

## MEDIEVAL PERSPECTIVES AFTER THE FALL

*Marianne Sághy*

Fifteen years, three-hundred ninety-three MAs one hundred fifty one PhD students, and more than fifty PhD dissertations. Statistically speaking, this is the Medieval Studies Department. Spiritually, however, much more happened in the past decade and a half in our department and in our world. How can we spell this out? When we asked sixteen alumni to tell us about the state of medieval research in their home countries and about the changes and continuities they see around them, we were interested in exploring the destinies of our craft after the fall of communism and in mapping up our alumni's integration in the new world that we are constructing. Their responses offer invigorating perspectives not only about the survival, but happily also about the revival, of medieval scholarship in Central and Eastern Europe.

As the Middle Ages are traditionally credited with ethnogenesis, state formation, the creation of national symbols and national monarchies, in the wake of the demolition of the Iron Curtain, when a series of new states emerged in search of legitimacy, the rise of a new interest in the medieval heritage was largely predictable. Redolent of past prestige, the medieval past has been used and abused in the present for purposes of ethnic self-definition and national consciousness. The recognition that the Middle Ages are yet to be “invented” in East Central Europe to serve as a future basis for an open society had contributed to the foundation of our department in 1993.

The “explosion” of Late Antiquity, the revision of ideas of decline and fall with respect to the Roman Empire conferred an added interest in the Middle Ages. An empire fell around us – how will this fact change scholarly paradigms? Will it affect our attitude toward the past? The “new” and ever “later” Late Antiquity dissolved traditional periodizations, expelled Eurocentrism, questioned the fall, replaced “crisis” with “democratization” and “decline” with “ambition,” minimalized the barbarian invasions by raising the Germans to the rank of peaceful migrants, and optimized the notion of cohabitation by painting the image of an age in which different cultures and religions coexisted in great and admirable tolerance. How a society construes at any given time the evident, and in itself neutral, continuity of its history and its discourse on the past depends on what self-definition that society needs to believe in. The re-evaluation of Late Antiquity and the Middle

Marianne Sághy

Ages reflected the realities and the desires, the political ideas and wishful thinking of intellectuals at the end of the twentieth century. Recently, however, this reading of the evidence has been questioned in its turn. Instead of continuity and survival, change and destruction are emphasized and crisis has made a spectacular comeback. We all know that historiography cannot be understood in isolation from the experience of contemporary history. It was time to ask: What kind of Middle Ages do post-Soviet societies cultivate? Did the disappearance of the mandatory Marxist mantra of class struggle, oppression, and exploitation entail the need to devise or adopt new interpretive frameworks and to write new narratives about Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages? Although we did not put the question in these terms to our authors, transition transpires from the following surveys of the state of medieval studies in the region.

The fall of communism is, without the slightest doubt, the foundational event of the new medieval histories of East Central Europe. The reestablishment of national sovereignty and independence in the past two decades and the process of European integration in the last five years has renewed curiosity in things medieval. The scholarly and the popular reinterpretation of the national past is in the making, often in creative chaos. “Parallel narratives” abound; old epistemologies cohabit with trendy research, dynamic theories with antiquated approaches, popular histories with academic positions, and different, if not radically oppositional, national narratives coexist in multiethnic states. “Braided histories,” however, are definitely at the door. The Middle Ages are ripe for reconceptualization East of the Elbe. Instead of defining our identity *against* the other, there is now a better chance to define ourselves *together with* the other. This is an endeavour that the Medieval Studies Department, with its international student body and faculty, has been committed to promoting from the start.

What is conspicuous in the alumni reports that we have collected for this volume is the lack of new “isms” and, as opposed to, the multiplication of new topics in East Central Europe. While official Marxism was not followed by a wholesale adoption of post-structuralism, deconstructionalism, or Foucauldism, new topics and new approaches did explode in our part of the world and in our discipline. If anything, these rapid surveys convey a sense of what it means to pluck suddenly from formerly forbidden trees. The end of communism definitely marks a watershed in the study of religion. Prohibited, denied, annihilated for many decades by communist dictatorships, Christianity, Islam and Judaism are now studied from a rich variety of aspects, involving theology, anthropology, sociology, literature, art

history, philosophy, and archaeology. The solid comeback of religion in the post-Soviet countries coincides with a worldwide renaissance of religious studies. As one of the doyens of medieval ecclesiastical history, Giles Constable notes in his recollection that while church history was strictly relegated to theological seminaries in the 1950s, now it is taught at every university. With the upsurge of religion, new scholarly communities also came to be established, such as patrological and hagiographical societies. Patrology and hagiography are among the areas in which our department has played an important role in encouraging and supporting new research regionwide.

The study of kingship, nobility, power structures and their symbolic representation are yet another set of old-new topics that have come increasingly to the fore as part of a global discourse on power as well as the chief ingredients of local, national narratives. The history of women and the history of the “other” – fundamentally “new” topics in a conservative discipline – acquired their *lettres de noblesse* in the past fifteen years and by now have become part and parcel even of “traditional” medieval research. The inclusion of Late Antiquity and Byzantium into the scope of medieval and renaissance scholarship, an important current development, keeps expanding the borders of the field and widening our scholarly perspective. “Understanding” increasingly replaces “explanation” as far as modern interpreters of the past go; scholars are more eager to evoke human experiences than to offer heavily ideological or theoretical explanations. Anthropology – be it cultural, historical, or religious – is everywhere. Well integrated into the “new” medieval studies, these novel areas and novel paradigms provoke epistemological and methodological changes in our trade, revealing a much richer medieval legacy from Asia to the Baltic, from North Africa to Scandinavia, from Spain to Syria. Looking back from where we stand, it is indeed startling to realize the headlong change between the “then” – only fifteen years ago! – and the “now.”

Language is a vehicle of culture in many and varied ways. Just as Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic preserve medieval spirituality and convey medieval concerns, Anglo-American scholarship has mediated not only modern methods and bright new ideas, but also a different way of thinking, replacing previous German, French, and Russian intellectual influences in East Central Europe. While the impact of the French *Annales* school is often recognized, little is said about English and American scholarship – despite the fact that this is the single most significant cultural influence the former socialist countries experienced in the past fifteen years. As opposed to the continental “schools,” knowledge diffused in

Marianne Sághy

English resists easy compartmentalization. Thus, for example, although students in the Medieval Studies Department have been heavily subjected to the reading of the works of Peter Brown, Giles Constable, Natalie Zemon Davis, Anthony Grafton and William Jordan, it would be difficult to label these scholars “the Princeton school.” Instead of school paradigms, the new generation of medievalists aims to grasp the texture of life behind the text. Medieval scholarship has proven to be a remarkably innovative intellectual art in the past fifty years. Now, with the massive influx of English learning, it may show how to be national and global at the same time, how to be part of a larger cultural *oikumene* and yet preserve its local identity. This is a task worthy of the Middle Ages, at once fiercely universalist and intensely local. To doff our identity in exchange for an “English as a second language”-type processing of the history of our country serves no purpose. To formulate our understanding of the national past for a global audience, however, is an exciting challenge.

The sixteen essays below help measure the extent of change and continuity in medieval studies in Central and Eastern Europe. Compasses in the thicket of academic and ideological changes in medieval learning in their respective countries, they offer useful information about the functioning of medieval centers from Estonia to Bulgaria, from Slovenia to Norway. Some articles present a more optimistic view, others are more level-headed about the state of the art of medieval studies. In some places, medieval studies strive and go from strength to strength; elsewhere, they are stuck in hundred-year old methods, questions, and often delusions. In certain countries, independence has brought the discovery and the recycling of the Middle Ages, in others, the loss of a nation’s past. Here, the transition from national to transnational is on the agenda, there a nation anchors its identity to the medieval centuries. It is instructive to see this landscape against an overview of German scholarship, since German learning has been traditionally influential in this part of the world. For the same reason, the absence of Russian *Mediävistik* is symptomatic in this collection. Panorama, not evaluation or critique being the purpose, these papers paint a rather irenic view of scholarship and scholarly institutions, avoiding mention of intellectual, political, or financial tensions that keep dividing the trade, such as the lack of structural and personal changes in the academia in past twenty years.

While the cultivation of national medieval history is a flourishing academic discipline in East Central Europe, this part of the world is seldom included in general dictionaries or narratives of the Middle Ages. Despite the undeniable progress of its methods and approaches, East European scholarship is still very

underrepresented in international collections. An important challenge is the integration of the new, “braided” histories of our region into the narratives and textbooks written about the medieval world to convince the readers that far from representing some peripheral eccentricity, Russians, Livonians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Georgians hand in hand all played a central role in the great adventure of medieval civilization.

CEU’s Medieval Studies Department has promoted the miracle of this adventure. Several articles mention the integration of our alumni into the academic structure of their home countries and their contribution to the renewal of medieval studies at home. These papers, however, were not supposed to focus on the achievement of MedStud alumni, the way they changed the world around them. We hope to ask this question fifteen years from now.



## BULGARIAN LANDSCAPES IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES

*Rossina Kostova*

It is not by chance that I chose “landscape” as a keyword for the present paper.<sup>1</sup> If one looks at the program of the 15-year anniversary reunion of the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University, one will see that “landscape” is the keyword that concentrates, consciously or not, everything we would like to see, to say, and to hear about our common and personal fifteen years in medieval studies in general. Have we changed something in the landscape of medieval studies worldwide? Are we visible in that landscape? And do medieval landscapes matter at all?

### Retrospective Landscapes

Perhaps the scope of the present paper does not require going in the history of medieval studies in Bulgaria as far as their beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, in order to understand the trends of later development, one needs to outline the main characteristics of the field that had been laid down by the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> From its inception to the 1940s the main theoretical approach was straightforward positivism; analytical works predominated, with very few attempts at synthesis (e. g., P. Mutafčiev).<sup>3</sup> In terms of method, throughout the twentieth century medieval studies in Bulgaria remained a strongly empirical and closed discipline. There was little interaction with other European schools, although the general quality of theory and the critical approach was on the level of the best contemporary school, German positivism. In terms of scope, medieval studies were exclusively Bulgarian-centered, with a few forays into

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<sup>1</sup> For their contributions I would like to thank: Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov (Class of 93-94), currently Research Fellow in East European Studies at the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, University of Manchester, UK, and Kiril Petkov (Class of 93-94), currently Associate Professor of Mediterranean History, University of Wisconsin-River Falls, USA.

<sup>2</sup> A critical review of the development of medieval studies in Bulgaria until the end of the 1980s can be found in Vasil Gjuzelev, *Apologija na Srednovekovieto* [Apology for the Middle Ages] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo “Klasika i Stil,” 2004) (hereafter: Gjuzelev, *Apologija*).

<sup>3</sup> The works meant here are Petăr Mutafčiev, *Istorija na bălgarskija narod* [History of the Bulgarian People], vol. 1-2 (Sofia, 1943-1944), and *Kniga za bălgarskija narod* [Book about the Bulgarian People] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1987).

Rossina Kostova

Byzantine history. In terms of subject matter, political history was overwhelmingly present,<sup>4</sup> along with local studies, and source editions.<sup>5</sup> In addition, one must also note the contributions of archaeology and art history to the study of a number of important medieval sites and monuments.<sup>6</sup>

The crucial political change that came with the establishment of a pro-Soviet communist regime in Bulgaria after the end of the Second World War inevitably made a deep and ambiguous mark on the humanities. By branding leading Bulgarian medievalists, such as B. Filov, V. Beševliev, Iv. Dujčev, and B. Primov, “chauvinists” and “fascists” and suspending them from the University of Sofia, medieval scholarship was decapitated. This led to a decay of medieval studies and their isolation from the current trends in European medieval and Byzantine studies.<sup>7</sup> Marxism became the only theory and its vulgar application in the 1950s and 1960s distorted historical analysis that concentrated on social history and class struggles. At the same time, the foundation of research centers at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS), their relatively good financial support by the state and the systematic manner of work brought the main achievement in the field during the second half of the twentieth century, the collection and critical edition of foreign and native sources.<sup>8</sup> Particular emphasis has also been put on the critical edition of works by medieval Bulgarian writers and on the preparation of catalogues of medieval Bulgarian manuscripts in national libraries and collections.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Vasil N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bälgarskata däržava prez serdnite vekove* [History of the Bulgarian State During the Middle Ages] (Sofia, 1918-1927-1934-1940; reprint, Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1971), vol. 1, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Veselin Beševliev, “Pärvobälgarski nadpisi” [Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions], *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet Istoriko-filosofski fakultet* 31 (1934), and the later edition *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963); Dimitar Detschew, *Responsa Nicolai I papae ad consulta Bulgarorum* (Serdicae, 1939).

<sup>6</sup> Krästju Mijatev, *Kräglata isärkva in Preslav* [The Round church in Preslav] (Sofia, 1932), and *Die Keramik von Preslav* (Sofia, 1936); Bogdan Filov, *Miniatjurite na Manasievata na Manasievata bronika väv Vatikanskata biblioteka* [The Miniatures of the Manasses Chronicle in the Vatican Library] (Sofia, 1927), and *Miniatjurite na Londonskoto evangelie na tsar Ivan Alexander* [The Miniatures in the London Gospel of Tsar Ivan Alexander] (Sofia, 1943); André Grabar, *Bojanskata isärkva* [The church of Bojana] (Sofia, 1938); Nikola Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklós* (Budapest, 1943).

<sup>7</sup> Gjuzelev, *Apologija*, 109-125. As the last prime-minister before the end of the Second World War, B. Filov was put on trial in front of the People’s Court in 1945 and sentenced to death: Maria Zlatkova, *Bogdan Filov. Život meždu naukata i politikata* [Bogdan Filov. Life between Scholarship and Politics] (Sofia: Alteja, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> All together, 16 volumes have been published in the series *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* under the supervision of the Department of Medieval History at the Institute of History (BAS): *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 1-9 (Sofia, 1954-1994) and *Fontes Latini Historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 1-4 (Sofia, 1958-2001).

<sup>9</sup> For the particular editions of medieval Bulgarian writers as well as for catalogues of manuscripts, see *Starobälgarska literatura. Entsiklopedičeski rečnik* [Old Bulgarian Literature. Encyclopedic Dictionary], ed.

Furthermore, the *instrumenta studiorum* of the Bulgarian Middle Ages have been remarkably enriched by the results of the large-scale and long-going excavations of various medieval sites all over the country, but predominantly in the medieval state centers of Pliska, Preslav, and Veliko Turnovo.<sup>10</sup>

A major factor of intensification of research activities in medieval studies after the 1970s was the preparation for the celebration of the 1300-year anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state in the Balkans in 1981. By that time Marxism had been replaced to a great extent by moderate nationalism, politically supported by certain powerful figures and groups in the ruling Communist Party.<sup>11</sup> The red line in the new ideological approach was an emphasis on Bulgarian national identity in all aspects and all periods of the historical past, in contradiction to the common Slavic identification of the Bulgarians which had prevailed in the humanities in the 1950s and 1960s under strong Soviet influence. In the field of history, particular attention was paid to the structure of the medieval Bulgarian state with respect to its administrative and military institutions.<sup>12</sup> One of the favored topics was the emergence of a medieval Bulgarian ethnicity,<sup>13</sup> yet studies on political history still predominated.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, one may note the novel fields that emerged in the 1980s, such as prosopography<sup>15</sup> and history of everyday

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Donka Petrkanova (Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Two branches of the Institute of Archaeology (BAS) were founded at the beginning of the 1970s in Veliko Turnovo and Šumen to supervise the excavations in Pliska, Preslav, and Veliko Turnovo. The results of the campaigns are mostly published in articles and studies in the BAS series *Tsarevgrad-Turnov* (1973-1992, 5 volumes) and *Pliska-Preslav* (1979-2004, 10 volumes).

<sup>11</sup> Gjuzelev, *Apologia*, 125-132.

<sup>12</sup> V. Gjuzelev, *Kavhanite i ičirgu-boilite na bālgarskoto hanstvo-tsarstvo* [The Kavkhans and İçirgou-boilas of the Bulgarian Khaganate-Tsardom] (Plovdiv: Fondatsija "Bālgarsko istoričesko nasledstvo, 2007); in fact, this is the publication of the doctoral dissertation the author defended in 1971. See also, Ivan Venedikov, *Voennoto i administrativno ustrojstvo na Bālgarija prez IX i X vek* [The Military and Administrative Government of Bulgaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries] (Sofia: Voenna izdatelstvo, 1978); Georgi Bakalov, *Srednovekovnijat bālgarski vladetel (Titulatura i insignia)* [Medieval Bulgarian Ruler (Title and insignia)] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> Dimitār Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bālgarskata narodnost* [The Formation of Bulgarian Ethnicity] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1971).

<sup>14</sup> V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I. Bālgarija prez vtorata polovina na IX vek* [Prince Boris I. Bulgaria in the Second Half of the Ninth Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1969); Ivan Božilov, *Tsar Simeon Veliki (893-927): Zlatnijat vek na srednovekovna Bālgarija* [Tsar Simeon the Great (893-927): The Golden Age of Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Otečestven front, 1983); Christo Matanov, *Jugozapadnite bālgarski zemi prez XIV vek* [Southwestern Bulgarian Lands in the Fourteenth Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1986).

<sup>15</sup> Iv. Božilov, *Familijata Asenevsi. Genealogija i prosopografija* [The Family of the Assenides. Genealogy and Prosopography] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985).

life.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps one of the few positive results of the emphasis put on the social and religious movements in the Middle Ages in the context of the “class struggle” was the opening of a specific field in Bulgarian medieval studies, namely, the study of Bogomilism and its spread in medieval Europe.<sup>17</sup> The fields of economic history and urban studies, however, where one can point out a very few reliable works, remain rather underdeveloped.<sup>18</sup>

Distinct trends in the field of archaeology are the systematization of various types of archaeological data (e.g., fortifications, settlements, cemeteries, ceramics, etc.),<sup>19</sup> the stress on the material culture of the proto-Bulgarians,<sup>20</sup> and attempts at synthesis featuring the material culture of medieval Bulgaria.<sup>21</sup> Similar developments can also be noted in the field of the history of medieval art, where publications of particular monuments and pieces of art<sup>22</sup> and general works on the history of medieval Bulgarian art<sup>23</sup> accompany interdisciplinary studies on the relations between society and art.<sup>24</sup> As for medieval Slavic literature, the dominance of studies on single authors or single works can be considered the main fault in the

<sup>16</sup> V. Beševliev, *Pärvobälgarite. Bit i kultura* [The Proto-Bulgarians. Style of Living and Culture] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1981).

<sup>17</sup> D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bälgarija* [Bogomilism in Bulgaria] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1969); Borislav Primov, *Bugrite. Kniga za pop Bogomil i negovite posledovateli* [The Bugri. A Book about the Priest Bogomil and his Followers] (Sofia: Otečestven front, 1970), and the French version *Les Bougres - Histoire du pope Bogomile et de ses adeptes* (Paris: Payot, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> Strašimir Lišev, *Bälgarskijat srednovekoven grad* [A Bulgarian Medieval Town] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1980); *Bälgarskite srednovekovni gradove i kreposti. I. Gradove i kreposti po Dunav i Černo more* [Bulgarian Medieval Towns and Fortresses. I Towns and Fortresses along the Danube and the Black Sea], ed. V. Gjuzelov and Aleksandär Kuzev (Varna: “Georgi Bakalov”, 1981).

<sup>19</sup> Živka Vážarova, *Slavjani i prabälgari po danni ot nekropolite ot VI-XI v. na teritorijata na Bälgarija* [Slavs and Proto-Bulgarians in Light of Data from Cemeteries of the Sixth to the Eleventh Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1976); Ludmila Dončeva-Petkova, *Bälgarskata bitova keramika prez rannoto srednovekovie* [Bulgarian Pottery in the Early Middle Ages] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1979); Rašo Rašev, *Starobälgarskite ukreplenija na Dolni Dunav VII-XI v.* [Old Bulgarian Fortifications on the Lower Danube from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century] (Varna: “Georgi Bakalov”, 1982).

<sup>20</sup> *Problemi na prabälgarskata istorija i kultura* [Problems of Proto-Bulgarian History and Culture] I (Sofia: BAN, 1989); II (Sofia: Arges, 1991); III (Šumen: Slavčo Nikolov, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> Stančo Vaklinov, *Formirane na starobälgarskata kultura VI-XI v.* [The formation of Old Bulgarian culture from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1977).

<sup>22</sup> Milko Bičev, *Stenopisite v Ivanovo* [The Wall Paintings in Ivanovo] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1965); Elka Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnisa* [The Bačkovo Ossuary] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1977); Liliana Mavrodinova, *Zemenskata tsärkva* [The Church of Zemen] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1980).

<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, Dora Panayotova-Piguet, *Recherches sur la peinture en Bulgarie du bas Moyen Äge* (Paris: De Boccard, 1987).

<sup>24</sup> E. Bakalova, “Society and Art in Bulgaria in the Fourteenth,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 8 (1986): 17-22.

field.<sup>25</sup> Indications of change might be seen in works trying to make a structural analysis of the medieval literary heritage by addressing problems of the variety of genres, poetics, institutions (e.g., education, *scriptoria*, and libraries), patronage, transmission of knowledge, etc.<sup>26</sup>

Summing up the development of medieval studies in Bulgaria in the second half of the twentieth century, the first thing to be noted is the contradictions between relatively dynamic ideology and a conservatism in approach. Thus, while Marxism was gradually softened and replaced by moderate nationalism under the control of the communist intellectual elite after the 1970s, positivism and empiricism continued to dominate the historical approach. The only difference is that the traditional methodological setting has been altered to some extent by the structuralism and semiotics applied in some anthropological studies under the influence of the School of Tartu.<sup>27</sup> There is almost a complete absence of interdisciplinary studies and comparative history and historical anthropology are completely absent. While the interest of foreign scholars in medieval Bulgarian history and culture has internationalized Bulgarian medieval studies to some extent, medieval studies in Bulgaria remain closed in on themselves. The overwhelming creative effort is focused on national history. Works on foreign history, almost exclusively Byzantine, with a few Western European studies, are of textbook style and quality, although there are some exceptions.<sup>28</sup>

## Landscapes of Memory: Reloading Medieval Studies in Bulgaria

One might not expect such a conservative and introverted field as medieval studies in Bulgaria appears to have been to react quickly to the radical political, economic, and social changes that started in 1989. In fact, the gradual change in scope and

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<sup>25</sup> Gjuzeev, *Apologia*, 132, 135.

<sup>26</sup> Krasimir Stančev, *Poetika na starobălgarskata literatura* [Poetics of Old Bulgarian Literature] (Sofia, 1982); V. Gjuzeev, *Učilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanija v Bălgarija XIII-XIV vek* [Schools, Scriptoria, Libraries and Knowledge in Bulgaria 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> c.] (Sofia, 1985).

<sup>27</sup> Anani Stoinev, *Svetogledăt na prabălgarite* [A View of Life of the Proto-Bulgarians] (Sofia: BAN, 1985).

<sup>28</sup> Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Dolni Dunav-granična zona na vizantijskija Zapad* [The Lower Danube—A Frontier Zone of the Byzantine West] (Sofia: BAN, 1976); Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, *Bălgarija i Latinskata imperija (1204-1261)* (Sofia, 1985); Christo Matanov, Rumjana Mihneva, *Ot Galipoli do Lepanto. Evropa, Bălgarite i osmanskoto našestvie (1354-1571 g.)* [From Gallipoli to Lepanto. Europe, the Balkans and the Ottoman Conquest 1354-1571] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1988).

Rossina Kostova

approaches in medieval studies in Bulgaria started as a rediscovery of theory and methods of historical research through translations of selections or complete works of sociologists and historians from the first half of the twentieth century, such as Max Weber, Arnold Toynbee, and Marc Bloch. Since 1993, the most essential contribution to reloading the international heritage in medieval studies in Bulgaria has been achieved through the program of the Central European University to translate and publish works in the field of the human and social sciences with the financial support of the Centre for Publishing Development at the Open Society Institute in Budapest and the Soros Center for the Arts in Sofia. Thus, since the mid-1990s both a specialized and wider audience have become acquainted with major works by Jacques Le Goff,<sup>29</sup> Fernand Braudel,<sup>30</sup> Peter Brown,<sup>31</sup> Georges Duby,<sup>32</sup> A. Gurevich,<sup>33</sup> E. Kantorowicz,<sup>34</sup> and others.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *L'Imaginaire médiévale* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1985). Bulgarian translation: *Väobražаемият свјат на Srednovekovieto*, tr. Elka Ruseva, ed. E. Bakalova (Sofia: Agato, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II. Livre 1* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966 et 1990); Bulgarian translation: *Sredizemno more i sredizemnomorskiјat svјat po vremeto na Filip II. Kniga Pärva*, tr. Veselina Ilieva (Sofia: Abager, 1998).

<sup>31</sup> Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150-750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; reprinted 1997). Bulgarian translation: *Svetät na käsnata antičnost*, tr. Stojan Gjaurov (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1999); idem, *Authority and Sacred. Aspects of Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), Bulgarian translation: *Avtoritetät i sveštenoto. Aspekti na hristijanizatsijata na hristijanskiјa svјat*, tr. Mila Mineva (Sofia: Lik, 2000); idem, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1988), Bulgarian translation: *Tjaloto i obštestvoto. Mäžete, ženite i seksualnoto samootričane prez rannoto hristijanstvo*, tr. Oksana Minaeva, ed. E. Bakalova (Sofia: Agato, 2003); idem, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992). Bulgarian translation: *Vlast i ubežedenie v käsnata antičnost (Käm hristijanska imperija)*, tr. Dimitär Iliev (Sofia: Lik, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> Georges Duby, *Le Temps des cathédrales. L'art et la société* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), Bulgarian translation: *Vremeto na katedralite: izkustvo i obštestvo 980-1204*, tr. Nedka Bäčvarova, Georgi Gergov, ed. Georgi Gergov (Sofia: Agato, 2004).

<sup>33</sup> Aron Gurevich, *Srednovekovij svet: kul'tura bezmolstvjujuštegо bol'šinstva* (Moscow: Isskustvo, 1990), Bulgarian translation: *Srednovekovijat svјat: Kul'turata na mälačšoto mnozinstvo*, tr. Evgenija Trendafilova (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski," 2005). It must be noted, however, that Gurevich's works were well known to Bulgarian medievalists in their original editions prior to the changes in 1989.

<sup>34</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), Bulgarian translation: *Dvete tela na kralja. Izsledvane na srednovekovnoto poliitičesko bogoslovie*, tr. Slava Janakieva, ed. Kalin Janakiev (Sofia: Lik, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Kazhdan, Ann Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), Bulgarian translation: *Vizantijskata kul'tura XI-XII vek: promeni i tendentsii*, trans. Dimitär Dimitrov [Class of 95-96] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2001); Gábor Klaniczay, *Heilige, Hexen, Vampire. Von Nutzen des Übernatürlichen* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1991), Bulgarian translation:

## Changing Research Landscapes

While translation of masterpieces of medieval studies might be seen as a necessary attempt at compensating for lost time in the native development of the field, the introduction of the current trends in medieval studies has been accomplished mostly by the generation born in the 1960s and later and, above all, by those who took the chance and faced the challenge of upgrading their background in academic and research institutions abroad. The alumni of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU constitute not only the most compact and numerous group (34 MA students since 1993)<sup>36</sup> in the “new wave” of medievalists, but also most of its members are among the most active and, I would say, influential medievalists in Bulgaria at present. Thus, five of them hold academic positions (four of them are associate professors) at the largest Bulgarian universities, and five alumni are research fellows at institutes at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.<sup>37</sup> In addition to the Anglo-American tradition and the Central-European flavor added to Bulgarian medieval studies by the CEU alumni, the German and French schools have also contributed to refreshing the field. For instance, the appearance of such a significant new branch of medieval studies as medieval philosophy in 1992 might be seen as a result of the efforts chiefly of two scholars, Prof. Tsočo Bojadžiev and Prof. Georgi Kapriev, shaped in the German school of medieval philosophy at the Universities of Cologne and Tübingen.<sup>38</sup> In addition, the Byzantium Working Group, which appeared in 2002, gives anthropological insights into the Byzantine heritage thanks to the training of its founders and most of its members in the spirit of the French school in medieval studies.<sup>39</sup> Many other Bulgarian medievalists have also brought home their own experiences from various schools and institutions in Europe, Russia, and the USA.

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*Svetci, veštitsi, vampiri: Za polzata ot svrubestestvenoto*, tr. Georgi Kajtazov (Sofia: Lik, 1996).

<sup>36</sup> I thank Annabella Pál, MA program coordinator at the CEU Department of Medieval Studies, for kindly providing me detailed data on the alumni of the department.

<sup>37</sup> Names, affiliations, and contact e-mails are provided at the end of this paper.

<sup>38</sup> Both are fellows of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. More details are on the web-site of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sofia: <http://forum.uni-sofia.bg/filo>.

<sup>39</sup> The Byzantium WG is supported by the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris (Mellon Program): [www.GTByzance.com](http://www.GTByzance.com).

## Did new people really give birth to new ideas?

History writing was perhaps the area charged with the greatest expectations for change. The abandonment of Marxism as the dominant theory was not followed by the appearance of an epistemological substitute. Instead, a number of monographs featured a variety of topics and approaches that demonstrated personal professional developments rather than outlining trends in research. Nevertheless, one must note the continuity not only in traditional positivist studies, but also the advance of fruitful topics which had already appeared in the previous period, such as the structure of power and institutions in the medieval Bulgarian state.<sup>40</sup> A significant and new step further has been made towards the history of ideas by approaching problems of medieval political ideology and thought.<sup>41</sup> “Proto-Bulgarian” studies have been put on a totally new track through stimulating anthropological analysis of the “otherness” of the nomads and the “others” (e.g., blacksmiths, shamans, and women) among them.<sup>42</sup> In general, the problem of the “Other” became a key aspect of reassessing the image of medieval Bulgarians, their perception and self-perception.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, this particular aspect of medieval history writing might be seen as a bridge between national history on one side and European and Byzantine history on the other. In

<sup>40</sup> Ivan Biljarski, *Institutsiite na srednovekovna Bălgarija* [Institutions of Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski,” 1998); Georgi Nikolov, *Tsentralizăam i regionalizăam v rannosrednovekovna Bălgarija* [Centralism and Regionalism in Early Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Akademično izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 2005); Tsvetelin Stepanov, *Vlast i avtoritet v rannosrednovekovna Bălgarija (VII-srednata na IX vek)* [Power and Prestige in Early Medieval Bulgaria, Mid-seventh to Ninth Century] (Sofia: Agato, 1999); *Mediaevalia Christiana. 1. Vlast-Obraz-Văobrazjavane* [Mediaevalia Christiana. 1. Power-Image-Fancy], ed. Tsvetelin Stepanov and Georgi Kazakov (Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2005).

<sup>41</sup> Ivan Lazarov, *Političeska ideologija na Vtoroto bălgarsko tsarstvo XII-XIII v. (Genesis)* [Political Ideology of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century (Genesis)]; Angel Nikolov, *Političeska misăl v rannosrednovekovna Bălgarija (srednata na IX-kraja na X vek)* [Political Thought in Early Medieval Bulgaria (the Mid-ninth to the End of the Tenth Century)] (Sofia: Paradigma, 2006).

<sup>42</sup> Tsv. Stepanov, *Bălgarite i stepnata imperija prez rannoto srednovekovie* [The Bulgarians and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages] (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2005).

<sup>43</sup> Iv. Božilov, *Bălgarite văv Vizantijskata imperija* [The Bulgarians in the Byzantine Empire] (Sofia: Akademično izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 1995); Petăr Angelov, *Bălgarija i bălgarite v predstavite na vizantijsite* [Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in the Notions of the Byzantines] (Sofia: Lik, 1999); Plamen Pavlov, *Buntari i avantjuristi v srednovekovna Bălgarija* [Rebels and Adventurers in Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Sveti Evtimij Patriarh Tărnovski, 2000); Vladimir Angelov, *Bălgarite i tehnite săsedi văv vizantijskata istoriopis prez XV vek* [Bulgarians and Their Neighbors in Byzantine History Writing in the fifteenth] (Sofia: TangraTanNakra, 2007); Tsv. Stepanov, *Istorijska vs Psevdonauka. Drevnobălgarski Etjudi* [History vs Pseudo-Scholarship. Ancient Bulgarian Études] (Sofia: Ciela, 2008).

this respect the erudite studies of two CEU alumni on the dynamics of the image of Oriental people in the stereotypes of Western European society during the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period deserve special merit.<sup>44</sup> Along with “textbook style studies,”<sup>45</sup> new works, some of them written by CEU alumni, have made a remarkable contribution to various aspects of the economic and cultural history of Western Europe, Byzantium, and the medieval Balkans.<sup>46</sup> Though a relatively young field which appeared only in the late 1960s, Ottoman studies have been among the richest from the point of view of topics (e.g., economy, demography, administrative division, the Ottoman elite, confessional relations between Christians and Muslims) for the period of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century. What deserves to be mentioned is the gradual shift from sources (e.g., fiscal registers) related mostly to demographic and social-economic studies to sources (e.g., judiciary registers from the seventeenth century onwards) that allow the application of approaches other than positivism (e.g., social anthropology) and thus provide a look at everyday life, women, books and reading, art, and urban life.<sup>47</sup> The long-neglected material culture

<sup>44</sup> Kiril Petkov, *Infidels, Turks, and Women: The South Slavs in the German Mind, ca. 1400 to 1600* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997); Alexander Nikolov, “Vjarvaj ili shte te ubija!” “Orientalsite” v krástonosnata propaganda 1270-1370 [“Believe or I Will Kill You!” “Orientals” in Crusaders’ Propaganda 1270-1370] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski”, 2006).

<sup>45</sup> Chr. Matanov, *Srednovkovnite Balkani. Istoričeski očerti* [Medieval Balkans. Historical Sketches] (Sofia: Paradigma, 2002); Krasimira Gagova, *Kratka istorija na krástonite pohodi* [A Short History of the Crusades] (Sofia: Polis, 2008); Ivan Bozhilov, *Vizantijskijat svjat* [The Byzantine World] (Sofia: Anubis, 2008).

