuous Apollonius, become divine under its influence, and act for the salvation of mankind" (III.42). Apollonius, on his side, in the letter he sends to Iarchas on his way back, thanks him for having shared his special wisdom with him, "showing him a path through heaven."

Let me conclude by referring briefly to what Philostratus calls "the most famous story about Apollonius" (IV.6), which happened immediately upon his return to Greece from his Indian trip (IV.25). The young Menippus was in love with a foreign woman, at once beautiful, refined, and rich, and planned to marry her. It was Apollonius who revealed the harsh truth to him: the object of his love was not a real woman, alas, but a phantom (*phasma*; or a vampire, which had only the *appearance* of matter). The whole thing had been a delusion: *ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει πάντα*. A striking parallel appears in the Sanskrit *Vigraha-Vyavartani* (Averting the Arguments), a book of logic written by Nagarjuna, great Buddhist philosopher of the third century C.E., to refute arguments of the Brahminical School of logic (Nyaya). In this work, we read (II.23.27): "A magically formed phantom destroys the erroneous apprehension concerning a phantom woman, teaching us that all phenomena are empty (*sunyata*)." Should we then see the beautiful but threatening phantom, Apollonius' *femme fatale*, as the elusive guardian of wisdom at the confines of the Hellenic *oikoumene*? If what we take to be the material cosmos is an illusion, then wisdom must teach us, indeed, the way to heaven.

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AN ORIENTAL IN GREEK DRESS: THE MAKING OF A PERFECT CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER IN THE *PHILOTHEOS HISTORIA* OF THEODORET OF CYRRHUS*

Cristian Gaşpar

> In my opinion the philosopher must not be of bad character in any way, or uncultivated, but initiated into the secrets of the Graces, and a Hellene in the full sense of the word, that is to say, able to associate with men on the basis of a knowledge and of all worthwhile literature.
>
> (Synesius of Cyrene, *Dion* 42B)

> [F]or he did not have the wild demeanor of someone reared on a mountain and growing old there. Instead, he was gracious and civil, and his speech was seasoned with divine salt, so that no one resented him—on the contrary, all who came to him rejoiced over him.
>
> (Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii* 73.4)

Before becoming bishop of Cyrrhus in 423, Theodoret (ca. 393–ca. 460; *sed.* 423–ca. 460) had spent seven years at a monastery in Nikertai, a few kilometers away from the city of Apamea, in the province of Syria II.[1] It was probably during these years that he composed one of his earliest surviving works, entitled *The*

* This study is based on the fourth chapter of my PhD Dissertation "In Praise of Unlikely Holy Men: Elite Hagiography, Monastic Panegyric, and Cultural Translation in the *Philotheos Historia* of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus" (Budapest: Central European University, 2006).

[1] The best modern bio-bibliographic account of Theodoret remains Y. Azéma, "Théodoret," in *Dictonnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 15 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1991), coll. 418–35, whose chronology I follow here with only slight adjustments. The most recent monograph in English is Theresa Urbainczyk's *Theodoret of Cyrrhus: The Bishop and the Holy Man* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002). See also Fergus Millar, "Theodoret of Cyrrhus: a Syrian in Greek Dress?" in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. H. Amirav and B. ter Haar Romeny, 105–125 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), who addresses the thorny issue of Theodoret's linguistic and cultural identity and defines this as essentially Greek, with a marginal Syriac component.

Cure of Hellenic Maladies,[2] a vast and systematic polemic treatise meant to vindicate Christianity, which he advocated as the only true philosophy against various accusations voiced by pagan intellectuals. In this extensive and variegated work of erudition, appropriately termed "the last of the Christian apologies … [and] perhaps the best refutation of paganism which has come down to us,"[3] Theodoret brought together a large number of quotations from Greek philosophical works, contrasting them with the teaching of the Gospels. Invariably, the Christian doctrines were found superior, more humane, and more befitting a truly philosophical lifestyle.[4] The supreme argument for this superiority in Theodoret's eyes was that the men and women who taught such doctrines, starting with the apostles and up to the male and female ascetics of his day, consistently put the principles of their faith into practice, modeling their entire lives in accordance with the teachings of the Gospels.[5] In doing so, they were proved superior to many ancient philosophers—among whom Theodoret signals out for special blame Socrates and Plato—the most accomplished *koryphaioi* of 'pagan' wisdom, whose lifestyles, often marked by luxury and debauchery, gave the lie to their admittedly sane and irreproachable teachings.[6] To the athletes of Christian philosophy, as he calls his Syrian ascetics, Theodoret dedicated the concluding book of *The Cure of*

[2] Edited with French translation by Pierre Canivet: Théodoret de Cyr, *Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, 2 vols, (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1958; vol. 1 repr. with corrections and additions Paris, 2000). For the sake of convenience, I will refer to this work by its better known Latin title *Graecarum affectionum curatio* (hereafter: *Curatio*). See also the detailed analysis in Canivet's volume *Histoire d'une entreprise apologétique au V^e siècle* (hereafter: *Entreprise* (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1958).

[3] Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature: From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon* (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1992), 543.

[4] In his *Entreprise*, Canivet has painstakingly identified the sources of Theodoret's admittedly secondhand knowledge of Greek philosophy; see his rather severe assessment on p. 308–15: "Théodoret connaît des *textes* et quelques *thèmes*, le plus souvent à travers des intermediaries … le plus souvent son regard ne dépasse pas le texte rapporté parce qu'il ignore le contexte et jamais il ne donne l'impression de posséder une vue d'ensemble" (308, emphasis in original).

[5] Living one's life in perfect agreement with one's principles was a traditional attribute of the perfect sage; on this and other hagiographic commonplaces, see André-Jean Festugière, "Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folk-lore dans l'hagiographie primitive," *Wiener Studien* 73 (1960): 133–52.

[6] See *Curatio* 12.50, 57, 61–63, 70–71; ed. Canivet, 437–39. Theodoret was not the first to criticize the pagan philosophers in this way; see, for instance, Anne Marie Malingrey, "Le personnage de Socrate chez quelques auteurs chrétiens du IV^e siècle," in *Forma futuri: Studi in onore del cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, ed. M. Bellis, 170–74 (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975)

Hellenic Maladies, appropriately entitled "Concerning Practiced/Practical Virtue."[7] This systematic and eloquent presentation of the Christian monks as the only authentic philosophers stands out as a singular undertaking in the intellectual landscape of the early fifth century. Together with the eighth book of the same treatise, which contains an equally elaborate defense of the cult of the martyrs,[8] it represents a significant innovation introduced by Theodoret in the traditional structure of the apologetic genre.[9] Undoubtedly, the topicality of these two issues justified his innovative approach; the cult of the martyrs and the Christian ascetic movement had been the choice targets of the 'pagan' polemicists during the fourth century. Even during the fifth century, when formulating open anti-Christian criticism became an ever riskier business, some of the arguments used by critics such as Porphyry the Philosopher or Julian the Emperor had not lost their power. Their popularity is attested by the fact that they circulated anonymously despite vigorous imperial censorship,[10] making their way into various collections of *erotapokriseis*,[11] and provoking some of the leading Christian intellectuals of the

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and Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, "St. John Chrysostom and the Greek Philosophers," *Classical Philology* 25 (1930): 305–17.

[7] *Περὶ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς*; on the main themes of this book and Theodoret's innovative use of classical sources for illustrating them, see the detailed discussion in Canivet, *Entreprise*, 241ff. with the relevant table ("*Thérapeutique XII*: Ordre de succession des citations profanes") at the end of the book. Here *πρακτικὴ ἀρετή* is probably Theodoret's name for a "lived philosophy" (as opposed to the theoretical precepts formulated by "pagan" philosophers, never actually put into practice) rather than the Evagrian lower "practical" monastic lifestyle as opposed to the higher forms of "gnostic" contemplation.

[8] On this, see Canivet, *Entreprise*, 106–109 and Albrecht Dihle, "Theodorets Verteidigung des Kults der Märtyrer," in *Chartulae: Festschrift für Wolfgang Speyer*, ed. E. Dassman et al., 104–108 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998).

[9] Canivet, *Entreprise*, 109.

[10] According to Socrates (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.9) and Athanasius of Alexandria (*De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 39.1), Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* was condemned as early as Constantine the Great's reign, probably in 332 (date by André Piganiol as quoted by Richard Goulet in the "Introduction" to his edition of Macarios of Magnesia's *Monogenes*, vol. 1, 128, n. 3; for this edition, see below, n. 12). This ban was repeated by Theodosius II in an edict of 17 February 448 (*Codex Iustinianus* 1.1.3). Theodosius' prohibition was modeled on that of Constantine, to which it refers explicitly: see *Codex Theodosianus* 16.5.66 (issued on 3 August 435).

[11] A good survey of the genre can be found in Heinrich Dörrie and Hermann Dörries, "Erotapokriseis," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Th. Klauser, vol. 6 (Stuttgart: Anton Hersemann, 1966), 342–370. Also see the various contributions in the recent volume *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context*, ed. A. Volgers and C. Zamagni (Leuven: Peeters, 2004). Theodoret is credited with the authorship of such

age to pen elaborate replies, often competing in verbose sophistry with the pagan originals.[12]

Besides this purely apologetic concern and the understandable youthful enthusiasm of a recent convert to monastic life,[13] it seems likely that Theodoret's pride in belonging to what he undoubtedly viewed as the Christian intellectual (and ascetic) elite also played an important part in his decision to conclude *The Cure of the Hellenic Maladies* with a defense of monasticism.

Almost two decades later,[14] during one of the relatively tranquil and most creative periods of his life,[15] Theodoret completed his defense of Christian

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a collection of *erotapokriseis*, the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, listed in the *CPG* among his *dubia* (no. 8285). The best available edition is that of Athanasios Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Θεοδωρήτου ἐπισκόπου πόλεως Κύρρου, Πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπερωτήσεις παρὰ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων ἀποκρίσεις*, (St. Petersburg: B. Kirschbaum, 1895; repr. Leipzig: Zentralantikariat der DDR, 1975). Although still listed among Theodoret's genuine works by Azéma, "Theodorét," in *DS*, vol. 15, 421, the language and style of this text make such an attribution unlikely. In fact, the *Quaestiones* were probably composed around the middle of the fifth century by an unknown Antiochene author, as Francis Xavier Funk has shown in his "Pseudo-Justin und Diodor von Tarsus," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, (Paderborn, 1907; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1972), 323–50. My own research on the topic has allowed me to identify at least four fragments of Emperor Julian's lost work *Against the Galileans* (including two hitherto unknown), preserved anonymously in this collection of *erotapokriseis*.

[12] The main surviving Christian replies are those of Origen reacting to Celsus' second-century *Alethès logos*, ed. Miroslav Marcovich, *Contra Celsum* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Macarius of Magnesia's *Monogenes*, ed. Richard Goulet, Macarios de Magnésie, *Le Monogénès*, 2 vols. (Paris: Vrin, 2003), written against arguments ultimately derived from Porphyry's lost *Contra Christianos*; Theodore of Mopsuestia, ed. Augusto Guida, *Replica a Giuliano Imperatore. Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani Imperatoris* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1994), and Cyril of Alexandria, ed. Paul Burguière and Pierre Évieux, *Contre Julien*, vol. 1, bk. 1–2 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985), both against Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*. The anonymous author of the answers contained in the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (see previous note) also reacted to anti-Christian objections deriving ultimately from the lost works of Porphyry and Julian.

[13] Theodoret composed the *Curatio* before his appointment as bishop of Cyrrhus in 423, during his monastic period (413–423), probably towards 420–421; see Canivet, "Précisions sur la date de la *Curatio* de Théodoret de Cyr," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 36 (1949): 585–93 and *Entreprise*, 17–19.

[14] For the dating (ca. 444), see the compelling arguments given by Alice Leroy-Molinghen, "À propos de la 'Vie' de Syméon Stylite," *Byzantion* 34 (1964): 375–84, esp. 381–82.

[15] For this period (ca. 438–447) of Theodoret's life, see now the authoritative account of Jean-Noel Guinot, "La réception antiochienne des écrits de Cyrille d'Alexandrie d'après le témoignage de Théodoret de Cyr," in *Comunicazione e ricezione del documento cristiano in epoca*

asceticism by composing a series of encomiastic biographies of several illustrious Syrian holy men, many of whom he had known personally. His *Philotheos historia*[16] illustrates with concrete examples many of the spiritual values Theodoret had ascribed to Christian male and female ascetics in the twelfth book of *The Cure of Hellenic Maladies*. Consequently, in many respects, the *Philotheos historia* could be viewed as a sort of *pendant* to his earlier apology of monasticism and has been recognized as such by one of its modern editors, Pierre Canivet.[17]

Nevertheless, two decades after *The Cure of Hellenic Maladies*, when he sat down to write the encomiastic biographies of the selected Syrian ascetics that make up the *Philotheos historia*, Theodoret was a changed man: no longer the monastic novice driven by the enthusiasm of a recent conversion to Christian "philosophy," but a mature intellectual, whom his experience as a bishop had taught a thing or two about the real face of monasticism. He must have learned that fifth-century Syrian monks were not quite the self-effacing contemplative philosophers, the reclusive desert-dwellers he had held up for admiration to the pagan audience of *The Cure of Hellenic Maladies*.[18] Many of them were probably

tardoantica. XXXII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Roma, 8–10 maggio 2003 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2004), 157–80.

[16] Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire des moines de Syrie: Histoire Philothée,* vol. 1–2, intro., critical ed., tr., and notes by P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Sources Chrétiennes* 234, 257 (Paris: Les Editions de Cerf, 1977 and 1979) (hereafter: "the *SC* edition". I no longer follow the tradition of referring to the *Φιλόθεος ἱστορία* with the irrelevant *siglum HR*, based on the sixteenth century Latin version of the title (*Historia religiosa*); instead, I will use *HPh*, more closely related to the original title of Theodoret's work. For an excellent English translation of this work, quoted and referred to in what follows, see Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *A History of the Monks in Syria*, Richard M. Price (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985).

[17] Pierre Canivet, *Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr* (hereafter: *MST*) (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1977), 67–68.

[18] See, for instance, *Curatio* 3.92–94, 12.28–29 (skillfully quoting and building on Plato, *Theaetetus* 174d-e). Theodoret's exalted "desert" rhetoric was tune with much of the fourth- and fifth-century Christian literature that praised ascetic life in the desert as its most congenial environment and thus effectively contributed to drawing a normative picture of acceptable asceticism, which was safely and effectively confined to the desert. On this topic, see the excellent study by Joseph E. Goehring, "The Encroaching Desert: Literary Production and Ascetic Space in Early Christian Egypt," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1993): 281–96, now reprinted in his *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 73–88; Goehring rightly dubbed this intensive propaganda campaign a "literary 'desertification' of Egyptian monasticism" (ibid., 88). Also see Daniel Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 4–18.

rather more like the querulous, inflexible, and theologically jejune hotheads Jerome had met during his brief spell as a hermit in the Syrian desert near Chalcis.[19] And if, in Theodoret's days, their favorite pastime was no longer the demolition of 'pagan' temples, as claimed by Libanius in the late 380s,[20] the Syrian monks seem to have developed a healthy appetite for interfering in the affairs of their bishops, especially when invited to do so by the imperial authorities.[21] Some of them, contrary to the countless warnings of the wise monastic theorists of the desert, had even abandoned the beneficial solitude of the desert to become embroiled in the tedious work of running a bishopric and, quite often, in managing the worldly affairs of their see as well.[22] Naturally, this new role required a "philosophy" that was not altogether the endless contemplative bliss of the desert, but a more practical approach, considerably more sensitive to the needs of the city-dwellers among whom it would be practiced. Theodoret aptly summed up the differences between these two lifestyles and their respective "philosophies" in a letter addressed to a high official of his time.

> When I was living as monk, he wrote, I valued tranquility more than anything else, for this is what the rule of that lifestyle requires. But since God has ordered me to become a shepherd of souls, even

[19] See Jerome's *Ep.* 15, 16, and especially his venomous *Ep.* 17 (all dated to the years 376–377). Even allowing for Jerome's usual bile and his corrosive rhetoric, the picture he paints bears an eerie resemblance to the image of the monastic bands who burst in on the bishops gathered at the second council of Ephesus in August 449 shouting "Cut in two those who speak of two natures [in Christ]" (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. 2.1.1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933), 93 and 179), or to that of the "good monks" (as Theodoret ironically called them) fighting a bloody urban guerilla war against the Oriental bishops at Chalcedon in September 431 (see Theodoret's *Ep.* 3a, ed. E. Schwartz and Azéma, vol. 4, 84).

[20] See Libanius, *Or.* 30, *Pro templis*, ed. R. Förster, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), 87ff. For the date (late 386), see Paul Petit, "Sur la date du *Pro Templis* de Libanius," *Byzantion* 21 (1951): 285–310.

[21] Best illustrated by Theodoret's misadventure with three of his favorite monks, James of Cyrrhestica, Baradates, and Symeon the Stylite, who were used by Emperor Theodosius II to twist the bishop's arm into conforming to the official theological stance in 433. On this episode, see Theodoret's *Ep.* 27, ed. Schwartz and Azéma, vol. 4, 281–83 and, for the historical context, Marcel Richard, "Théodoret, Jean d'Antioche et les moines d'Orient," *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 3 (1946):147–56.

[22] The best example is, of course, Theodoret himself; for his administrative activity at Cyrrhus, see his *Ep.* 81 in *Correspondance*, vol. 2, ed. Y. Azéma (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1964), 196. A good discussion of this phenomenon is now available in Andrea Sterk, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church: The Monk-bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); see 199–201 on Theodoret.

> though I am unworthy, I strive—many times even against my better judgment—to take care of affairs. And much as I find this care difficult to bear, yet it is incumbent to my position and useful to those who reap its benefits.[23]

Theodoret, if anyone, should have known the difference between the two philosophies, for he was himself one of these monks turned bishops.[24] The way he re-defined his monastic ideal in the *Philotheos historia*, abandoning to a significant extent his earlier "desert-style" rhetoric,[25] suggests that he was well aware of this difference and tried to tailor his encomiastic portraits of the Syrian monks to the needs of a different—and, I suspect, much more flesh-and-blood—audience than the fictional 'pagan' readership of his earlier work.[26]

The return from the desert back into the civilized world is announced in unequivocal terms in the opening of one of the early *Lives* of the *Philotheos historia*, in what amounts to an explicit denial of the views Theodoret had stated peremptorily and buttressed with the appropriate Platonic quotations in the last book of *The Cure of Hellenic Maladies*.

> Which fruits are offered to God by the fruitless desert, ripe and mature and precious, dear to the gardener and beloved and thrice desired by men of good judgment—these we have displayed in the narratives we have already written. *But lest anyone should suppose that virtue is circumscribed in place and that only the desert is suitable for the production of such a yield*, let

[23] *Ep.* XVIII (ed. Azéma, vol. 1, 89), dated by the editor to the period before 434.
[24] He was consecrated bishop of Cyrrhus in Antioch by Bishop Alexander of Hierapolis in 423; for the date, see his *Ep.* 80, ed. Azéma, vol. 2, 190.
[25] Naturally, there are passages in the *HPh* where the earlier model of "desert-style" asceticism is still present; see, for instance, 13.2, 12.4, 21.4, 24.1, 3. Also, the image of the "contemplative philosopher" still characterizes several of the ascetics who appear in the *HPh*, in strongly Platonizing language: see, for instance, 2.2 with Canivet's note *ad loc.* in the *SC* edition, vol. 1, 199 as well as idem, *MST*, 281–82.
[26] This much one can guess from his elaborate defense (*HPh* 21.33–34) of James of Cyrrhestica against some of his less understanding visitors, who accused the ascetic "of peevishness of character and [were] annoyed at his love of solitude and tranquility (*τὸ φιλέρημον καὶ ἡσύχιον*)" after the holy man had driven them away from his retreat without so much as a blessing, "annoyed with those who [were] a nuisance at the very time of prayer" (ibid., 21.32; Price, 145). Theodoret's own reaction to such behavior is telling, for it acknowledges the essential part a visitor-friendly attitude played in establishing the *fama sanctitatis* of the ascetic. "It would be proper, I said, for those who come for this and make a journey of many days to depart not in vexation but full of joy, *to feast the ignorant with stories of your philosophy*" (ibid., 21.33; Price, 146, emphasis added).

> us now in our account pass to inhabited land, and show that *it does not offer the least hindrance to the attainment of virtue*.[27]

In the *Philotheos historia* Theodoret's concept of asceticism seems to have evolved significantly in order to accommodate asceticism "within the world," a possibility he had adamantly excluded earlier. Not only has his doctrine undergone revision, but his rhetoric has also changed. It is no longer that of confrontation as in his earlier polemical tract, *The Cure of Hellenic Maladies*, but that of consensus-building, which was deeply embedded in the very structure of the panegyric speech a type of discourse that informs the *Philotheos historia*.[28] This change mirrors quite well, I believe, the shift of focus from the isolated and self-sufficient wise men of the desert to a new type of ascetic, who adds to his/her savage outlook the good manners and polite tongue of a Hellenized city dweller.[29]

In order to substantiate this contention, in what follows, I will analyze in some detail one of the *Lives* of the *Philotheos historia*, the eighth in the series, devoted to Aphraates,[30] an ascetic who dwelt in the vicinity of Antioch, Theodoret's native city and the third most important city in the Eastern Roman Empire.[31] I think this particular text illustrates quite well Theodoret's two-pronged auctorial strategy in the *Philotheos historia*. In my view, this consisted, first of all, of a rhetorical attempt to defend the Christian monks against the various accusations brought against them by representatives of the educated (both 'pagan' and Christian) elite. By the same token, Theodoret also meant to promote his monks as the only true—because Christian—representatives of a philosophical lifestyle that members of this elite regarded as one of the defining features of its superior social status as

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[27] *HPh* 4.1; Price, 49, emphasis added. Cf. also *HPh* 14.5 for a similar statement.

[28] For this characteristic of the panegyric discourse, see the excellent comments by Laurent Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1993), 720–23.

[29] The change of tone from the *Curatio* to the *HPh* was noted and briefly commented on by Canivet, *Entreprise*, 41, n. 2, who saw it as a transition towards a πολιτικὴ ἀρετή "social/urban/civic virtue."

[30] Canivet has collected the few available data on Aphraates in his *MST*, 159–161: the former Persian nobleman arrived in Antioch ca. 360–61 and remained there until his death, probably in 407. Theodoret's Aphraates should not be mistaken for his earlier namesake, Aphrahat the Persian Sage (ca. 260/275–post 345), for whom see, for instance, the relevant entry with bibliography in J. Assfalg and P. Kruger, *Petit dictionnaire de l'Orient chrétien* (Leuven: Brepols, 1991; original ed. Wiesbaden, 1975).

[31] For the history of late antique Antioch, see now the studies collected in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. Christine Kondoleon (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). On Theodoret's early years, see Canivet, *Entreprise*, 34–41 and the recent treatment by Urbainczyk, *Theodoret*, 14–21.

well as one of its strongest claims to influence in late antique society. Beyond the different rhetoric of the two works, the ultimate message of the *Philotheos historia* is similar to that of the earlier *Cure of Hellenic Maladies*: Christianity, in its best representatives, the monks, embodies the only authentic, superior, and eternal philosophy. This was, in Theodoret's view, a philosophy open to all who wished to convert to it[32] and had countless well founded claims to intellectual prestige so as not to render such a conversion shameful or demeaning. It is important to note, however, that the *Philotheos historia* adds a fundamental footnote to this statement: Christian philosophy is not—or not exclusively—the wisdom of the desert. It can adapt itself very well to the world, transforming even the most savage barbarians into decent, educated individuals, who can move freely among and interact without complexes with their more or less philosophically-minded contemporaries.

The choice of the *Life* of Aphraates as the subject of the present study is not accidental. When placed against the background of traditional Graeco-Roman civilization as viewed by the educated critics of Christianity, this particular ascetic fits in so many respects the profile of the quintessential Other than transforming him into a model of philosophic and civic virtue, perfectly integrated into the thought world of the Later Eastern Roman Empire, must have appeared as a truly daunting task. Nonetheless, this was a task that Bishop Theodoret accepted enthusiastically and carried out with dedication. In what follows, I will try to identify some of the topics as well as the rhetorical and hagiographic ways and means that enabled him to bring about the transfiguration (and this means, to a great extent, the Hellenization) of Aphraates and of his fellow ascetics praised in the *Philotheos historia*.[33]

[32] As Theodoret eloquently put it: "you can see that not only do the teachers of the Church know these teachings, but even the cobblers and the smiths, the wool-spinners, and all who earn their lives by manual labor; and women also, not only those with an education, but even those who spin for daily hire, and the seamstresses, and even the maidservants. And not only city-dwellers have this knowledge, but also those in the countryside, and it is possible to find even diggers, cattle drivers, and peasants discussing on the Holy Trinity and about the creation of the universe. [Such people] know much more than Plato and Aristotle and they devote themselves to virtue, rejecting wickedness, fearing the coming punishment, and expecting without any hesitation the divine judgment; [such people] philosophize about the eternal and imperishable life and willingly undertake any kind of effort for the sake of the heavenly kingdom. And they have learned all this from none other than those whom you call barbarians…" (*Curatio* 5.68); similar statements in his *Comm. in Ps. 24* (*PG* vol. 80, col. 1040) and *In XIV Ep. S. Pauli* (*PG* vol. 82, col. 324).

[33] The extent to which Theodoret Hellenized his heroes was first accurately noted by Canivet: "et s'il le faut, pour achever de conformer le portrait à l'original, Théodoret

Wielding the Language of Power: The Importance of Polished Greek

Perhaps the most important among these methods is Theodoret's choice to couch the panegyrics dedicated to his holy men in the most prestigious linguistic register of Greek available to a prose writer in Late Antiquity, namely, the Atticizing literary dialect that had come to mark, ever since the first centuries of the common era, an individual's membership in the educated elite. Even though Greek was not his mother tongue, Theodoret had achieved a perfect mastery of this literary Attic idiom, undoubtedly as a result of studying in the prestigious schools of rhetoric in Antioch.[34] Theodoret cast his *Life* of Aphraates and the other *Lives* in the *Philotheos historia* in such flawless and elaborate Greek as to make it virtually unintelligible to anyone who did not share his educational background. The exquisite quality of the language in which it was written sets the *Philotheos historia* apart from other monastic histories, such as the *Historia Lausiaca* or the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (or, for that matter, from many other hagiographic texts of the age), which were composed in a simpler, more popular Greek, undoubtedly because they targeted a different, much wider audience. Theodoret's linguistic and stylistic choice plays a significant role in his strategy of cultural integration, although its importance can easily be overlooked.

The real-life Aphraates was probably reduced to communicating with the inhabitants of Antioch in a sort of pidgin Greek, undoubtedly scoffed at by the likes of Libanius, the rhetor of Antioch.[35] Yet in the *Philotheos historia*, the

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retouche ses héros philosophes, redresse leur tendances, corrige leur moeurs, comme l'apologiste qu'il était autrefois arrangeait avec plus ou moins de bonheur les citations de Platon pour les faire plus chrétiennes" (*MST*, 283). Peter Brown doubted this unnecessarily in his influential study, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101; repr. with additional notes in idem, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 103–52, here 121, n. 91.