<sup>46</sup> Tsočo Bojadžiev, *Nošta prez Srednovkovnieto* [Night in the Middle Ages] (Sofia: Sofi-R, 2000); idem, *Loca remotissima* (Sofia: Sofi-R, 2007); Elena Kojcheva, *Párvite krástonosni pohodi i Balkanite* [The First Crusades and the Balkans] (Sofia: Vekove, 2004); Cyril Pavlikyanov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos* (Sofia: University Press, 2001); Ivajla Popova, *Vizantija-Italija. Aspekti na kulturnite vzaimodejstvija prez XIV-XV vek* [Byzantium-Italy. Some Aspects of the Cultural Interaction (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century)] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2004); Veselina Vačkova, *Traditsii na sveštenata vojna v ranna Vizantija* (Traditions of the Holy War in Early Byzantium) (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2004); Liliana Simeonova, *Pátuvane kám Konstantinopol. Tárgovija i komunikatsii v Sredizemnomosrka svjat (kraja na IX-70-te godini na XI vek)* [En Route to Constantinople. Trade and Communications in the Mediterranean World, the late 800s and the 1070s] (Sofia: Paradigma, 2006); K. Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003); Dimităr Dimitrov [Class ‘95-‘96], *Ezičnitsi i hristijani prez IV vek: modeli na povedenie* [Pagans and Christians in the Fourth Century: Models of Behavior] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2000); idem, *Filosofija, kultura i politika v Kásnata antičnost: slučajat Sinezii ot Kirena* [Philosophy, Culture and Policy: The Case of Synesius of Cyrene] (V. Turnovo: Faber, 2005); idem, *Támnite vekove na Vizantija* [The Dark Ages of Byzantium] (Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> Tsvetana Georgieva, *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na búlgarite (XV-XVII vek)* [Space and Spaces of the Bulgarians (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century)] (Sofia: Lik, 1999); Jordan Velčev, *Gradát ili meždu Iztoka i Zapada* [The City or Between the East and the West] (Sofia: Žanet 45, 2005). I would like to thank Dr. Gergana Georgieva [Class of ‘97-‘98] for providing me with thorough information and critical comments on

of the Ottoman period has also been paid some still-insufficient attention.<sup>48</sup>

In contrast to the previous period, since the 1990s the improvement of the *instrumenta studiorum* is related not only to the translation of foreign sources for Bulgarian medieval history,<sup>49</sup> but also to the translation of sources for the European Middle Ages into Bulgarian.<sup>50</sup> Of particular value and importance is the representative collection rendering the original Bulgarian records from the seventh to the fifteenth century in modern English done meticulously by CEU alumnus K. Petkov.<sup>51</sup>

If one stays with that latter collection of records, one will be impressed by the enormous amount of data produced by medieval archaeology have for medieval history and material culture of Bulgaria. Yet just as those data appeared in the chapters of K. Petkov's book as assemblages of precious fragments, such as stone annals, graffiti,<sup>52</sup> seals,<sup>53</sup> and rings, the studies in medieval archaeology remained fragmentary. A few works of synthesis have appeared, most them related to proto-Bulgarian culture and various aspects of the culture of the First Bulgarian Empire,<sup>54</sup> while, for instance, attempts at comprehensive studies on the medieval

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the developments in this field. She is currently Research Fellow at the Institute of Balkan Studies (BAS).

<sup>48</sup> Valentin Pletnyov, *Bitovata keramika vǎv Varna XV-XVIII vek* [Pottery in Varna, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century] (Varna: Slavena, 2004).

<sup>49</sup> Raya Zaimova, *Arabski izvori za bǎlgarite* [Arabian Sources on the Bulgarians] (Sofia: TangraTanNakra, 2000). For the edited and translated narrative Hungarian sources in Latin related to the medieval history of Bulgaria, see *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* 31, *Fontes Latini Historiae Bulgaricae* 5, ed. Ilija Iliev, Krasimira Gagova, and Hristo Dimitrov (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 2001).

<sup>50</sup> Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople 1204*, tr. and ed. Jean Dufournet, Champion Classiques: Moyen Age 14 (Paris: Champion, 2004), Bulgarian translation: Nikolaj Markov, *Zavojuvaneto na Konstantinopol 1204 godina* (Sofia: Biblioteka Buditel, 2007); Jean Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. and tr. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Dunod, 1995), Bulgarian translation: Krasimira Gagova, *Životiāt na Sveti Lui* (Sofia: Polis, 2008).

<sup>51</sup> K. Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> Kazimir Popkonstantinov and Otto Krosteyner, *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 1 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*, 36) (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik, 1994); idem, *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 2 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*, 52) (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik, 1997).

<sup>53</sup> Ivan Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, Vol. 1. *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names* (Sofia: Agato, 2003); idem, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, Vol. 2. *Byzantine Seals with Family Names* (Sofia: BAN, 2006).

<sup>54</sup> R. Rašev, *Bǎlgarskata ezicheska kultura VII-IX vek* [Bulgarian Pagan Culture, Seventh to Ninth Century] (Sofia: Brifon, 2008); Stanislav Stanilov, *Die Metallkunst des Bulgarenkhaganats der Donau 7.-9. Jh. Versuch einer empirischen Untersuchung* (Sofia Klasika i Stil, 2006); Georgi Atanasov, *Insigniite na srednovekovnite bǎlgarski valadeteli* [Insignia of Medieval Bulgarian Rulers] (Pleven: Izdatelski kompleks "Ea," 1999); Valeri Yotov, *Vǎorāženieto i snarāženieto ot bǎlgarskoto srednovekovie VII-XI vek* [Armament and Gear from the Bulgarian Middle Ages, Seventh to Eleventh Century] (Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2004)

state centers, medieval urbanism, and everyday life are promising yet modest in scale.<sup>55</sup> New excavations of medieval monasteries, critical reassessments of previously excavated sites, and comprehensive analyses of monastic geography, architecture, patronage and social function have shown monastic archaeology to be a distinctive and perhaps the most dynamic field in Bulgarian medieval archaeology.<sup>56</sup> The empirical and descriptive level of archaeological research, however, has not been surpassed, mostly due to the lack of interdisciplinaryity in field surveys and excavations.<sup>57</sup> An exception that sadly confirms the rule is the German-Bulgarian archaeological research campaigns in the Aboba fortification and the Pliska plain (1997-2003), in the course of which geophysics, systematic analysis of aerial photos, and GIS applications have been employed.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, based mostly on extensive field walking and excavations of selected sites, important issues such as medieval settlement categories and settlement models have been approached.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Rositsa Panova, *Stoličnijat grad v kulturata na srednovekovna Bălgarija* [The Capital City in the Culture of Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Publishing House, 1995); idem, *Srednovekovnijat bălgarski grad. Văzmožnijat analiz i nevăzmožijat sintez* [The Medieval Bulgarian Town. A Possible Analysis and an Impossible Synthesis] (Sofia: Izdatelski kompleks "Svjat. Nauka," 2001).

<sup>56</sup> R. Kostova [Class '94-'95], "Bulgarian Monasteries Ninth to Tenth Centuries: Interpreting the Archaeological Evidence," in *Pliska-Preslav 8*, gen. ed. R. Rašev (Šumen: Antos), 190-202; idem, "Monasteries in the Centers, Monasteries on the Periphery: Featuring Monastic Sovereignty in Early Medieval Bulgaria," in *Medieval Europe Basel 2002. Center, Region, Periphery. 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference of Medieval and Later Archaeology*, Vol.1. (Hertingen: Verlag Dr. G. C. Wesselkamp, 2002), 504-510.

<sup>57</sup> Margarita Vaklinova, "Srednovekovna arheologija" [Medieval Archaeology], *Arheologija* 3-4 (2001): 111-116, Ludmil Vagalinski, Ivo Cholakov, Krastyu Chukalev, "Archaeological Field Activities in Bulgaria: Seasons 2006-2007," *Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society* 24 (2008): 175-188.

<sup>58</sup> Irene Marzolf and Joachim Henning, "A Virtual View of Pliska: Integrating Remote Sensing, Geophysical and Archaeological Survey Data into a Geographical Information System," in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 2 *Byzantium, Pliska and the Balkans*, ed. Joachim Henning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 417-425.

<sup>59</sup> Ventsislav Dinčev, Rašo Rašev, and Boris Borisov, "Le village byzantin sur le territoire de la Bulgarie contemporaine," in *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IVe-XVe siècle)*, ed. Jacques Lefort, Cécile Morrison, and Jean-Pierre Sodini. *Réalités Byzantines* 11 (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 351-362; Albena Milanova, "Le renouveau urbain en Bulgarie sous la domination byzantine (fin du X<sup>e</sup>-fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle): le cas des villes antiques," in *Studia Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 8, *EIKONA KAI AIOFOC. L'Image et la Parole. Recueil à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire du Prof. Axinia Dzhurova*, ed. Vasja Velinova, Rumen Bojadžiev, and Albena Milanova (Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Publishing House, 2004), 189-213; R. Kostova, "Changing Settlement Patterns on the Byzantino-Bulgarian Periphery: The North Part of the West Black Sea Coast, Eighth to Twelfth Century," *Temporis Signa. Arheologia della tarda antichità e del medioevo* 3 (2008): 15-37.

Rossina Kostova

Similarly to archaeology, the interdisciplinary approach and, precisely, the analysis of “text-image” correlations appear to have been distinctive for only some works in history of medieval art in Bulgaria.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, one of the most serious achievements in the field has been made thanks to the painstaking collection and decoding of autographs on frescos and icons. As a result, the widely accepted image of the “anonymous medieval artist” has been seriously challenged and instead the personality and social profile of medieval artists in Bulgaria has emerged from behind the painted draperies on church walls and wooden panels.<sup>61</sup>

At first glance, the field of medieval Slavic literature and the Orthodox Slavic written heritage seems to have been a rather conservative area. In the last 15 years this field has been dominated by text-historical studies, critical editing and textological research. There is an apparent revival of Biblical studies, marked by editions of many of the Slavic versions of biblical books.<sup>62</sup> Although Bulgaria has traditionally had a strong school of literary theory, the lack of any interest in applying modern critical techniques to the analysis of medieval texts (with very few exceptions),<sup>63</sup> and in contrast to the 1980s, is due perhaps to the mistrust of and disillusionment with grand schemes and ideological constructs. At the same time, a new area which appeared in the 1990s with promising results was computer applications to the study of medieval texts.<sup>64</sup> It is not by chance, but rather a result

<sup>60</sup> E. Bakalova, “Ivanovskite stenopisni nadpisi-tekst i funkcija” [Fresco Inscriptions in Ivanovo – Text and Function], *Palaeobulgarica* 1 (1995): 22-65; Elisaveta Musakova, “Graficheska segmentatsija na teksta v Asemanievoto evangeliie” [The Graphic Segmentation of the Text in the Codex Assemanianus], *Slovo* 56-57 (2006-2007): 391-404.

<sup>61</sup> Zarko Ždrakov, *Vavedenie v istorijata na avtografiraneto* [Introduction to the History of Autograph Making] (Sofia: Planeta, 2004).

<sup>62</sup> I. Hristova-Šomova, *Služebnijat Apostol v slavjanskata rākopisna traditsija* [The Aprakos (Service) Book of Acts in the Slavic Written Tradition] (Sofia: “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Publishing House, 2004).

<sup>63</sup> A. Angusheva-Tihanov, *Gadatelnite knigi v starobālgarskata literatura* [Books of Prognostication in the Old Bulgarian Literature] (Sofia: Vreme, 1996); idem, “Divination, Demons and Magic: A Hellenistic Theme from a Byzantine and Medieval Slavic Perspective,” in *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Charles Burnett and W. F. Ryan (London-Turin: The Warburg Institute Publications, Nono Aragno Editore, 2006), 59-68; Ivan Dobrev, *Sveti Ivan Rilski* (St. John of Rila), *Altbulgarische Studien* 5 (Linz: Slavia Verlag, 2007); Anisava Miltenova and Vasilka Tāpkova-Zaimova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata literature vāv Vizantiija i srednovekovna Bālgariija* [Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Publishing House, 1996); Desislava Atanasova [Class of ‘95-‘96], “The Slavonic translation of the Latin vita of St. Anastasia the Widow and her Companion, St. Chrysogonus,” *Scripta & e-Scripta* 5 (2008): 117-129.

<sup>64</sup> Anisava Miltenova, Andrej Boyadžiev, and Stojan Velez, “Repertorium of Medieval Slavic Literature: Computer and Philological Standards,” *Palaeobulgarica* 2 (1998): 50-69.

of expertise and training achieved at the Medieval Studies Department and other specialized centers, that the CEU alumni are in the vanguard of medieval literary studies in Bulgaria. A remarkable manifestation of the major role they play in the field is their contribution to the new History of Bulgarian Medieval Literature.<sup>65</sup>

Medieval philosophy is the youngest yet the most dynamic field of medieval studies in Bulgaria. As noted above, it began at the beginning of the 1990s with two main goals, to encourage studies in medieval philosophy and to spread knowledge in that area by means of translating and interpreting the requisite texts.<sup>66</sup> As a result, now one may already speak about a Bulgarian school in medieval philosophy, institutionally and spiritually supported by the Institute of Medieval Philosophy and Culture, founded in 2000. The trademark of this school and its major contribution to international scholarship is the comparative study of the two cultural models of the European Christian Middle Ages, the Latin (Western) and the Byzantine (Eastern).<sup>67</sup> Thus, medieval philosophy has emerged in the landscape of medieval studies in Bulgaria within the syllabus of an academic discipline.

### Academic Landscapes: Dreaming of Medieval Studies in Bulgaria

The division between national medieval studies and medieval studies related to Western Europe and Byzantium has remained the main feature of the curriculum of medieval studies in Bulgaria. Thus, in the list of the master's programs at the three largest universities, the University of Sofia, the University of Veliko Turnovo, and the New Bulgarian University, several programs deal separately with problems of medieval Bulgarian, Western European, and Byzantine-Balkan history and culture. Otherwise, courses in medieval studies taught at the BA and MA level demonstrate a respectable variety of topics and approaches: general subjects, regional studies,

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<sup>65</sup> *Istorija na bälgarskata srednovekovna literatura* [History of Medieval Bulgarian Literature], ed. A. Miltenova (Sofia: IK "Iztok-Zapad", 2008). There are three CEU alumni among the contributors to this fundamental work: Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov, Desislava Atanasova, Margaret Dimitrova.

<sup>66</sup> *Archiv für Mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur*, vol. 1-13 (since 1994); *Bibliotheca Christiana* (since 1991).

<sup>67</sup> See, for instance, Georgi Kapriev, *Philosophie in Byzanz* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2005). I would like to thank Prof. Georgi Kapriev for providing me exhaustive information on the achievements in the field of medieval philosophy in Bulgaria, including the article by Gergana Dineva, "Bälgarskata škola po filofska medievistika" [The Bulgarian school of medieval philosophy], in *Filosofskiat XX vek v Bälgaria* (forthcoming)

anthropological studies, and comparative studies.<sup>68</sup> A distinctive informal mode of promoting high academic standards and interdisciplinarity in medieval studies are the summer workshop in medieval philosophy and studies regularly held since 1984 in the town of Elena under the guidance of Prof. Ts. Bojadžiev and the seminar in practical ethnology and medieval studies “Prof. Dr. Ivan Šišmanov” at the University of Sofia.<sup>69</sup> In fact, interdisciplinarity and approaches of comparative history and analysis can be found only in MA and PhD programs, the core of which are constituted by medieval philosophy and literary studies: “Medieval Philosophy and Culture” (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sofia); “Cyril and Methodius Studies in the Context of Byzantine Literature” (Faculty of Slavic Philology, University of Sofia); “Language and Culture in Medieval Europe” (PhD Program, Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre, BAS). It cannot be a surprise then that the majority of the Bulgarian students admitted to the MA and PhD programs of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU came from and work in those two fields.<sup>70</sup> Yet the Bulgarian students at the Department gradually and steadily decrease in number and the same is valid for the level of students’ interest in the humanities in general and in medieval studies in particular in Bulgaria as well. As can be seen, at the last “World Education Fair” that took place in Sofia in 2009, the top subjects of interest of prospective Bulgarian students abroad for the last 10 years are: business, economics, marketing, management, architecture, law, fashion and design. Is there anybody still dreaming of medieval studies in Bulgaria?

## Landscapes of Hope

Returning to the beginning of my paper, I should say that the anthropological reading of the anniversary program was not the only reason for “landscaping” the task I was given by the organizers of the Alumni Roundtable. “Landscape” was one of the many important terms I learned at the Department as a student in medieval studies many years ago. It is an important but difficult term that I have never managed to translate

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<sup>68</sup> The web sites of the three universities with information on MA programs in medieval Studies can be found in the list at the end of this paper.

<sup>69</sup> [www.ongal.net/teaching.html](http://www.ongal.net/teaching.html)

<sup>70</sup> According to the data on MA students at the Department provided to me by Annabella Pál, since 1993 twenty out of thirty-four Bulgarian students have worked on topics related to medieval literature and philosophy.

properly into my native language, which favors instead the gentle French *paysage* and thus always leaves me with the idea that “landscape” means something drawn, painted, or imaginary. How could a medieval landscape be painted then? With passion and dedication, that is the answer I learnt 15 years ago in Budapest. And that is the way in which the Bulgarian landscapes of medieval studies have been drawn by many hearts and minds and that, I believe, will be mastered by many others in the future.

#### Important books in Medieval Studies in the Last 15 years (A Very Selected List)

Angelov, Petăr. *Bălgarija i bălgarite v predstavite na vizantijsite* [Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in the Notions of the Byzantines]. Sofia: Lik, 1999.

Bojadžiev, Tsočo. *Nošta prez Srednovekovieto* [Night in the Middle Ages]. Sofia: Sofi-R, 2000.

———. *Loca remotissima*. Sofia: Sofi-R, 2007.

Božilov, Ivan. *Bălgarite vāv Vizantijskata imperija* [The Bulgarians in the Byzantine Empire]. Sofia: Akademično izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 1995.

Dimitrov, Dimităr. *Filosofija, kultura i politika v Kăsnata antičnost: slučajat Sinezii ot Kirena* [Philosophy, Culture and Policy: The Case of Synesius of Cyrene]. Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2005.

Dobrev, Ivan. *Sveti Ivan Rilski* [St John of Rila]. *Altbulgarische Studien* 5. Linz: Slavia Verlag, 2007.

Georgieva, Tsvetana. *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na bălgarite (XV-XVII vek)* [Space and Spaces of the Bulgarians, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century]. Sofia: Lik and Imir, 1999.

Ivanova, Klimentina. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*. Sofia: IK “BAN,” 2008.

Jordanov, Ivan. *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*. Vol. 1. *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*. Sofia: Agato, 2003; Vol. 2. *Byzantine Seals with Family Names*. Sofia: BAN, 2006.

Rossina Kostova

Kapriev, Georgi. *Philosophie in Byzanz*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2005).

Miltenova, Anisava. *Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, Istoriko-apokaliptičnata literature vāv Vizantiija i srednovekovna Bālgarija* [Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria]. Sofia: “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Publishing House, 1996.

Nikolov, Alexander. “Vjarvaj ili shte te ubija!” “Orientaltsite” v krāstonosnata propaganda 1270-1370 [“Believe or I will kill you!” The “Orientals” in the Crusaders’ Propaganda 1270-1370] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski”, 2006).

Nikolov, Angel. *Političeska misāl v rannosrednovekovna Bālgarija (sredata na IX-kraja na X vek)* [Political Thought in Early Medieval Bulgaria (the Middle of the 9th –the End of the 10th c.)]. Sofia: Paradigma, 2006.

Petkov, Kiril, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Popkonstantinov, Kazimir. and Otto Krostener. *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, 1 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*,36). Salzburg-Wien: Institut für Slawistik, 1994; 2 (*Die Slawischen Sprachen*,52). Salzburg-Wien: Institut für Slawistik, 1997.

Rašev, Rašo. *Bālgarskata ezičeska kultura VII-IX vek* [Bulgarian Pagan Culture 7th-9th century]. Sofia: Brifon, 2008.

Simeonova, Liliana. *Pātuvane kām Konstantinopol. Tārgovija i komunikatsii v Sredizemnomosrkia svjat (kraja na IX-70-te godini na XI vek)* [En Route to Constantinople. Trade and Communications in the Mediterranean World, the late 800s and the 1070s]. Sofia: Paradigma, 2006).

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. *Bālgarite i stepnata imperija prez rannoto srednovekovie: Problemāt za Drugite* [The Bulgarians and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages: The Problem of the Others]. Sofia: Gutenberg, 2005. In Hungarian: *Lovasnomád birodalmak és városlakók. A mások problémája*. Budapest: Napkút Kiadó, 2008.

Stoyanov, Yuri. *The Hidden Tradition in Europe. The Secret History of Medieval Christian Heresy*. London: Penguin, 1994.

Vačkova Veselina. *Les images et les réalités des frontières en Europe médiévale (III-XI siècle)*. Sofia: Gutenberg, 2006.

## Medieval studies in Bulgaria: institutions and people

On the websites listed below one can find information for academic programs in medieval studies, past and current project and the staff.

### I. Institutions

#### A. Universities

1. Sofia University “St Kliment Ohridski”: <http://portal.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/eng/>:
  - § Department of Ancient History, Thracian Studies and Medieval History, Department of History of Byzantium and the Balkans, and Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of History (<http://www.clio.uni-sofia.bg/>);
  - § Department of Cyril and Methodius Studies at the Faculty of Slavic Studies (<http://www.slav.uni-sofia.bg/facultyEn.htm>);
  - § Department of History of Philosophy and Department of History and Theory of Culture at the Faculty of Philosophy (<http://forum.uni-sofia.bg/filo/display.php?page=home>)
2. “St Cyril and St Methodius” University of Veliko Turnovo: <http://www.uni-vt.bg>
  - § Department of Ancient and Medieval History and Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of History
  - § Faculty of Orthodox Theology
3. New Bulgarian University, Sofia: <http://www.nbu.bg>
  - § Departments of: Anthropology, Archaeology, History, History of Culture, Mediterranean and Eastern Studies

#### B. Research Institutions

Department of Medieval History, Institute of History, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.ihist.bas.bg/sekcii/Srednovekovie/systav.htm>)  
Department “Balkan Peoples in the Middle Ages”, Institute of Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.cl.bas.bg/Balkan-Studies>)  
Department of Old Bulgarian Literature, Institute of Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences ([http://www.ilit.bas.bg/eng/sektzii\\_en.php](http://www.ilit.bas.bg/eng/sektzii_en.php))

Rossina Kostova

Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.kmnc.bas.bg>)

Department of Medieval and Renaissance Art, Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.artstudies.bg>)

St. Cyril and Methodius National Library (<http://www.nationallibrary.bg/>)

Centre for Slavic-Byzantine Studies “Prof. Ivan Dujčev”, Sofia University “St Kliment Ohridski”:([http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/arhiv/120\\_godini\\_su/fakultetni\\_programi](http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/arhiv/120_godini_su/fakultetni_programi))

Centre for Byzantine Studies, “Konstantin Preslavski” University of Šumen (<http://byzantion.shu-bg.net/english.htm>)

## II. People.

Here are listed the CEU alumni with academic careers in the field of medieval studies as well as some names of leading scholars that appear in the text. More names and contacts can be found through the websites above and with the help of the people in this list.

### A. CEU alumni

- § **Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov** (Class’ 93-94), Research Fellow in East European Studies at the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, University of Manchester, UK. E-mail: [Adelina.Angusheva-Tihanov@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:Adelina.Angusheva-Tihanov@manchester.ac.uk)
- § **Desislava Atanasova** (Class’ 95-96), Research Fellow at the Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: [desislavaa@yahoo.com](mailto:desislavaa@yahoo.com)
- § **Dimităr Dimitrov** (Class’ 95-96), Associate Professor of Byzantine History and Medieval History of the Balkans, Department of Ancient and Medieval History, Faculty of History, “St. Cyril and St Methodius” University of Veliko Turnovo. E-mail: [mitak2001bg@yahoo.com](mailto:mitak2001bg@yahoo.com)
- § **Margaret Dimitrova** (Class’ 93-94, PhD 1998), Associate Professor of Old Bulgarian Language and Literature, Department of Cyril and Methodius Studies, Faculty of Slavic Studies, Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”. E-mail: [marg@abv.bg](mailto:marg@abv.bg)
- § **Gergana Georgieva** (Class’ 97-98), Research Fellow, Institute of Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: [gergana\\_ig@yahoo.com](mailto:gergana_ig@yahoo.com)

- § **Alexander Nikolov** (Class' 95-96), Associate Professor of Medieval History, Department of Ancient History, Thracian Studies and Medieval History, Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" . E-mail: alnik\_1999@yahoo.com
- § **Rossina Kostova** (Class' 94-95), Associate Professor of Medieval Bulgarian Archaeology and Medieval Archaeology of the Balkans, Department of Archaeology, "St. Cyril and St. Methodius" University of Veliko Turnovo. E-mail: korina68bg@yahoo.com
- § **Maya Petrova** (Class' 93-94, PhD 2003), Research Fellow at the Department of Old Bulgarian Literature, Institute of Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: ptmaya@yahoo.com
- § **Kiril Petkov** (Class' 93-94), Associate Professor of Mediterranean History, University of Wisconsin-River Falls, USA.

*B. Other*

- § **Georgi Kapriev**, Professor of Medieval Latin and Byzantine Philosophy, Department of History of Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, Sofia University "St Kliment Ohridski." E-mail: kapriev@mail.bg
- § **Albena Milanova**, Research Fellow at the Centre for Slavic-Byzantine Studies "Prof. Ivan Dujčev", Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" and coordinator of Byzantium Working Group. E-mail: milanova\_albena@yahoo.com
- § **Elisaveta Musakova**, Senior Research Fellow and Head of Department of Manuscripts, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library. E-mail: musakova@nationallibrary.bg
- § **Angel Nikolov**, Lecturer in Bulgarian Medieval History, Department of History of Bulgaria, Faculty of History, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski." E-mail: anikolov2003@yahoo.com
- § **Tsvetelin Stepanov**, Associate Professor of History of the Bulgarian Culture in the Middle Ages, Department of History and Theory of Culture, Faculty of Philosophy, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski". E-mail: stepanov64@yahoo.com
- § **Zarko Ždrakov**, Associate Professor of History of Art, Department of History of Art, National Academy of Art, Sofia and the New Bulgarian University. E-mail: zhdakov@abv.bg

## REVIVING THE MIDDLE AGES IN CROATIA\*

*Trpimir Vedriš*

It is no exaggeration that the study of the Middle Ages has played a crucial role in the study of Croatian history since its establishment as an academic discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This special interest in medieval history, however, had little in common with what is nowadays called “medieval studies.” Research in Croatian medieval history, similarly to other countries in nineteenth-century Europe, was strongly linked to the process of nation building, which has been much discussed lately.<sup>2</sup> One aspect of this legacy can serve as an appropriate point of departure here, namely, the fact that interest in the medieval period not only held the imagination of nineteenth-century Croatian “historian-politicians,” but also many (if not a majority) among the most prominent Croatian historians of the twentieth century were medievalists. With all the differences between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, medieval studies have always been “the most prominent and fruitful area of Croatian historiography.”<sup>3</sup>

The fall of Communism after 1989 and the final dissolution of the multi-ethnic “fortress of socialism in the Balkans” during the war of 1991–1995 promised uncertain fortunes for Croatian history. Yet, while in this context one might instantly think of the upsurge in nationalist abuses of history, the “return of medieval studies” in recent Croatian history actually turned out to be good

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\* I hope that this occasion with its joyful atmosphere allows for a lighter tone. If nothing else, it explains (if not pardons) any oversimplification, lack of precision and possible hastiness of conclusions. I am grateful to Lovro Kunčević for his comments.

<sup>1</sup> Institutionalized by the foundation of the academy of arts and sciences (1867) and the modern university (1874). For a detailed account of the history of the discipline see Stjepan Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* [Croatian Historiography] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> The most recent assessment of Croatian historiography in English is: Neven Budak, “Post-socialist Historiography in Croatia since 1990,” in *(Re)Writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, ed. Ulf Brunner, Studies on South East Europe 4 (Muenster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 128-164 (hereafter: Budak, “Post-socialist”). An example of the “coming of age” of the local tradition is evident in Mladen Ančić, “Kako danas čitati studije F. Račkog” [How to Read the Studies of F. Rački Today], in Franjo Rački, *Nutarnje stanje Hrvatske prije XII. stoljeća* [The Internal State of Croatia before the Twelfth Century] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2009.)

<sup>3</sup> Budak, “Post-socialist,” 132. It is important to note that the privileged position of the (Early) Middle Ages in older Croatian historiography was based on the fact that it was the only period of Croatian independence. As a result, most discourses on “historical right” between the sixteenth and twentieth century were based on that heritage.

Trpimir Vedriš

news. Here I will briefly assess some aspects of the changes that took place in the 1990s and address the role of CEU's Department of Medieval Studies alumni in contemporary Croatian academic historiography. Finally, I will provide a list of the most important institutions and periodicals in the field at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

## **1. From the Beginning to the Present: Late Twentieth-century Croatian Historiography**

### *Legacies of the past*

Although both “post-war” and “post-socialist” Croatian historiography await historians, in order to appreciate more fully the changes which took place after 1989, I will briefly summarize some of the trends relevant for developments which have recently been analysed more elaborately and proficiently.<sup>4</sup> Methodologically, while medieval studies in the “founding times” met contemporary European standards, the field experienced stagnation in the period after 1918, followed by even worse stagnation in the socialist period.<sup>5</sup> The prevailing trends established in the late nineteenth century – an interest in political history focussing on Croatia's constitutional position in diverse historical contexts<sup>6</sup> – seem to have prevailed during the most of the twentieth century.

Without devaluing the positive products of post-war historiography, Croatian historiography in the second half of the twentieth century was a rather conservative field of study, “ideologically anesthetised” to a certain extent,<sup>7</sup> but as both the cause

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<sup>4</sup> Budak, “Post-socialist,” 132-138.

<sup>5</sup> Budak, “Post-socialist,” 135, detected “rapid modernization and the quantitative development of medieval studies” in the 1950s and 1960s.

<sup>6</sup> Interest in the early medieval “golden age” of Croatian history remained a constant in Croatian historiography from the nineteenth-century political opposition to what was perceived as Austrian or Hungarian oppression. With the change of historical fortune, the medieval past has often been evoked to take the same role in opposing the assimilation of the Croatian into Yugoslav or more open Serbian nationalism (although, ambiguous as they were, medieval topics were also used in the opposite direction; one of the most prominent examples probably being attempts to link the Croatia of Tomislav and the Serbia of Dušan or the motif of the “common fight of our nations against the foreigners.” A telling example of “the cult” of Gregory of Nin was analysed by Neven Budak in *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* [The First Centuries of Croatia] (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994): 159-198.

<sup>7</sup> Although Croatian post-war historiography has probably “been much less Yugoslav and much less Marxist than was generally believed” (Budak, “Post-socialist,” 128), and medieval studies were spared the intensive

and the effect of previous times, lacking contacts with contemporary developments in the international scholarship.<sup>8</sup> Looming like a dark cloud over the post-war practice of history was an almost total lack of interest in international trends, which resulted in a certain methodological backwardness in medieval studies in Croatia.<sup>9</sup> Probably the most important factor in the gradual dissolution of that isolation were “direct and more regular contacts with ‘more developed’ historiographies of neighbouring countries”<sup>10</sup> since the 1970s that started to influence the choice of topics and methodological approaches of Croatian medievalists in the 1980s. Some of the most important books published in early 1990s – novel in their methodology and the choice of topics – were actually “conceived” in this “period of transition.”<sup>11</sup> Meetings such as those in Mogersdorf, which brought together, among others, Austrian, Hungarian, and Croatian historians, played an important role in overcoming isolation.<sup>12</sup> Another important factor was the introduction of the novelties of the Annales school into the local tradition.<sup>13</sup> Although many aspects of both the research and teaching of medieval topics might be considered defective even today, particular issues which should be singled out as extremely negative in the post-war period were isolation (low participation of the local

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interest shown by Communist authorities in the modern period, the prevailing ideology did cause the isolation of Croatian historiography and pushed it in the direction of “a certain self-sufficiency,” Budak, “Post-socialist,” 130.

<sup>8</sup> One had to wait for the mid-1990s to attest, for the first time after the nineteenth century(!), a significant number of Croatian students studying abroad.

<sup>9</sup> Although describing the tradition as conservative and showing strong continuity with nineteenth-century historiography, Budak has recently stressed the interest in economic and social history in the second half of the twentieth century as an example of the positive influence of a Marxist worldview, Budak, “Post-socialist,” 129.

<sup>10</sup> Budak, “Post-socialist,” 137.

<sup>11</sup> Probably the most important titles in this sense are: Neven Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku* [The Towns of Varaždin County until the end of the Sixteenth Century] (Zagreb: Dr. Feletar 1994); Nenad Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti* [Thinking the Past] (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta, 1992), Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Rod i grad. Dubrovačka obitelj od 13. do 15. stoljeća* [Kin and City: The Ragusan Family between the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Century] (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofski Fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> See also Ivica Šute, “Sudjelovanje hrvatskih povjesničara na simpoziju Mogersdorf (1972-2001) [Participation of Croatian Historians in the Mogersdorf Symposium],” *Historijski zbornik* 54 (2001): 229-233.

<sup>13</sup> After a certain “dead season” in the 1970s, the influence of the Annales school resulted in positive changes which became visible in the early 1980s. On the influence of the latter see Neven Budak, “Le ‘Annales’ e la storiografia croata,” *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 1 (2000): 75-87; also idem, “Post-socialist,” 139-148.

Trpimir Vedriš

scholars in international symposia and projects before the 1990s<sup>14</sup>) and uncritical nationalism, often spiced up with Marxist phraseology.

### *Post-socialist historiography*

It might be argued that primarily the teaching and (to a lesser extent) medieval research topics in Croatia became narrower after 1990, and sometimes even more parochial, but one should not forget that Croatian medievalists within Yugoslavia had always shown little interest in the history of other “Yugoslav nations.” If recent research and teaching was narrowed down almost exclusively to Croatian history and lost some of the broader regional context in the 1990s, this should be noted with caution. Namely, the very concept of a “regional context” was previously dictated by political and ideological needs to a large extent, promoting a particular set of relations and discriminating in others.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, from the perspective of a medievalist there are not many reasons to regret the dissolution of the “Yugoslav paradigm” as the exclusive context of Croatian Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup>

Another unambiguously positive shift can be traced in the local historiography, primarily in topics and methodology. The introduction of new topics and approaches in medieval studies in Croatia as a part of broader transformation of epistemological and ideological configurations cannot be explained by a single cause. Moreover, although the opinion that “the year 1990 brought almost no change”<sup>17</sup> has been expressed, and political and social changes did not directly influence the changes, they certainly coincided with the gradual shift in scholarly epistemological configurations. It is not only that the early 1990s bore the fruit of the efforts of previous generations (the “transformation of the 1980s”), but that was also the

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Idem, “Hrvatska historiografija nakon 1990. Pokazatelji s Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu [Croatian Historiography after 1990 – Indicators from the Department of History, University of Zagreb],” *Historijski zbornik* 56-57 (2004): 91-110.