[34] Theodoret's mother tongue was Syriac; on his linguistic abilities, see the discussion in J.-N. Guinot, *L'exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1995), 192–97 and T. Urbainczyk, "The Devil Spoke Syriac to Me: Theodoret in Syria," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex, 253–65 (London: Duckworth, 2000). There are indications in his works that he might have had some Latin as well: see *PG* vol. 80, coll. 529 and 573–76. Theodoret does not refer gladly to his Classical education. However, it left its imprint on his works to such an extent that even a hasty reading could hardly miss it. Through a painstaking analysis of *The Cure for Hellenic Maladies*, Canivet was able to identify many of the literary, technical, and philosophical sources on which Theodoret's impressive knowledge was based; see his *Entreprise*, esp. 288–315.

[35] See, for instance, Libanius' contemptuous reference to Syriac as the language spoken by the tinkers in Antioch (*Or.* 42.31). Cf. the similar attitude of John Chrysostom's

fictionalized hero of Theodoret's account is able to deliver a very persuasive speech in fluent Attic Greek when talking to an important Roman official, a speech that would have left many of his educated Antiochene contemporaries if not dumbstruck with admiration, then certainly green with envy.[36] In fact, the language Theodoret's characters speak in the *Philotheos historia* is not theirs at all. It is the same elegant, somewhat bookish, Attic Greek that Theodoret the bishop wrote[37]—and probably spoke—every time he had to interact with those people

anonymous panegyrist in Ps.-Martyrios, *Encomium Chrysostomi* 116=P 485b; ed. Florent van Ommeslaeghe "De lijkrede voor Johannes Chrysostomus toegeschreeven aan Martyrius van Antiochie," Ph.D. Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven (Leuven, 1974), 83), where Chrysostom's ability to speak Latin fluently, in addition to his native Greek (i.e., his cultural ascendant) is construed as a mark of his "natural" superiority over the barbarian general, Gainas.

[36] See *HPh* 8.4 discussed below.

[37] This is most obvious on the rare occasions when Theodoret affects to reproduce the linguistic usage of low-class speakers or when he himself uses contemporary language that differs markedly from his own high-brow Atticist standards. For instance, in *HPh* 10.2, he introduces the "creels and mats (*σπυρίδας ... καὶ ῥιπὶδας*)" with an apologetic "so-called" (*τὰς καλουμένας*), a standard pointer to non-Atticist terminology; see Canivet's n. 4 in the *SC* edition, vol. 1, 441. See also *HPh* 13.4, where Theodoret avoids the *vox propria* for "Sunday," saying instead "the day of the Master's feast" (*τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἑορτῆς ἡ ἡμέρα*) or 13.11 with its circumlocution "the official over the chief officials, presiding over several provinces" (*τὸν τῶν μειζόνων ἀρχόντων...ἄρχοντα τῶν πλειόνων ἐθνῶν*) for *comes Orientis*. This standard stylistic practice of Second Sophistic authors is amply documented for late antique historians by Alan and Averil Cameron, "Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire," *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 14, No. 2 (1964): 316–28, esp. 318–19, who note that introductory formulae such as that used by Theodoret were meant not so much as apology for non-classical usage, but for "drawing attention to the fact that [the author] *knew* they were unclassical" (ibid., 324; emphasis in the original). Pierre Canivet, "Catégories sociales et titulature laïque et ecclésiastique dans l'*Histoire Philothée* de Théodoret de Cyr," *Byzantion* 39 (1969): 209–250 analyzes Theodoret's classicizing paraphrases in detail. A specific Christian vocabulary was felt to be outlandish in high-style Greek as early as the writings of the first apologists; see Gerhardus Johannes Marinus Bartelink, "Einige Bemerkungen über die Meidung heidnischer oder christlicher Termini in dem frühchristlichen Sprachgebrauch," *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965): 193–209, esp. 201. In contrast to its author and to most of his ascetics, some characters in the *HPh* make use of specific Christian terminology that Theodoret otherwise avoided systematically and with such particular care that the French editors of the text used the presence of such "un-Theodoretian" vocabulary as a criterion for rejecting several passages as interpolations (see, for instance, 1.10 with *ἐπίσκοπος*; 10.8 with *μοναστήριον* twice). However, this criterion is not as watertight as it might seem, for Theodoret sometimes puts such words in the mouth of his ascetics, probably to give an authentic ring to their speech: at 3.14 and at 9.9. On one occasion (*HPh* 17.11.4) Theodoret himself stooped as low as to use *μοναχός*

for whom this cultural idiom was much more than a means of communication. This was the language of power that Theodoret had learned in his youth at the rhetorical schools of Antioch, the language in which *παιδεία* was enshrined, the treasured possession of the educated elite, one of the most visible signs of its superiority. By making his heroes speak this language of power,[38] Theodoret made sure that the ragged ascetics of the Syrian countryside or a complete foreigner such as Aphraates, who normally could not—and, for the most part, need not—utter a word of Greek, being, for this very reason, despised by the city dwellers,[39] would find acceptance in the thought world of his sophisticated readers. After all, Aphraates and the likes of him, whom Theodoret portrayed

"monk" in the alternative title of the *Philotheos historia* (*ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν ἱστορία*); cf. also *HPh* 2.9: *μοναχικῇ πολιτείᾳ*.

[38] For Greek as the language of power in late antique Syria, see Sebastian Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf, 149–60 and 234–35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) esp. 150–51; now reprinted in idem, *From Ephrem to Romanos: Interactions between Syriac and Greek in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), item I. See also David Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Mesopotamia," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language, Contact, and the Written Word*, ed. J. N. Adams et al., 298–331 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), esp. 314–16.

[39] This attitude is implied in John Chrysostom's telling admonition to his urban, Greek-speaking flock not to look down on the Syriac-speaking peasants who had come to Antioch for a major religious festival: "[they are] a people different from us in language, but similar to us in faith" (*De statuis* 19, *PG* vol. 49, col. 188; cf. Taylor, "Bilingualism," 304, where this passage is (mis)translated). Elsewhere, Chrysostom admitted that "speakers of Syriac are despised by all, and especially by the Latin speakers more than any other people, even more than those who speak some barbarian language, more than the Greek speakers, and more than those who speak any other language" (*In Ep. II ad Timotheum* 4.3, *PG* vol. 62, col. 622); John's rhetorical exaggeration—he was trying to prove that the apostle Paul was scorned by the Romans because he only spoke Hebrew, a language related to Syriac and equally despised by them—does not lessen the value of his frank admission as to the low esteem in which city-dwellers (Greek and Latin speakers alike) held Syriac speakers in his time. This is confirmed indirectly, by the presentation of Syriac (or, rather, Aramaic) in both Syriac and non-Syriac sources as the language spoken by demons (see Taylor, ibid., 316, documenting the Syriac usage of *'armāyê* "Aramaeans" to translate *Ἕλληνες* when it means "pagans"). For non-Syriac sources, see Hilarion's exorcism (conducted in Aramaic) of a Bactrian camel in Jerome's *Vita Hilarioni* 21 and Theodoret's intriguing story about his conversation with the devil in Syriac (*HPh* 21.15: Theodoret warned by a demon—not "in a dream," but in reality, *pace* Taylor, ibid., 315—not to persecute the followers of Marcion). I agree with Taylor's interpretation of this last episode (see ibid., 315); for a different, less likely explanation, see Urbainczyk, "'The Devil'," 255. This author claims that Theodoret emphasized the knowledge of Syriac among his holy men in order to

cracking jokes with generals in elegant Greek[40] or delivering moralizing speeches to wealthy aristocrats[41] with the cool self-assurance of a rhetor and a matching mastery of the obsolete optative mood[42] could not possibly appear as outsiders in the civilized world of the late antique city.

A Passport into the World of the Educated: The Panegyric Speech

Besides making his fictionalized heroes fully conversant in Attic Greek—at least within the narrative context of his *Philotheos historia*—Theodoret availed himself of another effective method in order to bring Aphraates and his ascetic peers closer to his educated audience. As I have already suggested, he gave them all a prestigious identity by placing them in the literary framework of the panegyric speech. This had traditionally functioned as a means of praising high-profile individuals—especially emperors, governors, and members of the urban ruling elite, all individuals who wielded power, and their associates—on public occasions, in carefully staged, nearly ritualized contexts.[43] Because of its particular structure, which traced an individual's existence through all its successive stages, with various modifications, the panegyric speech also offered a most convenient framework

show that they were "men of the people," who could speak the language of the Syrian peasants, whom they were ready to mobilize in defense of their bishop.

[40] See *HPh* 13.6: Macedonius, a native Aramaic speaker, makes an elaborate pun while chatting with an unidentified Roman official; this is a pun that only works in Greek and, moreover, is culturally circumscribed to the intellectual world and the jargon of the Greek philosophical schools (see Canivet's remarks in the *SC* edition, 486, 3, who, however, for mysterious reasons, ascribes to this improbable exchange "un certain charactère d'authenticité"). Only one paragraph later (*HPh* 13.7), Macedonius' linguistic competence has vanished and he needs an interpreter to address two high Roman officials.

[41] *HPh* 9.6: Peter the Galatian (who only spoke Greek) addresses Theodoret's mother in a sermon of such exquisite rhetorical polish and with such an impeccable knowledge of the optative mood as would have certainly won the unreserved admiration of Libanius.

[42] For Theodoret's use of the optative, which by the fifth century CE was certainly no longer a feature of the spoken language, see Christopher D. Fives, *The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1937).

[43] For an essential introduction to the panegyric speech, the most visible representative of epideictic rhetoric in Late Antiquity, its tradition, and its forms, see the monumental survey by L. Pernot, *La rhétorique*. This, however, stops on the doorstep of Late Antiquity; there is, regrettably, no such comprehensive overview for this period, when the genre experienced a significant development. See, however, the occasional notes in G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

for composing biographies, and many writers in Late Antiquity resorted to it. Most notably, the authors of *Lives* of holy men and women, both Christian and non-Christian, were quick to seize the opportunities offered by the panegyric. The close relationship, identity even, between hagiography and panegyric is now being recognized by scholarly authorities as a matter of fact.[44] Distinguishing the two has been declared unsound methodology, *et pour cause*.[45] Some have even thought of a new name which would emphasize the identity.[46]

The Christians authors of hagiography and homiletics also made successful, often creative, use of the Classical encomiastic tradition, even while explicitly denying it. Such denial is common in Christian texts, whose elite and well educated

[44] "[L]a scrittura biografica è parente stretta, se non figlia dell'encomiastica, ed inoltre *encomia* e *vitae* hanno esistenze parallele sul piano retorico fino alla tarda antichità…," Elena Giannarelli, "La biografia cristiana antica: strutture, problemi," in *Scrivere di santi. Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia Napoli, 22–25 ottobre 1997*, ed. G. Luongo, 49–67 (Rome: Viella, 1998), 49. Cf. also Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 141: "But the writing of *Lives*, which *in the nature of things* tended to combine the features of biography and encomium, offered Christians the possibility of integrating public and private in a new way" (emphasis added). Also: "[I]l n'est pas rare que même la biographie … entre en symbiose p. ex. avec le roman ou la nouvelle … ou avec l'*encomium*, lequel est chronologiquement antérieur à la biographie mais s'est ensuite mêlé à elle. Il faut pourtant noter ici que ce genre d'«éloges» (*Lobschriften*) se perpétue, *avec* ses règles plus ou moins strictes, dans les panégyriques des martyrs…," Marc van Uytfanghe, "L'Hagiographie: Un «genre» chrétien ou antique tardif?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993): 146.

[45] "To speak of two genres, however, is to ask for trouble; it would be more appropriate, for [Late Antiquity], just to call them two sets of texts, one *overtly panegyrical* in form, the other biographical: for it is precisely the transgression of the boundaries between them, their interaction and coalescence, that is most in evidence." (Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, "Introduction: Biography and Panegyric," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, idem, eds., 1–24 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1, emphasis added).

[46] "[In the fourth century] it is possible to watch the emergence and evolution of *Christian biographical panegyric* as a confident major new genre that eventually crystallises out into a form which it is convenient to label '*hagiobiography*,' although the precise balance between the *bios* element and that of panegyric varies from work to work during the period," Anna Wilson, "Biographical Models: The Constantinian Period and Beyond," in *Constantine: History, Historiography and Legend*, ed. N. C. Lieu and D. Montserrat, 107–35 (London: Routledge, 1998), 107; emphasis mine.

authors felt obliged to pay lip service to the virtues of the *sermo piscatorius*, in spite of the fact that their protestations were written in elaborate Greek.[47]

Theodoret is no exception to the rule. Despite his repeated claims to the contrary, in the *Philotheos historia* he also followed the general principles of the encomiastic literature in his biographies of holy men.[48] His explicit denials of having followed the "rules of *enkōmion*" are spectacularly disproved by an apparently insignificant fact, which has escaped the attention of modern researchers until now. Namely, in his highly elaborate "Prologue" to the *Philotheos historia*, Theodoret came to a point where he felt he had to offer justification for "praising" (*εὐφημήσειεν*)[49] his holy men. Far from original, his justification is in fact copied almost *verbatim* from one of the most prestigious models of the encomiastic genre, Xenophon's *Agesilaus*.[50] This little quote from Xenophon, Theodoret's textual wink to his educated readers, speaks volumes, and is, to my mind, a clear indication that, if we need to define a 'genre' for the *Philotheos historia*,

[47] On this pointed Christian denial of the *enkōmion*, see the brief but insightful study of G. J. M. Bartelink, "Adoption et rejet des topiques profanes chez les panégyristes et biographes chrétiens de langue grecque," *Siculorum gymnasium* n.s. 39 (1986): 25–40.

[48] "The account will proceed in narrative form, not following the rules of panegyric (*οὐ νόμοις ἐγκωμίων χρώμενος*), but forming a plain tale of some few facts" (*HPh* Prol. 9; trans. Price, 7); "we have composed this in the form of a narrative not of a panegyric (*ταῦτα διηγηματικῶς, οὐ ἐγκωμιαστικῶς συνεγράψαμεν*)" (*HPh* 21.35; Price, 146). Canivet, who took Theodoret seriously on this point (see his *MST*, 70–72), was nevertheless forced to admit that "À vrai dire, certaines notices de Théodoret rappellent par endroit l'*enkômion* traditionnel: ainsi, lorsqu'il ne parle d'un ascète que par ouï-dire, il recourt à tous les lieux communs" (ibid., 71). The very fact that when he lacked concrete information about the ascetics Theodoret naturally fell back on the panoply of traditional rhetoric, should warn us against thinking that he was shy to do so even when he had rich information about his subjects. As the example of Aphraates—whom Theodoret had known personally!—shows, the "biographic" genre, which Canivet strictly opposes to the "encomiastic" (see ibid., 70) was, in fact, deeply informed by the rules of the *enkōmion*. A neat separation between the two "genres" is, in fact, a philological chimera.

[49] This language of praise is typical for the panegyric, *εὐφημεῖν* being one of the technical names for the *enkōmion*; see Pernot, *La rhétorique*, 117ff.

[50] Compare *HPh* Prol. 7 (tr. Price, 7, emphasis added): "I, too, am well aware that no words can attain to their virtue. Nevertheless, the attempt must be made: it would not be right if men who became perfect *lovers of true philosophy* should for this very reason fail to receive even modest praise," with Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1.1: "Now, I know that it is not an easy [task] to write the worthy praise of Agesilaus' virtue and fame. Nevertheless, the attempt must be made, for it would not be right if a man who became perfectly exceptional should for this very reason fail to receive even modest praise." The Italicized passages mark Theodoret's reworking of this *topos* in a Christian sense.

it is none other than that of the *enkōmion*, which, because of its systematic and to some extent chronological structure, was well suited to becoming a vehicle for (bio)hagiography.[51] After all, this form, taught as it was in the rhetorical schools, consecrated by the literary tradition, and associated with social conspicuousness, could by itself reduce cultural distances and grant almost immediate recognition of the individuals praised *en bon ordre* in the familiar form of the *enkōmion*. When these individuals came from the fringes of what many among Theodoret's readers would have regarded as civilized society, as did many of his holy men, such recognition was highly desirable.

Theodoret paid due respect to the traditional principles of the panegyric, structuring his *Life* of Aphraates, chosen here as one possible example from the many, accordingly; his text follows closely the standard plan of the *enkōmion*, with only a few slight adaptations required by the nature of the subject matter. The *Life* starts with a prologue that sets the general thesis to be demonstrated before the audience: "That the nature of all men is one and that it is simple for those who wish to practise philosophy, whether they are Greeks or barbarians..."[52] Theodoret then mentioned Aphraates' origin (*πατρίς*) and nation (*ἔθνος*), briefly touched upon his noble descent (*εὐγένεια*) by speaking of his family (*γένος*) and education (*παιδεία*); he also stressed the fact that Aphraates converted to Christianity early in his life, left his native land, and moved to Edessa.[53] Next came an account of Aphraates' move to Antioch, of his settling and preaching there, and of his simple lifestyle, which perfectly illustrated his virtuous character and his ascetic-philosophic choices (*τρόπος*, *ἦθος*, *προαίρεσις*).[54] The next section, the most important, included various stories meant to illustrate the holy man's deeds and virtues (*πράξεις καὶ ἀρεταί*). These were, for instance, his wisdom and discriminating intelligence as well as his persuasive powers.[55] Theodoret cannot praise enough the courage and generosity of his hero's dedicated work in the service of the faithful, whom he agreed to guide in times of persecution at the cost of emerging from his ascetic

[51] See Pernot, *La rhétorique*, vol. 2, 664ff.
[52] *HPh* 8.1; Price, 72.
[53] Ibid. At this point, a brief *enkōmion* of the city is inserted ("a city large and well-populated and exceptionally illustrious in piety"), as required by the rules of the panegyric; see Menander Rhetor, *Peri epideiktikōn*, ed. Spengel, 369, lines 18–21 with Pernot, *La rhétorique*, 189 and Asterius of Amasea, *Hom.* 9.5.1 for a very good example of this *topos* in a Christian panegyric.
[54] *HPh* 8.2–3.
[55] Ibid., 8.4.

retreat and sacrificing his own peace.[56] The emphasis Theodoret placed on this episode is quite significant since, as I have already mentioned, earlier in his career, while living as a monk at Nikertai, Theodoret had painted an entirely different image of the model Christian ascetic, one that made a virtue of his refusal to get involved in worldly affairs.[57]

This encomiastic framework is instrumental for Theodoret's attempt to construe his Aphraates as an exceptional individual, a perfect example of Christian philosophy. In addition to the elements mentioned above, one further characteristic element of Aphraates' philosophic profile was his ability to speak his mind freely and face the powerful of the day without fear of possible consequences. Theodoret illustrates this virtue, one of the defining features of the philosopher in the Greco-Roman world,[58] with two narratives depicting the holy man contrasted to Emperor Valens and one of his eunuchs, here cast as out-and-out villains and punished in exemplary fashion for their disbelief of Aphraates; their deaths are told in gruesome detail.[59] Three miracles are then offered as proofs of the holy

[56] Ibid., 5–7. Theodoret the bishop valued highly the ascetics' willingness to emerge from their retreats for the benefit of their fellow-humans. Such altruistic devotion could be exercised on a permanent basis through the guidance they offered as bishops; see, for instance, the example of Abrahames, bishop of Carrhae, who "brought with him the hardships of asceticism, and completed his course of life beset simultaneously with the labors of a monk and the cares of a bishop" (*HPh* 17.1; Price, 120). Alternatively, the ascetics could offer their help only for a short while, in the hour of need, by spectacular gestures of Christian solidarity, such as Aphraates' intervention against Emperor Valens, for which Theodoret might have found a model in St. Antony's coming to Alexandria to support Athanasius the bishop against the Arians (see Athanasius, *The Life of Antony* 69, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Vie d'Antoine* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1994), 317 or Macedonius' intervention at Antioch during the crisis that followed the riot of 387 (*HPh* 13.7).

[57] See above, n. 22.

[58] Much has been written about *παρρησία*; for an excellent study of this concept as the defining mark of the late antique holy man, see Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 65ff., 106–108, 144 et passim. G. J. M. Bartelink, "Quelques observations sur ***ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ*** dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne," in *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum primaeva. Studia ad sermonem christianum primaevum pertinentia*, *Supplementa*, fasc. 3, ed. C. Mohrmann et al., 5–57 and 155–57 (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1970) is essential; see p. 27 for a brief remark on Theodoret's usage. See also the detailed discussion by L. J. Engels, *RAC*, vol. 7, s. v. *Fiducia*, esp. coll. 855–76, for the biblical and Christian usage.

[59] *HPh* 8.9, 12. It should be noted, however, that Theodoret does not use the term *παρρησία* to describe the holy man's attitude in these two episodes; the importance of this omission will become apparent in the latter part of this study.

man's power, which he always exercised with compassion and love for his fellow humans (*φιλανθρωπία*). Aphraates, we are told, cured the emperor's favorite horse, thus, presumably, saving the life of a terrified horse-master.[60] He also helped a noble woman from Antioch get her husband back after black magic had enslaved him to the charms of a concubine.[61] Finally, he offered a pious farmer the means to protect his farm from an invasion of locusts.[62] It is important to note that all the beneficiaries of these miracles are Christian, moreover, Nicene Christians, while the emperor and his wicked eunuch are Arian "heretics." Aphraates' *φιλανθρωπία*, then, was neither indiscriminate nor blind to doctrinal differences.

With a typical rhetorical *praeteritio*,[63] Theodoret then passed on to the epilogue, not without first mentioning one of the visits he paid to Aphraates together with his mother.[64] The ascetic's death (*τελευτή*) is less mentioned. Instead, Theodoret dwells upon his afterlife (*τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν*), assuring his audience that Aphraates had obtained eternal life and preserved his power of intercession with the Lord.[65] The epilogue closes with Theodoret's own prayer for the intercession of the holy man, an example that he, no doubt, expected at least some of his readers to follow.[66]

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[60] Ibid., 8.12.
[61] Ibid., 8.13.
[62] Ibid., 8.14.
[63] "What need is there to set out all the works performed by this blessed soul? These suffice to indicate the splendor of the grace that dwelt in him." (Ibid., 8.15; Price, 79).
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.: "I believe him to be alive, to belong to the choir of the angels, and to possess familiar access to God even more than before. … He enjoys as a victorious athlete familiar access to the Umpire."
[66] Ibid.: "I pray to gain his intercession as well." Such prayers to the spirit of the departed also appear in non-Christian *enkōmia*; see Libanius, *Or.* 18.304, 308. In fact, they were recommended as a standard feature of the *enkōmion* by the authoritative handbooks of epideictic rhetoric; see Pernot, *La rhétorique*, vol. 2, 621–25 with examples. A modern scholar who failed to see this placed undue emphasis on such commonplace closing sentences regularly employed by Theodoret in the *HPh*, and read them as indicators of a "rhetoric of piety," as "canonical gestures, like reciting the doxology at the end of a psalm or making the sign of the cross," "the equivalent of a pilgrimage," and even as proof for the rather exaggerated claim that the *HPh* gave Theodoret the means for a narrative self-sanctification of sorts (cf. D. Krueger, "Writing as Devotion: Hagiographical Composition and the Cult of Saints in Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Cyril of Scythopolis," *Church History* 66 (1997): 707–19, here 711–12). Urbainczyk (*Theodoret*, 8, n. 13) has rightly criticized Krueger for such uncritical reading of Theodoret's text.

Smoothing Away the Cultural Shock: Christian ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, the Rhetoric of Paradox, and the Importance of Being Urbane

The form of Theodoret's hagiographic discourse, as suggested above, would have been quite familiar to his educated readership. The contents of the story are carefully structured around an essential antithesis between Aphraates' apparently marginal status in relation to the traditional elite of the Later Roman Empire and their worldview and the Christian ascetic's successful and paradoxical overcoming of this marginal status by dint of his conversion to Christianity. By telling stories of ascetic success such as that of Aphraates, Theodoret wished to convey the message that not only was Christianity compatible with the values of Hellenic urban civilization, but it was capable of accommodating and civilizing even the most lawless barbarians, permanently and with great profit. As Theodoret took care to stress, Christianity had transformed Aphraates from an outsider into a central figure of the new Christian *politeia*.

At the same time, this perspective entails two important consequences that can easily be read between the lines of Theodoret's text, both of which are also connected with his polemic concerns. First, Christian asceticism, the true philosophy, is superior to all others because of the universal character of its message. Second, if barbarians can convert and reach such a degree of wisdom and social influence as those attained by Aphraates and his ascetic peers, the obstinate adherence of the 'pagans' to their obsolete beliefs and their scornful refusal to convert to the new philosophy can only prove how irrational and narrow-minded they are.

To convey this message, Theodoret had to start by depicting Aphraates as a complete outsider. This is a literary strategy that he applied constantly and purposefully. At the beginning of his *Life*, Aphraates is presented as a non-citizen who came from Persia, from outside the empire. Then, as he was "born and bred among the lawless Persians,"[67] he is also depicted as a 'pagan' (presumably a Mazdean, a fire-worshiper), and a barbarian. Theodoret's remark about the "lawlessness" of the Persians alludes to age-old Greek (and subsequently Roman) prejudices that branded the Persians as uncivilized barbarians,[68] who

[67] *HPh* 8.1.

[68] For an inventory of anti-Persian stereotypes occurring in Greco-Roman writings, see the valuable contribution of Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 371–80 and the comments by A. D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 101–104 with further literature.

were constantly breaking the elementary laws of civilized society, most visibly by practicing incestuous marriages and exposing their dead in the open to the mercy of beasts and birds of prey. Among so many negative features, Theodoret could find only one positive quality in young Aphraates before his conversion, namely, his "distinguished and illustrious"[69] origin. He mentioned this, on the one hand, in order to tick one of the entries required by the structure of the panegyric speech and, on the other, for the purpose of emphasizing his hero's complete renunciation of this noble status. Together with his hero's subsequent conversion to Christianity Theodoret could present such a renunciation as a magnificent proof of the power of Christian philosophy. Furthermore, Theodoret, the consummate interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, carefully construed young Aphraates' decision to go west and worship Christ as a re-enactment of the journey of the Magi.[70] Finally, the story of Aphraates' conversion served as a convenient shaming device against those "who have been born of pious parents and have received a pious education from childhood,"[71] but showed themselves less zealous in their practice of Christianity. As a bishop, Theodoret was once compelled to write to such noble Christians from Mesopotamia, who apparently attached a greater value to their ancestral tradition of consanguineous marriages than to their Christian faith.[72]

Stripped of his noble status as a result of his conversion, Aphraates moved to the Roman Empire as a complete alien. Once he settled down, his marginal status on the fringes of Classical civilization was further emphasized by the location of

[69] *Ἐπίσημον ... καὶ λαμπρόν* (*HPh* 8.1).

[70] "[H]e hastened to worship the Master, in imitation of his forebears the Magi," (ibid.; Price, 72).

[71] Ibid.

[72] *Ep.* VIII, addressed to several noble Christians from Zeugma: "How could I not be grieved when I learn that such an abomination is being perpetrated by men who are the descendants of bishops, who have been raised in the faith, and who claim that they remain attached to this faith even in the present circumstances" (Greek text in *Correspondance*, vol. 1, ed. Azéma, 80). For a brief discussion of this text, see Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 44, who notes that consanguineous marriages had been permitted by imperial legislation: see *Codex Iustinianus* 5.4.19 (dated to 11 June 405, not 404 as mistakenly reported by Clark); see also Judith Evans-Grubbs, *Women and Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce, and Widowhood* (London: Routledge, 2002), 301, n. 48. Consanguineous marriages did not go away as easily as Theodoret and his Christian peers would have wished; see Denis Feissel, "Deux épigrammes d'Apamène et l'éloge de l'endogamie dans une famille syrienne du VI^{e} siècle," in ***AETOΣ****: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango Presented to Him on April 14, 1998*, ed. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter, 116–36 (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1998).

his "philosophic retreat" outside the walls of Antioch.[73] He thus placed himself in a sort of limbo, in symbolic isolation from his fellow humans, outside organized civic life. Yet, Aphraates' isolation was not meant to last.

Theodoret then added a further touch of marginality to his literary portrait of Aphraates by having him speak "a language that was semi-barbarous" (*τῇ μιξοβαρβάρῳ γλώττῃ*).[74] In addition to his barbarian origin and to his self-imposed social marginality, Aphraates was cut off from the world of the wealthy elite of Antioch by his limited ability to communicate in the language of this elite, which was also that of most of the inhabitants of the city. Linguistically an outsider, Aphraates was also a cultural outsider: his inability to speak proper Greek meant that he had no share in the *paideia*, the educational system that treasured and transmitted the Classical literary heritage, a trademark of the traditional elite.[75] Yet, Aphraates' linguistic and cultural isolation are only apparent, as in Theodoret's text the ascetic speaks, like many others among Theodoret's holy men, perfect Attic Greek.

There is, then, a striking contrast between Aphraates' fictional profile as a marginal person, created as part of the author's rhetorical strategy, and the Hellenic veneer superimposed on this image by Theodoret's linguistic and stylistic choice, not to mention the formal structure of the panegyric. Theodoret's hero,

[73] *Ἔξω τῶν περιβόλων* (*HPh* 8.2.16).

[74] *HPh* 8.2.5–6. Theodoret also added that Aphraates knew "just a few phrases (*ὀλίγα ἅττα ῥημάτια*) of the Greek language" (ibid., 8.2.3–4).

[75] To what extent the inability to speak Greek could be construed as a sign of cultural Otherness and then used to discredit one's adversaries is perhaps best revealed by Chrysostom's anonymous panegyrist already quoted above, n. 35. His *enkomion* is a good witness as to how deeply ingrained cultural prejudices were among the members of the late antique elite irrespective of their religious allegiance. Thus, in his scathing description of the Egyptian bishops who gathered in Constantinople to depose Chrysostom in 403, this author remarked that "even their names were half-barbarian (*μιξοβάρβαρα*), pieced together from the ancient abominations of Egypt, while their speech and language was entirely barbarian, *and their character just like their speech*" (Ps.-Martyrios, *Encomium Chrysostomi* 92 = 479a; ed. van Ommeslaeghe, 75, emphasis mine). Not only does our Christian author decipher signs of their "crypto-paganism," in the theophoric names of some Egyptian bishops, he also construes their "barbarian" (i.e., provincial) way of speaking Greek, which must have offended his delicate Constantinopolitan ears (and, presumably, those of his audience), as an indicator of their "barbarian" (that is, "uncultured") character. Chrysostom's anonymous panegyrist was as good at this game as the African 'pagan' grammarian Maximus of Madaura, who, around 390, poked fun at Augustine and his co-religionists (*stulti* "stupid people") for their worship of martyrs who bore such outlandish (i.e., Punic) names as Migginis, Sanamis or Namphamon (see *Ep.* 16 in Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL vol. 34.1, 38).

as he emerges from the text of the *Philotheos historia*, is a paradoxical being. He is, first of all, an outsider for whom his hagiographer constructs an intensely marked marginal status, which he can then reverse completely in an effective rhetorical move.

At the same time, precisely because of the familiar linguistic code and the prestigious context of the encomiastic speech through which this marginal identity is constructed, the Christian ascetic does not seem *dépaysé* in the world of Theodoret's elite readership. As often happens in the *Philotheos historia*, *what* Theodoret intends to say about his hero(es) is constantly undermined by *how* he says it. This "rhetoric of paradox," as it has been rightly called by Averil Cameron,[76] which marks the works of many educated Christian writers of Late Antiquity was, to some extent, a self-undermining rhetoric. Authors such as the Cappadocian Fathers, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret:

> preach virginity and celibacy, denouncing the worldly seductions of secular culture while practising the high rhetoric they affect to decry…. Their praise of the unwashed and uncultured over and against the social advantages of civilization and learning, which they did not hesitate to display themselves in their own writing, is indicative of an area of deep ambiguity and uncertainty in contemporary Christian culture.[77]

At the same time, precisely because of its double-sided nature, this "rhetoric of paradox" was a powerful weapon, which these authors wielded with great skill. It allowed them to effectively undermine traditional rhetoric and the culture based on it, and, at the same time, to vindicate and celebrate the ineffable power of Christian teachings, which thus seemed able to defeat even the most skilled

[76] *Christianity and Rhetoric*, 155. This "rhetoric of paradox" is a characteristic feature of Christian discourse and reflects the uneasy marriage between the forms of secular rhetoric which Christian authors were eager to appropriate and exploit, and the ineffable essence of their purely religious message, for which such forms were little suited. The opposition that we find in late antique and medieval Christian discourse is, essentially, that between the rational character of classical rhetoric and the essential tenets of the Christian mystery, which belong to the realm of non-rationality. As Av. Cameron has rightly observed, the tension between these two basic components of Christian discourse, far from being a drawback, gave it particular strength, facilitating, first, resistance to a complete takeover of the Christian message by secular rhetoric (ibid., 162–63), and then offered Christian authors the chance to use a wide array of genres and reach a larger audience than the "pagan" discourse, which essentially targeted the educated elites (147, 186).

[77] Cameron, ibid., 179.

rhetoricians of this world.[78] This clever exploitation of the contradiction inherent to Christian discourse to rhetorical effect is quite obvious in the way Theodoret handles Aphraates.

Because of the "perfect alien" profile carefully constructed by the author of the *Philotheos historia*, Aphraates could certainly appear as one of those newcomers whose claim to represent the new spiritual elite of the Christian empire was so eloquently ridiculed by Libanius. To the 'pagan' intellectual of Antioch, the likes of Aphraates were "these people who fill the caves and have nothing ascetic about them except their cloaks,"[79] "who have cast aside tongs, hammers, and anvils and now claim to discourse upon heaven and its occupants."[80] At the same time, Theodoret was ready to counter such pagan derision with a paradoxical Christian success story: preaching the unadorned truth of the Gospels in his broken Greek, and illustrating his discourse with matching virtuous behavior, Aphraates the outsider was able to acquire incredible influence over the citizens of Antioch, one that, Theodoret suggests, many of the learned 'pagan' rhetors and philosophers would have envied.[81] This passage is worth quoting in full here, because it illustrates well the paradoxical nature of Theodoret's message, which waxes triumphant over the defeat of traditional rhetoric in well constructed phrases studded with rhetorical effects and the tricks of the trade of traditional sophists.

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[78] For typical examples, see, for instance, John Chrysostom, *In illud: Vidi dominum* 4.3, *In Ep. II ad Corinthios*, *hom.* 28.3 (*PG* vol. 61, col. 594), *Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum* 2.1 (*PG* vol. 63, col. 467).

[79] *Or.* 2.32.

[80] *Or.* 30.31: *τῶν τὰς πυράγρας καὶ σφύρας καὶ ἄκμονας ἀφέντων*; this wittily rewrites Homer, *Od.* 3.434–5, and was used with the same abusive touch by Gregory of Nyssa against his "heretic" opponent Eunomius (*Contra Eunomium* 3.2.33). Cf. also, Lucian, *Fugitivi* 12. Contrast such snubs with Theodoret's claim in the *Curatio* that even the lowest of the low could acquire such sophisticated theological competence as a result of their conversion to Christianity; see the text quoted above, n. 32.

[81] This is a commonplace that plays a prominent part in the self-advertising and triumphalist Christian discourse from the early apologists (see, for instance, Athenagoras, *Legatio* 11.4) into the fourth and fifth centuries and beyond: see, *inter alios*, Asterius of Amasea, *Hom.* 8.5.5: "Peter, the fisherman, the manual laborer, the uneducated, or whatever else one might wish to call him in derision, with one well-turned speech has caught three thousand men, effecting their permanent conversion!" as well as John Chrysostom, *In Ep. I ad Corinthios*, *hom.* 5.2 (*PG* vol. 61, col. 40): "For the Hellenes do not feel so much ashamed when defeated by the wise as they are humiliated when they see the manual laborer and the marketplace seller philosophizing better than they do."

> Who of those who plume themselves on their eloquence, knit their eyebrows, speak pompously, and embark with zest on syllogistic traps, has ever surpassed the voice of this uneducated barbarian? With arguments he overcame arguments, with divine words the words of the philosophers, exclaiming with the great Paul, "Even if unskilled in speaking, I am not in knowledge [2Co 11:16]."[82]
>
> *Τίς γὰρ ἐπ΄ εὐγλωττίᾳ βρενθυομένων καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς συναγόντων καὶ σοβαρῶς φθεγγομένων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν συλλογισμῶν πάγαις νεανιευομένων τῆς ἀπαιδεύτου καὶ βαρβάρου φωνῆς ἐκείνης περιεγένετο πώποτε; Λογισμοῖς γὰρ λογισμοὺς, θείοις δὲ λόγοις τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων κατηγωνίζετο λόγους, μετὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου βοῶν· Εἰ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ΄ οὐ τῇ γνώσει.*[83]

In a spectacular reversal, this mysterious God-given persuasive power,[84] essentially different—Theodoret suggests—from traditional rhetoric, which affects persuasion merely through human means,[85] places the outsider Aphraates

[82] *HPh* 8.2; Price, 73. Aphraates is not the only one among Theodoret's ascetics whose Christian rhetoric and wisdom are contrasted to traditional learning; at 27.4 Baradates is praised as follows: "Adorned in mind with understanding, he is excellent at asking questions and giving answers; he sometimes syllogizes better and more powerfully than those well versed in the labyrinths of Aristotle," Price, 178, altered. Synesius of Cyrene (*Ep.* 154) poked fun precisely at the "unsyllogistic syllogisms" of the black-robed Egyptian monks who were more ready than anyone to discourse on God in spite of their ignorance and dared criticize his penchant for traditional Hellenic culture.

[83] The passage contains four *isokola* strengthened by *homoioteleuta* and a rhetorical question (*τίς...πώποτε*) frequently used in panegyric style to extol the merits of the *laudandus* through hyperbole, the typical instrument of rhetorical exaggeration (see Pernot, *La rhétorique*, 404).

[84] On the Christian ascetic as "God-taught" rather than benefiting from human knowledge, a defining *topos* of Christian hagiography, see Samuel Rubenson, "Philosophy and Simplicity: The Problem of Classical Education in Early Christian Biography," in Hägg and Rousseau, ed., *Greek Biography and Panegyric*, 110–139.

[85] As Theodoret made clear in an episode of the *HPh* which recounts the miraculous intervention of Julian Saba against one Asterius, "who had been reared in sophistic falsity and then made his way into the church of the [Arian] heretics, where he received the episcopal ministry, [and who] was craftily advocating falsehood and using artifice against the truth" (*HPh* 2.21; Price, 34). Recognizing the danger such a skilled rhetor could pose for their community ("covering over his falsehood with a smooth tongue as if with a decoy and spreading out the web of his syllogisms like nets, he may catch many of the inveterate simpletons"), the inhabitants of Cyrrhus, where the miracle allegedly took place, had recourse to the miraculous power of the holy man. In the ensuing confrontation, Theodoret pitted the holy man's Orthodox prayer against the heretic's worldly rhetoric

at the center of a new society. Attracted by the preacher's fame, representatives of all social strata from Antioch periodically move outside the walls of the city and regroup around the marginal figure of the holy man, investing him with a central role in a newly reconfigured *politeia*.

> One could observe hastening together councilors and officials, those with some military rank and manual laborers, in a word civilians and soldiers, the educated and the uninitiated in learning, those inured to poverty and those flourishing in wealth, those who accepted what he offered in silence and those who asked questions and inquired and provided an occasion for discourse.[86]

Besides stressing the miraculous effects of his hero's all-powerful eloquence, Theodoret's somewhat utopian description of these evangelizing sessions is meant to emphasize the universal appeal of Christianity, which he presents as a doctrine equally attractive to all social categories. Those who gather around their newly found teacher compose, even if only temporarily, a peaceful community. Charmed by the word of the Gospels, they momentarily set aside all social differences to become the equal disciples of Aphraates.[87]

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and the result was as spectacular as it was predictable: Asterius died a sudden and edifying death before he could even open his mouth. It should be pointed out that, beyond its narrative of Christian triumph over traditional learning, Theodoret's story implicitly recognizes the tremendous power of traditional rhetoric. For a similar triumphal narrative, see *HPh* 13.13, where the knowledge of traditional medicine is publicly put to shame by Macedonius' prayer for the benefit of a lady of Antiochene high society (see Canivet, *SC* edition, 496–99 with comments *ad loc.*).

[86] *HPh* 8.2; Price, 73. The atmosphere of philosophical debate suggested here by Theodoret's description is intentional—as confirmed by other similar passages of the *HPh*—being part and parcel of his attempt to describe Christian asceticism as the "new philosophy." On this, see Canivet's discussion with examples in *MST*, 273ff. The most interesting example of such a philosophical travesty of monasticism—not mentioned by Canivet—is to be found in *HPh* 5.7, where Theodotus, the leader of the "ascetic company (*συμμορία*)" founded by Publius, is described as "full of such spiritual grace that when he prayed all those present simply listened in silence to his sacred words, thinking the listening to be an earnest prayer," Price, 61. This "sacred silence" may have reminded Theodoret's readers of the religious-philosophical Pythagorean brotherhoods. It is certainly similar to that of which Eunapius of Sardis speaks in his *Vitae Sophistarum* 10.5.2 (ed. Ginagrande 71–72), where he attributed the same overwhelming power to the eloquence of the rhetor Prohaeresius, whose performances were accompanied by "a Pythagorean silence."

[87] According to John Chrysostom, the Christian martyrs exerted the same cohesive influence, reconfiguring Christian society outside its traditional urban framework as the believers moved periodically outside the city walls to celebrate their memory at the various

This, however, is not all. Far from being the wicked misanthrope of the pagan polemicists, Theodoret's Aphraates proves to be an accomplished host for the people who visit his humble philosophic retreat: "he himself opened the door to those coming in and escorted those leaving."[88] Even though living on the margins of urban society, Theodoret's hero is remarkably urbane and considerate, a model of philosophic behavior with a touch of civility and respect for social conventions that would not have passed unnoticed by the educated readers of the *Philotheos historia*.[89]

And in this, once again, he is not at all alone. For in stark contrast to the lonely, asocial, and self-absorbed contemplative individuals he had praised in *The Cure of Hellenic Maladies*, Theodoret filled his *Philotheos historia* with obliging, courteous, and visitor-friendly holy men.[90] Even squalid, beastlike ascetics such as Symeon the Elder or the unnamed man who lived in the desert in a hole in the ground kindly greet the visitors who intrude upon their solitude.[91] True, such

martyria, and integrating, through their cult, even the barbarians into the new Christian *πολιτεία*. "It is for this reason," he exclaimed, "that I am dancing with joy and am carried away by delight, for you have made the desert places a city, having left the city empty. ...And thousands of choirs were brought to us chanting the chants of David, some in the language of the Romans, some in that of the Syrians, some in that of the barbarians, some in the Greek language. And you could see various nations and various choirs having one single harp, that of David's, and crowning you with their prayers!" (*Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum* 2.3; *PG* vol. 63, col. 472).

[88] *HPh* 8.3; Price, 73.

[89] Libanius identified such politeness as the defining mark of the *πεπαιδευμένος*, the educated person (see his *Or.* 2.6).

[90] I owe the original inspiration for this section to Canivet's valuable comments in *MST* 273–75, although my investigation often follows a different course.

[91] In both cases, there is a striking contrast between the non-civilized outlook of the ascetics (Symeon: "a man dirty and filthy and wearing on his shoulders a ragged goat's hair cloak" *HPh* 6.2, Price, 64; the anonymous: "wild to look at, with unkempt hair, shriveled face, the limbs of his body reduced to a skeleton, dressed in some dirty rags sewn together with palm shoots;" ibid., 6.9) and their civilized behavior (Symeon: "As soon as he saw them, he greeted them—for he was courteous (*εὐπροσήγορος*)—and asked the cause of their visit;" the anonymous: "After having welcomed them and given them the greeting of peace, he asked who they were, where they had come from and where they were going"). Symeon's manners are all the more remarkable since his visitors are identified as "unbelieving Jews." Courtesy or politeness (*εὐπροσηγορία*) is a quality valued by traditional panegyric; see, for instance, Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum* 20; Basil the Great, *Ep.* 2, line 126, and John Chrysostom, *De Davide et Saule* 3.6 (*PG* vol. 54, col. 704), who warns that this is an ideal hard to attain. Also see Canivet's n. 2 in the *SC* edition, vol. 1, 359, who contrasts such good manners with the rude behavior that was a trademark of the Cynic philosophers.

good manners were also prescribed by the "desert" code of conduct, as we learn from the *Apophthegmata patrum*.[92] Yet in Theodoret's case, I believe, we are not dealing with the "divine salt" that seasoned St. Antony's speech and that of the desert ascetics, but with an essentially different type of politeness, inspired not so much—or not exclusively—by the doctrine of "loving one's neighbor," which informs the stories of the *Apophthegmata*,[93] as by Theodoret's desire to depict the monks as an integral part of the civilized world, perfectly capable of interacting with their (more or less ascetic) fellow-humans with the same urbane grace as that of his educated readers.[94]

This much is suggested by two close parallels (similar in tone, if not entirely in their content) for the passages quoted above, which can be found in the works of Libanius, one of the most self-conscious (and talkative) members of the educated Antiochene elite, to which Theodoret himself belonged by birth and by education. Just as Theodoret did, Libanius insisted on the willingness of the educated person (*πεπαιδευμένος*) to salute everyone and to talk and act kindly to all, disregarding all social differences. Naturally, all this show of politeness is, in Libanius' case, a forceful statement that the person concerned was disposed to condescension towards his/her inferiors and ultimately serves as supreme proof of his/her superiority acquired through education.[95] Put briefly, such a display of one's virtues is the distinguishing mark of the exceptional individual conscious of his condition.

This explains why Libanius reacted so violently when accused of being *βαρύς* "overbearing, superior, arrogant, difficult." This was an accusation which

[92] See, for instance, the instructive story about Abba Macarius and his impolite disciple (*Apophthegmata patrum*, *coll. alph.* "Macarius the Great 39" and "Pambo 7").

[93] This, of course, does not mean that there are no similarities between the two. The characteristic story about an ascetic's willingness to break his self-imposed fast in order to honor the duty of hospitality, required by the Christian doctrine of love for one's (ascetic) neighbor (cf. *Apophthegmata patrum*, *coll. alph.* "Cassian 1" and "Eulogius the Priest") finds a perfect illustration in Theodoret's *HPh* 3.12: "But we know that charity is a thing more to be prized than fasting, since the one is a work laid down by divine law, while the other depends on our own authority. It is right to count the divine laws as far more to be prized than our own" (Price, 43; see Canivet, *MST*, 274, n. 85).

[94] "Il est possible que Théodoret ait prêté à ses héros ses vertus préférées..." (Canivet, ibid.). Rather than strictly his own, such virtues would have been shared with most of the *πεπαιδευμένοι*, the members of the educated elite of the Later Roman Empire.

[95] "'Kindness' and 'humanity' are essentially virtues of the superior towards the inferior" (*Menander Rhetor*, ed. Donald A. Russell and Nigel G. Wilson, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 279 commenting on imperial panegyric).

would also be voiced against one of Theodoret's holy men.[96] Such a charge piqued Libanius, no doubt because by its implications it attacked his elite status, portraying him as one of those boorish fellows who thought that wielding power and influence was an excuse for being haughty. Among the counter-arguments Libanius brought to his defense, his affable behavior towards his inferiors takes pride of place.

> Arrogant, I? And, [pray tell], what can one hear the craftsmen saying whenever I pass by? Is it not "Here goes that moderate man!"? Is it not "Here goes that sociable man!"? Is it not "Here goes the man who answers even the salute of the poorest people on equal footing!"?[97]

The cultural and social implications of such civility are spelled out even more forcefully in a passage of Libanius' speech *To His Students on the Carpeting*. This work was meant as a rhetorical chastisement of some among his students who had tossed up and down on a carpet a pedagogue loyal to Libanius. The aging rhetor explained in detail why he thought such behavior was incompatible with the condition of an educated person.

> No craftsman should be misused by a student whose life is spent in education (*ἐν παιδείᾳ*); but let that lad be at peace with them and let him not deprive himself of the praises of those who make a living by their hands. Rather he should induce the tongues of such people to praise him and, so far from abusing any such person, he should endure it, even if such abuse be directed against him by any one of them, *thus revealing the vast difference that exists between the street-corner boy and the student who has been deemed worthy of initiation into the rites of Hermes*. This would be the counsel of perfection, but if you cannot be wholly perfect, at least do not let your imperfection arrive to abusing goldsmiths, assaulting cobblers, hitting carpenters, kicking weavers, frog-marching hawkers and threatening oil-sellers. None of this is creditable, nor is it worthy of the shrines you attend each day...[98]

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[96] See above, n. 26.

[97] *Or.* 2.6 with the valuable comments *ad loc.* by J. Martin in his critical edition, *Discours*, vol. 2, *Discours 2–10* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988), 246–47; the French editor notes that Libanius' words here echo those of Demosthenes, *De corona* 268, so this ideal had a long and distinguished ancestry. See also A.-J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1959), 93, n. 3.

[98] *Or.* 58.4–5; tr. A. F. Norman in his *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 171, emphasis added; on one essential point, the translation of *μέχρι τούτων γίγνου κακός*, I have followed Festugière's

Such behavior, then, was the tell-tale sign of the superior, civilized, and philosophically minded individual, whose irreproachable social skills and sense of public decorum governed his/her every move.

The Heirs of Socrates: Smooth-tongued Ascetics, Rhetorical Enchantment, and the Marks of True Philosophy

Aphraates' remarkably urbane behavior is important insofar as it allows Theodoret to acquire for his hero the Hellenic outfit that an elite educated audience would have certainly expected to find in a real philosopher. At the same time, such behavior is also essential for effecting the most impressive reversal of the seemingly marginal position of Theodoret's holy man, which is introduced in the fourth paragraph of his *Life*. Here Theodoret has Aphraates receive the visit of a prominent member of the elite, Anthemius, who would eventually come to govern the entire Eastern Roman Empire.[99] At the time of this story, though, still at the beginning of his illustrious career, Anthemius was returning from an embassy to Persia. Wishing to please Aphraates the Persian, he had brought with him a Persian tunic, which he respectfully offered to the ascetic in exchange for his blessing. Aphraates turned him down, however, with a comforting discourse that under Theodoret's pen became a masterpiece of diplomacy (as only appropriate to the status of his diplomatic guest) and astute philosophical argument.

To start with, Theodoret asks us to believe that the refusal was not blunt nor were the ascetic's words dismissive. On the contrary, Aphraates is presented as acting with due consideration and civility, undoubtedly mindful of his guest's high status. Tactfully, the ascetic "told him, first of all, to put it on the bench, and only then, *after having conversed on other topics*, professed to be at a loss, with his mind tossed in two directions."[100] Having distracted his guest's attention from the gift and its problematic reception, Aphraates then turned to the familiar weapons of the philosopher and, through a skillful combination of Christian parable and Socratic dialogue, brought Anthemius to admit that his gift had been quite inappropriate for Aphraates' simple ascetic lifestyle. As long as he still had his old

interpretation (*Antioche*, 468: "que du moins ton inconduite n'aille pas jusqu'à ceci") against Norman's. Note the religious terminology employed by Libanius to speak of his schools and the education he imparted to his pupils.

[99] For Anthemius, see *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, ed. J. R. Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 93–95, s. v. "Anthemius 1."

[100] *HPh* 8.4; trans. Price, 74, emphasis added.

tunic, Aphraates the philosopher had no need for a new one, not even for one that came from his long lost native country and from his pre-Christian past.

This remarkable story would have probably not passed unnoticed with Theodoret's learned audience, who could easily have recognized the familiar style of Socrates' philosophical argument in Aphraates' discourse.[101] And to make sure that such an important point would not be lost on his readers, Theodoret accompanied it with an auctorial comment worth quoting here in full:

> By thus outwitting (*κατασοφισάμενος*) Anthemius and exhibiting a miracle of shrewdness (*θαῦμα τῆς ἀγχινοίας*), he induced him to utter no further word to him about the tunic. I have told this in full out of a wish to demonstrate two things at the same time: that he received the care that sufficed for his body from one garment alone, and that he was full of such wisdom as to make the person who begged him accept decide he should not accept.[102]

Unfortunately, as with many of Theodoret's charming narratives, we have no way of knowing whether the story about Aphraates and his new tunic had any truth to it or was simply invented by Theodoret to suit his hagiographic purposes. Having studied his *Philotheos historia* with care, I believe the latter is more likely. And although in the absence of other sources definite proof is impossible, I wish to suggest that the meeting between Anthemius and Aphraates, at least as described by Theodoret, has little to do with historical reality, but should rather be seen as the purposeful fictional account of a talented hagiographer. As Theodoret himself suggested, this account was primarily meant to illustrate an important point: Aphraates the Christian philosopher was fully conversant with the complex, refined rules and expectations that governed public interaction between holy men and members of late antique intellectual elite.[103] And, moreover, although

[101] As did Festugière, *Antioche*, 269, although thinking of a different philosophical school: "un «ingénieux argument», ... qu'on croirait tout droit tiré de la Vie de Diogène ou de Cratès le Cynique en Diogène Laerce." In connection with this episode, Festugière also remarked that Theodoret's style is "très plein de réminiscences classiques et vaudrait sur ce pointe une étude" (ibid., 270). His suspicion is fully confirmed by my own research, which also replies to some measure to the *desideratum* expressed by the French scholar.

[102] *HPh* 8.4; tr. Price, 74.

[103] Peter Brown has captured well the essence of this two-sided relationship: "For *paideia* was not simply a skill in persuasive speech; it was a school of courtesy. Verbal decorum assumed, and fostered, an equally exacting sense of decorum in personal relationships. It taught a man how to give way graciously, as if to a friend. Indeed, it helped him to recognize such friends. … *Charis* and *hémerotés*, graciousness and gentle courtesy, with their

Theodoret does not say so, it proved that Aphraates was an accomplished rhetor.[104]

Aphraates' intellectual *tour de force* allowed him to extricate himself honorably from a potentially embarrassing situation for both himself and his guest. Theodoret shows several among his monks achieving the same: with admirable ingenuity they manage situations that seemed to lead into open confrontation, and in the end they either impose their own point of view or accept that of their opponent without either side having to lose face over it. And, as I have already hinted above (see n. 58), all this is done without recourse to *παρρησία*. Instead, Theodoret and his heroes seem to favor a different, less confrontational method.

One important word in the passage I have quoted above gives an appropriate name to this type of genteel interaction between holy men and their educated visitors: *κατασοφίζομαι* "to outwit, outargue," lit. "to prove a better sophist than someone else." Like Aphraates, Theodoret's holy men turn out to be surprisingly well trained in the art of rhetorical seduction. Their meetings with members of the elite—mostly with *male* members of the elite—always follow the well-rehearsed and approved scenario of what Peter Brown has called "the drama of persuasion."[105] In Theodoret's *Philotheos historia*, these meetings were not—or not most of the time—spectacular clashes between the stern, otherworldly power of the holy man, who would pound his educated opponent's will with the iron fist of miracle and force him to "fall prostrate at his feet and clasp his dirty rags," begging for mercy.[106] Such symbolic scenes of public humiliation are rare in the *Philotheos historia*, although they do appear and play an important ideological role.[107] But it is certainly not these which set the tone.