<sup>15</sup> Here, I mean primarily the geographic framework which to a certain extent delineated the regional context to South Slavic neighbors while discriminating historically important contacts with North Italy, Venice, Austria and Hungary. Most paradigmatic examples are probably to be found in Bogo Grafenauer, et al., ed., *Historija naroda Jugoslavije* [History of the Nations of Yugoslavia], vol. 1 (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1953).

<sup>16</sup> Although the lack of a regional context and a comparative perspective are still perhaps two of the burning problems of contemporary medieval studies in Croatia.

<sup>17</sup> Budak, “Post-socialist,” 132. The outburst of national euphoria in the 1990s seemingly did not seriously damage what was solid academic historiography by that time, yet it indeed perpetuated an outburst of amateurish and revisionist writing, although both seem to have dwindled lately.

period when something new was conceived.<sup>18</sup> As a result, I would maintain that the mid-1990s simply – for better or worse – marked an important shift in Croatian historiography. Furthermore, it seems to me (being aware of my highly subjective position) that the activity of the Department of Medieval Studies, among other (possibly equally important) causes,<sup>19</sup> has made a visible impact on contemporary Croatian historiography.

## 2. The Impact of Departmental Alumni

### *Institutional positions of alumni*

The case of the Croatian alumni of the CEU Medieval Studies Department is indisputably a success story.<sup>20</sup> Nothing symbolizes this success better than the fact that the first PhD candidate to defend his doctoral dissertation at CEU was Stanko Andrić in 1998. Most of the Croatian students at CEU come from the University of Zagreb, more precisely, the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, still the central institution of higher education in Croatia.<sup>21</sup> According to rough statistics, in the period 1994 to 2008, 18 students from Croatia obtained their MAs at the Medieval Studies Department of CEU. A high proportion of them (61%) were accepted into the PhD program. Yet, even if their satisfaction and pride in being part of the department did not count, the reason for the department to be proud is the fact that 14 of them (78%) found jobs in higher education and/or research institutions in Croatia. In this sense, the mission of establishing a scholarly network of alumni might be considered well accomplished.

Avoiding a list of all the particular achievements of the alumni, let it be stressed that their success is not only about controlling positions or producing important publications. The phenomenon hard to grasp (and therefore more

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<sup>18</sup> Among other factors I aim at is that actually during these war years the first group of Croatian students came to Budapest to start their studies at CEU.

<sup>19</sup> Other important factors might include an initial “general openness of Croatia and Slovenia for foreign influences since 1960s as well as the gradual dissipation of the Socialist system in the 1980s.” (Budak, “Post-socialist,” 131), but – also the growing number of students doing their graduate studies abroad in 1990s.

<sup>20</sup> The role of the department was already noticed and expectation was expressed that both alumni and those in training would secure Croatian medieval studies’ safe way to “further modernization and professionalism.” Budak, “Post-socialist,” 138.

<sup>21</sup> Its monopoly was shaken by the founding of parallel Croatian Studies in Zagreb in the 1990s, as well as the foundation of other regional universities and departments.

Trpimir Vedriš

appropriate to be told *viva voce*) – and yet, maybe even more profound – is that of the collegial spirit preserved by most of the alumni. Practical fruits of cooperation are felt especially in the spirit of benevolent and serious peer review, free exchange of ideas, books, and material. The good relations maintained between the alumni very often and very practically dissolve the divisions, not only of the walls of disciplines and institutions but also of destructive personal conflicts inherited with positions.

*Activity and the impact of the alumni: Publications and organisation*

Among most obvious novelties brought by the alumni one should mention the introduction of new topics and new methodologies (also novelties in teaching). Maybe the most “visible” topics, previously relatively neglected, which the alumni might be credited with promoting are the history of everyday life, gender history, and hagiography. Although grounded in the interests of the group of scholars gathered in the historical society “Otium,” active since the early 1990s<sup>22</sup> – and therefore the historians of the previous generation should be credited with the innovation here – some of the best fruits of interest in the history of everyday life were produced by departmental alumni.<sup>23</sup> Similarly interest in the history of women and the family did not appear out of the blue with the CEU alumnae, yet maybe the most important recent book in the field is based on the author’s CEU MA.<sup>24</sup> The Croatian Society for the History of Women “Clio” (*Hrvatska udruga za proučavanje povijesti žena “Clio”*) has organised successful sections at many conferences with a relatively high percentage of medieval topics.

The field which probably shows the clearest departmental influence is hagiography. Although hagiography in the broadest sense never ceased to attract Croatian medievalists, it is through the action of departmental alumni that it received an official position in the field. The Croatian Hagiography Society “Hagiotheca” was founded in April 2004 by group of departmental students/alumni, who presented their work in the same year at a conference at CEU.<sup>25</sup> Broader-scale activities of

<sup>22</sup> The society was dedicated to the history of everyday life and published a successful journal of the same name. The activities unfortunately died out around 2000 with the publication of the last volume of *Otium* (7-8 (2000)).

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Gordan Ravančić, *Život u krčmama u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku* [Life in Taverns of Medieval Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Zrinka Nikolić, *Rodaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kin and Kith: Dalmatian Urban Nobility in the Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> *Saints and Patronage*, Third Hagiography Society Symposium, Budapest, CEU (24. 6. - 27. 6. 2004).

the society followed when successful conferences were organised in Dubrovnik and Split in 2005 and 2008, respectively.<sup>26</sup> A third conference is being organised in cooperation with International Hagiography Society for spring 2010 in Poreč. The society has started publishing the conference proceedings – the first was in print in May 2008<sup>27</sup> and the second is expected towards the end of 2009.<sup>28</sup> Along with the proceedings, Hagiotheca plans to launch two other series: Hagio-fontes and Hagio-monographiae, dedicated to critical editions of Croatian hagiographic sources and authors' studies and monographs, respectively. Like the successful book of S. Andrić, published in 1999, Marina Miladinov, another member of Hagiotheca, produced a monograph in English on eremitism in Central Europe based on her doctoral dissertation.<sup>29</sup>

The activities of the alumni certainly extend beyond innovative and groundbreaking projects; besides regular teaching and participation in state-funded projects many of them are engaged in the diverse traditional fields of basic research. For example, the "HAZU [Hrvatska Akademia Znanosti i Umjetnosti—Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts] group" of alumni successfully participate in publications of medieval sources, fruitfully combining their international experience with more traditional activities.<sup>30</sup> It is hard to trace all the private scholarly activities of the alumni, yet they can be found in a very broad spectrum from innovative teaching to the organisation of conferences. Among other things to be underlined is their participation in the preparation of international conferences and projects.

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<sup>26</sup> *Hagiografija: historiografija, izvori i metode*. I. hagiografski Hrvatskog hagiografskog društva "Hagiotheca" i Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu [*Hagiography: Historiography, Sources and Methods*]. I. Hagiographic Conference of the Croatian Hagiographic Society "Hagiotheca" and the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts in Zagreb] (Dubrovnik, November 20 – 23, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš, ed., *Hagiologija: kultovi u kontekstu* [*Hagiology: Cults of the Saints in Context*] (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008). It is worth noting that besides positive reviews the authors were awarded a prize by the Society of University Teachers and Other Scholars for 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš, ed., *Identity and Alterity* (Zagreb: Leykam international–Hagiotheca, in preparation).

<sup>29</sup> Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008). Significantly, this book is credited with being the first book written by a Croatian author in English published in Croatia.

<sup>30</sup> E.g., *Obsidio Iadrensis - Opsada Zadra* [*The Siege of Zadar*], Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium; vol. 54, Scriptores; vol. 6, tr. Veljko Gortan, et al., ed. Damir Karbić, Miroslav Kurelac, Zoran Ladić (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Croatica, 2007).

Trpimir Vedriš

### 3. Medieval Studies in Croatia Today: Institutions and Publications<sup>31</sup>

In Croatia only a few institutions would formally claim to offer medieval studies – yet many promote research in “medieval studies” in practice. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive (to a large extent it ignores, for example, ecclesiastical institutions), yet it will serve the purpose of providing the most elementary information. Without doubt, Zagreb is still the centre with the main activities centered around the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) and the University of Zagreb.

#### *The Academy*

Institute for Historical and Social Sciences (*Zavod za povijesne i društvene znanosti*) in Zagreb, among other departments, covers the work of the Department of Historical Sciences (Odsjek za povijesne znanosti).<sup>32</sup> Initially established as part of archive of the academy, the institute is dedicated to the publication of medieval archival material and other relevant sources for Croatian history, preparation of tools for the auxiliary historical disciplines and basic research. They publish *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* [Journal of the Department for Historical Sciences of the Institute for Historical and Social Sciences] (vol. 21/2008) and a number of source series (*Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae; Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Jugoslaviae; Monumenta Croatica Vaticana, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum, meridionalium* etc.). The Department of Archaeology (Odsjek za arheologiju) is focused mostly on the research of Antique and Early Medieval sites in Roman south Pannonia (contemporary northwestern Croatia).

The most important departments of HAZU outside Zagreb are in the towns that can boast preserved medieval archives. The Institute for Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik (*Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku*)<sup>33</sup> focuses on the history of Dubrovnik. They publish *Anali* ([Annals] in Croatian, vol. 46/2008) and *Dubrovnik Annals* (in English) as well as the specialised series (*Monumenta historica Ragusina, Monografije, Prilozi demografskoj povijesti Dubrovnika i okolice* [Contributions to the

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. <http://hrcak.srce.hr>, “Hrcak” [Hamster] is the central portal of Croatian scholarly journals which, following the Open Access Initiative, offers the access to most of the important Croatian journals in the humanities.

<sup>32</sup> [http://www.hazu.hr/odpovzg\\_hr.html](http://www.hazu.hr/odpovzg_hr.html).

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.zavoddbk.org/>.

Demographic History of Dubrovnik and Surroundings] and *Pretisci* [Impressions]). The Institute for Historical Sciences in Zadar (Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Zadru)<sup>34</sup> (est. 1954) mostly focuses on research in the State Archive in Zadar. They publish an annual, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* [Works of the Institute for Historical Sciences of HAZU in Zadar] (vol. 50/2008) with a great deal of material on the Late Medieval history of Zadar and Dalmatia.

### *The University*

The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (*Filozofski fakultet*) hosts a number of departments which might lay claim to Medieval Studies (History, Art History, Archaeology, and to a certain extent Classical Philology and Slavic Philology). Yet, so far the epicenter of recruitment and other activities has been the Department of History,<sup>35</sup> which has fostered the development of medieval studies by the recent establishment of an MA module dedicated to the Middle Ages and a multi-disciplinary doctoral program in Medieval Studies initiated and coordinated by Prof. Neven Budak, also a CEU visiting professor.<sup>36</sup> Among other activities, the department expects to re-vitalize the Croatian Byzantine Society (originally founded in the 1990s), which will certainly provide a platform for various types of future cooperation with international associations. *Historijski zbornik* (Historical Almanac, vol. 61/2008) is an official journal of the Society for Croatian History (*Društvo za hrvatsku povjesnicu*), but traditionally prepared and edited by the members of the Department of History. Another journal connected to the same department is *Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* (Proceedings of the Institute for Croatian history, vol. 40/2008).

The decentralisation of the university in the late 1990s led to the multiplication of regional faculties and departments. The Faculty of Humanities of the University in Rijeka hosts Departments of History (since 1998) and Art History, with substantial research on medieval archaeology and art. The Faculty of Humanities in Pula (formerly a part of the University in Rijeka) was transformed into the independent university

<sup>34</sup> [http://info.hazu.hr/zavod\\_za\\_povijesne\\_znanosti\\_u\\_zadru](http://info.hazu.hr/zavod_za_povijesne_znanosti_u_zadru).

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.ffzg.hr/pov/pov2/index.php>.

<sup>36</sup> Both programs were inspired to a certain degree by the program of the CEU Department of Medieval Studies and in that sense a positive model has been successfully planted. They will certainly promote medieval studies as a distinct field of research, but it will be interesting to see how this transmission of the departmental model will affect future recruitment from Zagreb University. Although the program requires at least one semester's stay in a foreign university, one still cannot predict to what extent the teachers (from diverse departments) will encourage their best students to leave for Budapest.

Trpimir Vedriš

“Juraj Dobrila” in 2006 and a Department of History was also founded there as a part of the Section for Humanities (*Odjel za humanističke znanosti*). It focuses on research on the regional history of Istria. The University in Zadar also has departments of History, Art History, and Archaeology with substantial parts of the programs dedicated to medieval studies.<sup>37</sup> Croatian Studies (*Hrvatski studiji*)<sup>38</sup> were established in Zagreb in the early 1990s and have a growing role in higher education with a number of CEU alumni permanently or occasionally teaching medieval history.

A significant move towards the recognition of medieval studies as a separate and interdisciplinary field of research was the establishment of the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages as an independent research centre of the University in Zagreb in 1993, during the height of the war. It hosts annual symposia in Motovun in Istria and publishes its proceedings in the journal *Hortus Artium Medievalium* (vol. 15/2008). Besides *Hortus* the center has also launched a series of monographs (*Dissertationes et monographiae*). Its multidisciplinary profile makes it one of the most prominent institutions active in archaeological research, conferences, and publication.

The Croatian Institute for History (*Hrvatski institut za povijest*),<sup>39</sup> initially established as the Institute for History of the Working Class in 1961, became the Institute for Modern History in 1990 to broaden its field of activities, with the Department for Croatian Medieval History added in 1996. The institute publishes *Povijesni prilozi* (Historical Contributions, vol. 35/2008) and *Review of Croatian History* along with several monograph series. The institute coordinates the work of Department of the History of Slavonia, Baranya, and Sylvania situated in Slavonki Brod. The department was founded in 1996 and focuses on the regional history of contemporary Slavonia. The department publishes *Scrinia Slavonica* (vol.8/2008) with substantial space dedicated to medieval topics.

Another regional institute in Istria is *Centro di Ricerche Storiche* in Rovigno,<sup>40</sup> founded in 1968 by the *Unione Italiana*, a representative organization of the Italian minority living in Croatia and Slovenia. Among other activities the center promotes research in a medieval history of the region, successfully bringing together Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian scholars. The institute publishes several periodicals and series: *Atti*, *Collana degli Atti*, *Fonti*, etc.

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.unizd.hr>.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.hrstud.hr>.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.isp.hr>.

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.crsrv.org>.

The institute for ecclesiastical history of the Catholic Theological Faculty in Zagreb publishes the journal *Croatica Christiana Periodica* (vol. 62/2008). Published since 1977 it covers topics from Croatian ecclesiastical history and religion.

Important research and publication projects (especially in the Late Antique and Early Medieval periods) are carried on by various archaeological museums.<sup>41</sup> Among the most prominent are: the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (*Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika*) in Split, which conducts archaeological (mostly Early Medieval) research with the focus on the Central Dalmatian hinterland. The museum publishes the periodical *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (Old Croatian Education, new series vol. 35/2008) and diverse series (*Monumenta Medii Aevi Croatiae, Katalozi i monografije* [Catalogs and Monographs], *Katalozi izložbi* [Exhibition Catalogs], *Kulturno-povijesni vodiči* [Cultural-Historical Guidebooks]). The Archaeological Museum in Split (est. 1820)<sup>42</sup> generally focuses on the Classical heritage, but through projects dealing with Late Antiquity its activities are often relevant for medievalists also. The Archaeological Museum in Zadar,<sup>43</sup> with its Medieval Department, is active in northern Dalmatia focusing on Early Medieval sites and publishing the periodical *Diadora* (vol. 22/2007) and other publications. The archaeological museum in Zagreb<sup>44</sup> holds a medieval collection, one of the richest and varied medieval collections in Croatia.

This brief list must conclude with a practical observation; I would stress the fact that Zagreb – more precisely the Department of History at the Faculty of Humanities – still presents a centre for both recruitment of ongoing (and future) students and promotion of the alumni mission. This situation might change, especially with alumni beginning to work at regional universities (such as Pula) or due to a growing network of scholars communicating with the alumni community. The present state of affairs shows that successful departmental/alumni networking has primarily affected the field of history, while other disciplines (e.g., archaeology or art history) have so far remained closed to a greater degree to influences coming from the CEU Department of Medieval Studies.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> For the list of museums in Croatia see [http://www.mdc.hr/muzeji\\_en.aspx](http://www.mdc.hr/muzeji_en.aspx).

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.mdc.hr/split-arheoloski>.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.amzd.hr>.

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.amz.hr>.

<sup>45</sup> This is, unfortunately, especially true for the institutions in Dalmatia. The reasons – although possible to identify – cannot be discussed here.

## Instead of a Conclusion

In Croatia, the collapse of Communism and the establishment of independence may not have caused but coincided with modernization and, without a doubt, marked (unlike the dissolution of the previous multi-national association in 1918) a positive influence on the future of the discipline. On the ideological level, socialist influence has been described as leaving no trace, therefore interpreted as failing completely.<sup>46</sup>

Scholarly institutions in the 1990s and early years of the twenty-first century witnessed decentralisation that resulted in the founding of new departments, research institutes, and museums, many to a large extent/exclusively dedicated to Medieval Studies. Improving quality or introducing innovative approaches did not always follow quantitative growth. Even though the theoretical grounds underpinning a large part of the research on medieval topics in Croatia still have not changed substantially since the mid-twentieth century, all these new positions as well as the growing number of young scholars who have studied abroad or maintain contacts with international scholarly communities promises both the further “internalisation” and flourishing of medieval studies in Croatia.

As for the impact of the alumni, although one should beware of taking the uncritical stance of self-estimation or over-blown triumphalism, it is apparent that a group of departmental alumni and current students already make a visible contribution to the modernisation and proliferation of medieval studies (mostly history) in Croatia. Not only do they hold prominent positions in major institutions, but they have already published important works. Those engaged in teaching are often credited with introducing novelties and new standards. The impact is by far most obvious in the field of history, while younger generations of Croatian archaeologists, art historians, and others who want to study abroad so far do not seem to be equally attracted to CEU. All these observations make it quite clear that departmental alumni will strongly color/influence future Croatian medieval historiography. The diversity of their subjects and approaches reflects only not their personal and institutional interests, but also echoes the vitality of departmental

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<sup>46</sup> Budak, “Post-socialist,” 129. To a certain degree the opposite view was recently by medievalist M. Ančić, who, in a series of essays criticized the survival of socialist mentalities in the Croatian scholarly community. See Mladen Ančić, “Što ‘svi znaju’ i što je ‘svima jasno’. *Historiografija i nacionalizam* [What ‘Everybody Knows’ and What is ‘Clear to Everybody’: Historiography and Nationalism (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009).

scholarly life.<sup>47</sup> The decision about whether things have been getting better or worse in the last 15 years is, of course, in the eye of beholder. Refraining from criticism here, I would conclude that successful recruitment and the personal satisfaction of most of the Croatian students have created lasting ties between their professional position and their second alma mater. Finally, besides successful recruitment and an attractive departmental program, the fact that most Croatian students came to CEU from the University in Zagreb reveals yet another story of continuity – that of historical and cultural ties which bound Zagreb and Budapest for almost a millennium. For a medievalist it is certainly exciting to see how, after almost a century of following separate paths, Croatian students return to Budapest, proving not only that the department in the last 15 years has succeeded in one of its central goals, but also showing that medieval legacies in the region are still vividly alive.

#### **Croatian alumni's "TOP 15" – in chronological order (1993-2008)<sup>48</sup>**

Budak, Neven, ed. *Etnogeneza Hrvata – Ethnogenesis of the Croats*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1995.

Jurković, Miljenko, and Tugomir Lukšić, ed. *Starohrvatska spomenička baština – Rađanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža* [Early Croatian Monument Heritage – The Birth of the First Croatian Cultural Landscape]. Zagreb: MGC – Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofski Fakultet u Zagrebu – Matica hrvatska, 1996.

Margetić, Lujó. *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo* [The Croatian Medieval Family and Hereditary Law]. Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996.

Raukar, Tomislav. *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* [The Croatian Middle Ages: Space, People, Ideas]. Zagreb: Školska knjiga–Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1997.

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<sup>47</sup> As a surprised “older” PhD student returning to the department after a longer period recently told me: “Things are being done in a completely different way than in our times...”.

<sup>48</sup> This list is based on the votes of the alumni who answered my call to make their “best of” Croatian historiography in the last 15 years. It does not, however, represent the opinion of all the alumni, just other medievalists.

Trpimir Vedriš

*Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost* [Croatia and Europe. Culture, Science, and Art]. Ed Ivan Supičić. Vol 1: *Srednji vijek (VII-XII. stoljeće): rano doba hrvatske culture* [The Middle Ages (Seventh to Twelfth Century): The Early Period of Croatian Culture]. Ed. Josip Bratulić, et al. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti–AGM, 1997.

Katičić, Radoslav. *Litterarum studia: književnost i naobrazba ranog hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, [Literacy and Education of the Croatian Early Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998.

Andrić, Stanko. *Čudesa svetoga Ivana Kapistrana: Povijesna i tekstualna analiza* [The Miracles of St. John of Capistran: Historical and Textual Analysis]. Osijek i Slavonski Brod: Matica hrvatska Osijek i Hrvatski institut za povijest, 1999.

Janeković-Römer, Zdenka. *Okvir slobode: Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma* [The Framework of Freedom: Dubrovnik Rulers between Medieval Thought and Humanism]. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999.

*Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, ed. Ivan Supičić, Vol 2: *Srednji vijek i renesansa (XIII.-XVI. stoljeće)*. Ed. Eduard Hercigonja et al. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Školska knjiga, 2000.

Grgin, Borislav. *Počeci rasapa: kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska* [The Beginning : King Mattias Corvinus and Medieval Croatia]. Zagreb: Ibis grafika – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 2002.

Nikolić, Zrinka. *Rođaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kin and Kith: Dalmatian Urban Nobility in the Early Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003.

[Thomas the Archdeacon.] Toma Arhidakon. *Historia Salonitana: povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika*, [History of the Bishops of Salona and Split]. Tr. Olga Perić. Studies, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Radoslav Katičić. Split: Književni krug, 2003.

Levak, Maurizio. *Slaveni vojvode Ivana: kolonizacija Slavena u Istri u početnom razdoblju franačke uprave*, [Slavs of Duke John: The Colonisation of the Slavs in Istria at the Beginning of Frankish Rule]. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007.

Miladinov, Marina. *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West*. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008.

Marinković, Ana, and Trpimir Vedriš, ed. *Hagiologija: kultovi u kontekstu* [Hagiology: Cults of the Saints in Context]. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008.



## MEDIEVAL RESEARCH IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

*Antonín Kalous*

Prof. Libuše Hrabová, the *Doktormutter* of a number of medievalists in the Department of History at Palacký University in Olomouc, returned to teaching only after her retirement. Sacked from the department in 1969, she was reintegrated twenty years later in December 1989. Setting aside issues that were the focal points of history in the sixties – the history of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, the international workers' movement, and the Soviet Union – Hrabová thought she would deal with medieval history for only two or three years to help this discipline recover a position of importance. She has stayed for twenty years and helped medieval studies in Olomouc. Her case clearly shows that the turning point for medieval studies in Czechoslovakia was the political changes of 1989-1990 rather than the year 1993, when the Czechs and Slovaks went their separate ways.

The changes permitted the return of many medievalists to the profession, the publication of books written previously which could not be published, and the opening of new topics that had not been promoted under the communist regime. In this sense, the situation is similar to many Central European historiographies. The year 1993 is also important from another point of view – not only due to the founding of the Medieval Studies department at CEU, but also because of the split of Czechoslovakia, which yet again separated the two historical traditions. As in many other countries of the region, the historiography of the Czech Republic has been concentrating on national history, stressing a re-interpretation of the past which had been used by political regimes and in nationalist history writing. Various myths of the national past have been re-inspected.

The state of the research can be described in terms of topics, disciplines, generations, research centers, edition projects, translations, institutions, etc. In the Czech Republic, historians still tend towards political history since many feel the need to rewrite and re-interpret the past. Research can be differentiated chronologically in two substantial periods: Great Moravia and the Přemyslid state and the period from 1306 to 1526.<sup>1</sup> The first period was the domain of archaeologists for quite a

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<sup>1</sup> This is what František Šmahel and Josef Žemlička are doing. Their contribution was quite helpful in writing this little piece and for much more detail, see František Šmahel and Josef Žemlička, "Die tschechische Mediävistik 1990-2002," in *Tschechische Mittelalterforschung 1990-2002*, ed. František Šmahel, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Filosofia, 2003), 11-66 (hereafter: Šmahel and Žemlička,

Antonín Kalous

long time; research into the Great Moravian Empire was supported as it was seen as the first state of the western Slavs and the Czech or Czechoslovak state was seen as a continuation. Archaeological research on the power centers has been fundamental for Czech archaeology and early medieval research. In the last years Luděk Galuška, Lumír Poláček, and Zdeněk Měřínský have been associated with excavations and interpretation. Discussion among archaeologists and historians has been led, most importantly, by the late Dušan Třeštík.<sup>2</sup>

Třeštík was the leading key scholar in researching the origins of the Czech state;<sup>3</sup> this topic has been a combination of history and archaeology, especially the excavations of early power centers in Prague, Libice, etc., also addressed by Jiří Sláma, Zdeněk Smetánka, Naďa Profantová, and others. This was the beginning of the great period of the Přemyslid dynasty, which has always mesmerized Czech historians. As the only national dynasty, the Přemyslids attracted considerable interest in nationalist historiography from the nineteenth century. The crucial topics in this research have been the early legends and the death of Saint Wenceslas, the founding of the state through Boleslav I and Boleslav II, the early administration of the state, Christianisation,<sup>4</sup> the crisis around the year 1000 (Czech historians contributed to the *Europas Mitte* project and exhibition), the Slavník family and its role, and re-evaluation of the earliest written sources (legends and chronicles). Besides those mentioned earlier, Josef Žemlička, Petr Sommer, Petr Charvát, Anežka Merhautová, and David Kalhous have worked on these topics. Bohemian saints of this period have also been important in research, especially St. Wenceslas, always mentioned with the Czech nation; Polish historians, too, shared in the millennial celebrations in 1997.

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“Die tschechische Mediävistik.” Other contributions in the book were written by Ivan Hlaváček on *Hilfswissenschaften* (pp. 67–95), Zdeňka Hledíková on church history since 1945 (pp. 97–124) and Milena Bartlová on art history (pp. 125–144). For bibliography and further studies not mentioned in the notes here check either the articles referred to or – more importantly – the post-1990 bibliographical database of the Czech historical institute: <http://biblio.hiu.cas.cz> (the names and corresponding studies are easy to find).

<sup>2</sup> Especially his *Vznik Velké Moravy. Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871* [The Origin of Great Moravia. Moravians, Bohemians and Central Europe in 791–871] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)* [The Beginnings of the Přemyslids. The Entry of Bohemians into History (530–935)] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. participation in the project of Nora Berend, Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík, and Josef Žemlička (with additional material on art by Zoë Opačić), “Bohemia and Moravia,” in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus'. 900–1200*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 214–263, with extensive bibliography.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are crucial for many Czech historians, who are trying to elucidate the formation of the new state and the genesis of a new social structure. The thirteenth century especially has caused many conflicts among historians and has many problematic sides. The modernisation or “Europeanisation” (as the process is sometimes called) of society and the structural development of the state itself keep being re-evaluated. The century of the last Přemyslids was crucial for founding cities, stone castles, and creating new structures in society, including estates and the formation of the nobility, the administration of the country through royal or court institutions, and the role of royal power itself. In this framework Josef Žemlička and Libor Jan, especially, elaborate mainly the rule of Wenceslas II.<sup>5</sup> The eleventh to thirteenth centuries are the focal point for other historians. Martin Wihoda has been trying to dispel the myths related to the best-known document of the Czech Middle Ages, the golden bull of Sicily,<sup>6</sup> and others relate their research to new interpretations of royal power (Demeter Malaťák, Robert Antonín). A mosaic of archaeological case studies illustrates the development of society and the changes in the thirteenth century. Jan Klápšť’s book is a modern contribution on the medieval colonisation of the Czech lands.<sup>7</sup> There are a number of other topics which cannot be presented here (castles, art, historiography, cities, individual noble families, coinage, architecture, etc.). Apart from them, the new times brought a new interest in church history, which could not be treated before 1989. Due to the nature of the sources, the main attention is focused on the history of the institutionalized church, church structure, and monastic history.<sup>8</sup>

For the later period there are two main points of reference, the reign of Charles IV and the Hussite period. Both of these have always been periods of national pride, much used in nationalist historiography. The interpretation of the Hussite revolution in modern historiography, especially, has been subject to change a number of times, first of all national and nationalist, then in connection with social struggle. During the rule of Marxist historiography it was seen as an unsuccessful class struggle which did not lead to changes in the social order, thus was always called the “Hussite

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<sup>5</sup> The book by Libor Jan, *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci* [Wenceslas II and Structures of Royal Power] (Brno: Matices moravská, 2006) was followed by a strong and sometimes harsh discussion (on the pages of *Český časopis historický*, for example). The two opposing standpoints were presented by Josef Žemlička.

<sup>6</sup> Martin Wihoda, *Zlatá bula sicilská* [The Golden Bull of Sicily] (Prague: Argo, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Jan Klápšť, *Proměna českých zemí ve středověku* [Change in the Czech Lands in the Middle Ages] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Details in Šmahel and Žemlička, “Die tschechische Mediävistik,” 34-49.

revolutionary movement.” The period of the Luxemburg dynasty on the throne of Bohemia (mostly from the perspective of political history) was elaborated before and after 1989 by Jiří Spěváček, František Kavka, and Jaroslav Čechura, in a Moravian context by Jaroslav Mezník, who was allowed to publish only after 1989,<sup>9</sup> and in the latest treatments of the period by Lenka Bobková.<sup>10</sup> Ecclesiastical and spiritual history was not much touched before 1989, even though everyone built on the research of Zdeňka Hledíková, which partially predates the political changes of 1989.<sup>11</sup> Her students and followers (for example, Jan Adámek, Eva Doležalová, Hana Pátková, Jan Hrdina, and Aleš Pořízka) continue to research church administration, various church institutions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, resources in the Vatican archives, pilgrimages, etc. The work of Martin Nejedlý is very innovative in the Czech situation; he is using French literary sources of the fourteenth century connected to the political, cultural, and spiritual atmosphere of the Luxemburg period.<sup>12</sup>

The crucial point of Czech historiography since the nineteenth century has been the Hussite period. After the Marxist interpretations, the post-1989 changes led to multifaceted interpretations; books could be written about Hussite historiography. The most detailed overviews, with extensive bibliographies, can be found in the works of František Šmahel, who has become the most influential author for the Czech later Middle Ages and an organiser of scholarly life.<sup>13</sup> In recent years, some general works have been published,<sup>14</sup> but the center for the presentation of new research has mostly been the biennial conference called “The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice,” organised by David R. HOLETON and Zdeněk V. David and internationally accessible.<sup>15</sup> Interpretation has changed and many new topics have been opened, especially the idea of holy war (also propagated by Norman Housley), international comparisons with and international contacts of the Hussites, etc. What matters most is a close study of the original texts of Hussite

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<sup>9</sup> I would like to name at least Jaroslav Mezník, *Lucemburská Morava 1310–1423* [Luxemburg Moravia 1310–1423] (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1999) and the collection of his studies *Tvář stárnoucího středověku* [The Face of the Ageing Middle Ages] (Brno: Matice moravská, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [The Big History of the Czech Lands], vol. 4a, 4b (Prague: Paseka, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> The latest book is *Arnošt z Pardubic. Arcibiskup, zakladatel a rádce* [Ernst of Pardubice: Archbishop, Founder and Adviser] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Mainly his *Středověký mýtus o Meluzíně a rodová pověst Lucemburků* [The Medieval Myth of Melusine and the Family Legend of the Luxemburgs] (Prague: Scriptorium, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> The latest edition in German is *Hussitische Revolution*, 3 vols. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002; orig. 1993); cf. other books in Czech with collected studies.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., the work of Petr Čornej, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, vol. 5 (Prague: Paseka, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. [www.brrp.org](http://www.brrp.org).

theologians, including Jan Hus, whose works are still being edited (the center for editions is now in Brno),<sup>16</sup> and Jakoubek of Stříbro.<sup>17</sup>

Czech medieval studies generally ended with the last Hussite period, the time of George of Poděbrady. Even though he was considered a national hero and a “Hussite king” and thus a continuer of the Hussite struggle, he does not get much attention now (to name two who have concentrated on him: Jaroslav Boubín, Petr Čornej). The period of the Jagellonian kings and the rule of Matthias Corvinus in the Czech lands was almost totally forgotten by Czech historians. Josef Macek, however, started research on the Jagellonian period in the early 1950s, although he was not allowed to publish; he then specialised in the Hussites, George of Poděbrady, the German Peasant War, and came back to the Jagellonians. Macek’s book on the Jagellonian age in the Czech lands was unfinished when he died, but five volumes of the intended seven were published posthumously.<sup>18</sup> It has definitely been the most important publication for this period of Czech history, an “analytical synthesis.” Newer interpretations have been published by Josef Válka and Petr Čornej and new research is still being done on Matthias Corvinus and his reign in Moravia and Silesia.<sup>19</sup> This period, however, still remains a desideratum of Czech medieval research; wider cooperation within Central Europe is needed due to the substantial research done by Hungarian and Polish colleagues. Most importantly, the research in this period is rather done by art historians (German projects on the Jagellonians in Central Europe, a Czech project on late Gothic art in Moravia, etc.).<sup>20</sup>

It would be possible to go on with a list of various books published in the field of medieval studies for quite a long time. The situation thus can be described as very

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<sup>16</sup> *Magistri Iohannis Hus Opera omnia*, the Latin works now published by Brepols.

<sup>17</sup> Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup, ed., *Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Texty a jejich působení* [Jakoubek of Stříbro: The Texts and their Impact] (Prague: Filosofía, 2006).