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all-important accompaniment, a willingness to grant favors to men of similar background, were the hallmark of the educated person" (*Power and Persuasion*, 45).

[104] The ability to out-argue one's adversary in such a way as to trap him with his own arguments is the sign of supreme rhetorical and intellectual mastery, recognized as such by Gregory Nazianzen, the greatest of all Christian rhetors (it takes one to know one!): "He so overpowered his opponents in discussions that he was able not only able to out-argue them, but also to bind them with their own words, which is, indeed, the greatest sign of skill and intelligence in a discourse" (*Or.* 42.68, praising the recently deceased Basil of Caesarea).

[105] *Power and Persuasion*, 64.

[106] *HPh* 14.4; Price, 112.

[107] See, for instance, *HPh* 2.21 (the miraculous silencing, by death, of Asterius the Sophist); 13.7–8 (the confrontation between Macedonius and the emperor's legates); 13.4 (the public defeat of the representatives of the medical profession by the same Macedonius); 14.4 (the public humiliation of Letoius, the *curialis*); 17.3 (Abrahames' intervention against the tax collectors). Most of these scenes are part of Theodoret's Christian triumphalist

Instead, Theodoret depicts with infinitely greater pleasure and attention to significant detail what can safely be described as meetings of the mind, during which the two parties try to "outwit" each other. This is, in fact, the positive meaning that the otherwise pejorative verb (*κατα*)*σοφίσασθαι*[108] acquires under Theodoret's pen when it appears in the *Philotheos historia*.[109] The same happens with *καταθέλγω* "to enchant, bewitch" a verb that Theodoret borrows from the usage of Second Sophistic rhetoric to describe, always with admiration, the seductive power of his ascetics' words.[110] The use of such words is an important indicator. It suggests

discourse, exalting the power of the new religion (i.e., "philosophy") over representatives of the old intellectual elite. At the same time, however, the message they carry and the values they advertise (measure, restraint, reason) are dear to Theodoret and very much in the spirit of traditional Greek philosophy.

[108] For the negative meaning of the verb, see *LSJ*, 912; *PGL*, 719, s. v. *κατασοφίζομαι*; *σοφίζω* appears more often with a positive meaning; see *PGL*, 1246, s. v. The pejorative meaning of *κατασοφίζομαι* is the only one registered for the Bible (Ex 1:10; Jdt 5:12; 10:19 and Acts 7:19) and appears most clearly in non-ecclesiastical literature as well: see, for instance, Philo, *De spec. leg.* 3.186 (associated with perverse philosophy and *πανουργία*); Ps.-Longinus, *De sublim.* 17.1 (attributed to a crafty rhetor); Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* 10.31.5 (connected with *ἐμπειρία*).

[109] See *HPh* 8.4; also, 21.6: *ἐσοφισάμεθα τὴν σκιάν* (Theodoret manages to trick James of Cyrrhestica, who was ill, into coming into the shadow by pretending that he himself needed it); 21.7: *κατασοφισάμενος τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνανκλίσεως αὐτῷ παραψυχήν* (by the same trick, i. e., invoking his own weakness, Theodoret outwitted the same holy man and made him lie down and take some much needed rest); 18.1: *τὴν στάσιν σοφισάμενος* (Eusebius of Asikha finds an ingenious way of keeping his belt from sliding down his nonexistent hips and buttocks, worn out by excessive asceticism). In all these instances, the positive meaning of the verb is emphasized by Theodoret's admiring tone when reporting the results of the ruse.

[110] In the *HPh*, Theodoret always uses forms of this verb with a positive meaning: see 4.4; 5.7 (praising the power of a holy man whose prayer overwhelms his hearers): "For who, while these words were being offered so sincerely, was so made of steel as not to be bewitched (*καταθελχθῆναι*) in soul and to make soft what was hard and to transfer this to the service of God?" (note the rhetorical question, a favorite device of the panegyrists); 20.2 (in praise of an ascetic's beautiful voice, which used to enchant the Christians during various feasts of the martyrs): *εὐφωνίᾳ καταθέλξας τοὺς δήμους*; 21.8 (James of Cyrrhestica moderates his asceticism, bewitched by Theodoret's rhetoric): *καταθελχθεὶς ἐπῳδαῖς*. Elsewhere, he could use it in a strongly pejorative sense as well ("to cheat, to seduce, to fool"): see, for instance, *HE* 4.11.7 and 4.12.3, and the venomous portrait of non-Christian intellectual in his *Comm. in Is.* (ed. Guinot, 13.225), where he identified the biblical "sirens and the daughters of ostriches" *Σειρῆνες καὶ θυγατέρες στρουθῶν* (Is 43:20) with "those rhetors and philosophers who, by well polished words bamboozle the people." "Sirens" as a complimentary metaphor for "sophists" is borrowed from the jargon of rhetoric; see, for instance, Libanius, *Ep.* 797.3 (praising Emperor Julian's rhetorical talent).

that the way Theodoret portrayed his ascetics' interaction with representatives of the establishment, i.e., secular or Church officials, who were more often than not men of *παιδεία*, was an attempt to fulfill the expectations members of the late antique educated elite had in this respect.[111] Whenever they faced legitimate authority (either that of the "Orthodox" bishops or that of a recognized ascetic authority or, finally, that of the representatives of the "Orthodox" emperor), Theodoret's holy men ended up speaking the only language members of this educated elite tolerated for public intercourse. This was the diplomatic jargon of persuasion, a discourse based on rational arguments invariably packed in an impressive rhetorical wrapping that would render them irresistible. Whether they use this sort of discourse themselves—and in many cases, thanks to Theodoret's work of cultural translation, they do—or when they promptly recognize it when used by others and willingly submit to its authority, Theodoret's monks favor this smooth-talking over the dramatic, less mannered language of *παρρησία*. They are, like their dialogue partners, simultaneously constrained by reason and rhetoric, willing actors in the drama of persuasion. What Theodoret favors is not a brute triumph of the will, but an elegant victory of the mind, or, in his own words, a *θαῦμα τῆς ἀγχινοίας*, i.e., a wonderful—and typically Hellenic—display of *finesse d'esprit*.

A Final Socratic Touch: What's in a *Topos*?

Returning to the story of Aphraates' encounter with Anthemius, I will next consider another one of its apparently insignificant details. Namely, I believe that Theodoret's deliberate insistence on his ascetic's practice of owning a single garment can also be construed as an argument in favor of the general interpretation that I propose here of the hagiographic techniques and the auctorial intentions that can be discerned in the *Philotheos historia*.

Homo unius uestis, "the man of a single garment" had been a Classical definition of the philosopher ever since Aristophanes mocked Socrates and his disciples with the help of this image.[112] Numerous non-Christian and Christian authors used it in their works, either to expose pretended philosophers or to praise

[111] The expectations governing public meetings between members of this elite, especially when invested with power, are best described by Brown in *Power and Persuasion*, 21ff, 41–47 et passim.

[112] See Aristophanes, *Nubes* 416 explained by the ancient *scholion ad locum*: "the philosophers used to go through the winter in one and the same cloak" *Prolegomena de comoedia. Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, ed. D. Holwerda (Groningen: Bouma, 1977).

authentic masters of wisdom.[113] Quite significant for the Antiochene context is a well-documented case of plagiarism in which John Chrysostom engaged right at the beginning of his brilliant career as a Christian rhetor. Namely, a phrase he used in his *Comparatio regis et monachi* in order to describe the typical Christian monk ("[he] uses one cloak throughout the year, drinking water with greater pleasure than others drink marvelous wine")[114] borrows almost verbatim a phrase from Libanius' first Declamation, *The Apology of Socrates*. Libanius, Chrysostom's teacher of rhetoric, had written that Socrates "wore one cloak all the year round; he drank water and enjoyed it more than others do the wine of Thasos."[115]

Now, it has been argued, quite plausibly in my opinion, that the figure of Socrates, whom Libanius praised in his first *Declamation* is, in fact, an alias of Emperor Julian, who became the object of a well-orchestrated hagiographic campaign both during his lifetime and after his premature death.[116] If so, this throws unexpected light on the polemical context of the argument of the "single garment." John Chrysostom's eagerness to "plagiarize" a *topos* of pagan encomiastic discourse and apply it to the Christian monks bespeaks a polemical, two-pronged attempt at cultural translation. On one hand, the Christian rhetor boldly appropriated one

[113] See, for instance, Gregory Nazianzen, *Carmina de seipso* 45 (*PG* vol. 37, col. 1363); *Carmina quae spectant ad alios* 1, *Ad Hellenium pro monachis exortatorium* (*PG* vol. 37, col. 1467) and 5, *Nicobuli patris ad filium* (*PG* vol. 37, col. 1532).

[114] *Comparatio* 3 (*PG* vol. 47, col. 390): *ἱματίῳ μὲν ἑνὶ δι᾽ ἔτους χρώμενος ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων ἥδιον ἢ θαυμαστὸν οἶνον ἕτεροι*; trans. David G. Hunter in *A Comparison Between a King and a Monk/Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life: Two Treatises by John Chrysostom* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), 72.

[115] *Decl.* 1.18; tr. D. A. Russell in Libanius, *Imaginary Speeches: A Selection of Declamations* (London: Duckworth, 1996), 26. Libanius' phrase is, in turn, a borrowing from Dio Chrysostom's *Or.* 6.12, where it was applied to Diogenes, another paradigmatic philosophic figure. Libanius' reference to "the wine of Thasos" is a commonplace for "choice wine" (see *LSJ*, s. v.) and might have stood originally in Chrysostom's text quoted above (see the previous note) instead of the *θαυμαστόν* (a variant reading probably due to textual corruption); in fact, Chrysostom used the expression *θάσιος οἶνος* elsewhere in his works: see *In Matth. hom.* (*PG* vol. 58, col. 494 and 531); *De Anna* (*PG* vol. 54, col. 673). Cajus Fabricius identified this (and other) Chrysostomic borrowings from the work of Libanius; see his "Vier Libaniusstellen bei Johannes Chrysostomos," *Symbolae Osloenses* 33 (1957): 135–36 and *Zu den Jugendschriften des Johannes Chrysostomos: Untersuchungen zum Klassizismus des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Lund: Gleerup, 1962): 118–21.

[116] For a full discussion of this hypothesis, of the religious and cultural context, and of the ideological import of Chrysostom's textual borrowings, see D. G. Hunter, "Borrowings from Libanius in the *Comparatio regis et monachi* of St. John Chrysostom," *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 39 (1988): 525–31 and his introduction to *A Comparison*, 25–29, esp. n. 64, quoting the older literature on the equation Socrates = Julian.

of the defining marks of an age-old spiritual tradition together with the prestige it carried, and conferred this on the representatives of his own tradition. On the other hand, by this cultural transfer he implicitly demoted the achievements of the masters of pagan wisdom; they were, he suggested, merely half-hearted (at best) or hypocritical (at worst), and in any case partial and superseded attempts to find the Truth. I believe that Theodoret's choice of the same image as a key component of his hagiographic portrayal of Aphraates served a similar purpose. It is not hard to imagine that most of his educated readers in Antioch would have probably been able to decipher his subtle inter-textual allusion and spell out its implication, namely that he depicted Aphraates with features strongly resembling those of Socrates, the paragon of Hellenic philosophic wisdom.

Moreover, in this particular case, the effectiveness of Theodoret's rhetorical strategy was further enhanced by the cultural ambivalence of the image he had chosen to use. The "single garment" was a potent metaphor since it could function as a symbol of the perfect sage not only for the 'pagans',[117] but also in Christian circles, where it enjoyed the authoritative sanction of the founder of the new religion[118] and was further consolidated by its use in exegetic[119] and hagiographic texts.[120] As a result, it became so well entrenched in Christian (hagiographic) discourse that by the mid-fourth century Theodore of Heraclea (d. 355) could

[117] For further examples of the use of this *topos* in pagan bio-hagiographic writings, see L. Bieler, ***ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ***: *Das Bild des göttlichen Menschen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesselschaft, 1967), vol. 1, 63.

[118] When sending off the twelve apostles on their mission, Jesus commanded them: "Take nothing for the journey, neither staffs nor bag nor bread nor money; and do not have two tunics apiece (*μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν*)" (Lk 9:3; see also Mt 10:10 and Mk 6:9).

[119] A part of the Greek patristic tradition gave an allegorical interpretation to the Gospel prohibition of two garments: see, for instance, Origen, *Hom. in Lucam* 23, ed. M. Rauer in *Origenes Werke*, vol. 9 (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1959), 142; Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum canticorum hom.* 12, ed. H. Langerbeck in Gregorii Nysseni *Opera*, vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 328–29; Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Comm. in Matth.*, fr. 47 in *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, *TU* 61, ed. J. Reuss (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 14.

[120] The "single garment" *topos* occurs frequently in Christian hagiographic discourse; see, for instance, Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.3.10 (speaking of Origen); Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.9 (of Agelios, a Constantinopolitan bishop); Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 47.3 (of Paphnoutios, a famous Egyptian ascetic); Basil the Great, *Homilia dicta tempore famis et siccitatis* in *PG* vol. 31, col. 313–316 (applied to unnamed Christian holy men); *Apophthegmata patrum*, *coll. alph.*, "Gelasios 5." On the subsequent fate of this (and other) *topoi*, see Gábor Klaniczay, "Fashionable Beards and Heretic Rags," in idem, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, tr. S. Singerman, ed. K. Margolis, 51–78 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

claim with confident ease that Jesus himself had been, in fact, a "man of a single garment."[121] It is, therefore, likely that when he chose to depict Aphraates in similar terms Theodoret picked a card that would win either way.[122] Naturally, this could have been no more than a fortuitous choice on his part. I think it more probable, however, that the selection of such prestige-laden symbolical imagery, which had an important cohesive potential because of its cultural ambivalence, was the result of deliberate choice. It is, in fact, representative of Theodoret's general strategy in the *Philotheos historia*, where the process of transformation of the Classical heritage is achieved precisely through the use of similar culturally ambivalent images and symbols. These could function simultaneously as effective weapons for criticizing the pagan tradition and as a means of establishing a common ground that would facilitate its appropriation and creative incorporation within the emerging Christian heritage.

With the help of a rhetorical commonplace, Theodoret thus placed Aphraates into a literary context where he could function as a sort of cultural *Ianus bifrons*. Theodoret's hagiographic discourse transformed him into a perfect sage, whose figure was easily recognizable to educated individuals on both sides of the (sometimes elusive) confessional divide that separated the members of his elite audience, and with whom they could proudly identify if they chose to do so.

The transformation of Aphraates (and of his ascetic peers in the *Philotheos historia*, for whom he stands as an appropriate *siglum*) is now complete. He started as a foreigner, born and educated among Persian barbarians, a socially, linguistically, and culturally marginal person in the intellectual world of the Eastern Roman Empire. Nevertheless, at the end of Theodoret's narrative, and by means of this very narrative, he emerged as an accomplished example of traditional philosophic virtue epitomized in the Socratic pedigree with which Theodoret the hagiographer endowed him. As I have already suggested, Theodoret attributed this transformation—explicitly and purposefully—to his ascetics' conversion to Christianity, which enabled them to overcome all the impediments that would otherwise have rendered impossible their integration into the social and cultural universe of the Late Roman elite. This is, undoubtedly, one of the important

[121] In a fragment of his *Commentary* on the Gospel of Matthew preserved in the *catenae* Theodore wrote: "Notice how He teaches us self-chosen poverty when He says 'nor two tunics' [Mt 10:10]! From this it appears clearly that the Lord only had one garment" (fr. 64, ed. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, 74).

[122] For another ascetic who would not part with his meager wardrobe, see *HPh* 14.2 (Maesymas).

messages of his hagiographic work, one that he sincerely hoped to convey to his educated contemporaries, thus reassuring those of them who still doubted that "Christian" and "intellectual" were certainly no longer mutually exclusive terms.[123]

[123] These were the people who were kept from converting to Christianity by the chilling thought that, in doing so, they were parting company with Plato and Pythagoras, and stooping to the level of the old hag they employed as their gate-keeper (see Augustine, *Serm. nov.* 26.59, ed. Dolbeau, 413).


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CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE MAKING: EUROPE'S PAST AND ITS FUTURE IDENTITY

Willem Frijhoff [1]

Heritage as a Concept

What is cultural heritage? Why foster cultural heritage? Is there a good reason to spend time, money, and intellectual energy in the scrutiny of something that defines itself as a mark of the past, not the future? In this article I shall briefly examine the notion of cultural heritage itself and ask the question how this theme may be connected with a European research agenda.

David Lowenthal, the well-known author of a much acclaimed book on cultural heritage entitled *Possessed by the Past. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996) seems to have told it all, although his book really is more a learned and well-informed pamphlet than a carefully balanced manual for the future.[2] From the Corsican blood feud to Elvis Presley's Graceland Mansion, from the notion of founding fathers to holocaust museums, from the French Revolution to the Elgin marbles, everything, he tells us has been claimed or celebrated as heritage, often by competing groups or nations. Funny, eminently recognizable, and convincing at the same time, Lowenthal's book has set the tone for a critical evaluation of the heritage avalanche that nowadays submerges the field of culture all over the world.

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[1] Editors' note: This article was originally published in *The Humanities in the European Research Area,* International Conference, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 2 September 2004, ed. Johannes van der Vos (The Hague: NWO, 2005), 17–29; a Dutch version was printed in Willem Frijhoff, "Cultureel erfgoed in wording. Europa's identiteit in verleden en toekomst," in idem, *Dynamisch erfgoed* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij SUN, 2007), 55–75. Our present version follows, with slight modifications, the English publication. The Department of Medieval Studies has just introduced a specialization in cultural heritage studies and plans to develop it into a degree program. Therefore it is relevant to address general theoretical and methodological issues concerning the contemporary understanding of heritage. This article, based on a conference paper by Willem Frijhoff (Professor Emeritus, History Department, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands), one of the most renowned and influential cultural historians of our times, is a masterful summary of today's issues.

[2] See also the stimulating book of Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory.* Vol. 1: *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).

Indeed, since the aftermath of the Second World War and the rise of a consumer society, the heritage cult has grown in less than forty years from a small elite's preoccupation into a major popular issue—a popular crusade, in Lowenthal's words—involving all social groups, all periods of time, and every possible object, position or historic legacy, from buildings to languages, from priority rights to elite culture, and from victories to victims. Many claims to cultural heritage serve the salvation of menaced treasures, either material, such as buildings, landscapes, cityscapes, objects of art or craft, or immaterial, such as languages, customs, audiovisual treasures, gestures, or popular rituals. UNESCO has made cultural heritage one of its core businesses, and the successful claim to the preservation of many endangered sites and artifacts is certainly one of its main points of glory. From everyday archaeology and city walks to genealogy and folklore—or "living history" as it is sometimes called—heritage has indeed become a major issue of popular democracy.

Heritage is what is shared by everyone in a given group, the group being, in the UNESCO case, as big as humankind, but much smaller groups, even families and individuals, may be intended as well, as long as there is some form of transmission from one to another, transmitter and receiver forming the minimal core group. The heritage notion is thus at the centre of cultural transfer, which in itself is the main instrument for cultural strategy and for preserving the continuity of a given community. No wonder that national governments have heavily—though in varying degrees—invested in heritage preservation, heritage management, and heritage education, culture being still largely defined as a matter of national policy and limited to national borders. But the rising consciousness of a European culture is equally involved. As early as 19 December 1954, the European Cultural Convention defined the "common heritage" of Europe in purely cultural terms, as the sum of "languages, history and civilisation." Yet the notion of cultural heritage is not only a conservative tool of the establishment and the rich. Occasionally it serves the claims of minorities and of seemingly forgotten or injured social groups, if not of whole awakening nations or tribes.

In fact, heritage has endorsed a plurality of meanings which may make the notion unworkable for scholarship in the short run. It is at the same time too broad and too narrow. It is too broad, or, if you prefer, too weak, since the term heritage (*patrimoine*, *património*, *Erbe*, *erfgoed*) is now commonly used to designate all the sources of the past without any distinction: all the archaeological sites, all the archival evidence and books, all the treasures of art history, the languages, customs, legends, and so forth. Consequently, everyone may legitimately claim some form of participation in the heritage circus, since there is virtually no limit to

the conceptual expansion of the term. It has become what we would call in Dutch a *knuffelbegrip*, a cuddly notion. It is by now a notion which refers to something you cannot but foster and cherish if you do not want to pass for a cultural barbarian, an insensitive bureaucrat or a person without human feelings. The concept of cultural heritage tends therefore to be diluted excessively. In many documents of cultural policy, cultural heritage appears as little more than the fashionable equivalent of culture, historical memory, or collective mentality.

The extensive use of the heritage concept makes everything liable to become a form of heritage, and of cultural heritage indeed, including such obvious but barely manageable items as the famous Dutch cloudy skies painted by seventeenth-century landscape painters like Ruysdael and Cuyp, and still visible nowadays, the deltas of the world's great rivers, the persisting smell of the chemical industry, or even the perpetual smog of an industrial city. The ill-considered extension of the use of the notion of cultural heritage involves the danger that it will soon be worn out, that it will lose its meaning and its function, and make any heritage policy impossible, including in scholarship. I think that European scholarship has to restore the heritage notion in its strong sense, in the interest of the cultural future of Europe and of the choices we will have to make among the elements and the dimensions of our past. Therefore the use of the term heritage, as a notion for research policy, should be restricted to a more precise sense, related to the functions and meanings of heritage in the cultural community, the most important one being that of identity formation.

Other meanings of heritage, on the contrary, narrow the term too much, at the risk of paralyzing its application. In particular, the heritage cult of the intellectual elites is in danger of creating a new orthodoxy about the conservation of the past that certainly merits closer consideration from humanities scholarship. Finally, heritage has become a fighting term by which social, ethnic or cultural groups claim their right to their own identity, within, or even separate from major national communities or even the international community. Therefore there is reason enough to reposition "heritage" within the repertoire of present-day cultural idiom in order to develop our research into meaningful programs, with close connections between learning and society.

Cultural Heritage and Group Identity

We have therefore to adopt a different, I would say a more dynamic, concept of heritage in the cultural field. Heritage should not simply refer to an undifferentiated number of things from the past, nor to a purely elite or partisan view of history. How exactly should we conceive it then?

I would like to affirm in the first place that any form of heritage, even of the most physical kind, is always embedded in culture. Originally, heritage was a notion of law and it may be useful to recall its juridical connotations: heritage is about possession, more precisely, about the transmission of property within a group of people related to each other by bonds of interest, either through kinship or by elective friendship. Therefore the heritage notion involves at least three components: something transmissible, a group of people involved (in order to give and to receive), and a motivation for the legitimacy of the transmission or a reason for its interest.

Translated into our idiom of cultural heritage, we may define these three components as follows:

– firstly, something transmissible: this may be a past performance, an experience, idea, custom, spatial element, building or artifact, or a set of these;

– secondly, a human group able and ready to recognize these objects as a coherent unit, to transmit and to receive them;

– thirdly, a set of values linking the object inherited from the past to a future use, in a sense of meaningful continuity or of equally meaningful change.

All these components have cultural forms and connotations, and they obey shifting cultural codes. That means that there is no fixed format available for the heritage from the past and that every group, including us and our posterity, will have to set its own marks. It is important to keep in mind that heritage is always somebody's heritage and that it bears the marks of those people's work and choices. Still, heritage is too often spoken of as a neutral set of objects, a reservoir of things, material or immaterial, into which we only have to plunge to find something useful. In reality, heritage is always situated within the limits of a community's lifestyle and understanding.

Sometimes people seem quite conscious of the relation between heritage and community. I spent one of my summer vacations in a beautiful site, the Loire Valley in France, one of the 28 French sites registered on UNESCO's world heritage list. I was rather surprised to find in a supermarket near Angers a cheap detective story written by a local author some months after the registering of the site on 30 November 2000.[3] The story plays purposely with the contrast between the physical beauty of the site, recognized by UNESCO, and the extermination of its entire population by an enigmatic disease, as if the author wanted to show how conscious he is of the human dimension of any landscape. No physical heritage without people to admire and to care for it, he wants to tell us.

[3] Gino Blandin, *Ça grippe á Angers. Une enquête de Julie Lantilly* (Anglet: Cheminements, 2001).

It is no coincidence that the dissemination of the notion of cultural heritage started in the 1960s, when virtually all the countries of Europe inaugurated a phase of accelerated modernization, tearing down seemingly useless old buildings, rearranging the apparent physical disorders of town and countryside, and breaking with worn-out customs, values, codes, and forms of behavior. Simultaneously, popular culture rose out of a changing society and an explosion of the mass media transformed the very terms of the notion of culture itself. Henceforth, cultural heritage can no longer be conceived without including culture on all the levels of performance and all the social groups concerned, since culture has become an essentially composite dimension of social life, enclosing in a single movement high and low, local and alien, innate and achieved. The web revolution has mixed up the categories still more of what some decades ago was perceived as "Western" civilization, a "national" culture, or one's very private cultural heritage, everything enclosed within neatly trimmed borders.

In order to understand this we must realize that one of the things that have fundamentally changed during the past decades is the concept of culture itself. Formerly, culture was defined as a coherent body of material and immaterial goods, ideas and values that was transferred to the next generation more or less independently of its maker or its user. At present, a more process-oriented, dynamic concept of culture prevails. Culture is much more conceived as a process in which given (cultural) forms and artifacts are selected, recognized or remembered as meaningful for a given social group, and are appropriated by this group in order to create, reinforce or transform its identity. During this process, as the 2003 UNESCO convention for immaterial cultural heritage reminds us, communities and groups always interact with their physical and social environment, and their historical background.

The formation of cultural heritage thus appears as a continuous selection process that includes some major operations:

– First: mechanisms of *inclusion* and *exclusion*, translated into terms of innate, own, private or national on the one side, and foreign or alien on the other side.

– Second: the formation of cultural rules or standards, and above all of a cultural *canon* that has to function as the main measure for the degree of inclusion or exclusion of the cultural artifacts involved.

– Third: the adoption of a *discourse* on culture which authorizes the selection by assimilating it to the dominant image of the community's or the group's identity.

– Fourth: the *appropriation* of those external elements of apparently "foreign" culture that appear as desirable, profitable and/or adaptable to the indigenous culture, and their adoption as one's "own" culture.

To give only one local example of a successful appropriation: Is there a more typical icon of Dutch culture and indeed of Dutch identity than the tulip? Yet the tulip was not imported from Turkey before the end of the sixteenth century, when the formation of Dutch identity was well under way. But the flower was assimilated so quickly and so well that the tulipomania in the 1630s, when one single tulip could be sold for several thousand guilders, caused the first major economic crash in the Dutch Republic.[4]

Therefore, the only condition for inscribing such external elements into the heritage catalogue is their adoption by a group as belonging to their common culture, that is, as decisive for their sense of identity, either inside the group or seen from the outside, by foreigners, visitors, or observers. This goes independently of a positive or negative connotation. As many examples in history show, even calamities, defeats and disasters, duly appropriated, may be constitutive of identity, and their memory inscribed in the cultural heritage of the group or the nation.