<sup>18</sup> Josef Macek, *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* [The Jagellonian Age in the Czech Lands], 4 vols. (Prague: Academia, 1992–1999); idem, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [Religion and Piety in the Jagellonian Age] (Prague: Argo, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Josef Válka, *Středověká Morava* [Medieval Moravia] (Brno: Muzejní společnost, 1991); and his collected essays in idem, *Husitství na Moravě. Náboženská snášenlivost. Jan Amos Komenský* [Hussitism in Moravia. Religious Tolerance. John Amos Comenius] (Brno: Matice moravská, 2005); Petr Čornej and Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [A Large History of the Czech Crown], vol. 6 (Prague: Paseka, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> E.g., Ivo Hlobil and Eduard Petrů, *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, 2d rev. ed. (Olomouc: Votobia, 1999); *Od gotiky k renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550* [From Gothic to Renaissance. The Artistic Culture of Moravia and Silesia 1400–1550], 4 vols. (Brno: Moravská galerie, 1999–2002).

favourable, because the results of research can be published and medieval studies are still part of the curriculum. The early 1990s brought opportunities for scholars who were not able to publish earlier (Josef Macek, František Hoffmann, František Šmahel, Libuše Hrabová, Jaroslav Mezník, Josef Válka, and others). Present-day production is vast and many new topics have been opened for Czech medievalists – some of them already quite traditional in international medieval studies, some of them in the current trends of research. Just to name a few: ritual, residences, courtly culture, religious history (especially monastic history), and many others. Names of these scholars would form a long list; the results of research are usually presented in conferences and published in conference volumes.<sup>21</sup>

Specialised interest in medieval studies in the Czech Republic has a few centers where research is concentrated, but, of course, it is not limited to them. The most important among them is the Center for Medieval Studies in Prague, a meeting point for medievalists, especially young PhD students, who thus have a forum for getting to know each other and for possible cooperation. Not only are regular conferences of doctoral students held in Prague, but also summer schools in medieval studies. In this sense the Center for Medieval Studies, founded in 1998, has great merit. It endeavours to list all the doctoral students of the various disciplines of medieval studies and also brings senior researchers and scholars together. Even though the results are not always very evident, it helps cooperation and coordination in medieval research not only within the structures of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University (the two responsible institutions), but in the whole Czech Republic.<sup>22</sup> Other centers are Masaryk University in Brno and Palacký University in Olomouc, which have also sent their students to CEU, and the Czech Historical Institute in Rome, which helps all researchers in the Roman libraries and archives, especially the Vatican Secret Archives and the library.

At Masaryk University, two large publication projects are underway, one of them has already been mentioned (Jan Hus), and the other is the continuation of *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*. Under the auspices of the Center

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<sup>21</sup> E.g., the series of *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia*, 10 vols. (1999–2008); *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu* [Crown lands in the History of the Czech State], 3 vols. (2003–2007); *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku* [Courts and Residences in the Middle Ages], 2 vols. (2006–2008); and many others.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. <http://cms.flu.cas.cz> and Petr Sommer and Pavel Soukup, ed., *Centrum mediévistických studií – badatelství, doktorandská výuka, mezinárodní spolupráce 1998–2008* [Center for Medieval Studies – Research, Doctoral Tutoring, International Cooperation 1998–2008] (Prague: Filosofia, 2008).

for Medieval Studies in Prague other former series are also being continued: *Archiv český* [Czech archive] and *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, series nova*. Another activity of the Center for Medieval Studies is the publication of Czech medieval sources online.<sup>23</sup> An important research group of scholars related to theology has been formed at Palacký University (and connects scholars in Prague and Brno) in the Center for Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts. Their activity is quite wide and the center specialises in the publication of theological and philosophical texts, and translations and studies related to these texts and their authors.<sup>24</sup>

The alumni of the Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU are not very numerous in the Czech Republic, but all of them have returned to the Czech Republic and thus are trying to follow the original purpose of CEU in helping to create wider opportunities and a better environment in academia in their own country. Even more, most of them are staying in academia, acting as researchers and teachers, most importantly in Brno and Olomouc, and participating in many research projects. Olomouc alumni have initiated the new project of a study program of “Older History,” which incorporates medieval and early modern studies as broad interdisciplinary studies concentrating on research at the MA level. The alumni participate in projects of the Center for Medieval Studies, organise their own conferences, and two have been members of the Center for Theoretical Studies in Prague.

The state of medieval studies and medieval research, even though it could be described here only briefly, can be viewed much more optimistically than in the early 1990s. Centers and departments of history specialize in medieval studies and often bring interesting and crucial results. A few problems of Czech research might be at a lower level of internationalisation: the Czech connection, quite understandably, leads mainly to Germany and Poland (after 1990 there was a little caesura in cooperation) and Slovakia, which, however, leaves aside connections with Hungary, for example, or Western European countries. Most of the ties are based on individual links and a few projects (the Center for Medieval Studies, for example, has a joint project on the later crusades with the University of Toulouse). To conclude, I must repeat that the situation of medieval studies cannot be compared with that of twenty years ago and CEU, even though it was not much wanted by some Czech politicians, helped create a more differentiated scholarly environment in the current state of medieval research.

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. <http://147.231.53.91/src/index.php>.

<sup>24</sup> See <http://www.centrum-texty.upol.cz>.



## MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN ESTONIA

*Anu Mänd*

The Middle Ages are in fashion in Estonia, not only among scholars but in the society as a whole. In Tallinn, one can meet people dressed in a medieval manner several times a year: in June at the Old Town festival, in December at the Christmas market, and so on. Tartu, the second largest city, celebrates the Hanseatic days annually, and there are the restaurants serving “medieval” food, shops selling “medieval” goods, and so on. It is even difficult to explain why the Middle Ages are so popular – perhaps partly because the medieval period is simply fascinating, and partly because of the richness in medieval monuments (e.g., the city centre of Tallinn has largely preserved its medieval appearance and is included in the UNESCO heritage list). On the scholarly level, the popularity may at least partly be caused by the synergy created by a group of medievalists who some years ago founded the Centre for Medieval Studies (see below).

There has been a considerable rise of interest in medieval studies since the re-acquisition of independence in 1991. Since the late 1980s it has been possible to study topics that in Soviet times were “inadvisable” (e.g., subjects related to religion) or could not be treated objectively (political history, “German” institutions, etc.). In fact, one of the few “safe” subjects in the Soviet period was agrarian history. The past decades have witnessed a growing interest in medieval church history, daily life, and mentalities. The political history of medieval Estonia (Livonia) has been thoroughly revised. There are several new studies on urban history and culture and the revival also concerns medieval archaeology and art history.

A change of generations should also be mentioned. Several scholars who were the main figures in medieval studies in the 1970s and 1980s retired in the 1990s (e.g., Sulev Vahtre, Enn Tarvel). Prof. Jüri Kivimäe (b. 1947), still one of our leading medievalists, left Tartu University in 1999 because he was elected Professor of History at the University of Toronto. He is also the Chair of Estonian Studies there. All these changes opened up opportunities for young medievalists, many of whom had, after graduating from Tartu University, studied abroad.

It should be noted that it is not possible to earn a degree in medieval studies in Estonia; one can graduate as a historian, art historian or archaeologist. For a long time, Tartu University was the only one with MA and PhD programs in these

Anu Mänd

disciplines. From the end of the 1990s, however, it has been possible to defend an MA at the Institute of History of Tallinn University, and in 2003 a doctoral program was accredited there.<sup>1</sup>

### **CMS – Centre for Medieval Studies**

Estonia is a small country with only about twenty medievalists (including historians, art historians, and archaeologists). Most of us are good friends and involved in joint projects. Some years ago, it was realized that our ties could be made even stronger and research better coordinated if we formed a research centre uniting people from different institutions. Thus, in 2005, the Centre for Medieval Studies (CMS) of the Tallinn University (TLU) was founded.<sup>2</sup> One of the main supporters of this idea and the first head of the CMS was art historian Kersti Markus. Although the CMS is located at the Institute of History of TLU, it has members from several other institutions as well. The twelve founding members (what a symbolic number) and their research interests should be briefly introduced here (listed in alphabetical order).

**Helen Bome** (MA 2003) is a PhD student at TLU. She has studied medieval iconography and the historiography of art history in Estonia.

**Tiina Kala** (PhD 2001) is a senior researcher in the Tallinn City Archives. She has studied the Christianization of Livonia and the development of local written culture. She has also written on the Reformation and the subsequent religious, economic and social changes.

**Linda Kaljundi** (MA 2005) is a PhD student in the History Department of the University of Helsinki. The title of her thesis is: “Representations of Violence and Affection in the Northern Mission and Crusading: The Emotional History of Europeanization.” She is also interested in sites of memory.

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<sup>1</sup> Tallinn University (<http://www.tlu.ee>) was founded in 2005 when some high schools (Tallinn Pedagogical University and the Estonian Institute of the Humanities) and research institutions (Institute of History, and others) were united.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.ai.ee/?pid=59>

**Juhan Kreem** (PhD 2002) is a senior researcher in the Tallinn City Archives. He is interested in the development of power structures in medieval Livonia, particularly the Teutonic Order.

**Ivar Leimus** (PhD 1989) is a senior researcher in the Estonian History Museum. He is a specialist in numismatics, but has also studied the colonization and economic history of medieval Livonia.

**Marika Mägi** (PhD 2002) is professor of Archaeology at TLU. Her research interests include the society and burial customs in Livonia in the transition period between the Viking Age and the Middle Ages.

**Anu Mänd** (PhD 2000) is a senior researcher at the Institute of History of TLU. She is interested in urban history, visual culture, and the cult of saints in medieval Livonia.

**Kersti Markus** (PhD 2000) is Professor of Art History at TLU. She has studied medieval church architecture and the interaction of pagan and Christian culture.

**Inna Põltsam-Jürjo** (PhD 2008) is a senior researcher at the Institute of History of TLU. She has studied medieval food, the Reformation, and the medieval and early modern history of Livonian small towns.

**Priit Raudkivi** (PhD 1987) is a senior researcher at (and former director of) the Institute of History of TLU. He is interested in the political and social history of medieval Livonia and Livonian-Danish relations.

**Anti Selart** (PhD 2002) is Associate Professor of Medieval History at Tartu University. He has studied the political history of medieval and early modern Livonia and the relations between different confessions.

**Marek Tamm** (MA 1999) is a researcher at the Institute of History of TLU and lecturer at the Estonian Institute for the Humanities (EHI). He has analysed the image of Livonia in Western Europe as well as the Christianization processes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He will defend his Ph.D. thesis ("Inventing Livonia") in 2009.

Anu Mänd

A short CV of these and other members can be found in the homepage of the CMS. A detailed CV and a full list of publications of each scholar in Estonia can be found on the homepage of the Estonian Research Information System (ETIS).<sup>3</sup>

The CMS has close connections with similar institutions in other countries, such as the Nordic Centre for Medieval Studies (NCMS) in Bergen and naturally the Medieval Studies Department at the CEU. The CMS is a member of the FIDEM (*Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales*) and actively participates in CARMEN (Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network). Conferences are often organised jointly with a partner from abroad. These are the major international events in Estonia in the past five years that have been coordinated by members of the CMS:

August 2004: 19<sup>th</sup> Nordic Iconographic Symposium, "Images in the Margins," in Kuressaare. The proceedings were published in 2006.<sup>4</sup>

August 2006: Conference of the doctoral school, "Regional and European Identities in the Medieval Baltic Sea Region," in Tallinn (in cooperation with the NCMS).

July 2007: Symposium "Who Owns Memory? The Power of Remembrance," and a doctoral school conference: "How Collectivities Remember" (with the EHI).

August 2007: Conference on: "The Edges of the Medieval World," on the island of Muhu (with CEU). The proceedings have been published.<sup>5</sup>

October 2007: "Changing Spaces: Danish-Estonian Seminar on Negotiating Culture and Christianity Across the Medieval Baltic Sea," in Tallinn (with the NCMS).

May 2008: "Crusading and Chronicle Writing at the Medieval Frontier: The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia," in Tallinn (with the NCMS). The proceedings will be published by Ashgate in 2010.

Some forthcoming events also deserve to be advertised. In September 2009, a conference "Art, Memory, and Patronage: Visual Culture in the Baltic Sea Region at the Time of Bernt Notke," and in 2010, the CARMEN meeting will take place in Tallinn. It is the aim of the CMS to organise at least one international or doctoral school conference a year.

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.etis.ee/index.aspx?lang=en>

<sup>4</sup> Kersti Markus, ed., *Images in the Margins: Nordic Studies in Medieval Art / Bilder i marginalen: Nordiska studier i medeltidens konst* (Tallinn: Argo, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard Jaritz and Juhan Kreem, eds., *The Edges of the Medieval World*, CEU Medievalia 11 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009).

## Estonians at CEU

Six Estonians have studied at the Medieval Studies Department of CEU. At first glance, this number seems to be rather small, but if we consider that there are altogether about twenty medievalists in Estonia, then the role of the CEU in their training is more than impressive. The first Estonians – Juhan Kreem and Erik Somelar – were admitted to the MA program in 1993, that is, for the first academic year. They graduated in 1994. Since then, Juhan has developed into one of the leading medievalists in Estonia, being particularly interested in the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. He defended his PhD on a related subject at Tartu University in 2002 (see the section on books below), and has worked in the Tallinn City Archives since 1996. Erik decided not to choose the career of a scholar, but has made use of his broad knowledge in several important positions, including that of an economic advisor to the president of the Estonian Republic in the late 1990s. Currently, he works at the European Commission in Brussels.

The positive experiences of Juhan and Erik encouraged others to apply to CEU. Anneli Randla (art historian) and Ken Kalling (anthropologist) defended their MAs in 1995. Anneli continued her studies at the University of Cambridge, where she defended her PhD in 1999. From 2000 to 2004 she was the director general of the National Heritage Board of Estonia, where she now serves as the deputy director for research. Ken returned to Tartu University, but has not yet concluded his PhD studies. Currently, he works as lecturer in the Faculty of Medicine.

The next, and the last (so far), pair of Estonians entered the Medieval Studies Department in 1995 and defended their MAs in the following year. Both of them chose to continue there in the doctoral program and both of them chose topics totally different from their MA theses. Anu Mänd, who wrote her MA on liturgical vessels, defended her PhD on the social history of festivals (2000),<sup>6</sup> and Ülle Sillasoo, a trained archeobotanist, moved from medieval food to plant depictions (2003).<sup>7</sup>

Two professors have played a particularly important role in the training of these Estonian students: Gerhard Jaritz and József Laszlovszky. The first supervised the MA theses of Erik, Juhan, Ülle (together with Prof. Laszlovszky), and Anu, as well

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<sup>6</sup> Anu Mänd, “The Urban Festival in Late Medieval Livonia: Norm, Practice, Perception” (PhD dissertation, CEU, 2000). The thesis was published in Estonian in 2004 and in English in 2005 (see the section on books). I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Gerhard Jaritz who encouraged me to publish my work.

<sup>7</sup> Ülle Sillasoo, “Plant Depictions in Late Medieval Religious Art in Southern Central Europe: An Archaeobotanical Approach” (PhD dissertation, CEU, 2003).

Anu Mänd

as both PhD dissertations; the second supervised the MA theses of Anneli, Ken and Ülle (together with Prof. Jaritz). It is thanks to their wide scope of knowledge, kind support, and the necessary application of pressure that we managed to complete our studies and to enjoy the painful procedure of writing a thesis. The close cooperation between Gerhard Jaritz and his former students has continued ever since; there are happy reunions at conferences and other scholarly events, and there are conferences and publications organised in common.

The quality of education and the inspiring atmosphere of the Medieval Studies Department have had a positive influence on not only the alumni themselves, but also on their students. Juhan and Anu give lectures at the Tallinn University, Anneli at the Estonian Academy of Arts, and Ken at the Tartu University. Through teaching and supervising, the knowledge and methodological approaches acquired at CEU are passed on to the next generations.

### **Inspiring Books**

It is clear that when one is asked to provide a list of books which have had the deepest impact on medieval studies in Estonia the list reflects the subjective opinion of its compiler. I have left out several dissertations, conference proceedings and source publications that have also contributed to the research on medieval Estonia (Livonia). However, it is the following books, arranged chronologically, that in my opinion have been the most inspiring.

Kivimäe, Jüri and Juhan Kreem, ed. *Quotidianum Estonicum*. Medium Aevum Quotidianum 5. Krems, 1996.

This volume is the “first” in many aspects: it is the first collection of articles on daily life – a subject that had only recently begun to be studied in Estonia; it contains the articles of very young scholars (except Prof. Kivimäe) and for several of them it was their first article in a foreign language, and it was the first joint project of a CEU professor (Gerhard Jaritz as the initiator of the volume) and an Estonian alumnus (Juhan Kreem).

Markus, Kersti. *Från Gotland till Estland: Kyrkokonst och politik under 1200-talet* [From Gotland to Estonia: Church Art and Politics in the Thirteenth century]. Kristianstad: Mercur Consulting OY, 1999.

This is a PhD thesis, defended at Stockholm University in 2000. Kersti was

the first art historian to study and defend her thesis abroad and publish it in a foreign language. Her thesis is highly original and interdisciplinary.

Kala, Tiina. *Euroopa kirjakultuur hiliskeskaegsetes õppetekstides: Tallinna dominiiklase David Sliperi taskuraamat* [Late Medieval Literary Culture and School Manuscripts: The Handbook of the Dominican Friar David Sliper from the Tallinn Friary]. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2001.

Tiina's meticulous study, defended as a PhD thesis at Tartu University, is a model to everyone dealing with literary culture and medieval manuscripts.

Mägi, Marika. *At the Crossroads of Space and Time: Graves, Changing Society and Ideology on Saaremaa (Ösel), 9th–13th Centuries AD*. Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut; Gotland: Center of Baltic Studies, 2002.

In her PhD thesis, Marika presents innovative material on the society and funerary customs of the ancient Estonians.

Põltsam, Inna. *Söömine-joomine keskaegses Tallinnas* [Eating and Drinking in Medieval Tallinn]. Tallinn: Argo, 2002.

This book, based on Inna's MA thesis, is written in a popular manner and targets a general audience. It has increased the public interest in the Middle Ages.

Kreem, Juhan. *The Town and Its Lord: Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the Fifteenth Century)*. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2002.

Juhan's PhD thesis focuses on legal, military and economic aspects in the relations between the city of Tallinn and the Teutonic Order.

Selart, Anti. *Liivimaa ja Vene 13. sajandil: Uurimus poliitilisest ajaloost* [Livonia and Russia in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Political History]. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2002. Revised version: *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2007.

Anti's PhD thesis is an internationally recognized study on the political history of Livonia.

Mägi, Marika, ed. *Eesti aastal 1200* [Estonia in 1200]. Tallinn: Argo, 2003.

This volume presents new and challenging results on the society, mentality and material culture in pre-conquest Estonia.

Anu Mänd

Mänd, Anu. *Pidustused keskaegse Liivimaa linnades 1350–1550*. Tallinn: EKSA, 2004. A revised version: *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

This study, based on the PhD thesis defended at the CEU, analyses the festive culture in Livonian cities, focusing mainly on the annual festivals of guilds and confraternities.

Kala, Tiina, Juhan Kreem, and Anu Mänd. *Kümme keskaegset tallinlast* [Ten Inhabitants of Medieval Tallinn]. Tallinn: Varrak, 2006.

Each chapter of this book is devoted to the occupational and social career of a specific individual (merchant, goldsmith, city scribe, priest, mercenary, etc.) and opens the wider context of his profession.

*Pirita klooster 600* [Pirita Birgittine nunnery 600]. *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi/ Studies on Art and Architecture* 4 (2007).

This collection of articles presents new information on the foundation and the founders of the Pirita convent, and its role in Estonian historical memory.

Tamm, Marek, ed. *Kuidas kirjutatakse ajalugu?* [How to write history]. Tallinn: Varrak, 2007.

This book includes Marek's interviews with twelve renowned scholars (Peter Burke, Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, and others) and discusses methodologies of history writing.

Põltsam-Jürjo, Inna. *Liivimaa väikelinn Uus-Pärnu 16. sajandi esimesel poolel* [A Livonian Small Town, New Pärnu in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]. Tallinn: Argo, 2009.

The manuscript was defended as a PhD thesis at Tallinn University in 2008. Small towns (with a thousand or less inhabitants) have rarely been a focus of scholarly studies. Inna's book can be regarded as pioneering.

## Ongoing and Future Projects

There are two main ways in which research is supported in Estonia: long-term collective projects (up to six years) financed by the Ministry of Education, and individual or collective projects (up to four years) financed by the Estonian Science Foundation. Several members of the CMS are currently involved in the long-term project “Christianization, Colonization and Cultural Exchange: The Historical Origins of the European Identity of Estonia (13th–17th Centuries),” scheduled to last from 2008 to 2013. The project addresses one of the “hot” issues in current Estonian scholarship – the Livonian crusades and the incorporation of this region into the Roman Catholic world. In recent decades, the study of the conquest and Christianization has witnessed a clear paradigmatic change leading to abandoning the earlier national-romantic viewpoint.<sup>8</sup>

The aim is to examine the processes of Christianization and colonization, including their reflections in visual culture, from new perspectives and in the wider Northern European context. The main focus is on two transition periods: the thirteenth-century crusades and the sixteenth-century Reformation. We will study the role and significance of Livonia as one of the European borderlands, the administrative, economic and cultural Europeanization of the region, the formation of new social elites, the interrelations of elite and popular culture, and so forth. We will also explore how the processes of Christianization, colonization, and cultural exchange developed in the confessionalization period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

One of the results of the project will be the *History of Estonia*, vol. 2 (The Middle Ages), edited by Anti Selart. It is quite a challenge to prepare this volume because we have to find the right balance between tradition (the book is a part of the six-volume series, of which volumes 4 and 6 have already been published, which imposes certain restrictions on us concerning the format and content) and innovation (our aim is not just to take into account the research results of the recent decades but also to conduct a conceptually new study).

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<sup>8</sup> In earlier scholarship, the period of 1208–1227 is known as the “ancient fight for freedom,” in which the Estonian tribes heroically fought against the bloodthirsty German crusaders. The loss in this war led to the “700 years of slavery” that ended in 1918 with the foundation of the Estonian Republic and the War of Independence in 1918–1920. These notions are deeply rooted in the Estonian historical memory. In 2005, a film “Malev” (in English “Men at Arms: Henry of Livonia Lied”) – a parody of the ancient fight for freedom – turned out to be a great success, but also caused controversial reactions.

Anu Mänd

In the future, the members of the CMS plan to carry out two other collective projects: to write a *History of Estonian Visual Culture* that will provide an alternative to art histories by conducting a multi-faceted analysis of the visual environment of the past, and a volume on *Sites of Memory* that will not study historical events, persons or phenomena themselves, but their reception (the use, abuse and misuse) in later centuries.

One of the general goals of these projects is to analyse the history and visual culture of medieval Estonia within the context of pan-European processes, and in doing so, to integrate local history writing into the international research. Working with similar concepts and using similar methodologies provides the best basis for interdisciplinary and comparative research.

## QUO VADIS MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN GEORGIA?

*Levan Gigineishvili*

CEU Medieval Studies appeared in my life in 1994 as a window on the strange, exotic world of the European Middle Ages, the epoch when religious faith, politics, and art were intertwined, forming a holistic world so different from ours. Being quite familiar with the Middle Ages of Eastern Christendom, I felt a kind of a joyful trepidation at getting acquainted with Western Christendom and making my own synthesis of the two; understanding the ancient roots of modern Europe; getting an in-depth understanding of how Georgia assimilates and differentiates itself from Europe; and deciding in what sense and how justifiably one can speak of Georgian culture as European. After years of study and teaching I still have a Socratic feeling of not having conclusive answers to these questions. The initial feeling – fed to be sure by the wonderful classes of the CEU professors – of exposure to something great and exotic that I had in my CEU years is still vivid in me.

When I returned to Georgia in 2000 I embarked headlong upon teaching Byzantine culture and literature at the Javakhishvili State University Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. I could teach only BA classes, however, because my Medieval Studies PhD was not recognized by the Georgian academy. “Medievalist” was a non-existent profession. That is why, in order to teach courses on the MA level, I re-defended my CEU doctoral thesis and obtained a Georgian PhD in Philology in 2002. Subjects from medieval studies have been covered in Georgian universities by the departments of history, literature, art, and architecture, but until recently no separate discipline of Medieval Studies had been created.

Since 2003 Georgia has become a part of the Bologna process. The Bologna process with its emphasis on market-oriented studies, as one may have predicted, did not seem favorable for humanities studies in Georgia. However, this forecast was not fulfilled. The Bologna process is still only a façade in the academic life in my country; in fact, this process implies that students must have a certain assurance and hope that after successful studies they will be of a high demand for well-paid jobs. But no such assurances and hope exist among Georgian students; most of them still feel that well-paid jobs are not necessarily given to those who deserve them through good academic records at the Georgian higher institutions, but rather to those who have connections or been educated abroad. Paradoxically, I

Levan Gigineishvili

think, exactly this apathy plays a positive role for the humanities in Georgia; being frustrated in “pragmatic,” market-oriented subjects, quite a few students choose to pursue non-pragmatic interests in humanities out of sincere curiosity and desire.

Among the other disciplines of humanities, Medieval Studies are of especial interest for young Georgians, perhaps because in the postmodern whirl they are trying to support their identity and get a fuller understanding of their ancestral roots and traditions. In fact, Georgia had a long Middle Ages that lasted until the eighteenth century and, indeed, a few aspects of the culture and ethos of Georgians could still be called “medieval” – with this word conveying both favorable and unfavorable connotations. Architecture, paintings and especially ancient manuscripts preserved in the State Institute of Manuscripts – most of which still await study and publication – provide ample opportunities for study and research; and since they are also of interest to Western scholars, their students have good chances to get involved in international projects, to get access to Western financial support, and so on. In this way, it would not be a mistake to say that humanities, Medieval Studies in particular, have no fewer prospects from the financial point of view than, for instance, such disciplines as banking or business administration – because there are fewer available jobs at Georgian banks than there are students who graduate with diplomas in banking or business administration. Thus, the humanities in Georgia have a chance to live up to objectives of the Bologna process perhaps more successfully than other, more “pragmatic,” disciplines.

How are the things today with regard to Medieval Studies? First, there are two chief higher academic institutions in Georgia that deal with humanities: Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Ilia Chavchavadze Tbilisi State University. The first has the Institute of Classics, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. The subjects taught at the Institute cover Byzantine and – to a lesser extent – the Western Middle Ages. At the library of the Institute, where I started lecturing, Byzantine literature was at least represented, but it was a tiny fraction compared with the books connected with Ancient and Modern Greek. Through participation in several CEU Curriculum Resource Center sessions, with book allowances provided by this program, I was able to purchase a few important books in medieval – and particularly Byzantine – studies (among others, Kazdan’s three-volume dictionary of Byzantium); besides, over a few years many other books in Byzantine studies arrived at the library from various sources. That served as a ground for creating, with the financial support of Greek patrons of arts, a separate library of Byzantine studies at the Institute in February 2009. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University also has a department of Oriental Studies, which covers issues related to the Eastern Middle Ages. Two years

ago a joint project was launched by the Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and the Open Society Institute (Budapest): an MA course in Late Antique-Medieval philosophy/theology. CEU professors Istvan Perczel and Gyorgy Gereby have been to Tbilisi several times to deliver lectures in philosophy for this course. I have also taught a course on Paganism and Christianity in Late Antiquity especially for this project. The MA graduates enrolled in the project successfully defended their theses (on Plotinus, Proclus, Petritsi, etc.) in January 2009.

Since 2006 I have been working as an associate professor at the Ilia Chavchavadze State University – a new university that originated from the unification of the Institute of Foreign Languages and the Pedagogical Institute. This university is less bureaucratic than older ones and novelty is easier to introduced there. One of the most favorable novelties has been the establishment of the Center of Medieval Studies and the MA program in Medieval Studies. For the first time in Georgia, an MA graduate will have a qualification as a Medievalist. The center has gathered scholars of all age groups, among them four CEU Medieval Studies graduates Irma Karaulashvili, Natia Gabrichidze, Giga Zedania, and me. Giga Zedania has recently also become the dean of the faculty of humanities and one of his first initiatives was to try to connect the Medieval Studies program of our university with the Higher Education Support Program (HESP) of the OSI. Hopefully, this connection will be established. Moreover, independently from this initiative, the CEU Center for Hellenic Traditions proposed an ambitious three-year (2010/11–2012/13) project to HESP: “The Caucasus and Byzantium from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages,” which is to involve academic institutions and scholars of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan as well as international scholars. The project covers a variety of topics (philosophy/theology, translations, manuscript studies, archaeology and art, numismatics, etc.) and envisages close cooperation of local Caucasian scholars working with Western scholars. The project is also planning on the participation of CEU Medieval doctoral students in the educational process of universities in Caucasus. Professor Niels Gaul and Cristi Daniel, a PhD student) recently visited Armenia and Georgia to see the academic situation on the spot. In the case of Georgia, the program developed and presented by Gaul provides for both Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and the Chavchavadze Tbilisi State University scholars to participate, which is a very favorable model because both universities have commendable resources and can jointly contribute to this project.

I think, enough has been said concerning the issue of “Quo Vadis Medieval Studies of Georgia?” It is going in the right and promising direction, towards local development and greater exposure to and collaboration with international scholars.

Levan Gigineishvili

### **Major Higher Institutions:**

Ilia Chavchavadze Tbilisi State University ([www.iliauni.edu.ge](http://www.iliauni.edu.ge))

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University ([www.tsu.ge](http://www.tsu.ge))

G. Tsereteli Institute for Oriental Studies (includes department of Byzantine Studies).

Address: 3, Acad. G.Tsereteli St. 380062 Tbilisi Georgia Tel/Fax: (995 32) 29 09 25

### **Journals covering issues of Medieval Studies:**

*Christian Archeological Research*. Ilia Chavchavadze State University, faculty of Humanities and Cultural Studies, Center of Studies in Christian Archeology (website: [christian\\_archeology@iliauni.edu.ge](mailto:christian_archeology@iliauni.edu.ge))

*Tsakhnagi* (Facet) – Annual of philological studies. Tbilisi: Memkvidreoba (“Heritage”)

*Byzantine Studies in Georgia* (Website: <http://byzingeo2.org/?lng=eng&p=home>)

*Semiotika* – Scientific Journal. Ilia Chavchavadze State University. Faculty of Humanities and Cultural Studies.

*Phasis* – Greek and Roman Studies. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies.

### **Some contributions of the last 10 years:**

Ioane Petrizi. *Kommentar zur ‘Elementatio theologica’ des Proklos*. Übersetzung aus dem Altgeorgischen, Anmerkungen, Indices und Einleitung Herausgegeben von Lela Alexidze und Lutz Bergemann Tbilisi Javakhishvili State University / Humboldt-Universität, Berlin Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie 47 2009.

Alexidze, Lela. *Neoplatonic Philosophy: Plotinus and Iamblichus*. Tbilisi: Logos, 2009.

———. *Ioane Petritsi and Antique Philosophy*. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Press: Tbilisi, 2008.

Tevzadze, Guram. *Philosophy of Renaissance: From Marcilio Ficino to Jakob Boehme*. Nekeri: Tbilisi, 2008. (A follow-up to his *History of Medieval Philosophy*. Tbilisi State University Press: Tbilisi, 1996.)

Jugeli, Viktoria. *The Blessed Theodoric of Cyrus: His life, Activities, Belief, Works and their Georgian Translations*. Tbilisi : Logos:, 2008.

Gelukashvili, Joseph. *Unknown Sermon of Germanos of Constantinople*. Tbilisi, 2008.

Koromila, Marianna. *Greeks on the Black Sea: From the Bronze Era to the Beginning of XX century*. Tbilisi: Logos, 2008.

Mchedlidze, Magda. *Michael Psellos' Philosophical Position and Intellectual-Pedagogic Method*. Tbilisi: Logos, 2006.

Gigineishvili, Levan. *Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007.

Iremadze, Tengiz. *Konzeptionen Des Denkens Im Neuplatonismus. Zur Rezeption Der Proklischen Philosophie Im Deutschen Und Georgischen Mittelalter* Dietrich von Freiberg – Berthold von Moosburg-Joane Petrizi. Bochum: John Benjamins, 2004.

Melikishvili, Damana. *From the History of Old Georgian Philosophical-Theological Terminology*. Tbilisi: Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Press, 1999.



## MEDIEVAL HISTORY AND MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN GERMANY: FROM CULTURAL TO TRANSCULTURAL

*Michael Brauer*

### **The Status of Medieval Studies**

In Germany, medieval studies has not been a subject offered at universities until recently. German medievalists, i.e., scholars dealing with the Middle Ages, are normally trained in one discipline such as art history or literature and specialize in the Middle Ages in the course of their studies. This paper – written by a historian of the Middle Ages – will therefore review the main trends in the field from the perspective of history. This is, however, not meant to be defensive; I am, on the contrary, convinced that the division into disciplines is fruitful for the study of the Middle Ages. After giving an overview of the institutional structures and of selected research trends before and after the millennium, the paper will return to the question of medieval studies and suggest cultural history and transcultural history as recent fields of interdisciplinary study.

The main place for doing research is still the university.<sup>1</sup> The number of positions in medieval history is rather high because it is part of the history teachers' exam and is thus offered at most universities. At present, there are 118 professors of medieval history (including regional history [*Landesgeschichte*] and auxiliary sciences) at 63 universities and similar institutions,<sup>2</sup> a number that has doubled from the 1960s onwards as a result of the reform process in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1970s with the founding of new universities and an increase in staff.<sup>3</sup> Another factor was the German (re-)unification of 1990, after

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<sup>1</sup> For institutional structures see Hans-Werner Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik: Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 126-152 (hereafter: Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*); Peter Johaneck, "Zu neuen Ufern? Beobachtungen eines Zeitgenossen zur deutschen Mediävistik von 1975 bis heute," (hereafter: Johaneck, "Zu neuen Ufern?") in *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Moraw and Rudolf Schieffer, *Vorträge und Forschungen 62* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 139-174, esp. 140-146, 154-158 (hereafter: Moraw and Schieffer, ed. *Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*).

<sup>2</sup> Figures based on the list of the *Mediävistenverband e. V.*, June 2008; the number of ten professors of regional history and three of the auxiliary sciences, respectively, was added to the number of 105 medieval historians; see [www.mediaevistenverband.de/download/Lehrstuehle/Lehrstuehle20Juni2008/geschichte.pdf](http://www.mediaevistenverband.de/download/Lehrstuehle/Lehrstuehle20Juni2008/geschichte.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> In the 1960s, there were about 60 professors, by 1975 already 85; see Johaneck, "Zu neuen Ufern?," 154f.

Michael Brauer

which the 17 chairs in the former GDR were added to the pool.<sup>4</sup> Since that time of plenty, however, the number of positions has slowly diminished.