It is this fourth and last element of the process, appropriation, which confers its own dynamics on a given community's culture. The community's heritage is always a composite culture. Its submission to the influx of external artifacts, values, and ideas may insert it into relentless change, and the continuity of cultural heritage always is in some way a function of group identity. Of course, identity may be plural; people belong to several overlapping, competing or hierarchically ordered groups at the same time: family, profession, religion, town, nation, and so on. The pitfalls of the heritage notion must also be taken into account: immaterial heritage may be invented in order to legitimize group identity, like the famous "invented traditions" analyzed by Hobsbawm and Ranger;[5] the heritage claim may be used as a self-fulfilling prophecy in order to perpetuate an endangered community; sometimes cultural heritage refers to little more than the artificial preservation of artifacts, customs, and rituals that have lost their initial function or whose function has radically changed: heritage on behalf of the heritage itself. Yet, at all events heritage and identity are Siamese twins: if you take away one, the other's life is in great danger.

Let me sum up. The notion of cultural heritage has a threefold interest. First, it may enable us to engage in a dynamic concept of culture relating the past

[4] Anna Pavord, *The Tulip* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998).

[5] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

to the present and to the future. Second, it refers to cultural forms and artifacts which sustain group identity. Third, it helps to develop policy, either public or private, aiming at the material or virtual preservation of such cultural items in order to keep them available at any moment for a commitment to the service of group identity.

But the notion of cultural heritage also entails a triple risk. First, heritage is always defined and interpreted from the point of view of the present-day observer, hence in a forcibly limited way, and priorities normally serve present-day interests. But there may be forgotten or hidden forms of cultural heritage, the importance of which will only appear in changing circumstances over time, related to changing meanings and new identities. Second, a heritage-based view of culture, in particular of European culture, may quite well be conservative in nature. It may invest heavily in past performances without realizing that new challenges constantly change the nature and the very shape of the heritage, and that culture itself is a changing notion. At any rate, such a purely heritage-based view of culture will be too narrow for a legitimate, broad vision of today's culture of the global community, even on a national scale. Third, the sharp definition of a given group's culture, transmitted from the past, as its "own" heritage facing that of the "others" does no justice to the inevitable interplay of the cultural worlds of competing or coexisting social groups. Whenever the need for group identity dominates the respect for the cultural heritage, the social balance goes astray.

A Task for the Humanities

Keeping these considerations in mind, how can the humanities contribute to a better future for European society within the context of the Cultural Heritage theme? As we have seen, the essential link is between heritage and identity. Group identity must therefore be a signifier in any question of cultural heritage. But we have to be careful. Cultural heritage, so much may be clear by now, is not an innocent term. It refers to a preceding selection process, and is charged with connotations of cultural policy or cultural management. Research in the humanities has to be cautious when using such categories. They do not so much refer to analytical procedures, objective or neutral in nature, as to processes of group identity formation charged with values and meanings. They refer to the culture that a given group desires for itself.

Roughly, there are three reasons or motives why cultural heritage deserves the attention of European scholarship:

- the preservation of cultural resources;
- the management of cultural identity;

– research into the conditions of cultural transfer inside and outside the community.

Until now, much of our research into cultural heritage has been either descriptive or preservative. The documentation and conservation of artifacts recognized or designated as valuable from the point of view of past experience were high on the research agenda: threatened or disappearing treasures, such as languages, archaeological sites, masterpieces of art and thought had to be rescued for the future. Let there be no misunderstanding: such operations of rescue and salvation are of the highest importance and will remain so. There simply is no heritage without preservation. The wish to preserve the legacy from the past precedes all other considerations; governments, either national or European, that want to foster a common identity have to care properly about the preservation of heritage. The problems start when questions are raised about how and why, about the methods of preservation, the ways to adopt a form of preservation that conserves or restores not only the object as such but also respects its functions and meanings, real or virtual.

All scholars, museum curators, and conservation officers know such dilemmas: preservation means making choices—choices which are not innocent. It means the adoption of a time scale on which the particular object, the particular ritual, or the particular value is fixed, and often there is no way back. The object may be kept as it is now, or may be restored to former forms and possibly also to former functions. To take an example: the present-day vogue for the late Middle Ages, considered as the cradle of European society and the starting point of our visual culture, is more and more visible in the cityscapes of Europe: beautiful buildings, richly covered with the semantic marks of succeeding centuries, are brutally restored back to their supposed medieval beauty and originality, with timber-framed façades or reconstructed step-gables. But we are not able to restore to them at the same time their medieval life and functions. They may still be a pleasure for the eye, but the question remains what they contribute to our vision of the past, our sense of history-based identity. A particular slice of time is privileged for a theatrical representation of the past, as if before or after that period nothing essential happened.

Another example: we all agree that democracy is one of the major elements of our Western political heritage, but, notwithstanding the incorporation of formal elements from former societies, democracy in the present-day sense is a very late invention in time, one that has superseded other political regimes which in sometimes very different circumstances were reasonably well adapted to the political needs of the moment. No wonder that representative, parliamentary

democracy is repeatedly challenged, and even threatened, by political solutions that may proclaim quite rightly to belong to our common heritage: bureaucratic, oligarchic, or even absolutist options are revived every now and then.

We must therefore not hesitate to go beyond the mere preservation of a well-conceived heritage, in public policy as in our research. The major challenge of Europe's cultural heritage for research in the humanities is indeed the future of our society, in particular *multicultural* society. How to cope with the utter variety of cultural traditions and nevertheless establish a common identity? In the public opinion of our countries, the cultural heritage question is transparent enough. It permeates, for example, the contemporary debates on the admission of Turkey into the European Community: What about the connection between the Western European, Christianity-based values, and those of this country with an Islamic yet formally secular culture? By principle or for pragmatic reasons, many refuse to admit that Europe's cultural heritage is versatile enough to permit the appropriation of non-Christian elements.

The dilemma appears still more sharply in the public discussions on the degree of integration of immigrants from non-European countries and non-Christian cultures into the national community, not to mention the governmental measures against customs and values which are considered incompatible, indeed irreconcilable, with the national cultural heritage as it has been forged throughout the centuries. Islamic fundamentalism has at least the merit of clarifying the terms of the debate and marking its utter limits. There is no reason to adopt a position here in favor of or against any of such measures. Local traditions or national solutions of secularism, legal repression, *laïcité*, formal toleration or everyday permissiveness abound even inside Europe. Yet it would be shortsighted to leave such questions to governmental policy or public debate alone. They form a major challenge to the notion of cultural heritage itself and to the question of Europe's future identity, and therefore have to be put on the European research agenda.

We must, I think, take our responsibility as scholars in the humanities and cooperate in view of the continuous renewal of Europe's identity. Which Europe can we imagine, which Europe do we want, from the point of view of our cultural heritage? The alternative is clear: either a European community closed to its perception of its own past and whose cultural heritage remains strictly limited to the canon of traditional values, or an open European community ready and able to receive with respect and to appropriate as a part of its own (which is not necessarily the same as to assimilate) input from other cultural heritages. What are the cultural and social conditions for the success of either option? That is the

challenge we have to face, and as scholars in the humanities we should feel utterly concerned.[6]

How singular, or how universal, are the terms, the categories, and the values of Western culture? Are the rights of man, both in their wording and their content, as universal as is currently claimed? For the scholar in the humanities, a critical position towards his own values is always mandatory. Probably there is not one single solution that would work as a panacea for all. Yet scholars must analyze the conditions for the common heritage of the future, without forgetting the political agenda, which in this case is an important parameter in the scholarly debate. Do we aspire to a complete integration of all the European cultural traditions into one single cultural heritage that, without assimilating them to the de facto dominant cultures, permits a transparent interchange and interaction? Or is it acceptable for the European community to remain split up into national cultural communities, and, inside these communities or overlapping them, into fundamentally irreducible group cultures?

A practicable answer to such questions, as required by the policymakers, presupposes true scholarship on the nature of cultural heritage in general, and that of the different communities and groups in particular. Is it, to ask only one big question, the community that defines the group's culture, or the nation as a public body? The communitarian, more anthropological view of culture is predominant in the Anglo-Saxon tradition and among the Dutch. As Dominique Poulot has shown, the nation as the true depository of the cultural heritage is typified in France, with its predominantly legal and political approach to public affairs.[7]

The difference between the customary forms of cultural heritage formation in the European countries appears quite strikingly in the volumes published by various teams of scholars on the so-called *lieux de mémoire* (places of memory) in France and Germany. As the French volumes tend to show, cultural memory in France is entirely bound to the framework of national and nationwide recognized parameters, whereas in Germany cultural heritage, though being recognized as truly German, obeys much more the particularities of a culturally fragmented, federal society.[8] As for the Dutch essays on this theme, they tend to privilege the idea that the Dutch national community is essentially based on cultural, much

[6] It will certainly be interesting to follow closely the initiatives for the representation of Europe's cultural heritage that will be taken by the Musée de l'Europe in Brussels, under the scientific direction of Krzysztof Pomian.

[7] Dominique Poulot, *Patrimoine et modernité* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).

[8] Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992), 7 vols.; ed. Étienne François and Hagen Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (Munich: Beck, 2001/2002), 3 vols.

less on political, values. It is often stated that Dutch cultural heritage is much more embodied in persons who attest to the cultural flourishing of the arts and sciences, rather than in political, military, and even religious personalities.[9]

A European *research program* in the humanities on cultural heritage should therefore at least depend on the following elements or considerations:

– First of all, the cultural heritage of Europe should be *preserved* in itself through truly European measures, and analyzed or conserved in truly Europe-wide, international research programs. There is no conceivable reason why every single European nation should define its own European research goal and reinvent the archaeology, art history, linguistics, cultural and religious history, philosophy, ethnology and so on of Europe as a whole, for boundaries changed many times in the past and research items from present-day countries may equally concern other countries. In the past as in the present, people, commodities, and ideas traveled without being much hindered by national boundaries; for centuries the forms of art, literature, music, and entertainment have corresponded to European norms, aesthetics and schedules, and are sold as commodities on European markets; and European civilization itself is claimed by many as a broadly European value. There is therefore no reason why we should not join our efforts in order to seize the quintessence of that European legacy. In fact, some academic disciplines in the humanities, like linguistics or ethnology, have already taken a European dimension in their research goals. Others should follow. All this is of course a truism, since many European programs common to several countries do exist already. Yet it may be useful to remember, be it simply for the benefit of our policymakers.

– Second, but certainly very high on the research agenda, the *concept* of cultural heritage should be analyzed as such and in its scholarly and political use, by both European and international organizations and throughout the different national and cultural areas of Europe, if not beyond, in order to clarify the conceptual apparatus, to discover the subjacent values or the presuppositions involved, and to detect fundamental misunderstandings or abuse.

– Third, cultural heritage should be examined in close connection with the question of representation and *identity*: indeed, culture as it comes to us is essentially a form of selective representation with its national, local, social and group specifics and its traditions of form and meaning, and its publicly proclaimed

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See also Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999).

[9] Cf. Pim den Boer and Willem Frijhoff, *Lieux de mémoire et identités nationales* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1993).

heritage presents in its turn a still more selective image of the global culture of a group or community.

– Fourth, such a European program should give some priority to the analysis of the interaction between cultural heritage management and education, on the one side, and on the other side the formation of cultural standards or cultural canonization, among performers, in public space, in the mass media, on the internet, and in formal institutions and organizations. How is cultural heritage *perceived*? What are the explicit and implicit cultural hierarchies involved, why are they as they are at that moment and how did or do they evolve? Who or what has been excluded or disqualified from the cultural standard in the past or the present, and what are the fundamental reasons for such exclusion? We have to remember that cultural heritage is always a matter of power: canonization is privileged by power relations, be it economic, political, social, or symbolic power. A quite striking example is the selection process of the Greatest Men in the Nation (the Greatest Briton, the Greatest Dutchman in History, etc.) that runs these years on the television networks of virtually every European country. The proposed lists of nominees exhibit not only a clear image of the cultural canon of the mass media in the different countries, but also show some notable exclusions: they contain few women, of course, and virtually no candidates from immigrant groups or other minorities. It is a profoundly conservative and self-confirming exercise of the dominant culture, and as such a revealing source for a European research program on the perception of cultural heritage. Such a study should preferably be comparative, since the cultural heritage of the regions, countries and nations of Europe has been marked by quite diverging cultural hierarchies, historical policies and power relations.

– Fifth, we should analyze properly the *life story* of the different elements of the body of cultural heritage: How were they created, performed, transformed or reinserted into the cultural circuit? What different meanings were attached and in what circumstances were they attached to cultural artifacts, and what are their potentialities for the future? Some scholars have developed the concept of a "cultural biography" for such research. Such cultural biographies may shed light not only on the formal and official aspects of cultural phenomena, the daylight version of their life as it were, but also on the alternative forms of appropriation and identity formation, their nightly life beside or behind the official cultural canon. A proper analysis may show that cultural heritage virtually never follows a single and straightforward historical line of evolution, but that it is always inserted in a stratified network of functions and meanings with cross-cultural elements which make up its true riches. For the same reason we should not prematurely end

the study of cultural artifacts from the past. Even languages that have virtually disappeared can revive under special circumstances. One of the tasks of research in the humanities is precisely to preserve the script of the living conditions of such cultural artifacts.

Europe's Future Heritage

All these questions are a prelude to a major interrogation, which certainly merits a global program: How to perceive Europe's cultural heritage of the future? Will it be shared by all, including those who have come from different horizons and brought quite different cultural traditions with them? If—but that is first of all a political question, one that has to be answered by the European citizens and their representatives—the European community wants to create a common identity based on the perception of a shared cultural heritage, the question is quite simple: How to work together in view of a past that in the future will be perceived as common by every single European citizen? Even if we do not have a shared past, we may well have a shareable memory to constitute our community. Memory is different from experience; it is the wish and the will to remember things that are constitutive of one's identity, independently of one's own actual involvement. First of all, therefore, we shall have to identify the past we want to remember and desire to include in the cultural heritage of our future community.

The solution is not as impossible as it might seem at first sight. The sense of heritage is first of all a matter of perception, since it is bound to a feeling of shared identity. The Europeans themselves may feel a sense of unity, but on closer inspection Europe's common cultural heritage appears as a historically and ethnically stratified conglomerate of strikingly different traditions. The proper cultural memory of single individuals does not go beyond two or three generations; further backwards in time, the common memory of the group prevails. In every European country, a considerable number of the citizens have no historical roots in the country itself, yet they recognize its past as their own. The ancestors of many in France who celebrate the French Revolution as the founding moment of true freedom lived outside France, and it may well be that the majority of the Dutch who recognize in William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the founding father of Dutch society came to the country centuries later. The real problem lies with competing or conflicting forms of cultural heritage brought to the European community by immigrants from outside, from the Arab world, from Africa, Asia, and even America, since by now American values apparently tend to follow their own route, drifting slowly away from the common Atlantic heritage. The question to answer is whether European culture can tolerate islands of a different social

and cultural impact inside the unified community, or whether it must tend towards the cultural homogeneity of all.

Phrased as such, the question asked of researchers in the humanities should be clear. The global problem is to know whether the different ways in which we perceive our culture in our different countries may be reconciled with each other in order to create the conditions for a common perception of the multifaceted European heritage. There are two subsidiary tasks. The first is to analyze the potentialities of the European cultural heritage, in all its riches, for its appropriation by immigrants from totally different cultural traditions. The second is to analyze historically what may be called the elasticity of the European cultural market for the introduction of alien traditions and its capacity to integrate them into a common sense of identity. These two tasks may seem closely related, but they proceed from different options: the first aims at cultural identity, the second at cultural variety within a European identity.

The case in point for our theme is the room left in Europe's cultural heritage for cultural differentiation within the European community and for the legacy of other cultural traditions coming from outside. To put it bluntly, will our great-grandchildren be able to recognize Charles de Gaulle, Winston Churchill, Adolph Hitler, and General Franco not as representatives of their respective countries but as fully-fledged Europeans, in whose actions not French, or British, or German, or Spanish, but European culture reveals itself in its best and its worst aspects? And will the descendants of the immigrants from, say, Somalia, Pakistan or Senegal identify with European culture in its full depth as their own legacy? Historians who look back in history know that the answer must be yes. In the course of history, people have learned every time to enlarge their field of vision, and to adapt their categories of perception accordingly: from local to regional, from regional to national and beyond. Nationalities have switched repeatedly, and on many occasions the community's sense of identity has followed the stream—but as the history of the Americas has shown, always under certain conditions. People have a tremendous capacity to identify with a history that has been made and interpreted by other communities than their own, provided they are admitted as fully-fledged citizens and as social and cultural performers in their own right. A truly European research program on Europe's future cultural heritage should make clear whether these options are founded in theory, in history, in culture, and in society's potential, and how they can be linked to a new, but stronger and more dynamic sense of cultural heritage, able to inspire the old and new inhabitants of Europe, from whatever region of the world they may come, to experience a new, inclusive sense of European identity.

REPORT OF THE YEAR

Gábor Klaniczay

Whenever a new academic year starts, the arrival of the new students is preceded by the merry coming together of the faculty and the group of PhD students for the discussion of summer experiences. This time there was an unusual lot to discuss, for it had been a real "working summer." After the usual group participation in Leeds at the International Medieval Congress in early July, a large congress of the International Sermon Society (*Texts to Read – Texts to Preach*) was co-organized by CEU Department of Medieval Studies and the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba, where our PhD student Ottó Gecser acted as one of the chief coordinators. Not much later a whole expedition of 8 PhD students, lead by József Laszlovszky and Irene Barbiera, holder of a PhD from the department, departed with a minibus to Ravenna for a one-month excavation with the *Progetto Classe*, an EU-supported investigation of the archaeological site of the sixth-century basilica of San Severo in Classe. On top of all this, Gerhard Jaritz organized a conference on the Baltic Island of Muhu with our Estonian alumni, also attended by several current PhD students, on the "Edges of the Medieval World."

So there was quite a bit to discuss on the beginning-of-the-year excursion to Sopron and Western Hungary, while we also got acquainted with the nice new group of MA students. Besides other programs they were, according to our tradition, challenged to play a role-game, competing who could provide the best (or the funniest) representation of a dialogue between famous medieval personalities, such as Abelard and Heloïse or Christopher Columbus and Queen Isabelle. After having visited many fascinating medieval monuments, there had to be a wine tasting as well, which took place this time in the trendy Ráspi winery at Fertőrákos by Lake Fertő.

The Fall Term, besides the organization of our work with the students, also provided several scholarly attractions. An exhibition on the "Contagious Middle Ages in Post-Communist East Central Europe" at the Open Society Archives, which I organized with Péter G. Tóth from the Museum of Veszprém, allowed us to present uses and reenactments of the Middle Ages. Our exhibition (still visible

on the web: http://www.osa.ceu.hu/files/exhibitions/middleages/) was based on several years' collecting work by our graduate students in a research project called "Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages." Another important event was the first series of the Natalie Zemon Davis Annual lectures, given by Lynn Hunt (UCLA), on "Measuring Time – Writing History," which attracted a considerable interest. Among other distinguished guest lecturers in our department let me mention Paul Freedman (Harvard) and Ian Wood (Leeds). A special enrichment was brought to our teaching program by the guest professorship of Stephanos Efthymiadis (then at Ioannina), a colleague who joined us for a year and taught Byzantine history and hagiography with great success among our students in the framework of the cooperation of our Hellenic Studies Centre with the Greek Ministry of Education. We also had a regretted loss: János M. Bak, one of the founders of the department became Professor Emeritus in 2006, and although he did continue to be present and gave several lectures (among them the autobiographical one published in this *Annual*), more and more we miss his passionate, sometimes even angry, interventions to keep us on the right track of Medieval Studies.

Besides these academic events, our year was very much affected by the work we had to do for the Hungarian accreditation of our doctoral program, and a new program we designed in cooperation with the Department of History, a "Bologna-style" two-year MA program, according to Hungarian accreditation criteria. In this planned curriculum (to be started in Fall 2008), after a more general first year jointly offered for medievalists and modernists, the classes of the current one-year Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies' MA (which will be retained as a continuing offer) would be integrated into the second year as a "specialization" within a two-year History MA. The New York Board of Regents accepted our plans for this renewed Two-Year MA program in October 2006; the Hungarian Accreditation Board (MAB) renewed the accreditation for our doctoral program in June 2007, and we are expecting their imminent decision for our two-year MA program.

The Winter term usually contains an Interdisciplinary Workshop in March – this time it was organized by Gerhard Jaritz and Nadia al-Bagdadi, in cooperation with the Religious Studies program on "The Supernatural and Its Visual Representation in the Middle Ages." This workshop was preceded by another, even bigger, event. Our department hosted the inaugural meeting of a new network of European Medieval Study centers, named CARMEN (Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network). We hosted on this occasion several leaders of large European or national medievalist associations such as Jacqueline Hamesse (FIDEM), Hans-Werner Goetz (Medievistenverband), Régine Le Jan (Society of French Medievalist University

Professors), Paolo Delogu (SISMED), Dick de Boer (Dutch medievalists), Petr Sommer (Czech medievalists) and many other representatives of medievalist organizations and study centers. The discussions, carried out in several sections, will hopefully allow the construction of larger cooperative projects in our field, able to attract European or other external funding.

The Spring Break contained two noteworthy events. We had some intensive days of discussion around the search for a permanent colleague in Byzantine studies, where we had a very high-level group of applicants. We invited altogether five short-listed candidates, and listened for an entire day to their job-talks – finally reaching the resolution to make the offer to Niels Gaul, who has now been with us since Fall 2007. The other event was, of course, our Spring Field Trip, which we made to Bosnia this time. On the way we stopped in Slavonia, and we were received in Osijek by our former PhD Stanko Andrić; in Ilok we followed the traces of John Capistran, then in Sarajevo and Mostar (and many smaller sites) we got acquainted with the rich treasures of medieval Bosnian culture and also with the not completely healed wounds of the war after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Finally, we ended up in Dubrovnik, guided by our Croatian students, and did not miss the opportunity to cool down in the Adriatic.

Besides thesis writing, the month of May still had other attractions, such as the conference on Ignác Goldziher organized by Aziz al-Azmeh in cooperation with the Religious Study Program, and a European conference of history graduate students named GRACEH on the "New Histories of Politics," where some of our students also participated, showing our modernist colleagues that the history of politics did not begin only after 1500.

The MA defenses were intensive and rewarding, as usual. We always have to marvel at what a rich end-product finally emerges from the (sometimes brilliant but more often problematic) drafts and the (frequently quite disoriented) enquiries and quest for reliable documentation for the thesis. We were also supported by Patrick Geary and other foreign colleagues who joined us for this occasion to assure that our standards match those world-wide.

With the farewell party celebrations, yet another "working summer" started. Again, a large group went to Leeds where the central theme this time was "The City." In July, for the Summer University, József Laszlovszky brought back some of the professors and students interested in the Ravenna research project to discuss the results in a broader framework: "The Birth of Medieval Europe – Interactions of Power Zones and their Cultures in Late Antique and Early Medieval Italy." And then we also had some rest.

Painting an Icon of the Ideal *Gāzi:* An Exploration of the Cultural Meanings of the Love Affair Episode in Sūzī Chelebi's *Ġazavātnāme* of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey

Ayşe Ezgi Dikici (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar
External Readers: Cemal Kafadar (Harvard University), Balázs Sudár
(Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

The research here focuses on the functions of the love affair episode in the Ottoman poet Sūzī Chelebi's construction of the ideal *gāẕi* image in his *Gaẕavātnāme* of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey. This is the first literary exploration of that particular part of this epic poem, written in the early sixteenth century. The study concentrates on two main issues; first, the role of love (both mystical and this-worldly) in the narrative, and second, the representation of Christians and their relationship with the *gāẕi*. The conclusion acknowledges, first of all, that the poem shares with other *gaẕā* narratives an inclusivist attitude towards the religious Other and an emphasis on the rewards of the *gaẕī*s in this world (particularly in the form of booty, slaves, and women); yet, the discussion also points out that the peculiarity of Sūzī's conception of the ideal *gāẕi* lies for the most part in the way he renders this inclusivism within a strong Sufi framework where a mystical conception of love is central.

Presentation of the Self in Different Genres: The *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay

Ágnes Drosztmér (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Marcell Sebők, György E. Szőnyi
External Reader: Maria Crăciun (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

Ferenc Wathay (1568–c. 1609) was a Hungarian poet, illustrator, and military man. After being captured by the Ottomans in 1604 during the siege of Székesfehérvár (Hungary), where he was captain of the castle, he was taken to Istanbul's Galata Tower as a prisoner. During his captivity he wrote his main work, the *Song Book* (1604–1606), which contains his poems in various genres, an autobiography, and colored images. My thesis offers a case study investigating this volume with the approach of New Historicism, analyzing the method of self-fashioning of Ferenc Wathay, the act of creating the story of a life and a personality.

First, in order to see the *Song Book* and its author in context, the literary and iconographical traditions of the turn of the sixteenth century which might have influenced Wathay are reviewed. While examining the process of Wathay's self-fashioning, several factors have to be investigated: the roles in which he introduced himself within the volume, the means and tools he used in his process; the ideals he followed; his behavior as an author; and his relationship with his audience. In comparing and analyzing the layers (poems, autobiography and images) of the *Song Book* I focus on the questions of which events in Wathay's life appear in the texts and/or in the images, how they form the unity of the book, and how the structure of the volume plays a role in the self-fashioning of the author. The volume's integrity is created by overlapping elements and motifs between the layers (images, prose and verse), using captivity and the intention to commemorate the self as organizing principles.

Allegorizing Love in the Twelfth Century: Philagathos of Cerami and the Allegorical Exegesis of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*

Mircea Grațian Duluș (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar.
External Reader: Richard Goulet (CNRS, Centre Jean Pepin, Paris)

An allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* entitled Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἑρμήνευμα τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου ("An Interpretation of the Chaste Charikleia from the Lips of Philippos the Philosopher") is extant in the *Codex Marcianus Graecus* 410. According to some scholars it could have been written as early as the late fifth century. Closely connected with the dating, the text raises the question of authorship that is addressed in this study. Who is the real author of the *Interpretation*? The special interest of this question lies in the fact that the *Interpretation* is the only extant allegorical exegesis of a Greek erotic novel, perhaps the only one ever written.

The main issue in the scholarly literature has been to identify which philosopher was hidden beyond the appellation Philippos the Philosopher, the name given to the author in the manuscript where the text was preserved. A tenacious ideological assumption—never properly justified—is pervasive in the scholarship on the problem, which says that a work with a manifest philosophical tendency must be the fruit of a philosopher necessarily rooted in the 'pagan' Classical tradition. Thus, the allegorical exegesis of Heliodorus' novel was believed to be the work of an unknown late antique Neoplatonist working in Constantinople or of an unknown Christian Neoplatonist addressing a pagan audience at the end of fifth century. This study explores the hypothesis that this allegorical interpretation is, in fact, the work of Philagathos of Cerami, whose name before becoming a monk was Philippos "the Philosopher," and who lived in south Italy in the time of Roger II (1130–1154) and William I (1154–1166).

A thorough analysis of the *Interpretation* from the perspective of Philagathos' *Homilies* is attempted here. First I analyse the technical terminology, the vocabulary, the imagery, and the metrical features of the two works in order to look for any formal parallels, resemblances (or even identical items) that would speak in favor of the Philagathean authorship of the *Interpretation*. Then, in the third chapter, I pay special attention to the role of allegory in constructing a deeper meaning in both texts, focusing mainly on the way names and numbers are interpreted allegorically, once again looking for possible parallels between the two texts. Finally, I offer a systematic discussion of the Christian elements of the *Interpretation*, not

attempted so far by scholars who have dealt with this text, because I consider these of paramount importance in establishing the ideological affiliation of the allegorical interpretation proposed in the *Interpretation*. The evidence presented here proves beyond doubt that the author of the *Interpretation* was Philagathos-Philippos the Philosopher.