From the 1970s onwards, the focus of research funding in the humanities has turned away from the individual scholar at his desk towards coordinated programs. The main sponsor in the public sector, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation, DFG), has introduced Collaborative Research Centers (*Sonderforschungsbereiche*, SFB) based on individual university and Priority Programs (*Schwerpunktprogramme*, SPP) which connect universities throughout Germany; in the 1990s, Research Training Groups (*Graduiertenkollegs*) were added. At the core of these programs are two ideas: First, the emancipation of younger scholars, since they are mainly the ones who organize and conduct research. Second, interdisciplinary approaches are encouraged through the collaboration of different disciplines within these programs. As always in reality, there are more and less successful examples, but coordinated programs have often contributed to the establishment of new approaches.

Research in Germany has a strong base outside the universities, too. Most prominent are the Academies of Science.<sup>5</sup> As often in Germany, there is not one central academy, but a number of them in different regions, with different historical roots, namely, Berlin, Göttingen, Munich, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Mainz, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg. The academies house long-term research in Germany, which may span several decades or even go back more than a hundred years, such as the *Regesta Imperii* in Mainz or the *Constitutiones* in Berlin.

The most famous institution is probably still the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH), the large-scale edition project of (in a broad sense) “German” sources of the Middle Ages. There are also a number of more specialized research institutes associated with universities.<sup>6</sup> The Thomas Institute (directed by Andreas Speer, Universität zu Köln) has a philosophical focus on the Middle Ages; at the University of Muenster, Peter Johanek directs the Institute of Comparative Urban History (*Institut für vergleichende Städteforschung*); Michael Borgolte (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) is the director of the Institute for the Comparative History of Europe in the Middle Ages (*Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter*, IVGEM) with a focus on comparative and transcultural history.

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<sup>4</sup> 15 of the 17 newly appointed professors came from the west of Germany; see Johanek, “Zu neuen Ufern?,” 155.

<sup>5</sup> See Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 127f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 132, and list of institutions below.

Scholarship is no longer only a matter of books, articles and editions, but in a growing sense a matter of conference presentations and discussions. Every other year the Association of Historians of Germany (*Verband der Historikerinnen und Historiker Deutschlands*) organizes a large conference, the *Historikertag*, with a loose general theme, hosted by a different university, where medieval historians organize sections of their own. The Association of Medievalists (*Mediävistenverband*), which encompasses the German-speaking countries, also attracts medievalists with a biennial, more focused conference.<sup>7</sup> The oldest and, for a long time only, network with regular conferences is the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis* with its *Reichenau-Tagungen*. In earlier days, its topics set the research agenda, and today it represents the mainstream of the subject of medieval history.<sup>8</sup> In 1994, younger medievalists formed the *Brackweder Arbeitskreis* as a (partly ironical) competing event which was to provide a forum for new approaches of social history and cultural studies.<sup>9</sup>

As for research trends of the past 15 years, a glimpse at the 1970s and 1980s is necessary to put the new topics into perspective.<sup>10</sup> In the 1970s, medieval history was, on the one hand, dominated by constitutional history, which was a specific combination of political, legal, and regional history (*Landesgeschichte*) and concentrated on the state and the relation of the king and nobility. On the other hand, the history of ideas sought the motivation for political action.<sup>11</sup> In the course of the 1970s – the decade of social history in Modern History – constitutional history was not replaced by social history in the medieval departments but rather evaluated and put on a new basis, in particular through the use of prosopography.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In 2009, the topic is “Farbiges Mittelalter?! Farbe als Materie, Zeichen und Projektion in der Welt des Mittelalters” (March 2-5, University of Bamberg).

<sup>8</sup> For an internal perspective see Moraw and Schieffer, ed., *Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*.

<sup>9</sup> It is part of the strategy that the contributions are not published in a conference volume; see [www.brackweder-ak.de](http://www.brackweder-ak.de) for the list of past topics.

<sup>10</sup> Before the millennium, there were a number of attempts to summarize the state of research; see Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*; idem, ed., *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, Herausforderungen 10 (Bochum: Winkler, 2000); idem and Jörg Jarnut, ed., *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, Mittelalter Studien 1 (Paderborn: Fink, 2003) (hereafter: Goetz and Jarnut, ed., *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert*); see also some older contributions: Michael Borgolte, ed., *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft N. F. 20 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); idem, *Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters: Eine Forschungsbilanz nach der deutschen Einheit*, Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft N. F. 22 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996); Otto Gerhard Oexle, ed., *Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft 2 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> See Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 104.

<sup>12</sup> Johaneck, “Zu neuen Ufern?,” 150-152.

Michael Brauer

The 1980s were characterized by an unease with grand structures and theories, and a number of scholars therefore turned to the individual human being: One direction was the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*) or – even more focused – microhistory. The works of the French Annales school, which have a similar emphasis, were only then taken note of in German medieval history, especially the history of mentalities.<sup>13</sup> All of this prepared the ground for an “anthropologization” of history, although it did not represent the mainstream in research.

This background was necessary to understand the slow diffusion of cultural history in medieval history departments in the 1990s and later – about a decade later than in Anglo-American and French scholarship.<sup>14</sup> Cultural history is characterized by the multiplication – sometimes explosion – of topics held worthy of research on the one hand, and by a closer look at how contemporary people in the Middle Ages interpreted and made sense of things on the other hand.<sup>15</sup> In this paper, I will only give one example of how an established topic in German scholarship was given new direction by applying cultural studies, although this happened with other topics, too.<sup>16</sup>

“Ritual” is probably the most successful concept to enter medieval history in the past 15 years, and this success is connected to the name of Gerd Althoff (Muenster) who applied it to political history.<sup>17</sup> This anthropological concept helped to answer a crucial question which had been a puzzle in previous scholarship: How come a realm with hardly any transpersonal institutions like the Ottonian kingdom functioned and survived a number of crises?<sup>18</sup> The answer in brief was that rituals produced

<sup>13</sup> See Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 106-112; cf. František Graus, ed., *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter: methodische und inhaltliche Probleme*, Vorträge und Forschungen 35 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987).

<sup>14</sup> For a summary of the scholarship see Peter Burke, *Was ist Kulturgeschichte?* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> See Ute Daniel, *Kompendium Kulturgeschichte: Theorien, Praxis, Schlüsselwörter* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006), 7-25, esp. 17: “Die ‘Objekte’ der Kulturgeschichtsschreibung ... umfassen das Ensemble all dessen, was Geschichte hat. Nichts davon ... läßt sich begreifen, beschreiben, oder erklären, ohne die Bedeutungen, Wahrnehmungsweisen und Sinnstiftungen der zeitgenössischen Menschen in das Verstehen, Beschreiben oder Erklären einzubeziehen.”

<sup>16</sup> The concept of “memory” influenced research on liturgical and aristocratic *memoria*, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters,” in *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinze (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999), 297-323; “the oral and the written” marked new dimensions of communication, see Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik*, 339-365; also, the traditional auxiliary sciences were renewed with respect to signs and symbols, see Peter Rück, ed., *Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden* (see list below, part II, no. 4).

<sup>17</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale* (see list below, part II, no. 8).

<sup>18</sup> This follows the brief sketch in Frank Rexroth, “Rituale und Ritualismus in der historischen

coherence in a society which lacked a written constitution and was characterised by “royal rule without a state.”<sup>19</sup> In times of conflict, there was a set of “rules of the game” (*Spielregeln*), shared by both ruler and nobility, which stabilized the political order.<sup>20</sup> In the meantime, two assumptions have been questioned: that one can take the presentation of rituals by medieval chroniclers for “real” rituals<sup>21</sup> and that an allegedly “archaic” society such as the early medieval German one has a higher level of “ritualism” than a more complex society.<sup>22</sup>

At the beginning of the paper, I advocated the training in a discipline as a basis of collaborating with other disciplines. One of the effects of cultural history was a blurring of the disciplines’ traditional borders because of the general nature of the terms and concepts. For example, can a historian’s understanding of the meaning of rituals in society be adapted by a literary historian to take a fresh look at his texts? Vice versa, can a historian be encouraged by the complexity of memory (*memoria*) to analyze new kinds of sources which usually “belong” to art history or literature. On the whole, this interdisciplinarity is rather conventional in the sense that history, literature, and art have a long history of collaboration and that the focus is mostly on the same country or region.<sup>23</sup>

More innovative is the collaboration of disciplines in European and transcultural history, which is one of the most promising fields at the beginning of the third millennium.<sup>24</sup> In medievalist tradition, Europe is usually conceived as the Latin West (the Occident, *Abendland*) dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. In the approach initiated by Michael Borgolte (Berlin), Europe is seen as a geographically and culturally diverse historical space: as the continent in its geographical entirety which contained the East Slavic and Byzantine World, as well

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Mittelalterforschung: Eine Skizze,” in Goetz and Jarnut, ed., *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert*, 391-406, esp. 397-399.

<sup>19</sup> See the subtitle of Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: PUP, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> Bernhard Jussen, “Diskutieren über Könige im vormodernen Europa: Einleitung,” in *Die Macht des Königs* (see list below), XI-XXIV, here XVII, with respect to the Later Middle Ages and Byzantium.

<sup>23</sup> For an exception see the SFB 619, “Ritualdynamik,” established in 2002 at the University of Heidelberg, with a multitude of cooperating disciplines ([www.ritualdynamik.de](http://www.ritualdynamik.de)).

<sup>24</sup> Other recent approaches include historical semantics and the spatial turn.

Michael Brauer

as the Muslim border areas in Spain and Italy.<sup>25</sup> This approach goes beyond the boundaries of traditional medieval studies towards Slavic, Byzantine, and Arabic Studies. A subsequent transcultural phase went along with the establishment of the Priority Program (*Schwerpunktprogramm*, SPP) 1173 in 2005, directed by Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Heidelberg).<sup>26</sup> The SPP 1173 is based on the idea that Europe in the Middle Ages was never defined by one unifying culture such as Latin Christianity. From this the thesis is derived that the encounter of different European cultures led to constant processes of integration and disintegration which gave birth to the specific dynamic of European history compared to other parts of the world.<sup>27</sup> A particular emphasis is laid on the role of the three monotheistic religions – Christendom (where the Roman and the Orthodox Church haven to be differentiated), Islam, and Judaism – in this process.<sup>28</sup> These ambitious theories are put into practice by setting up small groups of scholars which meet on a regular basis and work on a collaborative publication.<sup>29</sup> The transcultural history of Europe, however, is not the end of the story. The hypothesis of a special European dialectic has to be tested against other regions with similar conditions, be they in the neighborhood or far away. As a consequence, the upcoming phase will move towards global history.

### **Fifteen Important Contributions of the Past Fifteen Years: A Chronological List**

Fögen, Marie Theres. *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager: Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993.

Fried, Johannes. *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024. Propyläen-Geschichte Deutschlands 1*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1994.

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<sup>25</sup> Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt: 1050-1250*, Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 3 (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> I hold a research position at the SPP 1173.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Borgolte, "Europa im Bann des Mittelalters: Wie Geschichte und Gegenwart unserer Lebenswelt die Perspektiven der Mediävistik verändern," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* 6 (2005): 117-135.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Borgolte, *Christen, Juden, Muselmanen* (see list).

<sup>29</sup> For the results of the first phase of the SPP 1173 see Michael Borgolte, Juliane Schiel, Bernd Schneidmüller, and Annette Seitz, ed., *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Europa im Mittelalter 10 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008).

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Michael Brauer

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### **Institutions of Medieval History and Medieval Studies in Germany**

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*Medieval Germany: Research and Resources*, Reference Guide 21. Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2006.

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften [Munich]

Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig

Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften

Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz

Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste  
[Düsseldorf]

Akademie der Wissenschaften in Hamburg

Superordinated website: [www.akademienunion.de](http://www.akademienunion.de)

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D-80539 Munich

(mailing address) Postfach 34 02 23

D-80099 Munich

Phone: +49 (0)89 28638-2384

Fax: +49 (0)89 281419

E-mail: [sekretariat@mgh.de](mailto:sekretariat@mgh.de)

Website: [www.mgh.de](http://www.mgh.de)



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Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte (IStG) GmbH  
at the University of Münster  
Königsstr. 46  
D-48143 Münster  
Phone: +49 (0)251 83 275 12  
Fax: +49 (0)251 83 275 35  
E-mail: [istg@uni-muenster.de](mailto:istg@uni-muenster.de)  
Website: [www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte](http://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte)

Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter (IVGEM)  
at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
Unter den Linden 6  
D-10099 Berlin  
Phone: +49 (0)30 2093-2233  
Fax: +49 (0)30 2093-2431  
E-mail: [BorgolteM@geschichte.hu-berlin.de](mailto:BorgolteM@geschichte.hu-berlin.de)  
(Prof. Michael Borgolte, Director)  
Website: [ivgem.geschichte.hu-berlin.de](http://ivgem.geschichte.hu-berlin.de)

Thomas-Institut  
at Universität zu Köln  
Universitätsstraße 22  
D-50923 Köln  
Phone: +49 (0)221 4702309  
Fax: +49 (0)221 4705011  
E-mail: [thomas-institut@uni-koeln.de](mailto:thomas-institut@uni-koeln.de)  
Website: [www.thomasinst.uni-koeln.de](http://www.thomasinst.uni-koeln.de)

Michael Brauer

## **Associations and Organisations**

Verband der Historikerinnen und Historiker Deutschlands

Website: [www.vhd.gwdg.de](http://www.vhd.gwdg.de)

Deutscher Historikertag (biennial): [www.historikertag.de](http://www.historikertag.de)

Mediävistenverband e. V.

Website: [www.mediaevistenverband.de](http://www.mediaevistenverband.de)

Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, e. V.

Benediktinerplatz 5

D-78467 Konstanz

Phone & Fax: +49 (0)7531 617 43

E-mail: [konstanzer\\_arbeitskreis@t-online.de](mailto:konstanzer_arbeitskreis@t-online.de) /

[mail@konstanzer-arbeitskreis.de](mailto:mail@konstanzer-arbeitskreis.de)

Website: [www.konstanzer-arbeitskreis.de](http://www.konstanzer-arbeitskreis.de)

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Website: [www.brackweder-ak.de](http://www.brackweder-ak.de)

## THE RENAISSANCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN HUNGARY

*Benedek Láng*

State-formation and nation-building are what modern people living in modern nation-states seem to appreciate most of the many significant achievements that took place in the period between A.D. 476 and A.D. 1492. One could say, of course, that this was before globalization. Well, it looks as if things have not really changed that much with globalization, at least not in the field of humanities. Books on “medieval Europe” do exist, but research continues too often to focus on the national rather than the supranational past. This is what makes the Medieval Studies Department at CEU such a unique place, where transethnic, regional, and universal approaches to, and interpretations of, the past are encouraged. In Hungary, where statehood and national identity are so deeply rooted in the Middle Ages, the past fifteen years saw a revival of all things medieval. From the rich crop of this “medieval renaissance,” I present those trends, books, centers that have not only a fifteen-year old past, but also the hope of a future.

The most important change in the past decades in the field of medieval studies is the re-evaluation of “medieval.” We all know that the adjective is a pejorative one, signaling a period that is “in between” an idealized Antiquity and the renewal of its values in the early Renaissance. While in the nineteenth century and again in the 1930s this turned into a real cult of the Middle Ages, in the first communist decades, “medieval” was again viewed in slightly negative terms, and reinterpreted in terms of feudal exploitation and class struggle. This attitude changed gradually, and by the late 1970s and the 1980s research on medieval studies became less politicized, partly thanks to a growing number of translated works from the international scholarship (Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff, Aaron Gurevich, and others), and partly thanks to the new works of Hungarian medievalists (György Györffy, Erik Fügedi, Jenő Szűcs) who had more and more opportunities to ignore ideological expectations.

Between 1949 and 1989, medieval history, literature, art history, archaeology, and linguistics figured in the curricula of most of the universities in Hungary. Besides the two main centers of teaching medieval history, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in Budapest and the University of Szeged, the respective institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Science dealt with the medieval period.

Today, these three places are still active, the Institute of History of the Academy being the one where the most numerous medievalists work in one place, and have

Benedek Láng

their own series of publications. To this list one can add today an active medieval center at the University of Pécs, one at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba founded in 1992, one in Debrecen, and a number of further universities where medievalists are working, and – outside Hungary, – one at the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Kolozsvár in Romania.

The Medieval Studies Department at the Central European University, founded in 1993/1994, offers an interdisciplinary Masters' (M.A.) and a doctoral (Ph.D.) program. Today this department (in cooperation with the Department of Medieval and Early Modern European History at ELTE) possesses the most extensive library in Central Europe in the field of medieval studies (<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/>). Two important series are published by the department: the *Central European Medieval Texts* series, which offers text editions of Central European sources, and *CEU Medievalia*, which aims to be a complex publication series presenting source collections and handbooks on the state of various research fields.

One of the main characteristics of the scholarly life in the department is a surprisingly well functioning cooperation between scholars and doctoral students coming from different areas of Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, Central Asia, and North America. Apart from lifelong friendships, often marriages, that are formed here, a particularly helpful scholarly collaboration – sometimes friendly help with the secondary literature written in an obscure language, sometimes explicit teamwork – gives a special international character to the products of the department and also helps students gain insight into what is going on in other countries.

Thanks to the research opportunities provided by the university, doctoral students and professors have a variety of options to go to renowned research centers and update their methods and interests, a factor that acts strongly against the provincialism that characterizes certain parts of scholarly activity in Central and Eastern Europe.

In contrast to certain accusations that the department gives birth to “interesting” (read: superficial) scholarly products, one is struck by the great variety of works that are produced here, from the most philological and technical to the most theoretical, from the most positivistic to the most interpretative, from the most “boring” to the most “exciting.” As far as methodology and research questions are concerned, this school does not exercise restrictive force.

A measure of the success of the past fifteen years is that several alumni of the department have published their dissertations with prestigious publishing

houses.<sup>1</sup> Due to an unfortunate combination of good research possibilities and poor job opportunities, alumni usually find (if they find at all) a position in other universities and institutes (sometimes in other countries), thus constituting bridges between the Medieval Studies Department and other institutions in Hungary and in Central Europe.

In this reality, beyond the productive university departments mentioned thus far, several research groups have also been active in the field of medieval studies in the past fifteen years. One should start with a center that has become a proper department at Eötvös Loránd University: the *Atelier*. This center, as its name indicates, concentrates first of all on French scholarship, and particularly on the works and methods of the famous Annales School. This is worth a separate mention because among the various international traditions and schools it is the main actors of the first three generations of the Annales who have been translated into Hungarian in the highest concentration. They paved the way for the equally popular traditions of historical geography and microhistory.

As far as other centers are concerned, the Szeged Research Center of Medieval

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<sup>1</sup> See the following long but not exhaustive list: Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000), translated into Hungarian as *Kapisztrán Szent János csodái* by Gabriella di Sandri and Dávid Falvai (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2008); György Heidl, *Origen's Influence on the Young Augustine. A Chapter of the History of Origenism* (Notre Dame University, Louaize, and Gorgias Press, 2003); Előd Nemerckényi, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century* (Budapest-Debrecen: CEU Press and University of Debrecen, 2004); Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2005); Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*, British Archaeological Reports S1348 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005); István Bugár, *Szakrális képzőművészet a keresztény ókorban: Források* [Sacred Art in Christian Antiquity: Sources] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2004); Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books, Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2008); Irene Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories. Migration and Identity during the Lombard Invasions* (Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005); Lucie Doležalová, *Reception and its Varieties. Reading, Re-writing, and Understanding Cena Cypriani in the Middle Ages* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2007); Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c.751-877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Vasco La Salvia, *Iron Making during the Migration Period. The Case of the Lombards*, British Archaeological Reports S1715 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007); Giedre Mickūnaitė, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006); Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude. Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008); Mária Pakucs, *Sibiu – Hermannstadt: Oriental Trade in Sixteenth Century Transylvania* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007); Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self, and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Gábor Virágos, *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites: Hungarian Noble Residences and their Social Context from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century: An Outline for Methodology*, British Archaeological Reports S1583 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

Benedek Láng

Studies (<http://primus.arts.u-szeged.hu/szkm/>) is organized primarily to publish secondary literature and source collections; the CAPITULUM is a research group for medieval church history (<http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/capiteng.htm>) that recently launched a project to build a digitized database of medieval charters.

In 2001, the Hungarian Patristic Society (Magyar Patrisztikai Társaság) was founded to research the teachings of the Church Fathers and the early history of the Christian Church (<http://www.mpt.org.hu/>). Members of the Society (among them Marianne Sággy, from the faculty, István Bugár, and György Heidl) have published and translated a great number of monographs and published basic source editions, thanks to which this area of research received a great stimulus.

For several decades a special research group, the Fragmenta Codicum group – directed first by András Vizkelety and now by Edit Madas – has been exploring, identifying, and cataloguing fragments of medieval origin that survived in the binding of codices (<http://www.fragmenta.oszk.hu/>). Another group has undertaken the task of compiling a dictionary of medieval Latin in Hungary, edited by Iván Boronkai et Kornél Szovák.

The Medieval Studies Department at CEU also tries its best to take part in fruitful national and international collaborative research projects, such as those concentrating on nobility in East Central Europe (János Bak), visual resources in medieval Central Europe (Gábor Klaniczay, Ernő Marosi, Tamás Sajó, Gerhard Jaritz, Béla Zsolt Szakács), medieval economic history (András Kubinyi [d. 2007], József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende), the Center for Hellenic Traditions (István Perczel, Niels Gaul), Central and Eastern European cultural heritage, and the Ravenna-Classe Project (József Laszlovszky and many alumni of the department).

In addition to these departments and research groups, special web pages are devoted to medieval manuscript production, the structure of books and illumination (<http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/index.html>), the history of Hungarian music (<http://www.magyarzenetortenet.hu/>), the Corvina library of King Matthias (<http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/>), medieval charters (<http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul/compute.htm>), and castles of medieval and early modern Hungary, presenting maps and pictures of the remains of fortified places in Hungary (including aerial photos, 3-D map animations and publications on castles in Hungarian: <http://www.varak.hu>). An internet manual on dress, jewels, arms and coats of arms presents material culture and self-representation in the late Middle Ages, including images, a glossary, and bibliography (<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/SRM/index.htm>).

Hungarian museums also play an important role in the research and popularization of medieval studies. Particularly rich exhibitions have been organized by a number of institutions: the Hungarian National Gallery (*Pannonia Regia* in 1994; *Mons Sacer* in 1996 at Pannonhalma; *Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (on Master MS) in 1997; *Történelem-kép* [History-image] in 2000) the Hungarian National Museum (*Europe's Centre around A.D. 1000/Europas Mitte um 1000*) in 2000; *Tatárjárás* [The Mongol Invasion] in 2007), the Museum of Fine Arts (*Sigismundus* in 2006), the Budapest Historical Museum (*Mary of Habsburg*, 2004; *Matthias Rex*, 2008), and the Kiscelli Museum (*Mariazell and Hungary in 2004*). 2008 was declared the Year of the Renaissance, when exhibitions on the culture, politics, social life, science, literature, and eating habits of fifteenth-century Hungary became central themes in a great wave of exhibitions in which virtually every museum took part. Although not devoted to the study of the Middle Ages, but rather to modern political and cultural uses and interpretations, exhibitions such as the *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages* (2005, CEU), and the *Contagious Middle Ages* (2007, Open Society Archives) were also organized.

Various journals focusing on history in general include articles, and sometimes special issues, on medieval studies, such as *Századok*, *História*, *Történelmi Szemle*, *Rubicon*, *Múlt-kor történelmi portál* on the internet (<http://www.mult-kor.hu/>), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, *Budapesti Könyvszemle* (which had a widely disseminated English version for thirteen years: *Budapest Review of Books*, 1990-2003), *Korall*, and *Aetas*. These journals are available only for those who read Hungarian, only the journal *Chronica* and the *Annual of Medieval Studies* at CEU publish articles in English. At the moment, Hungarian history writing has no proper journal that appears regularly and that is available for a non-Hungarian readership.

Even though the proliferation of scholars, studies, researches, and schools in the field of medieval studies is impressive, certain tensions in the area cannot be ignored. Members of the “schools” and research centers listed above, although they cooperate frequently, have a tendency to see each other’s results, methods, and even research questions with some reservation, even suspicion. One is too philological and does not situate their topics in the wider context, the other does not read the relevant international literature, one is too superficial, and does not even consult manuscripts, the other is doing provincial history writing, one is well known abroad but is not taken seriously in Hungarian scholarship, the other is an important personality in the country, but has virtually no contacts elsewhere – we hear too many such claims, gossip, and blather, which does not always improve cooperation and professionalization.

Benedek Láng

Among the reasons for this situation, the first one is not uniquely Hungarian; politics have not disappeared from the area of research to the extent as it would be desirable, causing no little suspicion in each others' research primarily on a political basis. Second – again, not a Hungaricum – research in the humanities is underfinanced, scholars working at the state universities or academic institutions usually do not have enough material resources to attend conferences and take research trips. They can only go if they are successful at finding and winning grants. This causes no little frustration and no little tension among scholars. Those who are in better funded institutions such as the CEU face this problem to a considerably lower extent. Third, a peculiarity of all Central European nations, the country has a good number of excellent researchers producing genuine scholarship, who – because they lack language skills – are not able to publish in international forums, a sad fact that produces tension against those who do have the ability, talent or knowledge to manage better on the international playing field and who consequently are more aware of the latest developments in international scholarship. All the above developments, however, and fortunately, show movement in the direction of the demise of these problems. This will certainly not raise more money for the discipline, but it may increase professionalization and decrease tension.

Below follows a set of works published in the last fifteen years that I consider significant for one reason or another, without implying that they are the most important works. Compiling a list of the most significant studies is always subjective because such a list necessarily mirrors the limited perspective of the author. Preference was given to works issued by prestigious publishing houses, for overviews that – either because they are written in English or because they are in Hungarian but written in a good style – have the virtue of reaching a wide, even non-specialist, readership, and for studies that employ up-to-date methodology.

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Benedek Láng

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## LITHUANIA: LET'S CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF GREATNESS

*Giedrė Mickūnaitė*

Such an academic discipline as “medieval studies” does not exist in Lithuania; however, the Middle Ages are present on the academic, cultural, and political scene and lately this presence has increased somewhat. St. Bruno of Querfurt is at fault here. According to the “Annals of Quedlinburg”, the bishop parted with his life *in confinio Rusciae at Lituae* in the year 1009. The decapitation of St. Bruno not only earned him the martyr’s glory, but also entered Lithuania into the world of the written word; in 2009 the country celebrates a millennium of its name. I do not know whether it was someone from academia who passed the millennium idea to politicians, but academics have received their share of the funding granted by the so-called Millennium Directorate<sup>1</sup> for research, conferences, and publications. Thus, regardless of nonexistent “medieval studies”, some of the millenarian research has been concerned with the Middle Ages and most of it is associated with yet another political initiative: the (re?) building of the grand ducal palace in Vilnius. Since the parliament passed the special rebuilding law in 1994, additional energy has been dedicated to archaeological and scholarly effort. I shall not dwell here on the controversial sides of this (re?)construction,<sup>2</sup> but will discuss its contribution to historical research. Archaeological excavations have not only provided new objects ranging from fragments of wall paintings executed in the Byzantine style and objects decorated with images on courtly subjects, but also offered data rectifying earlier interpretations of the urban development of Vilnius and the building of grand ducal residences there.<sup>3</sup> In addition to excavations, scholars have been summoned to search for sources related to the palace under construction

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<sup>1</sup> “Directorate for the Commemoration of the Millennium of Lithuania under the Auspices of the Office of the President of the Republic of Lithuania,” <http://www.lietuvai1000.lt/index.en.htm>

<sup>2</sup> For a critical analysis of the (re?)construction see *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Valdovų rūmų atkūrimo byla: vieno požiūrio likimas* [The Case of the Reconstruction of the Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes: The Fate of One Viewpoint], ed. Alfredas Bumblauskas (Vilnius: V U leidykla, 2006); the official position is given in Napalys Kitkauskas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai* [The Palace of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes] (Vilnius: Kultūra, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> *Vilniaus Žemutinės pilies rūmai* [The Palace in the Lower Castle of Vilnius], 5 vols. (Vilnius: L II and “Lietuvos pilys, 1989–2003).

Giedrė Mickūnaitė

and thus materials not yet used for the study of Lithuanian history have been brought to light.<sup>4</sup>

These millenarian ambitions, in fact, had a kind of rehearsal in 2003, when the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coronation of Lithuania's first and only king, Mindaugas (r. 1253–1263), was celebrated. In addition to a statue of the king, studies and collection of sources pertaining to his reign have been published.<sup>5</sup> The king's jubilee pushed the popular understanding of Lithuania's history back to the thirteenth century and was used to propagate the idea that since the Catholic baptism of Mindaugas in 1251 the country has preferred Western civilization. By the same token, the pagan past, well popularized in the Soviet period, has lost favor for the sake of the civilizing role of Latin Christianity. Luckily, the long tradition of research into pre-Christian beliefs was crowned with the four volumes of *Sources on Baltic Religion and Mythology*.<sup>6</sup>

Lithuania, like many other EU countries of the former Soviet block, aspires to mediate between Europe's East and West; however, in contrast to its rivals, Lithuania claims to have historical experience, the "multiethnic and multi-religious" Grand Duchy, which makes her fit for the mediator's role. For this popular understanding of the country's more remote, but not necessarily medieval, past credit must be given to professor Alfredas Bumblauskas, who in addition to teaching history at Vilnius University, authors and presents shows on history on national TV. Today the Grand Duchy is part of national pride, in contrast to the interwar period, which regarded the polonised Grand Duchy as somewhat inferior for not being a nation state.

<sup>4</sup> *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis XIV a. – XIX a. pradžioje: 2002–2004 m. istorinių šaltinių paieškos* [The Lower Castle of Vilnius from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century: The Search for Historical Sources, 2002–2004], ed. Raimonda Ragauskienė (Vilnius: Pilių tyrimo centras, 2006); *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis XIV a. – XIX a. pradžioje: 2005–2006 m. tyrimai* [The Lower Castle of Vilnius from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century: Research from 2005–2006], ed. Liudas Glemža (Vilnius: Pilių tyrimo centras, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Edvardas Gudavičius, *Mindaugas* (Vilnius: Žara, 1998); *Mindaugo knyga: istorijos šaltiniai apie Lietuvos karalių* [The Book of Mindaugas: Historical Sources about the King of Lithuania], ed. Artūras Dubonis et al. (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2005); *Mindaugas karalius* [King Mindaugas], ed. Vytautas Ališauskas (Vilnius: Aidai, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai/Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology/Quellen der baltischen Religion und Mythologie*, ed. Norbertas Vėlius, 4 vols. (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996–2005).

As to why the Middle Ages has not constituted a separate field in studying national history,<sup>7</sup> my answer is twofold: on the one hand because of the scarcity of medieval sources; on the other because the Middle Ages is a chronological part of the history of the Grand Duchy. To my mind, the latter assumption should be given more credibility, as Lithuania's troubled statehood has placed the state atop the historical hierarchy. Therefore, the periodization of the past follows the existence of the state. Hence, the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries are known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; the long nineteenth century is a time under the tsarist yoke, which was swept away by the establishment of the republic in 1918, which was broken by three consecutive occupations, and today's Republic of Lithuania continues what was terminated in 1940. The period before the thirteenth century is termed prehistory and largely relies on archaeological research.

Luckily, the above populist picture has quite a number of exceptions that make quality contributions to medieval studies. Critical editions of the *Lithuanian Metrica* and its research are augmenting and providing not only written sources, but also giving insights into how the grand ducal chancellery operated and on the growing authority of a written document.<sup>8</sup> Grand Duke Gediminas' (r. 1316–1341) letters addressed to merchants and artisans along the Baltic coast as well as those to the papacy have received a new critical edition meticulously prepared by Stephen C. Rowell.<sup>9</sup> Narrative sources also enjoy scholarly attention resulting in critical translations and novel interpretations on their compilations and changing functions.<sup>10</sup> Pieces of Neo-Latin literature

<sup>7</sup> In Lithuania, non-national history is hardly thinkable for several reasons, among which I would specify: (1) a general lack of resources; (2) the historical research of Lithuanian authors on non-Lithuanian subjects cannot compete with translations on the same topics; and (3) Lithuanian academics have lobbied successfully to have Lithuanian studies (termed *Lituanistica*) listed as a priority research area which is funded under separate programmes by the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation and some EU frameworks and given more points in annual ratings compiled by the Centre for Quality Assessment in Higher Education.

<sup>8</sup> The *Metrica* served as a primary source for the work of Jurgita Kunsmanaitė, "Provisions for Widowhood in the Legal Sources of Sixteenth-Century Lithuania," Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> *Chartularium Lithuaniae res gestas magni ducis Gedeminne illustrans/Gedimino laiškai*, tr. and ed. S. C. Rowell (Vilnius: Vaga, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Vygandas Marburgietis [Wigand von Marburg], *Naujoji Prūsijos kronika* [New Prussian Chronicle], tr. and ed. Rimantas Jasas, Lituaništinė biblioteka 30 (Vilnius: Vaga, 1999); Petras Dusburgietis [Petrus de Dusburg], *Prūsijos žemės kronika* [Chronicle of the Prussian Land], tr. Leonas Valkūnas, ed. Romas Batūra (Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2005).

Giedrė Mickūnaitė

have appeared in bilingual editions<sup>11</sup> and translations of a number of early modern texts have been published. In fact, the field of literature has thus far been the most international, supplying the Lithuanian audience with a series of medieval classics in translation.<sup>12</sup> The third field that has not only opened but is also gaining strength is the translation of Christian sources ranging from the early Church Fathers to monastic rules and publications on the religious heritage in Lithuania.

Considering research, a few monographs based on doctoral dissertations must be listed as pioneering in interdisciplinary medieval studies rather than presenting historical research in the narrow sense. Darius Baronas' study on the three martyrs of Vilnius<sup>13</sup> opened a long-neglected inquiry into the Orthodox tradition. Baronas examines the biographies and the cult of the martyrs (killed ca. 1347) in the contexts of grand ducal policy, noble kinship, and confessions. The study traces the spread of devotion to the martyrs and reveals mechanisms that sustained their popularity. The useful appendixes offer a selection of martyrs' lives from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Muscovy, Byzantium, and the Balkans. The examination of Lithuanian nobility by Rimvydas Petrauskas<sup>14</sup> combines prosopographic inquiry with research

<sup>11</sup> Jonas Vislicietis [Johannes Vislicensis], *Bellum Prutenum/Prūsų karas*, tr. and ed. Eugenija Ulčinė, Bibliotheca Baltica. Lithuania (Vilnius: Mintis, 1997); Jonas Radvanas [Johannes Radvanus], *Radvilias/Radviliada*, tr., ed. and intro. Sigita Narbutas, Bibliotheca Baltica. Lithuania (Vilnius: Vaga, 1997); Mikalojus Husovianas [Nicolaus Hussovianus], *Operai/Raštai*, ed. Sigita Narbutas, tr. Benediktas Kazlauskas, Sigita Narbutas, Eugenija Ulčinė, and Tomas Veteikis (Vilnius: LLTI, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> The following bilingual publications in the series of the Viduramžių biblioteka [Medieval Library] have come out in print: *Carmina Burana: vagantų poezija*, tr., ed. Sigita Narbutas, intro. Genovaitė Dručkutė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2003); *Marija Prancūzė Lė* [Marie de France, Les], tr., and intro. Genovaitė Druskutė, ed. Sigita Narbutas (Vilnius: LLTI, 2004); *Novellino, arba šimtas senųjų novelių* [Il Novellino], tr. Dainius Būrė, ed. Živilė Nedzinskaitė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2004); Adomas Alietis [Adam de la Halle], *Dramos* [Plays], tr. and intro. Rita Černiauskienė, ed. Ona Daukšienė (Vilnius: LLTI, 2004); Andrius Kapelionas [Andreas Capellanus], *Meilės žiedas, arba trys knygos apie meilę* [De Amore], tr. Sigita Narbutas, intro. Genovaitė Druskutė, ed. Asta Vaškeliene (Vilnius: LLTI, 2006); Jokūbas Voraginietis [Jacopo da Varazze], *Aukso legenda arba šventųjų skaitiniai* [Legenda aurea], book 1, tr. and ed. Veronika Gerbutavičienė, Sigita Narbutas, Vaidilė Stalioraitytė, and Tomas Veteikis (Vilnius: LLTI, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> Darius Baronas, *Trys Vilniaus kankiniai: gyvenimas ir istorija/Tres martyres Vilnenses: vita et historia*, Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae (Vilnius: Aidai, 2000). Darius Baronas is a senior research officer at the Institute of Lithuanian History and a chair of the Vilnius Division of the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Sciences; he specializes in the fields of medieval hagiography and military history (email address: dbaronas@gmail.com).

<sup>14</sup> Rimvydas Petrauskas, *Lietuvos diduomenė XIV a. pabaigoje – XV a.: sudėtis, struktūra, valdžia* (Lithuanian Nobility at the End of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Century: Composition, Structure, Power) (Vilnius: Aidai, 2003). Rimvydas Petrauskas is chair of the Department of Ancient and Medieval History at the Faculty of History of the Vilnius University, specializing in courtly culture and the nobility of Lithuania (email address: rimvydas.petrauskas@if.vu.lt).

into social structures, collective identity, and the exercise of group authority. Petrauskas' conclusions have reshaped prevailing theory on the development of Lithuanian nobility from officers at the grand ducal court and demonstrated a much greater variety of paths that led to the rank of magnate. In addition to a fresh and well-argued picture of fifteenth-century nobles and their careers, the list of noblemen appended to the book has become a much-used reference. My study on the image of Grand Duke Vytautas (r. 1392–1430), based on my CEU dissertation, was published in Lithuanian in 2008<sup>15</sup> and sales records show that it has been quite popular.

A sad observation is that student interest in the Middle Ages seems to be decreasing. In addition to “all these languages” and limited career opportunities, a shortage of inspiring and dedicated teachers is a major obstacle to pursuing medieval studies. It is my impression that only archaeologists maintain a constant interest in the remnants from the Middle Ages; however, most of the dissertations in archaeology do not rely on written sources in their original languages and do not focus on specifically medieval remains, but rather consider entire sites or a certain type of find. My optimistic estimation is that in the fields other than archaeology one dissertation concerned with the Middle Ages is defended once in five years. Such a situation is quite adequate given the resources Lithuania can offer; however, a general internationalization of scholarship would enhance the popularity of medieval studies and it is my hope that our CEU department will continue to play its role here.

While the general picture of medieval studies in Lithuania may seem rather dull, I am pleased to say that there is more of the Middle Ages in the country. The exhibition “Christianity in the Art of Lithuania” organized by the Lithuanian Art Museum as a series of temporary shows in 1999–2003 was decisive for bringing long-neglected ecclesiastical and religious art into public awareness. Importantly, the treasury of Vilnius Cathedral, containing a number of top quality items from the Middle Ages, was exhibited there for the first time.<sup>16</sup> Besides medieval objects in exhibition halls, new sites of medieval heritage have been identified or gained broader recognition. In addition to the well-known medieval towns of Trakai, Vilnius, and Kaunas, the settlement of Kernavė has been thoroughly excavated and today is open to public access as one of the world's heritage sites offering a panorama of a complex

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<sup>15</sup> Giedrė Mickūnaitė, *Vytautas Didysis. Valdovo įvaizdis* (Vytautas the Great. A Ruler's Image) (Vilnius: VDA leidykla, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> *Vilniaus katedros lobynas/Vilnius Cathedral Treasury*, ed. Romualdas Budrys and Vydas Dolinskas (Vilnius: L D M , 2002).

Giedrė Mickūnaite

of five hill-forts and presenting earthworks that formed an impressive landscape in the Middle Ages. Research on medieval monasteries has focused predominantly on the mendicant orders, but the Benedictine tradition was addressed on the occasion of the 600-year anniversary of the first Benedictine foundation in 1405.<sup>17</sup> In autumn 2008, a fourteenth-century graveyard was identified in Verkiai, a suburb of Vilnius. Its rich burials, containing items previously known only as single pieces, support the hypothesis of a formerly unknown town in the neighborhood of Vilnius. Lastly, I would like to share my joy that fragments of wall paintings executed in Byzantine style were uncovered in the parish church of Trakai. As these are the pieces that I am currently occupied with, I will use this opportunity to introduce the discovery in greater detail.

In 1645, Symon Mankiewicz, a priest, published the first history of the Trakai church where he mentions that once its walls were entirely painted with “Greek” images; however, after the porch was added to the western façade the paintings in the naves were whitewashed, although those in the presbytery survived. This information was briefly noted ten years later and these “Greek” murals were still “remembered” in the nineteenth century. Judging by the fragments that have been discovered as well as circumstantial evidence, the surviving paintings belong to three phases, two from the fifteenth century and one, in the presbytery, from the sixteenth. Paintings of the two lower registers have been found; the bottom features drapery and the upper one depicts full-size figures. In addition, the western and part of the northern wall showed the Last Judgement, of which the scene of Paradise survives in fragments. It is represented by the figure of the Patriarch Jacob, seated under the trees of Paradise, holding the souls of the elect in his bosom. An adjacent group of saints “looking” westwards are perhaps being let into the gates of Paradise by St. Peter. The identification of other figures requires more research. For the time being, it is noteworthy that their faces were mutilated deliberately before the murals were whitewashed. Thus, in addition to research on iconography and style, the paintings open the issue of Catholic iconoclasm from around 1600. The destruction of “Greek” images would not be surprising within the context of the Catholic Counter-Reformation; however, the paradox is that from then onwards the church of Trakai was renowned for the miraculous painting of the Mother of God, which is a Gothic Madonna transformed into

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<sup>17</sup> *Pirmieji pranciškonų žingsniai Lietuvoje XIII–XVIII a.* (The First Franciscan Steps in Lithuania, Thirteenth – Eighteenth Centuries), ed. Darius Baronas (Vilnius: Aidai, 2006); *Benediktiškoji tradicija Lietuvoje* (The Benedictine Tradition in Lithuania), ed. Liudas Jovaiša (Vilnius: Aidai, 2008).

a Byzantine-like Hodegetria, proclaimed as a gift from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Paleologus (r. 1392–1425).

The Trakai case is sufficient to show the availability of sources and topics for a medievalist, regardless of jubilees and other ornaments of contemporary politics. It seems, however, that the next event to bring the heroic Middle Ages to a wider public will be the screening of “Grünwald – the Iron Day”<sup>18</sup> an epic movie dedicated to the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle of Grünwald (15 July 1410), to be completed in the summer of 2010. While film critics are quite sceptical of the movie's artistic qualities, its advocates, among which one finds the Ministry of Defence, see it as a means to give Lithuanian-Polish military cooperation a history.

Withal, medieval studies could yet claim its position and win independence from the realities of today. It is my assumption that what is needed from those teaching about various issues of the medieval past is to explain it more clearly by showing that the Middle Ages was not just a period of history, but also a distinct system of reasoning which was reformed by Martin Luther and the multitude of his followers and rivals.

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<sup>18</sup> “Žalgiris – Geležies diena” (Grunwald – the Iron Day), director Raimundas Banionis, script Juozas Marcinkevičius, Marius Daškus and Raimundas Banionis, scholarly consultant Rimvydas Petrauskas.



## THE STUDY OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN POLAND

*Ryszard Grzesik*

The fifteenth anniversary of the Medieval Studies Department at CEU is a good opportunity to describe the present status of recent medieval studies in Poland. Looking back over the whole twentieth century, there were three important turning points: 1918, when Polish independence was restored; 1939-1945, the period of Nazi-German and Soviet aggression when social life in Poland, including education and science, was demolished, and 1956, when Polish social sciences postponed the vulgar Marxism-Leninism in Stalin's interpretation and returned to pre-war research streams. The years after 1956 can be interpreted as a time of gradual liberalization of historical research. From the 1960s, Polish historiography (maybe excluding the historiography of the twentieth century) did not differ from Western European historiographies. Even though the year 1989 saw great political changes, initiated by the Round Table in Poland, it was not a turning point for medieval studies. The only difference was the question of finances, which remains an issue. The economic barrier separating Poland from luckier Western democracies still results in the absence of Western books in Polish libraries, which is still a reality even if things have improved somewhat in the last two decades, especially after becoming a member of the EU. We now have many more grant opportunities, although researchers are still learning how to apply for grants, and I hope that the new generation will be able to take advantage of the situation.

The year 1989 saw the start of discussions about the state of historical research and about the organizational aspects of Polish scholarship. The present organization of medieval studies was created after the Second World War and revised after 1956, but closely resembles the pre-war system. The basis are the universities and the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk, henceforth: PAN), created in 1952, with local Polska Akademia Umiejętności (Polish Academy of Arts) units active since 1871 (with a break from 1952 to 1989). A number of universities and research institutions undertake the study of the Middle Ages;<sup>1</sup> the most important centers are the University of Warsaw, where social history is addressed using comparative methods including cultural anthropology, sociology, and literary

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<sup>1</sup> The relevant websites appear in the footnotes.

Ryszard Grzesik

criticism.<sup>2</sup> The two universities in Cracow: the Jagiellonian<sup>3</sup> and the Pedagogical,<sup>4</sup> most famous for research on the Late Middle Ages and source criticism are among the most important centers of medieval studies in Poland. Poznań is perhaps more traditional in its approach to medieval history, but it boasts an active center of historical methodology for the history of European civilisation, church history, and source criticism.<sup>5</sup> Wrocław has a natural interest in the history of Silesia;<sup>6</sup> Toruń concentrates on the history of the Teutonic Order and the territories of Prussia;<sup>7</sup> of the two universities in Lublin, the Catholic University deals mainly with the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland<sup>8</sup> and the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University focuses on the social and cultural history of the Middle Ages.<sup>9</sup> Gdańsk concentrates on the history of Pomerania, especially the eastern

<sup>2</sup> The home pages of the Institutes of Warsaw University are: the Institute of History, [www.ihuw.pl](http://www.ihuw.pl) (also in English); the Institute of Archaeology, [www.archo.uw.edu.pl](http://www.archo.uw.edu.pl); the Institute of Art History, [www.ihs.uw.edu.pl](http://www.ihs.uw.edu.pl).

<sup>3</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University is [www.jazon.hist.uj.edu.pl](http://www.jazon.hist.uj.edu.pl); the Institute of Art History, [www.ihs.uj.edu.pl](http://www.ihs.uj.edu.pl); the Institute of Archaeology, [www.archo.uj.edu.pl](http://www.archo.uj.edu.pl).

<sup>4</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the National Education Commission Pedagogical Academy: [www.wsp.krakow.pl/historia](http://www.wsp.krakow.pl/historia); of the Institute for Polish Philology, [www.wsp.krakow.pl/polski](http://www.wsp.krakow.pl/polski).

<sup>5</sup> The nestor of Polish medievalists, Gerard Labuda, is still active at the age of 92 years, cf. *Naukowe dzieło Profesora Gerarda Labudy* [The Research Work of Prof. Gerard Labuda], ed. Józef Dobosz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2006). Brygida Kürbis (d. 2001) whole life was connected with the Institute of History of Adam Mickiewicz University [henceforth: UAM], see Brygida Kürbis, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej* [On the Threshold of History. Testimonies of the Cultural History of Medieval Poland] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2001), and recently: Józef Dobosz, "Brygida Kürbis (1921-2001)" in *Ars scribendi. O sztuce pisania w średniowiecznej Polsce. Katalog wystawy* [The Art of Writing in Medieval Poland. Catalogue of the Exhibition], ed. Leszek Wetesko (Gniezno: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, 2008), 11-13. The internet site of the Institute for History of Adam Mickiewicz University is [www.historia.amu.edu.pl](http://www.historia.amu.edu.pl); of the Institute of Art History, [www.arthist.amu.edu.pl](http://www.arthist.amu.edu.pl); of the Institute of Prehistory, [archo.amu.edu.pl](http://archo.amu.edu.pl); of the Eastern Institute, [www.iw.amu.edu.pl](http://www.iw.amu.edu.pl); of the Collegium Europaeum Gnesnense in Gniezno, [www.ceg.amu.edu.pl](http://www.ceg.amu.edu.pl); of the Institute for Polish Philology, [www.polonistyka.amu.edu.pl](http://www.polonistyka.amu.edu.pl).

<sup>6</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of Wrocław is [www.hist.uni.wroc.pl](http://www.hist.uni.wroc.pl); of the Institute of Archaeology, [www.archo.uni.wroc.pl](http://www.archo.uni.wroc.pl); of the Institute of Art History, [www.historiasztuki.uni.wroc.pl](http://www.historiasztuki.uni.wroc.pl).

<sup>7</sup> The internet sites of the Institute for History and Archivistics of Nicolaus Copernicus University are [www.historia.umk.pl](http://www.historia.umk.pl) and [www.historicus.umk.pl](http://www.historicus.umk.pl). There is no active Internet site of the Institute of Archaeology (February 2009). Nicolaus Copernicus University organized the first Congress of Polish Medievalists in 2002.

<sup>8</sup> The internet site of the Catholic University of Lublin is [www.kul.pl](http://www.kul.pl).

<sup>9</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin is [www.umcs.lublin.pl](http://www.umcs.lublin.pl). This university organized the second Congress of Polish Medievalists in 2005.

part;<sup>10</sup> Łódź is a strong center of research on Early Medieval settlement as well as the history of war, armor, and Byzantine studies.<sup>11</sup> Białystok, formerly affiliated with Warsaw University, concentrates mainly on the regional history of Podlasie;<sup>12</sup> Katowice covers the history of Upper Silesia, social history, and Poland's relationship with Great Moravia, Hungary, and Bohemia.<sup>13</sup> Minor centers of Polish medieval studies have been established at new state and private universities and high schools: Częstochowa,<sup>14</sup> Rzeszów,<sup>15</sup> Kielce,<sup>16</sup> Piotrków Trybunalski,<sup>17</sup> Pułtusk,<sup>18</sup> Szczecin,<sup>19</sup> Zielona Góra,<sup>20</sup> Bydgoszcz,<sup>21</sup> Siedlce,<sup>22</sup> Słupsk,<sup>23</sup> and Opole.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from universities, academic institutions – the institutes of PAN – also deal with medieval studies. The PAN Institute of History [henceforth: IH PAN] employs several famous historians. It is a paradox that this institution, created as a result of the Sovietization of Polish research, became the home of anti-Communist dissidents. The dissidents were not allowed to work at universities and teach students, so as not to “infect” them, but they could work in the PAN and normally publish in journals. One of the departments of the IH PAN is the Department

<sup>10</sup> The internet site of the Department of History of Gdańsk University is [www.historia.ug.gda.pl](http://www.historia.ug.gda.pl).

<sup>11</sup> The Institute of History of the University in Łódź organized the third Congress of Polish Medievalists in 2008. Unfortunately, there is no good internet site; maybe the best ones, but not very useful, are [www.historiasztuki.uni.lodz.pl](http://www.historiasztuki.uni.lodz.pl) and [www.nph.uni.lodz.pl](http://www.nph.uni.lodz.pl). The *katedra* [section] for the History of the Polish Language of the Department for Philology deals mainly with medieval Polish translations of liturgical texts; the internet site is [katedra-historii-jezyka.strona.pl](http://katedra-historii-jezyka.strona.pl).

<sup>12</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of Białystok (very good) is: [www.historia.uwb.edu.pl](http://www.historia.uwb.edu.pl); of the Institute for Polish Philology, [ifp.uwb.edu.pl](http://ifp.uwb.edu.pl).

<sup>13</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the Silesian University is [www.historia.us.edu.pl](http://www.historia.us.edu.pl).

<sup>14</sup> The internet site of the Institute of the History of the Długosz Academy (Akademia Jana Długosza w Częstochowie) is [www.ih.ajd.czyst.pl](http://www.ih.ajd.czyst.pl).

<sup>15</sup> The internet site of the University of Rzeszów is [www.univ.rzeszow.pl](http://www.univ.rzeszow.pl).

<sup>16</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of John Kochanowski in Kielce is [www.ujk.kielce.pl](http://www.ujk.kielce.pl).

<sup>17</sup> The branch (Filial) of the University of John Kochanowski in Kielce has no Internet site.

<sup>18</sup> The Aleksander Gieysztor Academy of Humanities is perhaps the best private high school for the humanities in Poland. The internet site is [www.wsh.edu.pl](http://www.wsh.edu.pl).

<sup>19</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History and International Relationships of the University of Szczecin is [www.hist.us.szn.pl](http://www.hist.us.szn.pl).

<sup>20</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the University of Zielona Góra is [www.ih.uz.zgora.pl](http://www.ih.uz.zgora.pl).

<sup>21</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History and International Relationships of Casimir the Great University in Bydgoszcz is [www.ukw.edu.pl](http://www.ukw.edu.pl).

<sup>22</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the Podlasiac Academy in Siedlce is [www.ih.ap.siedlce.pl](http://www.ih.ap.siedlce.pl).

<sup>23</sup> The internet site of the Institute for History of the Pomeranian Academy in Słupsk: [www.apsl.edu.pl](http://www.apsl.edu.pl).

<sup>24</sup> The internet site of the Institute for History of the University of Opole: [historia.uni.opole.pl](http://historia.uni.opole.pl).

Ryszard Grzesik

of the Historical-Geographical Lexicon of Poland in the Middle Ages, with two branches, in Poznań and in Cracow.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from the IH PAN, several other institutes are devoted to medieval research. The PAN Institute of Art (Instytut Sztuki) has been active in editing the Catalog of Artistic Monuments in Poland for the past half century.<sup>26</sup> The PAN Institute of Literary Research (Instytut Badań Literackich, henceforth: IBL) deals with medieval literacy and literature.<sup>27</sup> An excellent internet site about Polish medieval research was created by Prof. Andrzej Dąbrowka.<sup>28</sup>

The PAN Institut of Slavonic Studies (Instytut Sławistyki) also has a Historical Department where dictionaries about the early history of the Slavs and bilingual editions of early Slavonic sources are prepared.<sup>29</sup> The PAN Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii), based in Warsaw, has daughter centers in Poland's main cities (among other, Poznań and Wrocław). Medieval archaeology is an important stream of its activity.<sup>30</sup>

Regional museums deal with the regional past,<sup>31</sup> and regional research societies focus on archaeological excavations and archival research.<sup>32</sup> A new factor is that after 1989, due to the re-establishment of local autonomy and self-government, the local authorities are interested in discovering and popularizing the local past, mostly for tourism. They finance local festivities, chivalry tournaments, and popular conferences. The papers of these sessions are often published.

There are a large number of medieval studies research centers in Poland; researchers in major centers sometimes also work in minor institutes. Scholars from the PAN also teach in provincial high schools and publish their scholarly results at

<sup>25</sup> The internet site of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences: [www.ih.edu.pl](http://www.ih.edu.pl).

<sup>26</sup> The internet site of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences: [www.ispan.pl](http://www.ispan.pl).

<sup>27</sup> The internet site of the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences is [www.ibl.waw.pl](http://www.ibl.waw.pl).

<sup>28</sup> [www.mediewistyka.net](http://www.mediewistyka.net)

<sup>29</sup> A new lexicon has been published recently: *Wczesna Słowiańszczyzna. Przewodnik po dziejach i literaturze przedmiotu* [Early Slavs. A Guide to the History and Secondary Literature], ed. Andrzej Wędzki, 2 vols. (Warszawa: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2008).

<sup>30</sup> The Internet site of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences is [www.iaepan.edu.pl](http://www.iaepan.edu.pl).

<sup>31</sup> As does the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, the internet site: [www.muzarp.poznanopi](http://www.muzarp.poznanopi); Museum of the First Piasts on Lednica Island, Internet site: [www.lednicamuzeum.pl](http://www.lednicamuzeum.pl) and Museum of the Origins of the Polish State in Gniezno, Internet site: [www.mppp.pl](http://www.mppp.pl).

<sup>32</sup> Probably the oldest one is the Poznań Society for the Advancement of the Arts and Sciences (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, henceforth: PTPN), founded in 1857. Its head now is Prof. Jacek Wiesiołowski, earlier affiliated with IH PAN.

Polish publishing houses. If one wants to find all the literature written in a period in Poland one must travel through the main libraries, because no single library collects everything from other parts of the country. Even the “little” high schools produce excellent scholars who are known throughout Poland. There is now a change of generations; a generation of great historians who started their professional life in the late 1930s or after the Second World War is ending. Aleksander Gieysztor, Wacław Korta, Brygida Kürbis, Bronisław Geremek, Benon Miśkiewicz and Witold Hensel have left us. The present authorities were born in the 1930s; they have mostly retired, but are still active in smaller public or private high schools. The professors active now were born in the 1940s and early 1950s; the generation born in the late 1950s and 1960s is ascending. Many scholars have defended their *Habilitationschriften* and play important roles in the lives of their schools or research institutes. A new generation of people born in the 1970s is starting their research careers. Most of them have defended their PhD theses and they are the basis of a middle stage of staff. Even people from the early 1980s are starting to make their ways in medieval history.

The period after 1989 was a time of constant reforms (or rather, discussions about reforms). The PAN was and still is perceived as a Communist institution, full of bureaucracy and with a Communist/Soviet way of thinking. This is particularly the opinion of the “radicals” who were generally quiet during Communist rule but now present themselves as the first anti-Communists. After the election in 2005, when Kaczyński’s PiS (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Law and Justice, Party) started to govern Poland, discussions about the fate of PAN began anew. The argument was the same: it is a “Soviet institution.” After the new election in October 2007, the liberal PO (Platforma Obywatelska, Citizen’s Platform) took office and changed the argument: PAN must be dissolved because of its economic inefficiency. This is now part of a larger discussion about the future of Polish science. There are projects for a new Bill of Science organization and a Bill of the PAN. Polish humanists regard these projects with bemused curiosity. We read, e.g., that foreign candidates (read: from the USA or English-speaking world) are preferred for the directorial posts of the PAN. The evaluation system according to which the institutes are presently evaluated by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education is also curious. English-language publications in the journals listed by the Philadelphian Journal Citation Reports are preferred. If I publish elsewhere in another journal, but in English, I get a third of the points (10 instead of 30). Someone publishing in one of the basic Polish historical journals, such as *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Warsaw), *Przegląd*

Ryszard Grzesik

*Historyczny* (Warsaw), *Roczniki Historyczne* (Poznań), *Studia Źródłoznawcze* (Warsaw), *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* (Warsaw), *Slavia Antiqua* (Poznań), *Studia Historyczne* (Cracow) or *Zapiski Historyczne* (Toruń), can get only 6 points. Monographs in English yield 24 points, in Polish only 12. This system is killing the humanities in Poland. Ministerial officials, who probably represent the experimental, mathematical, and biological sciences, should understand that the humanities and literary disciplines are a part of the national culture. We write mainly for Polish audiences, although we discuss with colleagues from other countries. If we do not popularise our own Polish point of view for Polish and European/world history nobody else will do it. Poland is the center of Polish research and I do not see a reason to change this fact.<sup>33</sup>

What are the main directions of recent medieval research in Poland? It is hard to answer this question. Due to the great number of research centers, their activity is diverse. Therefore I will concentrate on some of the topics that are nearest to me, such as the celebrations of jubilees, archaeological research in connection with historical work, and source criticism, particularly publications.

Anniversaries are always a reason for intensifying historical research. Several jubilees have been celebrated in recent years. The Millenary of St. Adalbert's martyrdom in 1997 was the first; several conferences were organized and the papers published. The participants concentrated on each phase of Adalbert/Wojciech's life, his activity as a bishop in Prague, his journeys to Italy, France, and Hungary, and his tragic mission to Prussia. Many papers were devoted to the posthumous role of the saint in the creation of an independent Polish Church organization and Polish sovereignty. A number of archaeological research reports reconstructed his last journey and the place where he died, as well as a new biography and an anthology of the Polish historiographical texts about Adalbert.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Projects (in Polish) are on the internet site of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education: [www.nauka.gov.pl](http://www.nauka.gov.pl) (click on the words: Reforma nauki).

<sup>34</sup> Jerzy Strzelczyk, "Naukowe pokłosie milenium śmierci św. Wojciecha" [Research Results of the Millenary of St. Adalbert's Death] *Nasza Przeszłość* 98 (2002): 5-97, Bibliography: 50-97; see also *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej* [St. Adalbert in the Polish Historiographical Tradition], ed. Gerard Labuda (Warsaw: Pax, 1997); Gerard Labuda, *Święty Wojciech, Biskup-męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier* [Saint Adalbert. Bishop-Martyr, Patron of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary] (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2000). Several conference volumes have been published, such as: *Środkowoeuropejskie dziedzictwo świętego Wojciecha* [The Central European Heritage of St. Adalbert], ed. Antoni Barciak (Katowice: Instytut Górnośląski, Urząd Miejski w Zabrze, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Oddział w Katowicach, 1998); *Tropami świętego Wojciecha* (On Traces of St. Adalbert), ed. Zofia Kurnatowska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999); *Dziedzictwo kultu świętego*

The question of Emperor Otto III's pilgrimage to St. Adalbert's tomb in the year 1000 is strongly connected with this topic. Its millenium was an opportunity to discuss Polish-German or Polish-imperial relationships once more. Such discussions have a long tradition in Polish historiography, where they have been analysed in the context of present politics. A lively historiographical tradition from the nineteenth through the twentieth century has been the interpretation of the constant German *Drang nach Osten* and the constant Polish defence.<sup>35</sup> Recently, medieval Germany has been seen as a federation of tribal territories, loosely connected to each other. The emperors had two kinds of politics; one of them, led by Otto III, was the *real imperial politic* of restoring the Roman Empire. What Poland's role was in Ottonian political thinking is still under discussion; early Piast Poland was an ally of the German emperors. The meeting in Gniezno resulted, without any doubt, in the creation of a new ecclesiastical center (at the same time when the Hungarian seat was created in Esztergom). Nevertheless, it emphasized the sovereignty of the state and gave the Polish ruler royal rights of the investiture of local bishops. It was the first step toward crowning a Polish ruler, but this did not take place due to the death of Otto III. His successor, the Bavarian Prince Henry, adopted another model of imperial politics, integrating the German territories and attempting political expansion into the neighbouring territories.<sup>36</sup> There has recently been a

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*Wojciecha. Ogólnopolska sesja z okazji jubileuszu 1000-lecia męczeństwa św. Wojciecha, KUL, 22 IX 1997* [The Heritage of St. Adalbert's Cult. General Polish Session on the Milenary of St. Adalbert's Martyrdom], ed. Rev. Ryszard Knapieński (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998); *Opolskie drogi św. Wojciecha* [St. Adalbert's Opole Ways], ed. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz (Opole: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1997); *Święty Wojciech i jego czasy. Materiały III Symposiumu Historyczno-Archeologicznego Polskiego Uniwersytetu na Obczyźnie, Saint-Maurice, 12-13 kwietnia 1997 roku* [Saint Adalbert and His Time. Materials of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Historical-Archaeological Symposium of the Polish University Abroad, Saint-Maurice, 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> April 1997], ed. Andrzej Żaki (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000); Aleksandra Witkowska OSU, Joanna Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech. Życie i kult. Bibliografia do roku 1999* [Saint Adalbert. Life and Cult, Bibliography Until the Year 1999] (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> The title of a book by Zygmunt Wojciechowski was symptomatic: *Polska-Niemcy. Dziesięć wieków zmagania* [Poland-Germany. Ten Centuries of Fights] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1945).

<sup>36</sup> I think that the old article of Piotr Bogdanowicz with a detailed description of opinions about the Meeting in Gniezno is still useful. Piotr Bogdanowicz, "Zjazd Gnieźnieński w roku 1000" [The Meeting in Gniezno in the Year 1000] *Nasza Przeszłość* 16 (1962): 5-151, esp. 63-64. From the great account of the literature cf. biographies: Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko I* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2002); Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Wielkopolskiej Biblioteki Publicznej, 1999); Idem, *Otto III* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2000). Cf. also the conference materials: *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy* [Polish Territories in the

Ryszard Grzesik

discussion over whether St. Adalbert's metropolis was originally in Gniezno or in Prague. The German historian Johannes Fried, who does not know Polish, Czech or Hungarian and is therefore unaware of the regional historiography, has questioned all the axioms of Polish historiography on the basis of the *Annales Hildesheimenses*, locating Adalbert's tomb in Prague. In his answer to Fried, Gerard Labuda has shown that this is not the earliest version of the *Annals*, but a rewritten version from 1065, when the relics of St. Adalbert did lie in Prague, having been stolen by the Bohemian prince, Břetislav I.<sup>37</sup>

The millenium of the year 1000 was also an opportunity to return to the topic of the origins of Polish statehood, which was a continuation of research from the 1960s, the time of the millenium of the Christianization of Poland.<sup>38</sup> Archaeologists played an important role at these conferences. Their task was facilitated by a great excavation program launched because of the construction of the Yamal gas pipeline and new motorways. Archeologists developed a new method of dendrochronology which makes possible detailed dating of wooden artefacts;<sup>39</sup> this made it possible to develop a more detailed picture of the origins of the Polish state. Two original centers are now distinguished. The older one, a state of the Vistulians, was centered on Cracow and lay near the powerful states of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century: Great Moravia and Bohemia. The younger one lay in the west-central part of contemporary a state of the Polanians. Their rulers, the Piasts, possibly descended from Giecz,

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Tenth Century and Their Meaning for Creating a New Map of Europe], ed. Henryk Samsonowicz (Cracow: Universitas, 2000); *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000* [Poland at the Turn of the First and Second Millenium. Materials from a Session of the Art Historians' Society, Poznań, November 2000], ed. Szczesny Skibiński (Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 2001) (hereafter: *Polska na przełomie*); *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej* [1000 Years of the Gniezno Archdiocese], ed. Jerzy Surzelczyk, Janusz Górny (Gniezno: Prymasowskie Wydawnictwo Gaudentinum, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliiars, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989); Polish translation: Idem, *Ottón III i Bolesław Chrobry. Miniatura dedykacyjna z Ewangeliarza z Akwizgranu, zjazd gnieźnieński a królestwo polskie i węgierskie. Analiza ikonograficzna i wnioski historyczne* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 2000); Gerard Labuda, "Der 'Akt von Gnesen' vom Jahre 1000. Bericht über die Forschungsvorhaben und -ergebnisse," *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae* 5 (2000): 146-188.

<sup>38</sup> Symbolic for this millenium was: *Początki Państwa Polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia* [The Origins of the Polish State. A Book of the Millenary], ed. Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Henryk Łowmiański, and Gerard Labuda, 2 vols. (Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Oddział w Poznaniu, 1962).

<sup>39</sup> Tomasz Ważny, *Dendrochronologia obiektów zabytkowych w Polsce* [Dendrochronology of Artifacts in Poland] (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne, 2001).

unified the eastern part of modern Great Poland (Wielkopolska) and Cuyavia (Kujawy); the western and southern parts were destroyed and rebuilt about 940. This state was created with the main centers in Gniezno, Giecz, Grzybowo, and Poznań. Recent excavations of the palatium and the protective walls have created a better picture of the role of Poznań at the time of Mieszko I. It seems that Poznań might have been the most important center of the Early Polish state, although it was not a capital in the modern sense (this discussion, with a long tradition in Poland, is still ongoing).<sup>40</sup>

Research on the origins of Poland and of the Slavic world is connected with this topic. Prof. Karol Modzelewski, in a fundamental monograph about the barbarian world, has reconstructed the mentality of the German and Slavic pagans and shown the revolutionary changes in their conceptions due to the spread of Christianity.<sup>41</sup> The ethnogenesis of the Slavs was current before and after the Second World War, when it was demonstrated that the Slavs (read: Poles) had their own place in Europe, although this discussion seems rather futile now. There are two conflicting points of view: the neoautochthonic one (Slavs originated in the territories between the Oder and Vistula) and the allochthonic one (Slavs came to Poland from Ukraine), a point of view represented by the Cracow archaeologists. The discussion is full of personal invective and attacks; it no longer resembles a research discussion.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Recently, Zofia Kurnatowska, "Formowanie się państw słowiańskich w aspekcie porównawczym" [Formation of the Slavic States in Comparative Perspective], in *Europa barbarica, Europa Christiana. Studia mediaevalia Carolo Modzelewski dedicata*, ed. Roman Michałowski, et al. (Warsaw: DiG, 2008): 81-91, esp. 86-89. About the role of Poznań see *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania* [Studies in the History of Medieval Poznań], ed. Zofia Kurnatowska and Tomasz Jurek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2005). For the opposite view see *Gniezno na europejskim szlaku milenijnym 1997 i 2000 (studia i materiały)* [Gniezno on the European Millennial Path, 1997 and 2000 (Studies and Materials)], ed. Aleksander Wojciech Miłkołajczak (Gniezno: Oficyna Tum, 2002).

<sup>41</sup> Karol Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa* [Barbarian Europe] (Warsaw: Iskry, 2004).