Encounters of Saint Michael and the Devil in Medieval Hungary

Edina Eszenyi (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay.
External Reader: Maria Crăciun (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

Angels have attracted scholarly and popular interest from the earliest times, arousing intense curiosity in medieval Christians. Michael, the most illustrious among the angels, held the centre of attention throughout the Middle Ages. The archangel's significance was justified by a number of saintly and angelic duties and merits, including the fight against the forces of evil. The devil manifests himself in a variety of roles against Michael, more than around any other saint: he fights him; when not being able to fight he attempts subtle ways of cheating; when not engaged in any action he debates with the archangel. He eventually falls, as the embodiment of doubt, beside Saint Michael, giving the archangel the chance to demonstrate the very existence, if not the strength and power of faith. The thesis makes a contribution to the research on the cult of Saint Michael in medieval Hungary by tracing the warrior profile of the archangel as mirrored by textual and pictorial traces of his encounters with the devil.

Maintaining Peace and Justice in Árpádian Hungary: Punishment and Settlement of Disputes

Tomáš Gábriš (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisor: János M. Bak
External Reader: Piotr Górecki (University of California, Riverside)

Conflict resolution in the Middle Ages has been debated intensively in recent years. Current scholarship deals mainly with the situation in Western Europe, especially in France and England; the situation in Central Europe has not been investigated

so far. The goal of this thesis is to conduct research on conflict resolution in Árpádian Hungary (1000–1301) and to compare the results with the conclusions reached for Western Europe. The main questions asked are the following: How were disputes settled in Árpádian Hungary – by judgment or private settlement? Was statutory law used in the practice of conflict resolution? Who intervened in the extrajudicial process? What were the most common punishments or means of settling disputes? Why is there a dearth of reports on corporal punishment? What were the goals followed by the parties and the authorities deciding the dispute? What was the relationship between the offender and the victim after the conflict was settled?

In the first chapter, the sources and literature are evaluated. The second chapter deals with judicial conflict resolution, comparing the statutory law of the first kings with the surviving sources on later practice. The third chapter examines the extrajudicial settlement of disputes and the fourth chapter explains the goals followed in the process of conflict resolution and its effectiveness.

The conclusion is that conflicts were resolved both judicially and extra-judicially. Extrajudicial resolutions, connected with the intervention of notable people of the area, perhaps prevailed. The use of statutory law in practice in the period of the first kings cannot be proven. Later, the invocation of legal norms in practice is very rare. Disputes ended mostly in the form of pecuniary satisfaction paid by the culprit. Corporal punishment was not used in the free layer of society as this would not have satisfied the victim seeking material compensation and would probably only have caused deeper animosity. The goal of punishment and conflict resolution was to maintain peace and social order. Promises of the victim and his or her relatives to give up the animosity and help the culprit in the future support this conclusion.

Not Quite Perfect: Failed Royal Saints

Gregory Huber (United States)

Thesis Supervisor: Gábor Klaniczay
External Reader: Janet Nelson (King's College, London)

Scholarship on the question of royal sanctity in the Middle Ages has most often focused solely on those who finally achieved canonization. This paper looks at the issue from the opposite angle: those who did not receive official recognition for their holiness. Canonization, rather than a simple question of fact (was he

or was he not canonized), should be seen as a process which can take many years, even centuries. Certainly it is a legal process (particularly as procedures for canonization became more and more developed and codified in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But even more importantly, canonization represents a process of memory. How a particular saintly king is remembered often has much more to do with his historical and spiritual reputation than it does with what kind of king and what kind of man the figure in question actually was.

This paper begins with the two foundations of medieval Christian kingship in Western Europe – Charlemagne and his son, Louis the Pious. The images of kingship promoted by these men and their partisans were very different; one was the ideal king as warrior, the other king was a much more a spiritual figure. Eventually, Charles was declared a saint, the symbol of the imperial political order. But his personal failings insured that his holiness was held with some ambiguity for the 350 years between his death and canonization. The evolution of his memory from sinner to saint was a long and torturous one.

A similar evolution of memory took place with Edward the Confessor of England. A weak king in life, he became the symbol of the English monarchy in death. The first narratives of his reign pay more attention to the nobles in his court. When the notion of his canonization first arose, in the 1130s, it was rejected. Gradually, the structure of the narrative changed, focusing on the king's personal morals and eventually on his reputation as a worker of miracles.

Perhaps no rulers define the concept of "failed royal saint" more than Robert the Pious and Philip Augustus of France. As only the second ruler of a then-fledgling dynasty, Robert consciously presented himself as a monk-like figure. Having no pretensions to actually being able to make his authority felt outside his personal demesne, Robert used the Church, and his support of it, as the foundation of his reign. Robert never became a saint, possibly because the Capetians found it more advantageous to hold up his reputation as a miraculous healer as something imparted to them by virtue of their position. Philip Augustus was shown to be very much the warrior-king. He was a Crusader, and his miracles are described in that context. Perhaps the most effective king overall in the High Middle Ages, he was nevertheless remembered for his personal failings as much for his successes. Eventually, French royal identity focused on Philip's grandson, the less controversial Louis IX.

Through these figures, it can be seen that sanctity was fundamental to the dialogue surrounding the position and meaning of kingship in society. The story of medieval political history and philosophy was defined by the relationship between the City of Man and the City of God. Most kings were not canonized. Looking

at those kings who were deemed to be not-quite-perfect provides insight into the underlying tensions between secular and spiritual authority and the tensions between being a "good" king contrasted to being an "effective" king.

Between Tradition and Innovation: Christian Floor Mosaics at Heraclea Lyncestis from the Fourth to the Sixth Century

Suzana Kasovska (Macedonia)

Thesis Supervisors: Marianne Sághy, Béla Zsolt Szakács, József Laszlovszky.
External Reader: John Mitchell (University of East Anglia, Norwich)

This research focuses on the Christian floor mosaics at Heraclea Lyncestis, Macedonia. These Christian pavements, comprising a corpus of fourteen mosaics, are dated from the fourth to the end of the sixth century. Four of them are geometric patterns and the other ten have figural elements; most of them are made of *opus tesselatum*, but one is made of *opus sectile*. The mosaics are only found in ecclesiastical buildings. Most of them are related to religious mosaics which refer to Christian doctrine. Until now scholars have considered these mosaics from this site only from iconographic and stylistic perspectives.

The goal of this thesis is to answer the following questions: Why do different images appear on the mosaics in different rooms of the same building and can a connection be drawn between the imagery itself and the place where they are situated? These questions are answered through various approaches: By comparing the functions of the rooms with the iconography of the imagery itself; by putting these mosaics in a framework of the stylistic developments in the art of mosaics from the Balkan Peninsula; by examining the social context of the mosaics; and by following the patrons of the mosaics through inscriptions.

"The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions." Ethnic and Social Aspects of Archaeological Remains of Clothing in Early Modern Hungary

Dóra Mérai (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisor: József Laszlovszky.
External Readers: Gyöngyi Kovács (Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences); Matthew Johnson (University of Southampton)

Cemeteries from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are archaeological sources on the material culture of the population of Hungary in the period of the Ottoman Conquest, when a long-lasting state of war caused significant changes in the political and social structure and the ethnic composition of the population. It is a peculiarity of Hungarian research that the cemeteries of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South Slav newcomers have been studied more intensely than the contemporary churchyard cemeteries containing burials of a much larger and more significant segment of the population that included the indigenous inhabitants. Scholarly works on South Slav cemeteries and the remains of clothing there have focused on ethnic interpretations so as to circumscribe the material culture that characterized certain groups of the population.

The goal of this research is to answer the question: Comparing the finds in various cemeteries and data from other source types, to what degree do the archaeological remains of clothing previously defined as indicating different ethnic groups reflect ethnicity? This research also aims at investigating other patterns besides ethnicity that could have contributed to the formation of archaeological distributions.

The analysis has led to the conclusion that most of the objects that have been labeled as indicators of ethnicity, like simple hairpins, ornamented hairpins with large spherical heads, and rituals like giving coins and placing the arms of the deceased in certain positions, appear in churchyard as well as South Slav cemeteries, so they do not characterize specific ethnic groups. Neither the accessories of clothing like hairpins, clasps, and buttons nor their positions can be used to reconstruct a piece of headgear or a dress cut that was specific for any of the ethnic groups present in the area in the Ottoman period.

The contradiction between the historical identification of ethnicity and the archaeological distribution of material culture can be addressed with the help of written and pictorial sources and by alternative explanations based on social and cultural structures existing parallel to ethnicities, like cultural interchange and trade, and financial and mental factors of the market for certain objects, such as

social display, prestige representation, and imitation of the material culture of higher social strata.

The Human Trinity and Christ's Human Genealogy in Late Medieval Hungary. Saint Anne's Iconography and Textual Sources

Emőke Nagy (Romania)

Thesis Supervisors: Gábor Klaniczay, Béla Zsolt Szakács
External Reader: Virginia Nixon (Liberal Arts College of Concordia University, Montreal)

Saint Anne was the subject of a number of debates throughout the Middle Ages, but her cult in medieval Hungary has been overlooked until now. This thesis presents an analysis of Hungarian visual material (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) in the framework of late medieval devotion, the interpretation of three Franciscan sermons about Saint Anne (written by Pelbartus de Themeswar) concerning the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and popular belief, and an analysis of the earliest preserved Saint Anne legend, miracles, and prayers in medieval Hungary (the Teleki codex). These different approaches underline the complexity of Saint Anne's late medieval devotion.

Virginity, Sanctity, and Image: The *Virgines Capitales* in Upper Hungarian Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Kristina Potuckova (Slovakia)

Thesis Supervisors: Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács.
External Readers: Jane Carroll (Dartmouth College), Ivan Gerát (Institute of Art History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava).

The virgin martyrs St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Margaret of Antioch, St. Barbara, and St. Dorothea, referred to by the term *virgines capitales*, were frequent subjects of visual representation on altarpieces in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Upper Hungary. Virginity, one of the crucial elements of both their sanctity and the narratives of their *vitae*, has received much scholarly attention recently as a problematic concept, encompassing issues of the body and its integrity as well as its implications for the spiritual state of a woman.

The iconography of the Upper Hungarian altarpieces is examined to analyze the extent and possible appeal of the cult of *virgines capitales* and the virgin martyrs' position among other types of female sanctity, with a focus on a female audience. The study argues that the virginity of these saints could have represented a set of role models for its female audience and retained the status of one of the ideals of femininity in the urban and village communities of late medieval Upper Hungary.

Two Conflicting Notions of Ascension in Cornelius Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*

Noel Putnik (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: György E. Szőnyi.
External Readers: Christopher I. Lehrich (Boston University); Marc Van der Poel (Radboud University, Nijmegen)

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (Cologne, 1486–Grenoble, 1535), a German humanist, philosopher, and occultist, was a Renaissance thinker who attempted to create a synthesis of various spiritual traditions and thus offer an alternative to Christianity, which faced a major crisis. Most notably, this program of "enriching" Christianity embraced different doctrines of Neoplatonism, the cabbala, and hermeticism. Attempts at fusing these doctrines with mainstream Christian teachings ultimately failed, but nevertheless opened a range of questions concerning the problem of interaction between different religions and their paradigms.

In this thesis I examine in detail one particular paradigm strongly present in Agrippa's thought, that of spiritual ascension (or deification, elevation). With regard to the spiritual currents that influenced him, I analyze the way Agrippa shaped or presented his understanding of ascension and argue that it inevitably led to the emergence of two conflicting notions: that of mystical ascension (the mystic's attempt to free himself of the bonds of his corporeality) and magical ascension (the magus' attempt to become like God and thus to control and influence the forces of nature). I also argue that these two notions, apparently incompatible and irreconcilable, cannot be entirely separated one from the other in Agrippa's interpretation, which positioned him half way between a magical and a mystical thinker.

The main source for my examination is Agrippa's famous magical summa, the *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Three Books of Occult Philosophy), but two of his other major works are taken into consideration as well, the *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* (On the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Sciences and Arts) and the *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (On the Three Ways to Know God). My textual analysis is partly comparative; its primary targets are those loci that provide insight into Agrippa's perception of the problem of ascension.

The thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter gives a general introduction to Agrippa's life and writings with an overview of the relevant scholarship, while the second and the third contain the analysis. The second chapter is focused on the cosmological and anthropological aspects of ascension, and the third connects these aspects with another paradigm, that of imitation. I examine whether two opposing notions of it could also be discerned, that of *imitatio Christi* and *imitatio Dei Patris*, which would correspond to the difference between mystical and magical ascension. My conclusion is that Agrippa's interpretation of the problem of ascension is more Neoplatonic and hermetic than Christian, emphasizing the importance of individual effort and man's divine origin.

Images and Representations of the Enemy in the Twelfth-Century Byzantine-Seljuq Conflict: A Case Study on the Battle of Myriokephalon

Roman Shlyakhtin (Russian Federation)

Thesis Supervisor: Stephanos Efthymiadis
External Reader: Alicia Simpson (Koç University, Istanbul)

The battle at Myriokephalon (1176) is one of the key points of the Byzantino-Seljuq military conflict of the twelfth century. Previous studies have described the exact time, place, and consequences of the event. This thesis addresses a couple of issues which have not been discussed before: 1) several moments of the battle itself, 2) the images and representations of the enemy in the sources of both sides.

The first chapter is dedicated to the description of the sources. The second chapter reconstructs the battle itself with special attention to moments never analyzed before. The third chapter describes the representations and images of the enemy found in contemporary Byzantine sources and discusses the possibility

that a Seljuq representation of the enemy exists in the only source of other side – *The Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian

My conclusions can be divided into two groups. The first deals with the battle itself. The first point here is that is that the night before the battle the Byzantine emperor was aware of the threat of attack. The second point is that the situation of the Seljuq sultan on the night after the battle was hardly better than that of the Byzantine emperor. The second group of conclusions deals with the representations and images of the enemy in contemporary sources. The first point here is that Byzantine writers described the Seljuqs in Classical and Biblical rhetorical terms. The situation with the Seljuqs is much more complex. The battle episode from the chronicle of Michael the Syrian does not obviously contain anything which can be called a "Seljuq representation of the enemy;" nevertheless, it contains two points which have analogies in later Seljuq historiography and epos. The general conclusion is that before making a reconstruction of the event itself one must be aware of the ideologies of the authors of the sources, which can distort the descriptions of facts.

The Roman Past Revisited: Ioannes Kanaboutzes' Treatise on the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos

Flórián Sipos (Hungary)

Thesis Supervisors: Stephanos Efthymiadis, Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar
External Reader: Martin Hinterberger (University of Cyprus, Nicosia)

Ioannes Kanaboutzes was a fifteenth-century Hellenized Genoese intellectual living on the Genoese islands of the Aegean. He wrote a commentary on the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios of Halicarnassos, a historian who tried to reconcile the Greek and Roman worlds in the age of Augustus. Kanaboutzes' *In Dionysium Halicarnassensem Commentarius* has remained almost completely unnoticed in modern scholarship; the only article with sound methodology on this particular author is that of Martin Hinterberger, who focused on the vernacular features of the text. This thesis is dedicated to the comparative analysis of Kanaboutzes' two works, the *Roman Antiquities* and the *Commentarius*, and aims at discovering as much as possible of the author's identity and attitude towards his source based on the analysis of the changes that he introduced while re-writing the text for his contemporary audience. My research combines rhetorical and content analysis; the former reveals many details about the linguistic identity of the author and

the language standard to which he tried to adapt the *Roman Antiquities*; the latter identifies and interprets the parts in which Kanaboutzes did not accept his source but engaged it critically in order to express his different stance and opinion.

The conclusion is that, first, he wrote in a language that did not try to imitate Atticising standards and he tried to bring the text closer to his readers while still expressing his own learned character through the use of certain rhetorical tools. Second, the analysis of his personal comments on Dionysios' text reveal that he regarded himself as a Catholic, an intellectual, a subject of the Byzantine Empire, and as someone belonging to Greco-Roman civilization. On the other hand, a definite ethnic self-identification is missing from the work, which shows that he followed the reconciliatory program of the Genoese rulers of the region. Thus, the "accommodating" program of Dionysios gained a new meaning in the northeastern Aegean a few years before the fall of Constantinople.

Accompanying the Magi: Closeness and Distance in Late Medieval Central European *Adoration of the Magi*

Melis Taner (Turkey)

Thesis Supervisor: Gerhard Jaritz
External Reader: Norbert Schnitzler (Technical University, Chemnitz)

From farting peasants to attendants in extravagant turbans, the story of the Magi includes different elements and figures in its depictions in late medieval Central Europe. The basis of the legend, the gospel account of Matthew 2:1–12, is reticent on the details of the Magi, their ages, their names, appearances, or in fact how many they were. It is perhaps this reticence in the story that has led to different interpretations. Fifteenth-century Central Europe, in particular, with a plurality of influences from the Ottoman Empire, Germany, and Italy, presents a fascinating source basis for the different meanings that can be loaded onto the Magi story. A discourse of distance and proximity is at the core of this story, which has the Magi originate from distant lands to recognize and worship the King of the Jews. The Magi are also recognizable as kings, albeit, increasingly in the fifteenth century, as oriental kings. A political aspect is added to the religious context and message of the legend, where "real" kings are portrayed as Magi. A further didactic message can be found in depictions of peasants, hunters, and wild men who join in the procession of the Magi. The malleability of the legend

thus manifests itself in different levels of the story with regards to function and perception, seen in a discourse of distance and proximity.

The Library of Vivarium: Cassiodorus and the Classics

Marijana Vuković (Serbia)

Thesis Supervisor: Marianne Sághy
External Reader: Luciana Cuppo-Csaki (Vicenza University)

This thesis deals with the transmission of Classical heritage in the early Middle Ages through the example of the Vivarium monastery in Southern Italy, established by Cassiodorus in the sixth century. Vivarium was a unique foundation in terms of launching a program of Christian education, enhanced with secular studies. Cassiodorus supplied his library in Vivarium with both Christian and Classical works.

In the history of scholarship, Cassiodorus has been proclaimed the "savior" and "protector" of the Classical heritage in late antiquity because he copied, transcribed, and collected books, among them Classical works. Over-praise turned into harsh criticism at some point in the 1950s after re-examining Cassiodorus' entire work, writings, and remaining paleographical material. A deficiency of valid evidence gave way to various new conclusions, since Cassiodorus was the only one to write about his library and there are few original manuscripts from Vivarium.

This thesis aims to answer several questions. Why did Cassiodorus need Classics in Vivarium? Did he have in mind their preservation from imminent extinction or did other reasons impel him to collect Classical works? Which Classics did he choose, and why these exactly?

If one keeps in mind Cassiodorus' pursuits and his avowed dream of establishing a Christian school, the conclusions are clear. Cassiodorus did not aim to preserve the Classics. He did not foresee the imminent devastation that threatened them. Living in the sixth century, he did not see the sharp edges between two eras the way we see them today and could not predict later tendencies to neglect the Classics.

What Cassiodorus aimed for was to be a prominent Christian, the founder of a prestigious Christian school. In collecting Classical books he had a Christian authority in mind: Augustine. Augustine wrote *De doctrina Christiana* in the fourth century, giving directives for Christian education, naming specific areas within Classical writings as useful for the study of the Scripture. Cassiodorus took

Augustine's advice and focused on specific areas in the library: the seven liberal arts and medicine, agriculture and cosmography. No admirer of the Classical heritage would be so specific in his choice, but that was not Cassiodorus' goal.

The Price of Fidelity. Donations of Coats of Arms to Nobles from Transylvania during the Reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg

Szidónia Weisz (Romania)

Thesis Supervisor: Katalin Szende
External Reader: Enikő Csukovits (Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

During his long reign, King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) rewarded the loyalty of his followers with different types of privileges; coats of arms were one of the most popular. Even though this phenomenon has already been researched from several aspects (mostly the art historical and heraldic points of view), no approach from social history has been applied to this source category.

The aim of my research is to analyze ten coats of arms given to nobles from Transylvania. On the basis of the available source material (grants of arms and coats of arms) and secondary literature, I have tried to answer questions like why was this type of reward so popular, who received it and why, what were the characteristics of the coats of arms, and whether it can be proved or not that this award assured good relations between royalty and the nobility.

The thesis is structured in three parts. The first chapter gives an overview of the grants of arms as source types and examines different parts of the text from the viewpoint of diplomatics, searching for elements of royal propaganda and for the kinds of information the public received from these documents. The next unit is dedicated to the Transylvanians who were awarded grants of arms. Within the framework of this chapter, a biographical gazetteer was compiled using the available data about these ten noblemen. The last chapter gives a heraldic description of the coats of arms studied here, and a brief introduction to the characteristics of Hungarian heraldry.

In the conclusions I have tried to demonstrate that the donation of grants of arms was consciously used by King Sigismund in order to assure a good relationship with his nobles. The whole phenomenon was double-sided, as having a coat of arms raised not only the rank of the nobles, but also the prestige of King Sigismund, in whose entourage these nobles served.

PHD DEFENCES DURING
THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2006–2007

Boldizsár Batthyány (c.1542–1590). Erudition, Natural Sciences, Patronage and Friendship in the Life of a Sixteenth-Century Hungarian Nobleman

Dóra Bobory (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 12, 2007, consisted of László Kontler (Department of History, CEU), chair; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; István Monok (National Széchényi Library, Budapest); György Endre Szőnyi (Department of History, CEU); Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Sachiko Kusukawa (University of Cambridge); István Monok (National Széchényi Library, Budapest); György Endre Szőnyi (Department of History, CEU).

This dissertation is about Boldizsár Batthyány, an aristocrat, a public figure, a warlord, the head of a family, the owner of a large estate, a patron and, above all, a sixteenth-century man full of intellectual curiosity. This work is a study of his manifold interests, a biography in which I have tried to touch upon all aspects of his life, particularly those elements which permitted me to place him in the context of contemporary scientific trends and tendencies.

Boldizsár Batthyány, son of Kristóf Batthyány and Erzsébet Svetkovics, was born around 1542. His uncle, Ferenc Batthyány, an able and fortunate man, was among the few who survived the Battle of Mohács in 1526 and afterwards managed to establish one of the largest estates in western Hungary. Boldizsár Batthyány was brought up mostly by his uncle Ferenc and his wife, Aunt Katalin Svetkovics. Thanks to their influence and good connections in high places, after years of private study, Boldizsár Batthyány had the chance to spend more than two years at the court of King Francis II and Mary Stuart in France. Once he returned to Hungary, he put down the foundations of one of the greatest book

collections in Hungary of his time. Batthyány had a passion for plants as well as a deep interest in the "secrets of nature," and alchemical experimentation remained a hobby throughout his entire life.

I have attempted to develop the parallel story of an individual and the age he lived in. While writing the biography of Boldizsár Batthyány, I approached the question of what the main trends in science were in the sixteenth century and the Count's personal involvement in scientific activities. Some of the crucial points where Batthyány became acquainted with a particular branch of science are clearly identifiable from his life story: his father's passion for books certainly influenced him, as did his old tutor, who was very knowledgeable in botany. Not all his sources of inspiration are possible to delineate, however. It is still not possible to say with certainty where Batthyány's interest in alchemy and Paracelsian medicine came from, and naturally the stimulus was not necessarily any particular person at a given place or time. Nevertheless, the example of Batthyány provides a personal account of the way and extent of individual involvement in scientific experimentation and patronage.

His vast correspondence with a handful of European intellectuals proved to be an excellent source of information for studying the processes surrounding the exchange of information and objects in this period. Many plants and books, for instance, were brought to western Hungary through such individual channels, attached to private letters exchanged between the patron and his friends. The exchange of information was also invaluable. Batthyány did not have to leave his estate to hear about new trends in the world; his protégés and friends provided him with both gossip and intellectual news.

The contextualisation of Boldizsár Batthyány's life story and activities show that although in some ways he was indeed a unique individual, he was also quite characteristic of his time. His person corresponds to a type widely present in sixteenth-century Europe: the noble patron-practitioner. Indeed, one can hardly find an aristocratic court or residence of an ecclesiastic authority devoid of some form of scientific activity, while interest in the occult arts, particularly alchemy, the various divinatory arts and hermetism underwent a significant renewal. A man of noble birth at this time would not have shrunk from the idea of manual labour. To be sure, he would still have left the working of the land and other hard physical work to farmers; however, the aristocrat nursing his flowers and busying himself with his special plants in the garden or plugging away in the laboratory at alchemical experiments was a common sight. It is enough to think of Emperor Rudolf II, whose passion for many of the occult arts was well known by his contemporaries, and most of the protagonists of the late sixteenth-

century *theatrum mundi* were connected to him in one way or another. The figure of patron-practitioner, or prince-practitioner, also emerged in Denmark, Moravia, Silesia, Poland and Bohemia. Count Wolfgang II of Hohenlohe (1546–1610), Count Moritz of Hessen-Kassel (1572–1632), and Ernst of Bavaria, Bishop of Passau (1500–1560), all "employed" alchemists at their courts. Olbracht Łaski, Palatine of Sieradz (1536–1605), Vilém (1535–1592) and his brother, Peter Vok Rožmberk (1539–1611) were also deeply engaged in alchemical experimentation at their residence in Krumlov (Český Krumlov, Czech Republic). These names and familiar connections relate Boldizsár Batthyány to another interesting group of people, eminent and wealthy individuals in other parts of Central Europe. Łaski and the Rožmberks shared his interests in alchemy and the occult in general, and built their own network of international acquaintances, or rather, celebrities, such as John Dee and Edward Kelley in the field of occult arts. Their examples, together with that of Batthyány, support the argument that there was a general tendency among European aristocrats in this period to get involved in the practice of alchemy and other "fashionable" branches of the occult sciences.

There was intense cultural and scientific exchange and experimentation on-going in territories which historians have traditionally considered peripheral in the sixteenth century. Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, as well as the court of the Danish king in Northern Europe, were home to a series of individual initiatives which corresponded to and integrated into general (Western) European intellectual tendencies. The scale of these individual activities may not have approximated the work going on at the larger courts in Germany, for instance (except for the Danish royal court), nevertheless, they were neither a late echo nor a bad copy of their Western spiritual relatives. Mobility, when accompanied by wealth and interest in science and culture, allowed aristocrats from Central Europe to be part of the same intellectual networks and share in the enthusiasms of their Western counterparts.

Naturally, all these individual initiatives had their own distinctive features and were far from being mere imitations. In royal Hungary, the conduct of an aristocrat was thoroughly influenced by his feelings for or against Habsburg politics. We may assume that Batthyány's reluctance to be a regular presence at the imperial court contributed to his wish to set up a completely independent intellectual centre, a meeting point for scholars far away from Vienna, and later, from Prague. This wish for independence was reflected and, indeed, demonstrated in Batthyány's book collection, which could have rivalled even the imperial library in Vienna (if Batthyány had been granted twenty years more to live), via friendship with wealthy individuals from the world of intellectuals,

through providing shelter to people unwelcome in the Habsburg hereditary lands because of their confession, and so on. From this point of view, representation was much more than a display of wealth and power. To be more precise, the intended audience for this display of representation was much more obvious. It did not aim at fellow aristocrats, rather, it could have easily been directed at the Habsburg ruler himself as a form of open defiance at the centralisation of royal power and its establishment outside of Hungary. If so, the message was clear. Batthyány warmly welcomed the noted botanist Clusius on his estate; he had been forced to leave the imperial court mostly because of his Protestantism, and Batthyány made the best of his acquaintance. He also allowed Manlius, who had been banned from the Habsburg hereditary lands, to set up his printing press in Németújvár (Güssing). Furthermore, he disobeyed the emperor's commands repeatedly when he conducted small forays against Ottoman troops, defying the wish of the ruler and without his previous knowledge. All this and many other examples discussed in this dissertation suggest that, in the case of Batthyány, the way he chose to represent himself had a strong political agenda.