<sup>42</sup> For a synthesis of the topic in English see Zbigniew Gołąb, *The Origins of the Slavs. A Linguist's View* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1992); Polish translation: Idem, *O pochodzeniu Słowian w świetle faktów językowych*, tr. Maria Wojtyła-Świerżowska (Cracow: Universitas, 2004). See also Hanna Popowska-Taborska, *Z językowych dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* [From the Language History of Slavdom] (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2004), esp. part 2: *Z historii badań i polemik nad etnogenezą Słowian* [From the History of the Critique and Polemics on the Ethnogenesis of the Slavs], 217-330. The allochthonic theory was created by the Cracow archaeologist, Kazimierz Godłowski, see his posthumous collection of studies: Kazimierz Godłowski, *Pierwotne siedziby Słowian* [Original Seats of the Slavs], ed. Michał Parczewski (Cracow: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2000), and is continued by the representatives of the Cracow center; see Magdalena Mączyńska, "O etnogenezie Słowian" [On the Ethnogenesis of the Slavs] in *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia*, 15-26, esp. 22-23, for an attack on Witold Mańczak and

Ryszard Grzesik

Therefore, recently, Prof. Przemysław Urbańczyk has edited several studies by foreign historians which introduce a new point of view on ethnogenesis.<sup>43</sup> Urbańczyk recently edited a book which deconstructs everything that is known about the origins of Poland. He questions, for example, the existence of tribes among the Slavs. Urbańczyk is working on a synthesis using cultural anthropology to make his theories understandable for both historians and archaeologists.<sup>44</sup>

There is a debate concerning the narrative sources of Polish history. Two volumes, containing the text of Master Vincent Kadłubek's text (a result of more than fifty years of work by Prof. Marian Plezia) and the *Annales Sancti Crucis*, have been published in a new series of Monumenta Poloniae historica (henceforth: MPH s. n.).<sup>45</sup> It is hoped that a new edition of the younger Cracow annals will be (or is being) prepared by Dr. Wojciech Drelicharz, who has written a brilliant monograph on this topic.<sup>46</sup> The new Polish translation of the *Vita Sancti Adalberti* has been published as well as a bilingual edition of the *Vita Sancti Zoerardi* and *Benedicti*, which pertains to Hungarian hagiography.<sup>47</sup> The first Polish bilingual edition of

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Henryk Mamzer, representatives of the autochthonic theory. Their studies have been published, e.g., in *Slavia Antiqua* 38 (1997), 39 (1998), 43 (2002). For a good description of the discussion (or rather quarrel) about the meaning of the settlement hiatus at the end of the Roman period, see Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Nie-Słowianie o początkach Słowian* [Non-Slavs on the Origin of the Slavs] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2006): 133-175, esp. 144-153.

<sup>43</sup> Studies by Walter Pohl, Florin Curta, Sebastian Brather, and Paul Barford have been published in Polish translation.

<sup>44</sup> I do not agree with this proposal. I believe that "pure" history is the discipline which is predestined to build a synthesis of the past because of its nature, but I agree that all scholars dealing with the Middle Ages, historians, art historians, archaeologists, and philologists should discuss their research and try to reconstruct the past together. See Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Trudne początki Polski* [The Difficult Origins of Poland] (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2008).

<sup>45</sup> *Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika polska. Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. Marian Plezia, MPH s. n., vol. 11 (Cracow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Wydawnictwo Secesja, 1994); *Rocznik świętokrzyski. Annales S. Crucis*, ed. Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, MPH s. n., vol. 12 (Cracow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1996).

<sup>46</sup> Wojciech Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska XIII-XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych* [Annals from Little Poland from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century. The Direction of the Development of Great Compiled Annals] (Cracow: PAU, 2003) (hereafter: Drelicharz, *Annalistyka*).

<sup>47</sup> *W kręgu żywotów świętego Wojciecha* [In the Circle of St. Adalbert's Life Descriptions], ed. Jan Andrzej Spież OP, tr. Brygida Kürbis, Janina Pleziowa, Maria Wojciechowska, Marian Plezia, Marek Grzelak, and Mirosław Wylęgała OP (Cracow: Tyniec Wydawnictwo benedyktyńców, 1997); Stanisław Pietrzak, "Podstawowe źródła do żywota św. Świerada – omówienie i teksty" [Basic Sources on St. Świerad's/Zoerad's Biography – Description and Texts], in *Święty Świerad i jego czasy. Materiały z sympozjum naukowego w Tropiu 10-11 lipca 1998* [Saint Świerad/Zoerad and His Time. Materials from the Research Symposium in Tropie, 10-11 July 1998], ed. Rev. Stanisław Pietrzak (Nowy Sącz: Katolickie Stowarzyszenia "Civitas

the early Hungarian chronicle, *Gesta Hungarorum*, has also been published, as well as the oldest Teutonic chronicle of Master Peter of Dusburg.<sup>48</sup> There is a new discussion about Gallus Anonymus; Prof. Tomasz Jasiński has revived the old hypothesis about the Venetian origin of a chronicler and links him to Dalmatia. A Hungarian historian, Dániel Bagi, opposes this idea. Bagi has recently published a study, first in Hungarian and then in Polish, of Gallus' *Chronicle* as a source for Hungarian history, showing that the chronicler knew the *Gesta Ungarorum* written at the court of Coloman the Learned.<sup>49</sup> The first English translation of this narrative was recently published by the CEU Press.<sup>50</sup> The PAN Institute of Literary Research organized a session on Vincent Kadłubek which continued the discussion on the chronicler from the 1970s and 1980s. There have also been studies on the *Great Polish Chronicle* questioning its thirteenth-century origin<sup>51</sup> and on the *Hungarian-*

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Christiana," 2001): 291-313. A new edition of St. Adalbert's Passion (the so-called *Passio* of Tegernsee) and *Passio S. Brunonis* has been published recently: Anna Rutkowska-Plachcińska, "Pasje świętych Wojciecha i Brunona z tzw. kodeksu z Tegernsee" [The Passions of St. Adalbert and St. Bruno from the So-called Code of Tegernsee], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 40 (2002): 19-41, esp. 37-40.

<sup>48</sup> *Anonimowego notariusza króla Béli Gesta Hungarorum* [*Gesta Hungarorum* of the Anonymous Notary of King Béla], tr. Aleksandra Kulbicka, Krzysztof Pawłowski, and Grażyna Wodzinowska-Taklińska, intro. and notes Ryszard Grzesik (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2006); Piotr z Dusburga, *Kronika ziemi pruskiej* [Chronicle of the Prussian Territory], tr. Sławomir Wyszomirski, commentary Jarosław Wenta (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Mikołaja Kopernika, 2004).

<sup>49</sup> Tomasz Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima* [On the Origin of Gallus Anonymus] (Cracow: Avalon, 2008); See also Dániel Bagi, *Gallus Anonymus és Magyarország. A Geszta magyar adatai, forrásai, mintai, valamint a szerző történetészleléte a latin Kelet-Közép-Európa 12. század eleji latin nyelvű történetírásának tükrében* [Gallus Anonymus and Hungary. Hungarian Data, Sources and Gesta Examples as well as the Author's View on History in the Light of the Latin Historical Writers from the Latin Central Eastern Europe of the Beginning of the Twelfth Century] (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 2005). The Polish version is Dániel Bagi, *Królowie węgierscy w Kronice Galla Anonima* [Hungarian Kings in the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus] (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2008) with the addition of a counter-argument to T. Jasiński's study.

<sup>50</sup> *Gesta principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, tr. and annot. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, preface by Thomas N. Bisson (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003).

<sup>51</sup> Brygida Kürbisówna, *Studia nad Kroniką Wielkopolską* [A Study of the Great Polish Chronicle] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1952); eadem, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV wieku* [Great Polish Historiography of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959) a chronicle from the end of the thirteenth century; Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy. XIV-wieczne Kompendium historii ojczystej* [Chronicle of Dzierzwa. The Compendium of the Home History from the Fourteenth Century] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979) from the fourteenth century based on Dzierzwa; Marek Derwich, "Janko z Czarnkowa a Kronika Wielkopolska" [John of Czarnków and the Great Polish Chronicle], *Acta Universitatis Vratislaviensis* No. 800. *Historia* 50 (1985): 127-162 a chronicle from the mid-fourteenth century written by John of

Ryszard Grzesik

*Polish Chronicle*, which has also been translated into Polish.<sup>52</sup> One must mention multi-volume editorial series of Polish documents preserved in the archives of the former Hungarian Kingdom<sup>53</sup> as well as the continuation, after almost a century, of the Diplomatic Code of Great Poland.<sup>54</sup> Cracow University books from the fifteenth century have been printed.<sup>55</sup> The Poznań center of the Institute for Slavonic

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Czarnków; Edward Skibiński, “Dzierżwa i kronikarz wielkopolski. Powrót problemu” [Dzierżwa and the Great Polish Chronicler. Return of the Problem], in *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* [Historical Works], ed. Danuta Zydzorek (Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2001) a chronicle independent from Dzierżwa, the chronology follows B. Kürbis; Drelicharz, *Annalistyka*, 211-262 the chronology follows J. Banasz Kiewicz.

<sup>52</sup> Ryszard Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Z dziejów polsko-węgierskich kontaktów kulturalnych w średniowieczu* [The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle. From the Polish-Hungarian Cultural Relationship in the Middle Ages] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999); *Zywoot św. Siewfana króla Węgier czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska* [Description of St. Stephen's Life or the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle], ed. Ryszard Grzesik (Warsaw: DiG, 2003).

<sup>53</sup> *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier. Documenta ad res Poloniae pertinentia, quae in archivis veteris Regni Hungariae asservantur*, vol. 1 (*do 1450 r. – usque ad a. 1450*), ed. Stanisław A. Sroka (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 1998); vol. 2 (*dokumenty z lat 1451-1480 – documenta ex annis 1451-1480*) (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2000); vol. 3 (*dokumenty z lat – documenta ex annis 1481-1500*) (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2003); vol. 4 (*dokumenty z lat – documenta ex annis 1501-1520*) (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2006).

<sup>54</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 6 *zawiera dokumenty nr 1-400 z lat 1174-1400. Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 6 *comprehendit: diplomata nr 1-400 ex annis 1174-1400*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Henryk Kowalewicz (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 7 *zawiera dokumenty nr 401-773 z lat 1401-1415. Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 7 *comprehendit: diplomata nr 401-773 ex annis 1401-1415*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Ryszard Walczak (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 8 *zawiera dokumenty nr 774-1074 z lat 1416-1425. Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 8 *comprehendit: diplomata nr 774-1074 ex annis 1416-1425*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 9 *zawiera dokumenty nr 1075-1380 z lat 1426-1434. Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 9 *comprehendit: diplomata nr 1075-1380 ex annis 1426-1434*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 10 *zawiera dokumenty nr 1381-1699 z lat 1435-1444. Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 10 *comprehendit diplomata nr 1381-1699 ex annis 1435-1444*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Jasiński (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1993); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 11 *zawiera suplementy (dokumenty nr 1700-2023 z lat 1225-1444) oraz errata i indeksy do tomów 6-11. Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, t. 11 *comprehendit supplementum (diplomata nr 1700-2023 ex annis 1225-1444), corrigenda ac indices ad tomos 6-11*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jasiński, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999).

<sup>55</sup> *Księga promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z XV wieku* [The Book of Promotions of Cracow University from the Fifteenth Century], ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski with Tomasz Jurek, Izabela Skierska, Wincenty Swoboda (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2000); *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat*

Studies publishes a series of excerpts from narrative sources which are unknown to Polish historians in the original languages with a Polish translation and extensive commentaries. The purpose of this series is to give Polish scholars an instrument for further research.<sup>56</sup>

Polish medievalists are active. Instead of financial and organization problems, Polish researchers discuss topics from the history of Poland and Europe (we have never forgotten that we are a part of the Western cultural zone). One can observe a change in the generations in last few years. The second characteristic feature of the most recent period is the creation of several new high schools where famous pensioned historians often work. Even the smallest schools try to create their own research milieu and attract authorities. The former High Pedagogical School in Słupsk, now called the Pomeranian Academy (see n. 23 above), can serve as an example; it used to be one of the worst high schools in Poland and regularly occupied the lowest places in the rankings. But now Prof. Jerzy Hauziński is there, a famous specialist in medieval Islamic civilization, and Dr. Jarosław Sochacki, who edited Wipo's biography of the Emperor Konrad in Polish and the Latin original.<sup>57</sup> A detailed analysis of Polish medieval studies must take local centers into consideration besides the well known centers. The richness of "production" needs more systematic studies and more detailed presentation than has been made above. I hope, nevertheless, that even such particular remarks will give you the image of medieval studies in Poland in recent years.

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1400-1508, *Biblioteka Jagiellońska rkp. 258. Metrica Universitatis Cracoviensis a. 1400-1508. Bibliotheca Jagellonica cod. 258*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska with Ryszard Grzesik, vol. 1: *Texts*; vol. 2: *Indexes* (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2004).

<sup>56</sup> Until now only three volumes of the Greek series have been published by Alina Brzóstkowska and Wincenty Swoboda (d. 2000), ed., *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian, seria grecka* [Testimonies of the Oldest Slavic History, Greek Series], vol. 2 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989); vol. 3 (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1995); vol. 4 (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1997). The next volumes, including vol. 1 and a Latin series are in preparation. About the Latin series see Ryszard Grzesik, "Arbeiten an den Testimonien der frühen Geschichte der Slawen," in *Die Geschichtsschreibung in Mitteleuropa. Projekte und Forschungsprobleme*, ed. Jarosław Wenta (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999); Idem, *Materiały do Bibliografii do łacińskiej serii Testimoniów najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian* [Materials for the Bibliography of the Latin Series of the Testimonies of the Oldest Slavic History], ed. Ryszard Grzesik (Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2007).

<sup>57</sup> Wipon, *Chwalebne czyny cesarza Konrada II. Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris* [In Praise of King Konrad II], ed. Jarosław Sochacki and Ewa Milkamanowicz (Cracow: Universitas, 2005). Unfortunately, this edition has no index.



## IS THERE A FUTURE FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN ROMANIA?

*Carmen Florea*

The title of this essay might sound rather pessimistic when it comes to commenting on the status of medieval studies in Romania. It could even be confusing, since there are at least two major positive observations regarding medieval studies. One is inclined to emphasize the privileged position of historical research in Romania because of the different historical traditions (Romanian, Hungarian and German) which co-exist here. As with everything else regarding present-day Romania, the year 1990 also represented a turning point from this point of view. At the beginning of the 1990s Romanian historians tried to propose new avenues to study the past; the Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesülete (*Transylvanian Museum Association*) was re-established after its operation had been forbidden for more than four decades, and collaboration with the *Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* was renewed.<sup>1</sup>

The other positive conclusion concerns the institutional context framing the study and research of medieval history. According to official data, medieval history is studied at the undergraduate level in no less than sixteen public universities and five privately funded institutions.<sup>2</sup> It seems that students in Romania have many opportunities to become acquainted with medieval studies, since courses on medieval European

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<sup>1</sup> In late December 1989 a group of historians from Romania led by the distinguished medievalist Șerban Papacostea denounced the uses of history for nationalistic purposes during the communist era and proposed a re-connection with the valuable suggestions formulated in the inter-war historical discourse from Romania and with current research trends in international historiography. Among those issuing this *Declaration of Free Historians* were David Prodan, Dionisie Pippidi, Henri Stahl, Zsigmond Jakó, Teodor Pompiliu, Viorica Moisiuc, Andrei Pippidi, Ștefan Andreescu, Octavian Iliescu, Ștefan Gorovei, Alexandru Zub. The initiative received enthusiastic approval from Saxon historians who had left Romania to pursue their academic careers in Germany; see Konrad G. Gündisch's response in *Revista Istorică* 1, No. 6 (1990). Details about the revival of the Transylvanian Museum Association can be found in its journal *Erdélyi Múzeum* 53(1991): 183-94 (also available online at [epa.oszk.hu](http://epa.oszk.hu)). From 1962 onwards the Arbeitskreis in Germany continued the activity of the Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, a society which had functioned in Transylvania between 1840 and 1947 ([www.sibiweb.de/aksl](http://www.sibiweb.de/aksl)).

<sup>2</sup> The list is available on the official website of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research in the section dedicated to higher education, see [www.edu.ro](http://www.edu.ro). History is offered at the BA level at the universities of Bucharest, Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Arad, Bacău, Cluj (Kolozsvár), Constanța, Craiova, Galați, Iași (Jászvásár), Oradea (Nagyvárad), Pitești, Sibiu (Nagyszeben), Suceava, Târgoviște, Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely), and Timișoara (Temesvár). Privately funded universities offering history are: Christian University "Dimitrie Cantemir", "Spiru Hare" University, Hyperion University, all in Bucharest, West University "Vasile Goldiș in Arad, and "Mihail Kogălniceanu" University in Iași.

Carmen Florea

history and Romanian medieval history are compulsory in the national curriculum detailing the domains and areas of specializations in history.<sup>3</sup> This introduction to the study of the medieval past can be continued during the MA programs; they aim to offer specializations on specific topics ranging from the case of Transylvania in Central Europe to issues of power and ideologies in the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup>

At least equally satisfying seems to be the number of research institutes and centers where medieval studies are integrated into the general research policy of these institutions. Again, official data reveal a fairly impressive number of such research units, the great majority of them being affiliated with the Romanian Academy of Sciences. Alongside the research institutes established in the inter-war period and which continued to function during the communist era as well,<sup>5</sup> new institutional structures, either institutes or research centers, were organized after 1990.<sup>6</sup> As is the

<sup>3</sup> This is a centralized decision taken by the Ministry of Education and implemented by ARACIS (The Agency for Ensuring the Quality in Higher Education), official website [www.aracis.ro](http://www.aracis.ro).

<sup>4</sup> It is rather a surprise that the number of MA programs accredited by ARACIS and focusing on different aspects of the Middle Ages is extremely low compared to the number of Faculties of History where the history of the Middle Ages is taught. For the academic year 2008/2009 I identified only twelve such programs: two at Alba Iulia University (Museology and Cultural Heritage, Transylvania in the Cultural History of Central Europe); two at the Faculty of History of “Babeş-Bolyai” University in Cluj (Society, Art, and Identities in Central Europe – From the Middle Ages to the Modern Times, and Philosophy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages), and one each at the University of Galaţi (Romanian Space between East and West); the Faculty of History in Iaşi (an MA program in Power and Society in Antiquity and the Middle Ages), the University of Oradea (an MA program on the History of Western Romania), the University of Sibiu (Central and South; Eastern Europe in the first millennium of the Christian Era); and at the Faculty of Archival Studies of the Police Academy in Bucharest (an MA program in Ancient Languages and Paleography).

<sup>5</sup> Although their function was severely altered by the adoption of the Soviet model of organizing research institutes in 1948.

<sup>6</sup> The section dedicated to the institutions, centers and foundations subordinate to the Academy can be found at [www.acad.ro/academia2002](http://www.acad.ro/academia2002). These are: Institute of Archaeology and Art History (Cluj); the Institute of History “Nicolae Iorga” (Bucharest), the Institute of History “George Bariţ” (Cluj), the Institute of South Eastern European Studies (Bucharest), the Institute of Archaeology “Vasile Pârvan” (one of the research directions here is devoted to the migration era and the Middle Ages); the Institute of History “A. D. Xenopol” (Iaşi), and the Institute of Archaeology (Iaşi), which was created in 1990 as a result of the transformation of the Department of Archaeology of the Institute of History “A. D. Xenopol.” In Sibiu, Târgu Mureş, Craiova, and Timișoara the beginning of the 1990s witnessed the emergence of Institutes of Socio-Human Research, all funded and organized under the auspices of the Romanian Academy. The Center for Transylvanian Studies was established in Cluj in 1991 as a branch of the Bucharest-based Romanian Cultural Foundation; after 2007 it became a department of the Romanian Academy. Its foundation, however, was regarded as a re-establishment of the former Center for Studies and Investigations of Transylvania which operated at Cluj-Sibiu University between 1942 and 1948. One of the first institutional results of the effort of integrating historical research from Romania into the European picture was the creation of

case with the numerous faculties of history, these research structures too, reflect an increased regionalization, being established not only in the traditional academic centers of Bucharest, Cluj (Kolozsvár) and Iași, but also in towns such as Craiova, Timișoara (Temesvár), Sibiu (Nagyszeben), and Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely).

This regionalization is not the only feature of this institutional framework, however. One can add that this is a structure massively funded, in some cases exclusively, from the public budget. Furthermore, one notes the centralized character of the governing administrative bodies (the Ministry of Education and Research or the Romanian Academy) to which the universities and the institutes are subordinate. Depending on a single center for issues of financing and daily administration correspondingly increases and determines excessive bureaucracy. Apart from this, most of the historical journals published in Romania are funded from the public budget and issued by universities, institutes of research, museums or archives. Medieval topics are covered in separate sections of the journals of the three main history institutes from the three traditional centers,<sup>7</sup> but there are also two journals dedicated entirely to the Middle Ages.

The first, *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, is issued annually by the “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History (Bucharest). Significantly, the first issue published after 1989<sup>8</sup> proposed a new approach to the Romanian Middle Ages which aimed at integrating Romanian research into the international picture, promoting interdisciplinary research, and continuing the work of source editing. The other is *Medievalia Transilvanica*. First published in 1997 by the Museum of Satu-Mare County (Szatmár megyei Múzeum) and bringing together an editorial board of Romanian and Hungarian medievalists,<sup>9</sup> this journal confirms the tendency

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the Institute for Central European Studies of “Babeș-Bolyai” University in Cluj in 1990. Since 1994 the institute has published an English-language journal, *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*. It is worth mentioning that apart from the numerous studies dealing with medieval topics published over the years, the journal also dedicates ample space to influential medievalists such as interviews with Jacques Le Goff, vol. 7-9, no. 1-2 (2001-2002), and Bronisław Geremek, vol. 10-11, no. 1-2 (2003-2004), Gábor Klaniczay (a special “Profile” section), vol. 13, no. 1-2 (2005), the late professor Zsigmond Jakó, vol. 14, no. 1-2 (2006) and Șerban Papacostea, vol. 14 (2007).

<sup>7</sup> *Revista istorică* of “N. Iorga” Institute of History, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* of the Institute of History Cluj, and *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “A.D. Xenopol”* Iași.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. 11, 1993. Until 1999, it was published by the Romanian Academy’s publishing house. For unspecified reasons, at least not in the journal’s pages, since 1999 it has been published by a local publishing house, Editura Istros of the Museum of Brăila.

<sup>9</sup> The members of the Editorial Board were Marius Diaconescu, Ioan Drăgan, the late Pál Engel, Ioan Aurel Pop, Adrian A. Rusu, and Gábor Sipos.

Carmen Florea

to regionalize research topics that came to the fore after 1989. The journal has three stated goals: to promote research topics pertaining to medieval Transylvania, to ground the study of the history of this region on an “objective basis,” and to encourage collaboration among Romanian, Hungarian, and German historians in order to overcome the identification of medieval Transylvanian history with the history of each one’s own ethnicity.

This situation could make one wonder if the multitude of structures for studying and publishing about the Middle Ages in Romania are matched by a diversity of research strategies. Furthermore, how is this diversity reflected in the works published in the last fifteen years? Has it led to debates that changed the way the medieval past is researched and written about? In order to find answers to these questions it is worth investigating how medieval studies have been present in the historical debates of the last fifteen years.

One of the general features of medieval studies in Romania has been the consistent effort made in the last fifteen years to study various aspects of medieval history comparatively. From this point of view, one can again detect a regionalization of the comparative approach according to the three main centers, București, Iași, and Cluj, where the works published in recent years have increasingly reflected an understanding of the medieval past as connected to neighboring geographical and political areas (Southeastern Europe, the Pontic space, and Central Europe).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Tahsin Gemil, Românii și otomanii în secolele XIV-XVI* [Romanians and Ottomans between the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1991); Șerban Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea între cruciată și imperiul mongol* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993), English translation: *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire: Romanians in the Thirteenth Century*, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1998); Mihai Maxim, *L’Empire Ottoman au nord du Danube et l’autonomie des Principautés Roumaines aux XVIe siècle* (Istanbul: Isis, 1999); Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII*, (Iași: Institutul European, 1999), English translation: *The Great Migrations from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.*, Cluj: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003); Ștefan Andreescu, *Din istoria Mării Negre (Genovezi, români și tătari în spațiul pontic în secolele XIV-XVII)* [About Black Sea History. Genoese, Romanians and Tartars in the in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001); Ovidiu Pecican, *Arpadieni, angevini, români. Studii de medievistică central-europeană*, [Arpadians, Angevins, Romanians Black Sea Regia. Studies on Central European Medieval History] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației Desire, 2001); Șerban Turcuș, *Sfântul Scaun și românii în secolul al XIII-lea* [The Holy See and the Romanians during the Thirteenth century] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001); Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, *Bizanțul și românii. Eseuri, studii, articole* [Byzantium and the Romanians. Essays, studies, articles] (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Pro, 2003); Ovidiu Cristea, *Veneția și Marea Neagră în secolele XIII-XIV. Contribuții la studiul politicii orientale venețiene* [Venice and the Black Sea in the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries. Contributions to the Study of the Venetian Oriental Policy] (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2004); Șerban Papacostea, *La Mer Noire carrefour des grandes routes intercontinentales 1204-*

It is worth mentioning in this context the attempt to understand the Romanian medieval past by referring constantly to relations with the Other (migrations, neighboring Christian kingdoms or the Ottoman Empire).<sup>11</sup> This tendency for regionally focused research is even better illustrated by the detailed studies dedicated to particular regions of present-day Romania.<sup>12</sup>

After 1989, medieval studies in Romania seem to have been almost exclusively concerned with the close scrutiny of geographical units whose medieval past was studied either in relation with the general evolution of medieval Europe (or more precisely, Central and Southeastern Europe) or with the local history of the respective regions. These were undoubtedly clear points of departure from the way medieval history had been studied during the Communist regime. But did this

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1453 (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2006); Andrei Pippidi, *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains. Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> As was the case with Bogdan Murgescu's book, *Istorie românească- istorie universală (600-1800)* [Romanian History-European History, 600-1800] (Bucharest: Editura Teora, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Ioan Aurel Pop, *Instituții medievale românești: adunările cneziale și nobiliare (boierești) din Transilvania (secolele XIV-XVI)* [Romanian Medieval Institutions from Transylvania, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1991); Konrad G. Gündisch, *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1993); Wolfgang Schuller, ed., *Siebenbürgen zur Zeit der Römer und der Völkerwanderung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1994); Adrian Bejan, *Banatul în sec. IV-XII* [The Region of Banat between the Fourth and the Twelfth Centuries] (Timișoara: Editura de Vest, 1995); Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* [Architecture in Transylvanian, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum, 1996); Harald Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1996); Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei. Probleme controversate* [The Foundation of Moldavia. Controversial Issues] (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 1997); Adrian A. Rusu, *Cititori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700* [Founders and Churches in the Hațeg region until 1700] (Satu-Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997); Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen*, vol. 1-2 (Hermannstadt-Heidelberg: Monumenta Verlag-Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1998-1999); Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440-1514* [Transylvanian Romanian Nobility between 1440 and 1514] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000); Dan Nicolae Busuioc-von Hasselbach, *Țara Făgărașului în secolul al XIII-lea. Mănăstirea cisterciană de la Cârța* [The Făgăraș Region during the Thirteenth Century. The Cistercian Monastery of Cârța] vol. 1 (Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000); Harald Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden und das Burzenland. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2000); Mihaela Sanda Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania* [Dominican Monasteries in Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2002); Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi, *Privilegiile și îndatoririle orașelor din Transilvania voievodală* [Privileges and Duties of the Towns from the Voievodate of Transylvania] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003); Lidia Gross, *Confrațiile medievale în Transilvania (sec. XIV-XVI)* [Transylvanian Medieval Confraternities, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century] (Cluj-Napoca, Editura Grinta, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004); Laurențiu Rădvan, *Orașele din Țara Românească pînă la sfîrșitul secolului al XVI-lea* [The Towns of Wallachia until the End of the Sixteenth Century] (Iași: Editura Universității "A.I. Cuza", 2004).

Carmen Florea

renewal of topics and approaches lead to more substantial debates about how we analyze the Middle Ages? Did this determine reflection on the methods used and the way the medieval past is understood?

The major historical journals devoted ample space to book reviews and various viewpoints could be expressed in separate sections.<sup>13</sup> Unsurprisingly, thus, one of the most interesting debates, that between Șerban Papacostea and Daniel Barbu, can be found in the journal devoted to medieval studies.<sup>14</sup> This was one of the few debates which could have changed both the fate and the “face” of medieval studies in Romania. Papacostea insisted on the historian’s obligation to use the documents extensively, to remain faithful to the information they provide, and to always search for historical facts.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, Barbu argued, in the spirit of Karl Popper’s “The Poverty of Historicism”<sup>16</sup> that what the sources reveal are only facts as they were understood and interpreted by those producing them. These two opposite views on how the sources can or cannot be used in order to gain a more nuanced comprehension of the past deserved a more detailed debate. Unfortunately, this did not happen; at least, none of the historical journals of the Romanian Academy, including the one where the debate started, echoed this polemic. It seems that medievalists in Romania lost an excellent opportunity to discuss how Ranke’s idea of *wie es eigentlich gewesen* could be, and even deserves to be, further applied to medieval studies.

A profound silence seems to have surrounded the community of medievalists in Romania in the years 2002-2003. This silence concerned not only a case of serious plagiarism, which was denounced particularly in cultural magazines, but also the debates taking place at Leeds in July 2003.<sup>17</sup> Romanian medievalists seemed to

<sup>13</sup> Such as the Addenda et corrigenda section of the journal *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, that of Viewpoints in *Medievalia Transilvanica* or the Workshop section of the Erdélyi Múzeum.

<sup>14</sup> The debate focused on Barbu’s book *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essai sur la production politique de la foi au Moyen Age* (Bucharest: Éditions Babel, 1998).

<sup>15</sup> *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 20 (2002): 350-351.

<sup>16</sup> First published in 1957, Romanian translation published in 1996 (Bucharest: Editura All). Barbu’s response was published in the same periodical, vol. 21 (2003): 383-389.

<sup>17</sup> Several medievalists, among them Șerban Papacostea, Ștefan Andreescu, Leon Șimanschi, and Ovidiu Pecican protested in cultural magazines such as *Revista 22*, (11 March 2002 and 15 July 2002) and *Observatorul cultural* (no. 107, March, 2002) against volume 4 of the History of the Romanians, published by the Romanian Academy publishing house. The volume, coordinated by the Academy’s Section of Historical Studies, contained chapters which were largely plagiarized from previously published material. See also the review by Daniel Ursprung, “Historiographie im Zeichen der Beharrung. Kritische Anmerkungen zur umfangreichsten Gesamtdarstellung der rumänischen Geschichte,” *Südostforschungen* 63-64 (2004-2005):

## Is There a Future for Medieval Studies in Romania?

be indifferent to discussing the fate of their craft both at home and abroad. As was the case with the Barbu-Papacostea debate, which could have occasioned a reflective discussion on the medievalist's craft today but in fact did not, we lost a great opportunity. It seems that the culture of debates, discussions, critical reviews is not strongly present on our agenda.

This seems to be confirmed also by the bitter conclusions reached by those evaluating the status of Romanian historiography after 1989.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the most disappointing remarks concern the Middle Ages itself. According to Ovidiu Cristea, one of the respondents, medieval studies in Romania after 1990 did not evolve satisfactorily. This was determined by the absence of a critical assessment of medieval studies in the 1990s, by a significant lack of communication among medievalists from different parts of the country, and equally important, the lack of a coherent research strategy. His conclusion is pessimistic and reveals a paradox: medieval studies in Romania pretend "to go western," but, this journey is made with a patriotic historiography.

Rather hesitantly, this situation is tending to get better in cyberspace virtual space. The existence of two websites, one claiming to be that of the medievalists from Romania<sup>19</sup> and the other wishing to promote an alternative history,<sup>20</sup> where divergent opinions are constantly being presented and debated, might bring some improvement to the "non-combatant" status of medieval studies. Still, one can dare hope that individual initiatives, the existence of dedicated, well trained and eager-to-change-something medievalists would dramatically transform the current

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408-421. At the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2003 a panel was organized on: "Is There a Place for Medieval Studies in Present-Day Society?"

<sup>18</sup> *Revista istorică* 15 (2004): 51-60. *The Outlook in Historiography* also comprised the points of view of two alumni of the CEU Medieval Studies Department, Mária Pakucs Willcocks and Marian Coman. The need for clarification and evaluating the status of medieval studies was clearly felt fifteen years after the fall of the Communist regime as this is also seen in Zsigmond Jakó's *Az erdélyi magyar történetkutatás mai kérdései* [Present Issues concerning Hungarian Historical Research in Transylvanian], opening remarks at a conference organized in Cluj, 20 and 21 October 2004, *Erdély a magyar középkorkutatásban* [Transylvania in Hungarian Medieval Research], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 67 (2005): 1-5.

<sup>19</sup> [www.medievistica.ro](http://www.medievistica.ro) is available only in Romanian. There are several medieval topics which are dealt with such as history, archaeology, art, monuments, a substantial section dedicated to book reviews and a forum for debates. Among the contributors are also two Medieval Studies alumni, Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "Feudalismul românesc" [Romanian feudalism] and Cristian Daniel, "Istorie bisericească" și "istorie a bisericii" [Ecclesiastical History and Church History].

<sup>20</sup> [www.patzinakia.ro](http://www.patzinakia.ro), a site developed by medievalists and early modern researchers. It also hosts the online journal *Studia Patzinakia*, volume 7 (2008). Among the most active members of this group is Ana Maria Gruiua, an alumna of the Medieval Studies Department.

Carmen Florea

status. For this to happen, however, they will have to renounce turning a deaf ear to each other; they will have to learn to communicate with each other at least to the same extent as they are with their colleagues from other parts of the continent. Furthermore, serious debates on concepts such as “Romanian medieval space/territory,” “Romanian medieval civilization,” and the chronology of the Middle Ages are still needed. One of the unexpected results of the regionalization and fragmentation of medieval studies after 1989 was the dominant ethnic view from which various topics were approached. If there is a future for medieval studies in Romania, concepts, chronology, and methodological approaches should be clarified. Otherwise, this future will be marked not by regionalization, but by parochialism.

## MEDIEVAL STUDIES ON THE BORDER

*Péter Levente Szőcs*

The County of Satu Mare (Szatmár) is the northwesternmost region of today's Romania, on the border with Hungary and Ukraine. It was not part of any historical region of Romania (Maramureş or Transylvania) therefore historical interest in Satu Mare has remained on a local level. This is the reason why national or regional historical projects, among them studies of medieval history, have neglected this area and little institutional support from the central level can be detected even today. Local organizations (the county museum and the county library) had to take on additional tasks in order to recover local history and connect to regional or national issues. The particular position of Satu Mare conferred a peripheral situation in terms of historical geography and determined a special set of tasks for local historical research.