Batthyány was given approximately twenty years to leave his mark on history, which is very little time to make much of an impact. However, we are now able to evaluate and appreciate much more clearly what his personal mission and devotion represented for the whole of sixteenth-century Hungarian science and culture. He was a man with interesting hobbies, but he did not found any scientific workshops where his work as a patron could have been continued. He was driven, among many other things, by an elementary human characteristic: curiosity. He wanted to learn new things every day only to satisfy his own personal curiosity, and one can be sure that the little successes and discoveries he made for himself alone or with the help of his friends caused him genuine pleasure. He was also a collector; apart from books, Batthyány greatly appreciated other antiquities, old (presumably Roman) coins and objects, which must have been plentiful around his castles, and he also commissioned various pieces of jewellery. While it is not known if Boldizsár Batthyány set up a cabinet of curiosities, which was getting more and more fashionable and widespread in the late sixteenth century, one can imagine that by the time of his death he had collected many rare and curious objects, just as he had books and plants.

With his death, the short-lived natural scientific outburst in Hungary dissipated, to be resurrected in a very different form during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among contemporary Hungarian aristocrats there was a general interest in botany, for instance, and a wish to patronise cultural activities. Yet, the way Batthyány became personally involved in the processes

of experimentation and brought together both innovations and the people who were good if not the best at them was not found anywhere else in Hungary in his time. In the face of the Ottoman conquest and the expanding Habsburg Empire, Boldizsár Batthyány used his wealth to initiate something new in science in western Hungary. He built up and maintained an intellectual network which comprised physicians, alchemists, humanists, a botanist, and book dealers. He used these connections to receive up-to-date information about the latest trends, and new books, particularly on the topics that interested him most, alchemy and botany. Although his circumstances did not permit him to settle intellectuals permanently at his court, he did take every opportunity to invite them and reinforce these connections through personal meetings. He successfully created an intellectual milieu, a microcosm which bore all the distinctive features of the cultural macrocosm of the Europe of his time while at the same time being unique and unrepeatable.

The Compositional History of Greek Christian Incubation Miracle Collections: Saint Thecla, Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saints Cyrus and John, Saint Artemios

Ildikó Csepregi (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 18, 2007 consisted of István Bodnár (Department of Philosophy, CEU), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Stephanos Efthymiadis (University of Cyprus, Nicosia); Gerhard Jaritz (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); István Perczel (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Marianne Sághy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Stephanos Efthymiadis (University of Cyprus, Nicosia); Elena Muñiz Grijalvo (University of Pablo de Olavide, Seville); Évelyne Patlagean (Université Paris-X Nanterre).

The history of Byzantine incubation as reflected in dream miracle collections represents an organic development and also a voluntarily embraced continuity. It was the transmission of a cult, the formation of source material, the way of recording, and the narrative pattern as well. This transmission from the pagan practice to the Christian incubation ritual concerned the elements of the cult, that is, the cult place, the cult function (healing), the technique of healing, the ritual (temple sleep), and the medium (the dream). It was common to both pagan

and Christian incubation practice that the sacred place was more important than the figure of the healer and for both the practice of incubation was intimately linked to the healing place. In addition to the Christianisation of the practice, the way of recording it also continued. The aim of this doctoral dissertation is to trace the formation and composition of incubation miracles as stories, individual narratives, and literarily shaped miracle collections.

My survey focuses on the miracles of Saint Thecla, the two versions of the miraculous cures of Saints Cosmas and Damian, the miracles of Cyrus and John, and the corpus of Saint Artemios. These collections, from the fifth to the seventh centuries, from the Eastern Mediterranean, together constitute a well-defined group, differing in kind from other contemporary Byzantine hagiographical records. Focusing on the narrative aspects of these sources is justified because emerging early Christian incubation not only adopted elements of the pagan ritual, but when recording it drew heavily on the ancient narrative records of temple sleep. The development and transformation of dream cures and their textual, literary expressions ran parallel with each other, both being rooted in the preceding cult practice. Consequently, and rather oddly, these Christian collections of dream healing bear a closer resemblance to the incubation records of antiquity than to contemporary Christian hagiographical genres (in the form of the narrative, of course, not in its theology).

The first step is to introduce the cult practice of ancient incubation in general, together with records of it (Chapter 1) as well its adoption through the cult of the Christian physician saints: Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Artemios, and in a different vein, within the cult of Saint Thecla (Chapter 2). This enquiry demonstrates that there was not just one "cult of saints." The development of the Christian incubation saint cult clearly had a different development from what is generally characterized as an emerging cult of saints, i.e., of martyrs, holy bishops, or living ascetics. Each of these groups also diverges in the patterns it represents.

Having described the collections of miraculous dreams found in incubation records, in Part II (The Sources: Compositional History) I turn to the known sources and formative processes in these collections. My question is how the early Christian incubation miracles were shaped into stories, texts, recorded narratives and literary artworks, tracing what the sources themselves have to say about their background to map out what layers of transmission can be distinguished within the collections themselves. Analysis of the sources of miraculous cures is best begun with the most important material (textual and pictorial) finds: votive tablets, the evidence that best expresses the cult experience (Chapter 3. 1: The ex voto

as Source). In the next step, I touch upon the role of images that record miracles and that were relatively often incorporated into the stories (Chapter 3. 2: The pictorial evidence). Besides looking at the images as records and hence sources for the stories, I shall also show how pictorial representation actually shaped the incubation dream narrative.

The next decisive element in shaping the stories was the oral tradition emerging around the cult place (Chapter 4: Oral Tradition). These narratives were directed by temple propaganda or the reports pilgrims exchanged with each other. Oral transmission was all the more important as it was not only a way of transforming events into a narrative or providing material for recording, but it also played a significant part in the cultic experience itself.

When the miracle collections were recorded the purpose was not to establish an exclusive canon of texts, in contrast to the gospel tradition. Two other points of view were considered in the production of a written text: to make past miraculous events possible in the present, from time to time recreating and re-interpreting their contexts; and second, depending on the personal aspirations of the hagiographer, to produce a literary composition. The third part of Part II concerns direct and indirect literary traditions (Chapter 5: The Literary Background of the Collections). Scholars in the past few decades have radically reinterpreted the umbrella term of aretalogy, the narrative of miracles. Mark van Uytfanghe spoke of the "chimera of aretalogy" when he re-drew the genre-thematic-theological definitions and literary traditions of aretalogy and envisaged a better understanding of the literary atmosphere of Late Antiquity (both pagan and Christian). He therefore discarded the categories of genre definition, introducing instead the concept of "hagiographic discourse." Such discourse was limited neither to Christianity nor to literature, but was an emblematic mode of expression in the Greek, Christian, and Jewish thought-world of the time.

The five miracle collections that took shape around the four incubation cults are first examined in Part II from the point of view of the cult experience and the material they contain pertaining to written, oral, and literary traditions. On the other side of the formation, while shaping the narrative and moulding it into a compositional whole, into a proper collection, we find the hagiographer—but not him alone. Part III (Stories: The Compositional Structure) complements the previous survey by focussing on a structural analysis of the texts and on the conscious shaping of the compositions, born out of literary ambitions which often aimed high and were marked by the individual compositional style of the hagiographer. Chapter 6 (The Hagiographer) addresses how the hagiographer created his own *persona* and reflected upon his own work of composition and

research. The hagiographer's personality and his literary ambitions left their marks on the structural development of the collections and on their individual compositional features. Without subscribing to any particular literary theory, the miracle narratives remain at the center of this analysis, which—starting from the texts themselves—includes mapping their structure, the miracle-groups, and the narrative technique. Thus, Chapter 7 (Compositional Structures and Individual Characteristics of the Collections) focuses on the outlines of composition, on its structural development, thematic groupings, and an analysis of miracle stories in each of the miracle collections. Before turning to the structural investigations, the question of establishing credibility will be addressed briefly. How did the hagiographer represent or create the reality of the narrative, the literary and concrete reality, and the reality of the miraculous? After analysing each collection as a whole, single narrative techniques are considered in Chapter 8. These include some of the individually developed *nuclei* of miraculous stories such as the invitation dream, word play, finding curative objects, or the narrative and theological role of repetition. Chapter 9 (The Medical in the Miraculous) has two parts. The first examines the narrative role of doctors in the miracles. The second part analyses the impact of medical knowledge on the dream content of incubation patients and, using the example of the medical round, it illustrates what E. R. Dodds described as a "culturally dependent dream pattern."

The closing chapter of this part (Chapter 10: The "Performance") first explores the finality of the recording of these miracles, such as entertainment, local cult propaganda or the dissemination of theological truths. By performance I understand here the circumstances surrounding the telling of and listening to dream-miracle narratives, the place this occupied within the cult, the occasions for telling the miracles, the context, effect, purpose of storytelling and the experiencing, listening, reading, seeing the miracles, their telling, re-telling, writing, re-writing, and depicting. This communal aspect of the cult experience is all the more important since pilgrims not only underwent the rites of the cult together, but they told and listened to miracle stories and were instructed, oriented, encouraged (or discouraged) and even entertained by them. In the second part (Mirroring Society) some aspects of the contemporary social reality are addressed as represented in the stories, determined by the personal credo of the hagiographer but also by the religious context that surrounded the cult place. I consider purposeful and accidental testimonies and attitudes towards pagans, heretics, and Jews, and explore the promotion of theological truths and contrasting orthodoxies.

A natural conclusion is provided by summarizing, on the basis of the viewpoints analysed so far, in what aspects the Byzantine incubation collections are singular among the contemporary Byzantine miracle corpora, in what ways they follow the hagiographical models of the time and in what manner they reach back and draw on ancient paradigms of incubation practice and literature. It may seem surprising to discover that the records of incubation healers were in several aspects closer to the (pagan) Greek narrative and cultic models than to other Byzantine miracle collections and New Testament paradigms on miraculous cures. Christian incubation miracles were the result of the survival of a pagan practice that went in parallel with the survival of how it was recorded. This interrelatedness left noteworthy traces in the Christian miracle stories, elements sometimes foreign to Byzantine hagiography (e.g., the priority of the place over the healer). But the most fascinating (and not at all a necessary development with the arrival of Christianity!) was this interconnectedness itself: that a ritual and its way of expression went hand in hand.

Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231–c.1500

Ottó Gecser (Hungary)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on January 22, 2007, consisted of: István Bodnár (Department of Philosophy, CEU), chair; Gábor Klaniczay (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Nicole Bériou (Université Lyon 2); Edit Madas (Fragmenta Codicum Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchényi Library); József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU); Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU). The external readers were: Nicole Bériou (Université Lyon 2); Edit Madas (Fragmenta Codicum Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchényi Library).

St. Elizabeth of Hungary (or of Thuringia) was born in 1207, a daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary and his wife, Gertrude of Andechs-Merania. She was betrothed to the future Landgrave Ludwig IV of Thuringia and transferred to the Wartburg court in 1211. They were married in 1221 and had three children: Hermann, Sofia, and Gertrude. Ludwig was apparently in sympathy with Elizabeth's inclination to charity; in 1226 they founded a hospital together in Gotha. In the same year, Elizabeth took a vow of post-marital chastity and

obedience to Conrad of Marburg, an ascetic preacher of the crusade with a papal licence whose affiliation with a religious order is unknown, and who acquired some influence in their court. Under Conrad's supervision, Elizabeth adopted an exceedingly modest or even austere way of life entirely different from the courtly norm. Not independently of Conrad's activity, perhaps, Ludwig took up the cross in 1227, and died in Otranto on the way to the Holy Land. Ludwig's relatives were less prone to finance Elizabeth's charitable activity and denied the paying of her dower. Elizabeth, who firmly refused any proposal of a second marriage, renewed her vow of chastity and obedience supplemented with a renunciation of all worldly aspirations. After the ensuing rupture with her husband's family, she lived in precarious conditions in Eisenach until Conrad of Marburg, who, in the meantime, had been appointed her guardian by Pope Gregory IX, succeeded in acquiring part of her dower back. This sum, 2000 marks, was largely used to found a hospital dedicated to St. Francis in Marburg. Elizabeth spent the remainder of her life in this hospital caring for the poor and the sick. She died in 1231.

Conrad of Marburg proposed her canonisation to Pope Gregory IX as early as 1232 by sending a preliminary survey of her miracles to Rome, together with a short description of her life. But in course of the following year, Conrad was assassinated by someone against whom he had conducted investigations of heresy. The cause of sanctification was carried on by another Conrad, Elizabeth's brother-in-law, Conrad of Thuringia, and on 27 May, 1235, in Perugia, Pope Gregory inscribed Elizabeth in the catalogue of saints. Her canonisation was rather quick, but not exceptionally so by the standards of the thirteenth century.

Although the edition of saints' lives in the *Acta Sanctorum*, which proceeds in the order of the ecclesiastical calendar, has never reached 19 November, St. Elizabeth's main feast day, some of her most important medieval *vitae* appeared in print from the seventeenth century onwards. The writer who "discovered" her for a modern public beyond the circles of antiquarian historiography was Charles Forbes René, Comte de Montalembert (1810–1870), whose *Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth* appeared in 1836. The success of this voluminous romantic biography, based on rich source material collected in Marburg and elsewhere, gave a new impetus not only to her cult, but also for additional research into her life and personality. The attention she has received since then in both scholarship and popular representations makes her comparable, perhaps, to St. Francis alone among the saints of the Middle Ages.

This great attention notwithstanding, or perhaps because of it, the history of her cult has remained relatively unexplored. Only "relatively" because even the earliest sources of her *vita et conversatio* which serious scholars have always

relied on are themselves products of her cult. And also because in 1963 Ortrud Reber published a comprehensive register of all possible manifestations of her veneration in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, in spite of the richness of this collection, the available data have not been organised in any coherent narrative with the exception of the dynastic and political instrumentalisation of her image and memory studied by Gábor Klaniczay and Matthias Werner.

My research was originally conceived as focusing exclusively on Latin sermons written for Elizabeth's feast day—an area largely neglected by previous scholarship. The limitation of the source material to Latin texts is justified by the far greater number of sermons which have survived in this language than in the vernaculars and by the possibility of collecting them systematically from Johann Baptist Schneyer's *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*. It was clear from the beginning that the only context which is specific enough for the interpretation of sermons is provided by the other vehicles of her cult, especially the vitae and visual representations. If not seen in this context, however, sermons on St. Elizabeth do not differ enough from other sermons, and the analysis of their message would require the comparison of thousands of unpublished texts about diverse subjects for various occasions. An aspect of the cult I did not take into consideration originally was the diffusion of the feast; the sermons, even if available in sermon collections, would hardly have been delivered in places where the feast was not observed. This led me to study more systematically the dedication of ecclesiastical institutions to St. Elizabeth, as well as the position of her feast in the liturgical practice of dioceses and religious orders. Moreover, as I started to write, I realised that I could not find a sufficiently comprehensive and detailed overview of the development of either the *vitae* or the visual representations. The chapters about these areas, which were initially planned to be short, grew much lengthier and changed the character of the whole dissertation. The title is meant to reflect this change of emphasis.

The cult of a saint has many aspects, especially on a personal level, which do not leave many traces behind for the future historian. What I have tried to reconstruct here is not the cult as such, but the institutionalised practices which contributed to the emergence, diffusion, and stabilisation of the cult *and* are related to preaching. A further objective is to present a catalogue of the surviving Latin sermons on St. Elizabeth from the period before c.1500, and to edit some of these texts.

By the end of the thirteenth century the veneration of St. Elizabeth had become ubiquitous, at least in continental Europe from Portugal to Hungary and from Germany to Italy. Around 1250, Marburg as a pilgrimage site was

compared to Santiago de Compostela by unbiased contemporaries. In the decades immediately following the canonisation, her cult had a rather unfocused or diffuse character in terms of the social groups or milieus which functioned as its main supporters. First of all, it was strongly promoted by various royal, aristocratic or noble families, especially in central Germany, northern France, the southern Low Countries, and Hungary. Her principal thirteenth-century *vitae* were written by authors of very different ecclesiastical and national backgrounds, among them a Cistercian, a member of the papal curia, someone from the court of Emperor Frederick II, four Dominicans, and three Franciscans. They came from Germany, France, Italy, Hungary, and Poland. Among the ecclesiastical institutions dedicated to her in these years were chapels in cathedrals and collegiate churches, parishes and local oratories, hospitals, beguinages, houses of the Teutonic Knights, monasteries of the traditional monastic orders as well as mendicant convents, without a clear preponderance of any of them. In the field of preaching, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were in the foreground but this must be due primarily to their specialization in this activity.

As far as its social foundation is concerned, the cult seems to have undergone two major changes between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries: Elizabeth became increasingly associated with the Franciscan order, on the one hand, and with hospitals, on the other. Her growing association with the Friars Minor seems to have started around 1300. The idea of her having been a member of the Franciscan Third Order may have emerged in Naples at the beginning of the fourteenth century, at least, her first known representations as a tertiary were made there. By the end of the fifteenth century this opinion had become widely accepted and it has remained so until today. In course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the diversity of institutions which chose her as their patron saint decreased considerably. While knights, monks, friars or nuns apparently preferred her to other saints much less frequently than before, new dedications pertaining to convents of tertiaries and especially hospitals were clearly on the rise.

Elizabeth's association with hospitals as their patron saint as well as being frequently depicted in hospital churches, may have influenced the crystallisation of her main iconographic type from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards: a woman holding symbols of the works of mercy like a jug, a plate with food, or a piece of clothing. Neither this iconographic type nor her function as hospital patroness seem to have spread southward beyond the Alps. Alternatively, the other principal form of her visual representation, with roses in her lap, originated from and remained characteristic of Italian Franciscan milieus. Since, according

to legend, it was food carried to the poor which was miraculously transformed into roses, this attribute also refers to charity, but with a greater emphasis on the wondrous and marvelous.

One of the principal contributions of liturgy and preaching to her cult, apart from stabilising and upholding it through the annual celebration of her feast, was the definition of her sanctity in terms of the Pauline model of the good widow. This model, delineated in St. Paul's admonishments in the first letter to Timothy, remained without a persuasive embodiment before St. Elizabeth, even if Biblical archetypes like Judith, Ruth, or the old widow of the Gospels who cast two pieces of money in to the treasury incorporated some of its elements. The figure of the exemplary widow unified the three main themes of Elizabeth's cult: charity (and poverty), the contemplative life, and (post-marital) sexual abstinence. Such a widow is expected to refrain from a second marriage and to dedicate herself to prayer and charitable works.

Nevertheless, the combination of these three themes in one model does not mean that they always had the same weight. While charity was central to all the media of her cult, whether pictorial or written, right from the beginning the importance of the other two elements was less constant and ubiquitous. The contemplative life, as suggested by her holding a book in most of her thirteenth-century representations, seems to have been gradually driven into the background without disappearing entirely. The growing importance of the motif of visions, which characterised her thirteenth-century *vitae*, had far-reaching repercussions, especially in her iconography, but here, rather surprisingly, it became associated as much with her husband as with her. Finally, the theme of sexual abstinence rarely appeared in the visual arts until the fifteenth century, while in the *vitae* and the sermons it was present from the outset.

Urban Development and German Law in Galician Rus' during the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries

Olha Kozubska-Andrusiv (Ukraine)

The Examination Committee at the public defense on June 18, 2007 consisted of: Judit Bodnár (Sociology and Social Anthropology and History departments, CEU), chair; József Laszlovszky (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; Katalin Szende (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), dissertation supervisor; DeLloyd Guth (University of Manitoba); Peter Johanek (Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte a.d. Westfälischen Wilhelms-

Universität Münster); Balázs Nagy (Department of Medieval Studies, CEU), István Petrovics (Department of History, University of Szeged). The external readers were: Anngret Simms (University College, Dublin), Peter Johanek (Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte a.d. Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster); Piotr Górecki (University of California Riverside).

The aim of this dissertation is to trace the history of urban development in Galician Rus' from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century to see what impact the adoption of the so-called "German law" had on towns, or, in other words, to study the process of the adoption of the law and its role in the emergence of full-fledged medieval towns in the region. In the secondary literature, German law (or more precisely the *ius Theutonicum Magdeburgense* mentioned in Ruthenian privileges) was assumed to be a special form of urban law, perhaps the law of Magdeburg adapted and applied in local urban centers, dating the formation of "a town in a legal sense." When a new "law" was being granted (including a proclamation of the withdrawal of old "laws") one must ask what it consisted of. The primary medieval sources collected for this research did not give, at first glance, any idea of the "normative" content of the new "law," assuming that "law" should be a certain set of "norms" and rules, ideally a codified set.

Turning to the secondary literature for help revealed how scholars have solved similar problems in other regions; they first looked at the sources for the law of Magdeburg, and then tried to find similar sources in the region under consideration, searching the content of "town law books" and other legal manuscripts. This method did not work, however, in the case of Galician Rus' because the legal manuscripts by which the new "law" supposedly spread are practically absent. The impossibility of conducting traditional research based on written sources for Magdeburg law caused a dilemma which points to the need for clarification of what is *ius Theutonicum*: first, how was this term understood in the secondary literature? And second, even more importantly, how did medieval sources refer to it?

To that end, the study of urban development in Galician Rus' has been supplemented with questions of legal history; in order to learn what impact *ius Theutonicum* had on towns, one has to clarify what *ius Theutonicum* actually was (and, eventually, what it was not). Consequently this dissertation consists of two principal parts corresponding to two directions used in approaching the subject: urban studies seen from a functional point of view and legal history.

The first approach presents towns under the Magdeburg law of Galician Rus' that had emerged by the end of the fifteenth century, their development before (if applicable) and after obtaining separate legal status. In general, the

aim is to reveal the character of settlements with Magdeburg law called towns in documents and to indicate how "urban" (in terms of their functions) the new foundations were. The proposed model for urban development in Galician Rus' is based on the role of towns as central places, functioning as economic, administrative, legal, and religious centres for their hinterlands. Nevertheless, due to the scarce source material it is not possible to apply central place theory—an interdisciplinary approach borrowed from human geography—in its full dimensions. The method used was to reveal the economic, administrative/legal and religious/cultural functions of a site (i.e., its central functions) through documentary sources and, adding available architectural sources, to identify urban topographic development.

The second part of this dissertation focuses on the *ius Theutonicum Magdeburgense,* attempting to understand what *ius Theutonicum* meant for contemporaries (i.e., medieval people). It starts with the present understanding of the term and its validity. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the available privileges for Magdeburg law issued for towns in Galician Rus,' the functions of *ius Theutonicum*, and possible parallels. The result was not an identification or "reconstruction" of a particular "law" or combination of different "laws" adopted in town courts of Galician Rus' under the term *ius Theutonicum*. It was rather a recognition that the notion called *ius Theutonicum* in documents was an adaptable pattern applicable to different conditions, a model with many variants including, but not limited to, a strong legal component.

Evaluating the urban development of Galician Rus' in a broader context, one should mention some of its distinctive features. For instance, the chronological framework for the adoption of German law was different than elsewhere; in Galician Rus' the new system appeared about 50 to 100 years later than in Poland. Galician Rus' (and later the whole of Ukraine) was a territory where Magdeburg law became merely a technical term (defining a particular type of settlement, the status of its inhabitants, and relations to a landowner) and did not imply any connection to Magdeburg itself, in contrast to Silesian towns and even Cracow, where legal contacts were evident.

At the same time, despite all the important regional differences, it is striking how similar some aspects of urban development were in medieval Galician Rus' compared to other European regions. This is not to assume that towns developed under similar circumstances and in a similar way everywhere in Europe; different degrees of the influence of a central power, social, and economic factors were decisive as shaping and differentiating forces. Among the similarities one can mention the role of territorial lords in establishing settlements with urban

functions and that many towns originated from power centers of different kinds. Another common point is that a town emerged in the process of the concentration of different functions in which the towns' legal setup played an important role, especially the concentration of crafts and trade in a specified place and the emancipation from strict dependence on their lords. Moreover, sets of urban markers developed for the study of urban centers in Western Europe are also applicable in the context of town history in Galician Rus'. And finally, what is revealed here is an echo of the most recent studies (from both East and West) that have viewed towns as settlements with multi-layered developments, settlements whose origin and growth cannot be revealed in monocausal explanations.

A LIFE IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES OR: *APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA*[*]

János M. Bak

I am honored and pleased to be able to sing my swan song at this department, for which I had the pleasure and honor to help build up a medievalist program. What I intend to offer is a kind of *apologia pro vita sua* (or*: mea*), or, in other words, a justification for CARA (the American Medieval Academy's Committee for Regional Associations), which gave me its annual prize for medieval teaching. Justifiable, because, I think, that is what I know how to do or at least used to.

A proper autobiography would start with that "in the nursery I already planned to be a historian," etc. Alas, that does not work. In my teenage years I wanted to be a general engineer, building railroads and bridges and things like that (even imagining becoming an army officer for pontoon bridges!), probably because I had an uncle who worked at some point with the Hungarian railroads. However, in the gymnasium (the grammar school), I became a good Latinist but proved to be not exactly a great mathematician or scientist. As most of you would know, one's choice of favorite subject depends more on having a good teacher than anything else. I had good luck, because Latin was taught in that school for many years by the then already well-published and active Latinist, István Borzsák [d. 2007], and when he was called up to the army, we had the blessing of the best Humanist scholar of that time, Tibor Kardos. (His later career was less humanist, but that is not our concern.) Thus, Latin I had learned and that was the reason that I managed to get into the university at 17, which I did instead of attending the last year of the gymnasium, because I had somehow had enough of grammar school. At least for that the first year I really studied seriously at the university, which was

[*] This informal talk was given by János M. Bak on 11 June, 2007 at the occasion of his CARA prize and his becoming professor emeritus. Krisztina Fügedi courageously attempted to type it up from the electronic records and, with some assistance from the speaker, put it into presentable English. Nonetheless, the *ductus* of the oral presentation has been (and was intended to be) retained. As far as its English is concerned, an anecdote from the speaker's Canadian years may be appropriate here. Having produced the first version of his bibliographical guide to medieval studies, the text was to be completed by the librarians of UBC. There, a very British lady remarked on one of the annotations: "But this is not correct English!" The loyal research assistant (a Croatian-Canadian, to boot), who was negotiating the cooperation, replied: "That may be so, but the language JMB speaks and writes, is one of the languages of instruction at this university!"

there still a very good year—1946—for I had the good luck to attend classes by András Alföldi and József Deér, people who were soon chased away from the university and Hungary. At that time, studying at Budapest University (still called Péter Pázmány) was a very open-ended proposition: you could register for any course you liked. So, my friend György Litván and I found, among others, the title of Prof. Alföldi's lecture course "Soothsaying and Magic in Ancient Rome" exciting and registered for it, without knowing that it was intended for fourth-year advanced students, and there were only two or three others besides us. Even when we noticed that in the beginning we understood only one tenth of what he was talking about, we could not very well leave as it would have been slightly conspicuous. So we had the privilege of taking a course with Alföldi before he left for Princeton.

Besides such excursions into unknown fields, I ended up in the seminar of diplomatics and charter reading four or five times a week in the morning, with good old Imre Szentpétery, and with his then relatively young assistant, Éva Balázs. Professor Balázs remained a life-has long "controller" of my life. She left medieval studies but did not take her eyes off her old pupils, such as Gábor Klaniczay or me. She was a great help to me across many decades, and I remember her with very warm feelings; she left us very recently, a year or so ago.

Through Éva Balázs's recommendation, I think, both Litván and I were accepted as what was called "demonstrators" at the chair of general history, the lowest rank of some kind of auxiliary assistance, with Professor Váczy. Péter Váczy was a very good historian of early medieval Hungary, relatively modern in his approach, in a certain sense influenced by Max Weber, and very well read in European history though with little research background in that field. Having been appointed as amanuenses, we marched up to him and as young Communists, wanted to rescue his "bourgeois" soul. One of us, therefore, told him that "*Professzor úr*, you have to read the *German Peasant War* by Friedrich Engels." Váczy, in his somewhat sleepy manner, replied something like, "Well, I guess, I did read that at some time…" I would imagine that our "scholarly reputation" was more or less founded on this exchange. Váczy was kicked out of the university by the Communists within a year and I was kicked out of the Communist Party a couple of years later, so there was some kind of overlap.[1]

[1] For more personal details on this period see the contributions by András Biró and György Litván, and generally the *Personalia* section in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways… Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 3–27. (henceforth: *The Man of Many Devices*…)

I should have said at the outset that when I was reflecting on my life, that "a life in medieval studies" is not quite correct. I should rather say: "a life in and out of medieval studies," because there were always some occasions to leave the medieval field, voluntarily or otherwise. Indeed, the rest of the university was mostly out of medieval studies. Prof. Erzsébet Andics, the commissar for historical studies, gave us the order at some point when I was still in the Party, not to work on these "clerical" and unimportant Middle Ages but to write about the history of the working class movement. Following her "advice," I graduated with a nice thesis on the *Allgemeine Ungarische Arbeitspartei* (1870–1880, I think), not exactly an exciting subject. It was, however, an easy one, because the weekly journal of that association appeared in German, my German was reasonably good and at that point I was married to the best young stenographer in Hungary. So I just had the copy of the newspaper in German in front of me, dictated it in Hungarian to Marika, added some quotations from the "classics" of Marxism and Leninism, and I earned my diploma just in time before being stripped of my Party membership for having the wrong parents and some kind of "right-wing deviationism." This, however, gave me the chance to serve the working people in the people's army for two rather unscholarly years.

That I came to be interested primarily in teaching was at that point partly predicated by the political conditions, because I would not have been allowed to do anything else. So after military service I was teaching mainly sixth-graders in Pestújhely (a northeastern suburb of Budapest). Besides my students at CEU, that class was the favorite of my life. I loved the gang, great young people in their twelfth year of age. Maybe one heroic deed of theirs I should commemorate. We had to collect scrap iron, and for an appropriate amount gathered, the class got a little flag as a prize. My "young pioneers" set off, collected a nice amount of iron, delivered it, brought the receipt, and we got the flag. The next day the director knocks on my door and says. "I have a message for you from the local police. Are X, Y, and Z in your class?" "Yes," I said. "Well, the bridge of Rákos Creek has vanished overnight and suspicion is…" I asked: "Was it out of iron?" "Partially. The wood is still there." I said: "What would they want?" "The bridge, by tonight."—So, my champion collectors managed to retrieve the bridge's supporting iron bars—but we proudly kept the flag!

After a while, during the reform era of the first Imre Nagy cabinet in 1953, I had the good luck—the first time, which was to repeat itself only in the 1990s—that a new school was opened in Budapest. It was to be a high school that would combine the usual grammar school curriculum with training for cultural management (*népművelés),* such as librarianship, local museums and so on. A few

founding members submitted the design of a new curriculum, and we were enormously proud of trying to make something that at that point looked terribly innovative, to arrange somehow that history, literature, and art history should be taught in parallel, chronologically, in a way that is now called interdisciplinary (it did not have a name at that time, at least we did not know one). Alas, this lasted for only one year. In 1955, all the reforms of the "New Course," including our school innovation, were cancelled by the Stalinist restoration. It is quite characteristic that I seemed to have been interested essentially in teaching at that point, because, as I noted recently, in the sessions of the Petőfi-circle, the famous debating club of the summer of 1956, I did not speak in the circle of historians, but in the debate on teaching, criticizing the narrow-minded nest of Hungarian schools in those times. I am glad that the other attempt at a new school in which I got involved, the one in 1990, fared so much better: while my school in 1954 died in a year, our program is still going on, with a curriculum designed by us more than a decade ago—even if revised several times.

When, after the defeat of the revolution, I arrived in Germany in the winter of 1956/7, I chose it as a possible place to settle, because I knew the language. At that point, I was convinced that with my excellent training in Budapest, I needed only the prescribed minimum of university attendance for a German doctorate. In fact, as I mentioned, in the first year I really attended university studiously. But during the following three years I was mostly active with what we then called the "liberation of the working class" as a functionary of Communist-controlled youth movements. Moreover, by 1949 the university was not exactly the place to get internationally relevant training and we had to spend more time on Marxist political economy than on historical studies. While still in a Red Cross home for refugees, I tried to find out which university demanded the fewest semesters before giving one a PhD. Then I asked Professor Deér, at that time already professor in Bern, where I should go to complete my studies. (That I should return to the Middle Ages was somehow self-evident, as I had had more than enough of contemporary "history.") He said that I should go to Göttingen and report to Percy Ernst Schramm and say that he sent me. At the same time, I found that Göttingen requested only that out of the eight semesters you have to study at a respectable university (and Budapest University would have been accepted as such), the last two have to be in Göttingen. So I did, and certainly never regretted it. In the person of Schramm I not only had a fine teacher and a great scholar, but also an understanding mentor.

Well, when I arrived at the Georgia Augusta, I soon realized my naiveté. Maybe you remember the saying that the more you know what you do not know,

the wiser you are. So I certainly was the dullest, because I did not have the faintest idea how little I knew. I had, of course, my good foundations in Latin, diplomatics, palaeography, and the like, but I knew very little about what was happening in historical scholarship, virtually since WWII. So I started to study with Percy Schramm, not for the minimal two semesters, but rather some three years. Besides trying to catch up with medieval studies in general, I learned from him above all that signs and symbols of power, of domination, and of social relations may say something about times and conditions which are not written down in political treatises. That approach was a major innovation, mainly of Schramm and a few others. Moreover, I learned that the civilization of the European Middle Ages should be seen as a kind of combination of three or more traditions: gentile (Germanic, Slavic, etc.); Roman imperial; and Mediterranean (Jewish, Arabic, and Byzantine). That was not the usual view in those times. When Friedrich Heer, who was not a professor of history, but at that point the superintendent of the *Hoftheater* in Vienna, wrote in his book on the "three rings" of medieval culture (referring to the above) that was still looked upon by German professors as a kind of ha, ha, ha—literary-dilettantish nonsense. In Percy Schramm's classes, at least, Byzantium always featured as an important point of reference, while the earlier (in Nazi times) overvalued "Germanic" elements were given their realistic value. Moreover, the (now so-called) interdisciplinarity, that is to look at objects, images and texts at the same time, compare them to each other, etc. was also something very new to me—and to many others. As you may have seen, in a few articles have I tried to summarize what I learned there, actually trying to give a kind of methodology. All this is, of course, now more or less a commonplace, and present-day discussions are already aimed at looking back at it critically, as it were.

As a doctorandus of Schramm I had some kind of an assistant position there, partly because I was the only medievalist in Schramm's stables at that point. Since in those years he was publishing the diary of the German high command of the last war years, most of his doctoral students were working on subjects connected to that. It was quite entertaining in the *Doktorandenseminar* to talk about my research problems regarding medieval Hungarian coronation orders while listening to experts on the economic enterprises of the SS and expecting some suggestions from them to my queries. Yet, to be, once again, a "demonstrator" (in German it was called something like "student auxiliary") was surely worth it. To be an assistant of whatever title to a professor was in fact the way to learn the trade. You were often asked to look up some detail in a (to the boss) well-known book, by its (to him) well-known abbreviation—and you had to figure

your way around in the literature. Or: once, walking down the Nikolausberger Weg, from Schramm's house to the university building (I was living more or less close to Schramm's house), he pulled out from his bag the proofs of an article, in those times still on long slips of paper—dog's tongues, as they now call them in Hungarian—and said: Look at this, please, it arrived yesterday, we have to return it tomorrow. I looked at it, and with my enormously sharp comprehension, said: "But this is, I think, in Catalan." To which Schramm: *Na, und*? (So what?) An intelligent research student should either know the languages of Europe—or if not, then learn one overnight…

Having earned my degree, I was still considering staying in Germany and finding first a position in a gymnasium. But I found it a little bit strange that a foreigner should teach history, German history, in a German grammar school. I also told this to Professor (maybe?) Kellermann, head of the *Akademisches Auslandsamt* (where they handled foreign students), when he asked what I was going to do. Whereupon he said: but Herr Bak, you speak faultless Austrian! I was offended, as I imagined speaking a faultless *Hochdeutsch*. But at the same time, I realized that as long as I stayed in Europe I would always be regarded a kind of Austrian or Austro-Hungarian, and somehow I did not want that. I wanted to be accepted as a European. But that seemed not to be easy. When I applied for a postdoctoral scholarship from the British Council, I wanted to go and learn more on kingship and related matters from Walter Ullmann in Cambridge, whose name I knew well. At the British Council the guy in charge looked at my papers: born in Budapest, East European—so he sent me to Oxford, to St Antony's College, a centre for Russian and East European studies, a kind of "Kremlinology"…. not a single medievalist around. But then I managed to spend two very pleasant years, learned acceptable English, and also to visit Ullmann a few times. Considering the competitive relation between the two old universities, it is not surprising that the most difficult train or bus connection in the British Isles is between Oxford and Cambridge. The real premium of those visits was that I got acquainted with his, then just graduating, research student, Jinty (Janet) Nelson, who has remained a good friend ever since—a guest of ours here a few times.

While still in Oxford, I received my first invitation to a German scholarly conference: to the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte*. This *Arbeitskreis* was founded by a couple of Nazis who were kicked out or not let back into the universities and gathered up annually in an enormously formal meeting on the island of Reichenau, which has nice medieval connotations. Even though it is called a "working circle," the discussions are hampered by the formality: you give lectures and there is a discussion. If you want to ask a question, you stand up, you

walk out, ask your question, turn back, go back, sit down. The speaker comes out, replies, goes back and sits down,—and so on. Of course, the original "political" implications are long gone.

I was invited to a session about rural communities, *Landgemeinden,* to speak about them in medieval Hungary, and gave a paper most of which was a critique of Marxist ideas about the ancient rural communities (the German *Mark* or the Russian *mir*). Marx and Engels, influenced by the so-called *Historische Rechtsschule,* believed that in early medieval times there were communities with common landholding and regarded those as proofs of primeval communism. I made a strong case that there was no such thing ever in Hungary, fully disregarding the evidence presented by Károly Tagányi and others. In fact, for a long time there was common field husbandry in Hungary as well, only it had nothing to do with ancient communism, but rather with the relatively simple type of agriculture. And in Russia, the *mir* was an organization of landowners for taxation purposes… Nevertheless, I was proud of holding high the flag of liberty against Marxism. (The paper was published; it is very bad, but it was my first in German… Not in Austrian, to boot.)

It was at the same time that I was asked to write a review article on Hungarian historical scholarship after 1945. The Reichenau experience made it clear to me that I need not try to "distance myself" from my country of birth, but rather use my ability to read in barbarian tongues to convey something of the Hungarian historical scholarship to the "West." During the subsequent decades, I was busy writing book reviews in which I was criticizing mostly the nationalism, the national narrow-mindedness, of some of the Hungarian authors, but making their research results known abroad. Obviously, knowing the conditions in Hungary, I was not bugging anyone for necessarily having a quotation by Marx at the beginning and Lenin at the end; that was obligatory. Only, when they were narrow-minded and nationalist that was not obligatory, and Marxism exactly would have given a way out of that.

But then again I was out of medieval life, because I got a job at a chair for East European history, which in Germany meant mainly Russian history. I would have had to stay there and write a *Habilitation* on some modern subject. In fact, I did publish a few things on the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, but then somehow I did not feel like writing a book about it. At that time, in the mid-sixties, a book on the Hungarian Soviet Republic would have had to be radically and rabidly anti-Communist. That I was not prepared to do, mainly because it would have brought me into problematic company. On the other hand, to somehow excuse or protect the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, the leaders

of which did not understand the problems of the country and tried to impose the Russian model (some of them, the best, such as György Lukács, were probably also naïve, when in the midst of post-war misery they had nothing better to do than advertise "books available at every concierge")—that I would not have liked to do either. (In the meantime quite good books have been written on 1919, both in Hungary and abroad.) So I was looking for an escape from modern history as soon as possible.

It was innovation in teaching that again gave me pleasure—and problems—as well as a way out. I had a chance to do some teaching because my friend, Gottfried Schramm, the son of my professor—who was a guest of CEU once—and I were allowed to offer proseminars for historians. And in those introductory seminars we did that kind of things that we do here in our first semester: general bibliography and research methods. *Horribile dictu*, we also took the students to the *Westdeutsche Bibliothek* and showed them how to find their way in the catalogues, how to order a book and such like. Pretty soon the word came around from the old professors (Walther Schlesinger or Helmuth Beumann, I think), that Schramm and Bak are running an elementary school, teaching the kids how to fill out *Bestellzettel*. That by doing this we made the life of our librarian colleagues and our students easier by spending half an hour or so in the library did not wash well with the otherwise excellent professors. I think it was Schlesinger who hinted at the fact that "such kind of things were done in the German Democratic Republic" (or simply: in the "Soviet Zone"), which did not exactly recommend the method in Marburg…

We were really interested in teaching differently. Schramm, soon to become professor in Freiburg, indeed did so. It was obvious that there was need for reform of the old-fashioned German university. But on what pattern? It was more or less clear, however regrettable it sounded, that one had to look at the Americans. Successful cultural imperialism had to be acknowledged and it was logical to find out what they call "university." Now, I was warned appropriately not to expect much, because when I once got a job offer, while still in Göttingen, from Winnipeg in Canada, Percy Schramm remarked: "You would not want to be at a university where the library consists of an old edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*." That's how North America was seen by the traditional German professors. (Actually, Winnipeg has a very fine library…) Yet, for several reasons, I decided to explore that other world, and through the good offices of my dear late friend, Hans Rogger from UCLA, I ended up with an invitation to the United States of America.

My first American experience was at the University of Delaware, a medium-sized state university not far from Philadelphia. There, I indeed got an idea about American university teaching, exactly in a place not too fancy but not too provincial either. I felt challenged, how to do justice to my field of scholarship in courses covering world history, as it was jokingly called (again, by Germans!), "from Hamurabbi to Hitler" or "from Adam to Adenauer." Since I succeeded in having a dozen or so students signing up thereafter for a course on some special medieval topic, I realized that it was possible and I was not frustrated. My memory in Newark, Delaware, will be eternal though, because a nice librarian, when she heard that a Hungarian medievalist is there, acquired a full set of the *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* and the 40 or so volumes of the *Codex diplomaticus* of Georgius Fejér. I think it is now one of the very few US libraries to boast of such a complete holding in medieval Hungarian charters (unless they have sold them in the meantime…).

But after two years I had to leave, having entered the USA on a so-called Fulbright visa. That means that after one or two years you have to leave the USA and cannot return for at least two more years spent "at home" (or wherever else). I was offered a two-year replacement position in Vancouver, on the Canadian West Coast. None of my American friends knew anything about the place or the university, save that it has a better climate than, say, Ottawa, where during the winter months you have to plug in your car into an electric heater when parked lest your motor block freeze. So I accepted that job for those transitional years, intending thereafter to go back to Germany or to the United States. To make a long story short: twenty-five years later, I became Professor Emeritus of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

In those times, when one received a job offer, one could still negotiate with the dean or whoever in charge what one would like to receive, besides one's salary—such things as a library budget or some research facility. As I immediately found a few interested medievalists, we asked for an interdisciplinary medieval studies curriculum (of course, just as a minor concentration), and got both permission and a limited budget for it. But the main experience of those, especially the first few, years was the interaction between teachers and students, very much different from what was usual (at any rate in those times) in Europe. Of course, those years, 1968 and after, were the ones of very active student movement, anti-war protest in the States, reverberations of Paris '68—even in far-away western Canada. For several years there was a cafeteria in the basement, in one of the old pseudo-Gothic buildings, I think, with mainly Chinese food. And we "lived" there, so to

speak, students and a few young faculty most of the day, and whoever had a class went away and came back there to continue political and other discussions.

It was from this kind of community whence I received the challenge to look at other aspects of medieval history beyond the traditional, mostly political, one. Students wanted to hear about such things as "history from below," and the history of outsiders. In response, I started studying and teaching peasant history and medieval heretics. Actually, that was the first time I heard about a young man in Budapest writing something on heresy. Éva Balázs sent me a copy of young Gábor Klaniczay's attempts at understanding something about weavers and heretics. While I did not pursue that line any further, I became interested in the history of the peasantry. As Gábor wrote in my Festschrift,[2] peasant studies were "in the air" in the seventies-eighties. During a sabbatical, I became acquainted with the peasant seminar in London, and then we held a good workshop on peasantries in Vancouver. I also collected material on the 1514 Hungarian peasant uprising, wrote a few short things about it, but then, thank God, I was lazy enough not to try to write it up, so I could pass it on to my friend, Paul Freedman, who could then publish it in the wider context of European peasant movements. But then came the 450th anniversary of the German peasant war, and good old Engels (whom I had recommended to Váczy) came back to haunt me. As editor of a volume on 1525, I had to write something on "125 years after Engels." Having re-read the book, it did not do much good for poor Engels: it was clear that his book was aimed at the politics of his time and the peasant war was merely a metaphor for him.

The association with the London seminar brought me in touch with such fine colleagues as the old lefties, Rodney Hilton, Eric Hobsbawm, and their pupils. These were very sophisticated seminars, with graduate students of high level, but they were very different from how German professors (but many Americans, too) looked down on doctoral candidates or other research students. The attention, the patience, the understanding of these great scholars for the fledgling attempts of the students was impressive. I remember several cases in that seminar (or others in London or Birmingham) where someone was presenting a rather poorly done paper, but at the end of the discussion, the professor, never impatient or bothered, but listening attentively, said that all this is very interesting, however, if you would, etc. etc.—and then in fifteen minutes gave an exposé of how to go about writing something acceptable. I believe that experience helped me be more tolerant of students at CEU as well—OK, within the limits of my personality.

[2] Gábor Klaniczay, "Images and Designations for Rebellious Peasants in Late Medieval Hungary," in *The Man of Many Devices*… 115–127, esp. 121–123.

From a quarter of a century in Vancouver, let me tell you about a few coincidences with "unintentional consequences" (as the Soros Festschrift[3] called such things). One of these was an invitation to Lynn White, Jr., the famous historian of technology, who wrote about the stirrup and feudalism, the heavy plow and peasant society, and had a paper titled "St. Francis and the dynamo." A pupil of his was a colleague at a near-by university in the States, and in 1971 we organized a few papers around his lecture and had the second day of the workshop on teaching: presenting, curricula, course outlines, and suchlike. Such discussions were not done in those times, CARA—which was to address teaching medieval studies with emphasis—was just about being founded, if at all. We enjoyed the meeting so much that I said: why do not we make another one in my field of studies and invite Ralph Giesey, the star pupil of E. H. Kantorowicz, to speak about monarchy and its symbols. The second was followed by a third and fourth, et cetera. To the one on the cult of relics we invited young Patrick Geary from Paris, who had just published *Furta sacra*. And so on and so forth, for twenty years annual medieval workshops were held every Fall, organized together with my friends, such as Hanna Kassis, DeLloyd Guth, and Dick Unger (to mention only those whom some of you may know). The guests included Gábor Klaniczay and Erik Fügedi from Hungary, Jacques Le Goff, Peter Brown, Jim Sweeney, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, Richard Hoffmann, and many others, some of whom later became guests of ours here in Budapest as well.

Our workshop was a bridge to Europe, not only to Eastern Europe, but also to Germany and France. It was still a very long bridge, a bridge between two different academic worlds. A good example of that was the case of our invitation of the then-*Assistentin*, not yet *habilitiert*, Heide Wunder from Hamburg. A non-*habilitiert Assistentin* in the German academic hierarchy was a little bit below the bottom of a frog (as we say in Hungarian). However, once Heide had been invited by a respectable university (even if to barbarian Canada), from the very day she landed back in Hamburg, she was addressed by her professor in an entirely different way. She is now one of the leading to that German historians of early modern social history, and we may have contributed—in a minor way—with our workshop.

Another such paradox was the foundation of my beloved scholarly association, called Maiestas, for the study of kingship and its symbology. One of my friends in Toronto died (a student of *ordines*, John Brückmann) and in his memory we wanted to hold a little conference on coronations and related

[3] *The Paradoxes of Unintentional Consequences,* ed. Lord Dahrendorf et al. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000).

issues. I invited several famous friends, such as Jinty Nelson and Jacques Le Goff, and, of course, Robert Benson (the other successor of Kantorowicz) from the University of California Los Angeles. Robert said that he would be glad to come, but UCLA pays travel grants only for attending meetings of learned associations. Oh, I said, nothing is easier! And the "international, interdisciplinary association for the study of kingship" was immediately founded by Robert Benson, János Bak, and a few others. Of course, UCLA paid up—and Maiestas flourished and was maybe useful for a couple of decades to students of the field, well into the twenty-first century. Its journal, with the same title, ceased publication only a few years ago, when communication between scholars changed from the occasional conference and printed organ to the faster electronic formats.

Finally, one more paradox with unforeseen consequences was the plan of a very strange publisher, Charles Schlacks, Jr. Charles is a graduate of the Jesuit gymnasium in Brno, formerly a pupil of Richard Pipes in Russian studies, who started publishing twelve or more journals on different aspects of East European (mainly Russian) subjects, something like thirty years ago and still keeps it up, together with several books, absolutely single-handed. Actually, he is probably the last publisher in the world who can spot Latin mistakes in a manuscript. He had the idea to bring out a series on the laws of Eastern Europe (with English translations and annotations), among them the laws of Hungary. He went to the proper authority and asked Professor György Bónis, at that time, I think, already retired, to translate and edit the first volume of Hungarian laws of the Árpádian period. Papa Bónis attempted to do that and sent a text but Charles Schlacks knows better Latin and certainly better English better than to print it and was looking around for someone who could correct it a bit. So he found my more or less former pupil, James Ross Sweeney and Sweeney found me, and we looked at the text and realised that it had to be done from scratch. That was the birth of the *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae,* more than twenty years ago, of which now already four of the planned five volumes are out, and which has kept me busy for a while and may keep me busy for a few more years.

In all those years on the Pacific Coast, what was also very important for me was the matter of translating. Translating in the immediate and in the general sense: bringing scholarship from the closed-off world of Eastern Europe to the international forum. While I was glad to assist my friends by this, I learned very much myself, above all from Erik Fügedi and Aaron Jakovlevich Gurevich, the books of whom I translated (the latter with the assistance of a Slavist). It also meant learning about the difference in linguistic terms and styles of discourse, which then became handy for me once I encountered live East Central European barbarians

here in Budapest… There was (and still is) what I call the "of course-effect." For a Hungarian author, it is self-evident to write, for example, that something was "after Mohács, of course unthinkable, or impossible, or whatever…" Of course—for everyone who went to the same school as the author, but in no way "self-evident" for anyone else. For learning about the "of course" and the stylistic possibilities of Hungarian (or German or Russian, for that matter) that would not work in English, I had a superb companion in the person of Fügedi, whose book on castles was one of my first projects. Sentences, which of course in Hungarian you can make, by Erik Fügedi, could run like this: "it is quite possible that in certain elements the two castles may have been to a certain extent next to each other, but it's not clear." To my question, "Were they or weren't they?" Erik usually replied: "Good question, I'll go back to the archives or my notes"—and a few days later he posted a letter (that was still in the snail-mail world!) that the castles were, based on such and such evidence, so and so far from each other, but in a given text they are regarded as neighbors, and so on. That you can write in English.

Let me add a few more interesting examples. At the aforementioned Toronto conference, Jacques Le Goff gave a talk about French coronations; a superb talk, in the usual French theatrical performance. He declaimed: for example: "Le roi arrive. [Theatrical pause] Ou arrive-t-il? [Theatrical pause] …À Rheims [same]… Que'est que c'est à Rheims? … La Sainte Ampoule…" and so on. He then gave his lecture to someone to translate, who nicely rendered it word for word. "The king arrives. Where does he arrive? At Rheims… etc." It looked just silly, as Anglo-American scholarly discourse cannot reflect the theatrical rhetoric of French. We had a good laugh with Jacques while he rewrote most of the paper in a more "down to earth" style that was then printed in the conference volume on coronations. A theoretically more intricate discussion emerged with Gurevich. In his book on popular religiosity he used the term *narod* extensively. Fine, so far, only we had to decide what he really meant by it: all the people, the common people, "folk" (a term laden with populist implications), or nation? The issue was clearly embedded in Russian intellectual discourse and though Aaron Jakovlevich was a clever man, it took us a while to explain to him what our problem was.

What else should I report to you? Maybe, a few words on a project that would have yielded an appropriate piece "to be put on the table" by someone devoted to teaching medieval studies. There is a very fine handbook for introductory courses it has been (proseminars), written by a Berlin professor, Heinz Quirin.[4] For

[4] Heinz Quirin, *Einführung in das Studium der mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 5th edition (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 1991).

decades the text for research methods at German universities. My friend, Denis L. T. Bethell of University College, Dublin, and I planned to translate and adapt it to Anglo-Saxon university teaching—and also update it, as it was written in the 1950s, is thus rather old-fashioned. We spent a couple of years on it, including a sabbatical winter of mine in the badly heated but very elegant premises of Denis on the Irish seashore in Monkstown. Quite a pile of manuscript chapters were lying on his side table when he fell ill and I had to return to Canada. He died of a rapidly developing disease, and the project died with him. A little bit of it survived, which you may have seen as an insert in our handbook on the study of manuscripts; and the chronological tables of narrative sources, which were published separately. It was the kind of teaching I have always loved to do, and I am sorry that we never got our handbook out. I also regretted the loss of my friend, who had been instrumental in designing a curriculum for interdisciplinary medieval studies in Dublin. I used much of his experience when we planned the program at CEU.

Thus went the twenty-five years in Vancouver, with workshops, with Decreta volumes, with teaching and translating, mostly trying to explore whatever innovative method came my way, until this millenarian project of Communism, planned for eternity, collapsed. While it was always hoped for by us émigrés, it was totally unforeseen by us—and almost everyone else. Logically, I wanted to come back to Hungary. Which I did, but once again "out of the Middle Ages." I was invited to assist in the re-founding, in Budapest, of the Imre Nagy Institute, an institution with which I had been associated in Brussels from 1958 till 1963.[5] That was a good occasion and good excuse to come back, and help build up what became the 1956 Institute, now flourishing as a public foundation. Little did I know at that point that a few years later Klaniczay would have the "stupid" idea that Medieval Studies should be taught at Central European University, which quite obviously had not planned to teach such esoteric subjects. I mean look at it seriously… Gábor had a few superb ideas of how to sell the project to Soros (he described how he did it in the Soros Festschrift[6]), and he was successful. And then he also thought that he had to pull me in into that project, which he may have been regretting ever since…

[5] See Péter Kende, "The Imre Nagy Institute in Brussels. A Letter of Sorts to János Bak," in *The Man of Many Devices…,* 18–24.

[6] Gábor Klaniczay, "Medieval Origins of Central Europe: An Invention or a Discovery?" in *The Paradoxes of Unintentional Consequences,* ed. Lord Dahrendorf et al. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000), 251–264.