A few days after I graduated from Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Kolosvar, in 1997, I was employed as a medieval archaeologist at the County Museum of Satu Mare. I discovered in a short time that little I had learned at the university was useful in daily tasks. Handling the inventory, work in the curation storage, so-called "scientific evidence," and the organization of an exhibition were new challenges. Field work and research, in which the university trained graduate students, comprised only about 15% of the job. Adapting to the new challenges was aggravated by a lack of older and experienced specialists. The educational policy of the 1970s and 1980s did not favor the humanities; therefore, there was a shortage of skilled archivists, librarians, archaeologists, and museum specialists in Romania in the 1990s. After 1990 the universities focused on these disciplines and the lack was gradually compensated for after 1995, when young graduates started their careers. This trend, however, resulted in overproduction, causing new problems after the year 2000.

Thus, I had a strong feeling of periphery in Satu Mare in 1997 caused by the relative strangeness of the museum tasks, the regional specificities, and the lack of skilled colleagues. This feeling was reinforced by the underdeveloped research infrastructure, the situation of the local libraries being the most eloquent in this sense. I had not expected to find international periodicals or publications, but it seemed reasonable to expect to find complete series of the most important Romanian archaeological, historical, and ethnographic journals (the main fields of

the museum's activity). Instead, I discovered that these series were incomplete and even the simplest task of finding a proper reference presupposed bibliographical research in Cluj or another center. There were various reasons for the lacks in the library, the most joyless being the lack of funds for postage. This situation more and more resembled the peripheral provinces of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Certainly there was no collapse and disintegration, rather a period of small-scale cultural and scientific revival started from the year 2000, following the economic rebirth of Romania. Meanwhile, the peripheral position of Satu Mare turned out to be an advantage; it favored cross-border relations, established both on institutional and personal levels. These contacts compensated for the weak interest of national or regional organizations in the area, and conferred a possibility for the County Museum of Satu Mare to be a bridge to Hungary and Ukraine. Medieval history, particularly the problems related to medieval monuments, proved to be issues of common interest, generating common projects. A series of workshop was started on "Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania," first held in Satu Mare in 1998; the sixth such event was organized in Nyíregyháza (Hungary), by the "Jósa András" Museum, the partner organization, in 2008. The papers presented at these workshops have been printed in four volumes and the fifth will be issued shortly. Parallel to this, a group of scholars from Cluj and from the Institute of History of The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, started a journal on the medieval history of Transylvania: *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*. The main task of the journal was to establish a common location for Romanian and Hungarian scholars to present and debate their results. The County Museum of Satu Mare provided the secretariat for the editorial board and the financial support for the printing. At present, a number of other research projects have been implemented with partner institutions in Hungary and Ukraine, and the field of common projects has been enlarged, covering prehistoric and antique archeology, modern history, and ethnography.

Apart from the geographical specificities and the differences caused by the various types of research organizations (i.e., universities, research institutes, museums on central, regional and local levels), medieval studies in Romania is also divided along various methodological approaches. The traditional historical research is based almost exclusively on written sources, incorporating in a rather limited measure the results of archeology and art history. These three fields of studies had parallel developments regarding education, institutions, and research projects. There are few interdisciplinary approaches, in spite of the fact that the relative

poverty of medieval sources on Transylvania, and on Romania more widely, can be compensated for by combining all types of available data and methods. The fate of medieval archeology is particularly peculiar. While several research institutions and museums employ one or more medieval archaeologists, there is no university background for this specialization. Medieval history departments focus on written sources, while archaeological departments cover the periods from prehistory until the first millennium A.D. Medieval archeology, therefore, falls between the two departmental areas; specialization in this field must be gained through volunteer field work, optional seminars, and personal contacts with senior researchers.

The need for properly trained archaeologists specialized in the Middle Ages, however, is large. Several rehabilitation projects are being implemented on medieval monuments, while a great number of archaeological sites dating to the Middle Ages have been identified and rescued due to large scale investments before development. As in other neighboring countries, the largest rescue excavations have taken place during highway projects. The huge scale of these research projects generated a renewal of excavation techniques and the improvement of the research infrastructure. The great amount of data gathered at these sites required the implementation of computer-based information management, while the large number of finds recovered caused problems related to storage and conservation. The lack of skilled human resources, however, proved to be the greatest problem during these large-scale projects. These great rescue projects multiplied archeological information on the Middle Ages. The most significant development can be seen in research into Late Antiquity and the Migration period (fourth to tenth century). A few years ago our knowledge on this period was based on isolated discoveries and partially researched sites. The large surface of the rescue projects permitted almost complete research on sites, therefore they provide an accurate chronology and detailed picture of material culture.

Parallel to investments in new infrastructure, the rehabilitation work on architectural monuments saw an additional impulse in the last decade, sustained by the increasing interest in national heritage and their incorporation in tourism. Extensive restorations have been made at the most important monuments in the country, preceded in most cases by archaeological and art historical research. National funds have been directed mainly to the world heritage sites (the wooden churches of Maramureş (Máramaros), the monasteries of Moldova and Bucovina), and the monuments of national history (the princely courts in Suceava, Curtea de Argeş, etc.). Excavations on the Late Antique and Byzantine sites of the Lower Danube and Black Sea coast have been carried on in the last decade, completed

with the partial conservation of the ruins revealed. A number of churches have been restored by individual communities, using the partial help of public or private funds. It is significant to note that both Hungarian and German organizations with interests in the medieval Hungarian and Saxon populations, have assumed important roles in financing and managing the rehabilitation of architectural monuments related to these ethnic communities. The parish churches of Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schänburg and Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) and the cathedral of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) are the most important examples of this. The rehabilitation of historic city centers has offered chance to conduct research in the most important medieval urban centers of Transylvania, like Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Baia Mare. Some of the manor houses of noble families have been restored through private investment, as is the case of the houses of the Apor family in Covasna County. Compared to other types of monuments, castles have somehow remained neglected. Being mostly in ruins they do not offer convenient avenues of re-use; some rehabilitation projects, however, are being implemented at a more or less intense pace. The rehabilitation of the castle of Oradea, started in early 1990s, has been partially finished. The castle of Râșnov was more or less restored through the aid of national funds, while the nearby castle of Bran (Töröcsvár, Törzburg) had remained in good state and has proved the most popular tourist spot in the whole country based on its association with Count Vlad Dracul. The restoration of Deva (Déva) castle was started recently, a good example of effort by the community to rescue the local cultural heritage. As in the case of large-scale archaeological rescue work, the increasing number of research projects at the most important medieval monuments in the country has caused a significant shift in methodology and conceptual approaches. The preference for synthetic works (characteristic for Romanian medieval studies of the second half of the twentieth century) has changed in favor of case studies and detailed analyses of particular issues. The results of recent research (mainly rescue projects) and their publication shows a significant renewal of medieval studies and makes most of the debates of the last decades obsolete.

The presence of multiple ethnic and confessional communities on the territories of present-day Romania from the Middle Ages confers a particular aspect on medieval studies in this country. The German and Hungarian communities have created a network of research organizations which focus on the past of these ethnic groups, the regions they inhabited, and institutions related to their communities (churches and governing bodies). For historical research in Hungarian the Transylvanian Museum

Association (*Erdélyi Múzeum–Egyesület*) plays the central role, while the German-related work is coordinated by the Association for Transylvanian Research (*Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*). Both organizations focus on the written sources of their pasts, each creating its own historical archives by gathering documents of ethnic organizations and significant persons. In the case of medieval studies both organizations play a special role. In the eastern and southern provinces (Moldova and Walachia), Cyrillic script was used during the Middle Ages, while Latin was used in Transylvania and the western parts of the country. The series of *diplomataria* (the two most important being the *Erdélyi Okmánytár* and *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*) initiated by the Erdélyi Múzeum and the Verein, complete the series of national corpuses of sources. Both organizations have established research groups specialized in Latin paleography and their contribution has been crucial for research on medieval Transylvania. These efforts at source editing are well completed by several rehabilitation projects on monuments related to the German and Hungarian communities.

The number of geographical, institutional, methodological, and language divisions create a more or less fragmented impression of medieval studies in Romania. It is difficult to identify the central debates or main trends, all the actors becoming “peripheral” in one way or another. The contacts and debates among the scholars involved in medieval studies remain insufficient, although they are the basis of all kinds of cooperation. Beyond the beneficial effect of diversification, the enrichment of viewpoints and the great number of recent research results suggest the start of a re-structuring and rebirth of medieval studies.

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Péter Levente Szőcs

## German and Hungarian Contributions to the Medieval Studies of Transylvania

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## MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN SERBIA 1993 – 2008

*Nada Zečević*

The center of medieval research in Serbia is in Belgrade. The core institutions of this center, namely the Institute of Byzantine Studies, the medieval section of the Institute of History, and the medieval section of the Institute of Balkan Studies, operate under the auspices of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade. This core is associated in a variety of projects with a number of other research and educational institutions in Serbia, the most important among them located at the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade University: the medieval department, the Byzantine seminar of the History Department, the Department of Classical Languages, and the seminars of the departments of archaeology and art history.<sup>1</sup> This circle also comprises the Departments of Archaeology, Medieval History and Numismatics at the National Museum in Belgrade and the Department of Archaeography of the National Library in Belgrade. Similarly structured, although considerably smaller in terms of number of permanently employed researchers, are the centers in Novi Sad (Újvidék) and Niš, with a network of national museums and other cultural institutions across Serbian province.<sup>3</sup> Apart from in these centers, Serbian medievalists are closely involved in research and teaching activities at the centers in the Serbian entity of the

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<sup>1</sup> The departments for medieval Serbian language at the Faculty of Philology and the Faculty of Orthodox (Christian) Theology of Belgrade also belong to this circle even though the latter institution tends to act independently from the lay scholarly mainstream.

<sup>2</sup> Medieval research in Novi Sad has been conducted by the Matica Srpska/departments of Philosophy and Philology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. Recently, some the scholars of this center have broken with the traditional concepts of the Serbian medievalist mainstream by actively participating in the Center for Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies and research at the University of Novi Sad, see works on medieval Serbian literature, manuscripts and gender examinations by Svetlana Tomin, *Vladika Maksim Branković* [Archbishop Maxim Branković] (Novi Sad: Platoneum, 2007) and eadem, *Knjigoljubive žene srpskog srednjeg veka* [Book-loving women of the Serbian Middle Ages] (Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> The National Museum of Čačak, the National Museum of Leskovac, the National Museum of Kruševac, the Historical Archive in Valjevo, the Historical Institute in Banja Luka. To this circle one should (technically) add the one at the Serbian-funded University of Priština, currently located in Kosovska Mitrovica, where a few of its researchers focus on local and eastern Adriatic issues (Božidar Zarković, Branislav Milutinović, Dragi Maliković). However, this circle has remained largely insignificant in relation to the general Serbian context due to its failure to pursue a systematic research policy (especially apparent after the faculty's dislocation from Priština following the NATO bombing in 1999) and a series of university corruption scandals that have taken place in post-Milošević Serbia.

Nada Zečević

Bosnian Federation (Republika Srpska), namely at the Faculties of Philosophy in Eastern Sarajevo and Banja Luka,<sup>4</sup> while some of them also direct their research towards Montenegro.<sup>5</sup>

As a logical outcome of its predominantly Byzantine medieval past, Serbian medieval researchers cooperate with a number of international institutions of Byzantine studies, most significantly with the Institute of Byzantine Research and the Greek Academy in Athens, the Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Russian Academies of Science, as well as Dunbarton Oaks, German Byzantinists, and Sorbonne-Paris IV. The key professional association of Serbian medievalists is *Društvo istoričara Srbije* (Society of the Historians of Serbia), while the Byzantinists are members of the International Association of Byzantinists (A.I.E.B). Some medievalists actively participate in *Društvo prijatelja Svete Gore* (The Society of Friends of Mount Athos).

The theoretical grounds on which Serbian medieval research rests, as well as its methodology, have not changed greatly since the beginning of the twentieth century and Serbian medieval scholars of the twenty-first century boast of their traditional approach. The research process builds on positivistic methods of establishing “true” facts from the written sources, a strict, impersonal scholarly approach *sine ira et studio*, with the results most commonly presented in an inductive and axiomatic manner, using an impersonal tone and the passive voice.

In choosing their subjects, Serbian medievalists are renowned for concentrating on Slavic-Serbian-Byzantine relations and following these reflections on a local and national level. Another of specific feature is special attention to the critical analysis and publication of written sources, which has resulted in several large projects in past years. One of them is the *Stari srpski arhiv* (SSA), a periodical started in 2002 by Rade Mihaljčić that aims to collect, (re)publish, and develop the *apparatus criticus* for all documents that pertain to Serbian history. In some respects, the SSA is conceived of as a prototype of the Serbian *diplomatarium*,<sup>6</sup> a project that has been pending for decades. The most important feature of this periodical is that,

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<sup>4</sup> To this circle one should add a group of ex-patriot medievalists, among them: Nenad Fejić of the la Guyane; Dušan Korać USA, Ida Tot, of Wolfson College, Oxford; Ivana Jevtić, Paris; Srđjan Rajković (d.) of UCLA; Zaga Gavrilović (d.) of the University of Birmingham.

<sup>5</sup> Sima Ćirković, “Osobnosti istoriografije o srednjekovnom periodu Crne Gore” [Features of the Historiography of the Medieval Period in Montenegro] *Crna Gora kao polje istraživanja* [Montenegro as a Field of research] 3 (1999): 19–26.

<sup>6</sup> According to the original conception, the first part of the Serbian *Diplomatarium* would cover the period until the end of King Milutin’s rule (1321), when the SSA would begin.

after many decades of unspecified and varying editorial practice, it has introduced standard criteria requiring special attention to the methodology of documentary research.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the SSA, several other documentary publications have appeared, mainly archival materials from Dubrovnik and Kotor, as well as other sources for the relations of the medieval Serbs with their western neighbors, or social and economic history.<sup>8</sup>

The Serbian medieval mainstream is still largely reluctant to adopt the concept of interdisciplinarity, and, thus, is still structured upon a strict division of disciplines with history as the dominant field. Within this field, Serbian historians have focused on political events or epochs, administration and titles, chronology and key “participants” (a prosopographical approach for individuals, a genealogical approach for families),<sup>9</sup> or some fragmentary details of the local context.<sup>10</sup> The flagrant misuse of Serbian medieval history – with the 1389 battle at Kosovo Field as its key theme – by the hard-line nationalist regime of Slobodan Milošević (as a “scholarly justification” for Serbian involvement in the western Balkan wars of the 1990s) is still taboo and attempts to analyze its causes and instances critically

<sup>7</sup> Over the years, the criteria for the edition of medieval documents have greatly varied depending on the standards of each particular publication. Those established by the SSA require: a short history of the document, earlier editions, the text in the original language, its translation into Serbian, a description of its diplomatic features, a commentary on institutions, key persons, topography, and a digital or photographic image of the document.

<sup>8</sup> Andrija Veselinović, *Dubrovačko Malo vijeće o Srbiji 1415–1460* [The Minor Council of Dubrovnik on Serbia 1415–1460] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut SANU, 1997); CD edition of *Statuta et leges civitatis Cathari* [Kotor–Belgrade: Historical Archive of Kotor–Mathematical Institute Belgrade, 1997–1999]; Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnički zakon* [Agrarian Law] (Belgrade: SANU, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Sanja Mešanović, *Jovan VII Paleolog* [John VII Palaiologos] (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut [hereafter: VI], 1996); Srdjan Pirivatrić, *Samuilova država* [Samuil’s State] (Belgrade: VI, 1997); Marica Malović, “Prilog istoriji Drobnjaka u srednjem veku,” [A Contribution to the History of the Drobnjak Kindred] *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja* 1 (1999): 145–158; Ruža Čuk(d.), “Dubrovačka porodica Miljenović u srednjem veku,” [The Ragusan Miljenović Family in the Middle Ages] *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 3 (2002); Vlada Stanković, *Carigradski patrijarsi i carevi makedonske dinastije* [Patriarchs and Emperors of the Macedonian dynasty] (Belgrade: Institute of Byzantine Studies, 2003); Zorica Djoković, “Stanovništvo Istočne Makedonije u prvoj polovini XIV veka [The Population of Eastern Macedonia in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century],” *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* (hereafter: ZRVI) 40 (2003): 97–244; Miloš Blagojević, “Veliki knez i zemaljski knez,” [Great Knez and Land Knez] ZRVI 41 (2004): 293–318; Vlada Stanković, *Komnini u Carigradu (1057–1185): evolucija jedne carske porodice* (The Komnenoi in Constantinople: an evolution of an imperial family) (Belgrade: Institute of Byzantine Studies, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Djuro Tošić, “Primjer bračne bigamije *more bosignanorum et patarinorum*,” [An Example of Conjugal Bigamy *more bosinorum et patarinorum*], *Miscellanea I Mešovita građa* 22 (2004): 123–127.

have ended in a strong public bias against the authors.<sup>11</sup> Tacitly avoiding this debate, the medieval mainstream of post-Milošević Serbia (from 2000 onwards) has focused on fifteenth-century or post-Byzantine topics,<sup>12</sup> occasionally returning to some previous epochs.<sup>13</sup> A somewhat wider interest has been shown by the Belgrade Byzantinists in topics that extend beyond the national borders or the commonly researched chronological pattern noted above.<sup>14</sup> In tune with the formal declaration of the post-Milošević Serbia to favor membership in the European Union, several monographs which review the medieval Serbs and their history in a broader European context have been issued during the past nine years.<sup>15</sup> Recently, some researchers have expressed a noteworthy interest in the issues of social phenomenology, historical anthropology, ethnography, and hagiography,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ivan Djurić(d.), *Istorija: pribežište ili putokaz* [History: A Shelter or a Guide] (first ed. Sarajevo: Prosveta, 1990; Kragujevac: Civic, 1999); Radivoj Radić: *Srbi pre Adama i posle njega, Istorija jedne zloupotrebe: Slovo protiv "novoromantičara"* [The Serbs before Adam and after Him: A History of a Misuse – A Word against "Neo-Romanticists"] (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 2005, second revised edition). Cf. Radić's debate with his opponents in the magazine *Nin* in 2006–2007.

<sup>12</sup> Momčilo Spremić, *Despot Djuradj Branković i njegovo doba* [Despot George Branković and his Epoch] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, first edition 1994; second edition 1999); Jovanka Kalić, *Srbi u poznom srednjem veku* [The Serbs in the Late Middle Ages] (Belgrade: SANU, Balkanološki institut, 1994).

<sup>13</sup> Sima Ćirković and Božidar Ferjančić(d.), *Stefan Dušan, kralj i car 1331–1355* [Stephan Dushan, King and Emperor 1331–1355] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005). The freedom to publish, improved after 2000, brought a revival of some old literature and topics, e. g., reprinting of the crucial works by K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* [The History of the Serbs], 2 vols, (Belgrade: Beoknjiga, 2006), or Ivan Djurić's, *Sumrak Vizantije* (The Twilight of Byzantium) (Belgrade: SANU, 1984 first edition; third edition Belgrade: Prosveta, 2008). For a re-examination of pre-fifteenth century topics, see the collected works of the international conference *Stefan Nemanja–Sveti Simeon Mirotčivi – istorija i predanje* [Stephan Nemanja – Saint Simeon Mirotčivi – History and Myth] (Belgrade–Novi Pazar 1996, reprinted Belgrade: SANU, 2000); International Conference (1998) *Osam vekova Hilandara* [Eight centuries of Hilandar], ed. Vojislav Korac (Belgrade: SANU, 2000); *Kralj Vladislav i Srbija XIII veka: naučni skup 15.–16. novembra 2000* [King Vladislav and Serbia in the Thirteenth Century: Symposium, 15–16 November 2000] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Radivoj Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa* [The Epoch of John V Palaiologos] (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 1993); Sima Ćirković, *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici: društva srednjevekovnog Balkana* [Laborers, Soldiers and Spirituals: The Societies of the Medieval Balkans] (Belgrade: Equilibrium, 1997); Nada Zečević, *Vizantija i Goti na Balkanu u IV i V veku* [Byzantium and the Goths in the Balkans in the Fourth and Fifth centuries] (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Jovanka Kalić, *Evropa i Srbi: srednji vek* [Europe and the Serbs: The Middle Ages] (Belgrade: Historical Institute, 2006) and Sima Ćirković, *The Serbs (The Peoples of Europe)* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 7–111.

<sup>16</sup> Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića* [The Ruling Ideology of the Nemanjić dynasty] (Belgrade: Clío–SKZ, 1997); Radivoj Radić, *Strah u poznoj Vizantiji* [Fear in the Late Byzantine Period 1180–1453], 2 vols., (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 2000); Jelena Mrgić–Radojčić, *Donji Kraji – krajina srednjevekovne Bosne* [Donji Kraji–the Frontier of Medieval Bosnia] (Belgrade–Banja Luka:

while work on the popularisation of history seems to have diverged from the populism of the 1990s.<sup>17</sup>

Just as in history, Serbo-Byzantine interactions are also the dominant topic among art historians. During the past 15 years, researchers have mostly concentrated on Byzantine fresco paintings illustrating sacral topics in fifteenth-century Serbia,<sup>18</sup> the phenomenon of patronage, prosopography of artists and chronologies of their works, and the socio-political conditions of their activities.<sup>19</sup> The end of the 1990s brought an extended overview of architecture in the Byzantine world.<sup>20</sup> Throughout the 1990s, careful systematization and presentation of the Serbian art of Kosovo (where some sites are under the protection of UNESCO) have been among the top priorities in this field.<sup>21</sup> The importance of this activity became especially significant after the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999 and the subsequent destruction of monuments and other signs of Serbian collective memory in the region of Kosovo and Metohija by the Albanians who govern the region under international supervision.<sup>22</sup> Another group of art historians, namely, those associated with the

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Filozofski fakultet, 2002); *Privatni život u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* [Private Life in Medieval Bosnia], ed. Smilja Marjanović–Dušanić and Danica Popović (Belgrade: Clio, 2004); Djordje Bubalo, *Srpski nomici* [Serbian Notary Acts] (Belgrade: VI, 2004); Stanoje Bojanin, *Zabave i svetkovine u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji: od kraja XII do kraja XV veka* [Entertainment and Celebrations in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut–Službeni glasnik, 2005); Danica Popović, *Pod okriljem svetosti: kult svetovnih vladara i relikvija srednjeg veka* [Under the Mantle of Holiness: The Cult of Medieval Rulers and Relics of the Middle Ages] (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 2006). The reception of Antiquity in medieval Serbia was examined at the Third Yugoslav Conference of Byzantinists in Kruševac, 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Radivoj Radić, *Vizantija, purpur i pergament* [Byzantium, Purple and Parchment] (Beograd: Evoluta, 2006); idem., *Carigrad, priče sa Bosfora* [Constantinople, Stories from the Bosphorus] (Beograd: Evoluta, 2007). Sima Ćirković, *Srbi među Evropskim narodima* [The Serbs among the European Peoples] (Belgrade: Equilibrium, 2005). Cf. articles on medieval history in *Politikin Zabavnik* (a weekly journal especially popular among the school children of ex-Yugoslavia), or translation and editions of books for school children by the Plato and Kreativna radionica publishing houses.

<sup>18</sup> Zaga Gavrilović(d.), *Studies in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Art* (London: Pindar, 2001). Slobodan Ćurčić, see the bibliography at <http://www.princeton.edu/artandarchaeology/faculty/curcic/curcicc.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> Čedomila Marinković, *Slika podignute crkve: predstave arhitekture u kitorskim portretima u srpskoj i vizantijskoj umetnosti* [Image of an Elevated Church: The Image of Architecture on the Portraits of the Patrons in Serbian and Byzantine Art] (Belgrade: Princip Bonart Press, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Vojislav Korać and Marica Šuput, *Arhitektura vizantijskog sveta* [The Architecture of the Byzantine World] (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1998).

<sup>21</sup> Gojko Subotić, *The Sacred Land: The Art of Kosovo* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1998), and other editions in translation.

<sup>22</sup> Official Serbian statistics claim the destruction of more than 200 Serbian Orthodox sacral buildings (churches and monasteries) or graveyards and other monuments, most of which date back to the Middle Ages.

Institute of the Balkan Studies in Belgrade, systematically research the art works of Kotor (Montenegro) from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Serbian art historians (in cooperation with Classical and medieval philologists) have also taken the lead in several projects related to inscriptions. Currently, a systematic treatment of twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions, conducted by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, has been almost finalized, with a focus on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to come in the near future. Following a great fire in the key Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos in 2004, a group of Serbian art historians and restorers is cooperating with a Greek team from the Center for the Protection of Sacred Heritage (Thessaloniki) on its restoration.

The activities of Serbian literary historians in the past 15 years have mainly concentrated various editions of medieval narratives in the Serbian language and areopagitic manuscripts in Serbian medieval theology. In addition, some researchers of this group have engaged in documentary edition projects (notably, Tatjana Subotin-Golubović), dealing at the same time with particular issues of authorship, paleography, philigranology, etc.<sup>23</sup>

Largely depending on the funds available, archaeological research in Serbia has been conducted with a changing intensity. In the past few years, the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade has extensively investigated the Belgrade fortress, as well as the early medieval sites of Vrsenice, Margum, and Gamzigrad (Romuliana). In the Serbian interior, dynastic graves of the High Middle Ages and the monasteries where these graves are located have caught the special attention of archaeologists, as well as the region of Ras, which represents the core of Nemanjić dynastic power.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, a group of archaeologists (Vladislav Popović [d.], Mihailo Milinković) have focused on the early medieval periods (fourth to seventh century) (Sirmium, Mount Jelica), while the excavations conducted by the *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika*

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<sup>23</sup> E.g., Djordje Trifunović, *Stara srpska književnost: osnove* [Ancient Serbian Literature: The Basics] (Belgrade: F. Višnjić, 1994); R. Stanković, *Rukopisne knjige Muzeja srpske pravoslavne crkve u Beogradu* [Manuscript Books of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade]. *Vodeni znaci i datiranje* [Watermarks and Chronology], in *Opis južnoslovenskih ćirilskih rukopisa* [Description of South Slavic Manuscripts], vol. 5 (Belgrade: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2003); Irena Špadijer, "Pisar ktitorskog natpisa sv. Save u Studenici" [The Scribe of the Patron Inscription of St. Sabbas in Studenica], *ZRVI* 43 (2006): 517–521.

<sup>24</sup> Petar Petrović, Jelena Erdeljan, and Marko Popović, *Srednjevekovni nadgrobni spomenici u oblasti Rasa* [Medieval Grave monuments in the Region of Ras] (Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 1996); Marko Popović, *Tvrđjava Ras* [The Fortress of Ras] (Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 2005). For rare anthropological investigations, see S. Reljanović, M. Djurić-Srejić, al., "Morfolgija zuba na skeletnim ostacima iz nekropole stara Torina," [Morphology of Teeth on Skeletons from the Necropolis of Old Torina] *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Srbije* 35 (1999–2000): 135–142.

*kulture* (Agency for the Protection of Cultural Monuments) (in 2006) at the monastery of Manasija have reopened a debate on the burial place of Despot Stefan Lazarević. Since 2000, scholars have shown increased interest in Byzantine imports in Serbia as well as Serbian medieval coinage, precious metals and metalurgy.<sup>25</sup>

In 1997, a pan-Balkan network initiative launched a non-profit and non-governmental publishing, cultural and educational on-line project: Rastko, the internet Library of Serbian Culture. The main activities of this project relate to electronic publishing in Serbian on Balkan arts and humanities. The project has been organized across several regional sections: Belgrade (the central project), and projects that relate to Serbian links with Romania, Montenegro, Kosovo and Metohija, Boka Kotorska, Hungary, etc. The centers develop projects and activities through local academic, cultural, media NGOs and individuals, including strong co-operation with ethnic minority centers.

In 2004, a group of Serbian ethno-musicians started the Centre for early Music “Renesans” in Belgrade. This cicle gathers mostly the graduates of the Department of Early Music of the Secondary School “Josip Slavenski” in Belgrade and the founders of the famous “Ensemble Renaissance” (founded in 1969). the group is focused on the research, interpretation and education of medieval, renaissance and baroque music traditions. In 2005, the Centre founded the early music ensemble “Flauto Dolce” which performs the music with special focus on the Serbian and Byzantine medieval context.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Sergije Dimitrijević, *Problemi srpske srednjevekovne numizmatike* [Problems of Serbian Medieval Numismatics] (Belgrade: Srpsko numizmatičko društvo, 2006); B. Nikolić et al., *Srebro u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* [Silver in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: Tehnika, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.rastko.org.yu/>; [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9BHR1qaZIO&feature=Playlist&p=D EC630F1ABD6119C&playnext=1&playnext\\_from=PL&index=20](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9BHR1qaZIO&feature=Playlist&p=D EC630F1ABD6119C&playnext=1&playnext_from=PL&index=20)



## THE MAKING OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN SLOVAKIA

*Martin Homza*

To understand the directions and trends in the field of Slovak medieval studies over the period of the past 20 years it is necessary to make a short review of its previous evolution. Similarly to the neighboring countries, medieval studies have developed to some extent in contrast to what was before 1989 or 1993 (Slovak independence). In the long term, however, this formation has been influenced by a number of particular factors.

It is no secret that the official, more or less accepted, doctrine of Slovak society has been a historical reduction of Štúr's mid-nineteenth century generation.<sup>1</sup> Štúr's generation was the Slovak early romantic intelligentsia of the Lutheran confession, about a fifth of them of noble descent. In the early autumn of the revolutionary year 1848, as heads of the Slovak uprising, they officially resigned from further coexistence with the Hungarians in one country – the Hungarian Kingdom. The prize for the Slovaks was a loss of history. Then, as a stopgap, the concept arose of a “nation in the future”, “the nation of the Holy Spirit”, or the “Spirit” only in the case of the Hegelians. It was logical and natural that this concept in particular served as a basis for the ideological designers of Slovak communism (Vladimír Mináč and others),<sup>2</sup> who started repainting and gently altering the significance of the structure itself from the 1960s. Instead of the “nation of the Spirit” they turned the Slovaks into the non-historical nation which still remembered its beginnings, the nation without the kings and nobility; in the words of Vladimír Mináč “the most plebeian nation in the world.” As such it was predestined to adopt communism. As a matter of fact, this mainstream Slovak thinking did not meet with full understanding, particularly among Catholic intellectuals; there were many reasons, which will not be analyzed in detail now, why such a concept was simply unacceptable to them. The destiny of the Roman Catholic priest Jonáš Záborský and his work, *The History of the Hungarian Kingdom from the Beginning to the Reign of Sigismund*,<sup>3</sup> is typical; for ideological reasons it has remained in manuscript. Similarly, the text of a work by a Capuchin monk, Franko Vítazoslav Sasinek, *The History of the Hungarian*

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<sup>1</sup> Ludovít, Štúr *Slovanstvo a svet budúcnosti* [Slavdom and the World of Future] (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Vladimír, Mináč *Súvislosti* [Connections] (Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1976).

<sup>3</sup> See <http://zaborsky.blogspot.com>.

Martin Homza

*Kingdom*,<sup>4</sup> was published, but this led to its author falling into disfavor with Slovak intellectuals and contemporary Hungarian religious circles and finally he was forced to spend his last days in exile in Austria. The first Czechoslovak Republic was no more merciful to his work; because of its own existence and nation-state interest it was forced to reject all other than the official concepts of interpreting the national history of the Slovaks in the Carpathian Basin. The “correct” interpretation was found unexpectedly quickly by none other than the authority on Czech historiography, Prof. Václav Chaloupecký, in his work, *Old Slovakia*.<sup>5</sup> The founder of the Department of Czechoslovak History at Comenius University, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and later the rector of Comenius University, Chaloupecký among many stimulating ideas clearly defined the direction the new “real, scholarly” historiography in Slovakia was to move in. Briefly, removing the Hungarian deposit from Slovak history was inevitable, it should be “de-Hungarianized” and repainted in the Czech way. There is no doubt that this “isolated” method of interpreting the medieval history of Slovakia led virtually all of his students, among them Daniel Rapant, František Hrušovský, and Branislav Varsik, to reject it. Along with the refusal of pre-conceptions in the historical debate, the historical circumstances had an impact; for a long time, with the exception of the wartime Slovak Republic of 1939-1945, they favored such an “isolated” interpretation of national and universal history and, by implication, the cultivation of only a few medieval themes. And if those restrictions were not enough, the communist power’s new interest in the class struggle was added to the nation-state interests of the renewed Czechoslovak Republic in 1948, for interpreting medieval history accurately – meaning in the Marxist manner. As a result, appropriate and inappropriate research themes and topics were defined from above. Among those long felt to be appropriate was the theme of Great Moravia, officially “the first free state of the Czechs and the Slovaks,” although Saints Constantine and Methodius became simply Constantine and Methodius and they were presented more as envoys of the Byzantine Empire than as the apostles of the Slavs. Moreover, Great Moravia was also suitable because its particular individual leaders (especially Rastislav/Rastislav, slightly less Swentibald/Svätopuk) embodied significant resistance against the East Frankish Empire, i.e., Western imperialism. Other appropriate themes, as in neighboring socialist

<sup>4</sup> Franko Vítazoslav Sasinek, *Dejiny Královstva uhorského* [The History of the Kingdom of Hungary], vol. 1, (Banská Bystrica: Rýchlotiskom vdovy F. Macholda, 1869).

<sup>5</sup> Václav Chaloupecký, *Staré Slovensko* [Old Slovakia], (Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 1923).

countries, were the history of “the most oppressed masses,” that is, peasants and miners in particular as regards the Middle Ages, economic history, and the history of settlement in particular regions. Somewhat more dangerous was releasing the medieval sources. This was mainly due to the language of these sources – Latin – which, as they were not able to read it and so could not understand it, was in itself dangerous and therefore it gradually disappeared from grammar school curricula along with other humanities’ disciplines. The current political regime began to write history starting from the Great October Revolution or the Communist coup in Czecho-Slovakia in 1948. Despite all these absurd circumstances, to which must be added the practical isolation of the most talented Slovak medievalists in socialist Czechoslovakia, with their minimal opportunities to compare research with scholars abroad, a route was open to travel to Hungary or the German Democratic Republic, but it became increasingly difficult to go to Poland. Around the mid-1960s, at the time of a political thaw, many schools that focused on medieval history were set up around the future most significant scholars in Slovakia, in particular, Branislav Varsik, Matúš Kučera, and Alexander Avenarius at Comenius University in Bratislava and Peter Ratkoš and Richard Marsina at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Ferdinand Uličný later laid the foundations for medieval studies at the University of Prešov in Prešov, then at the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik.<sup>6</sup> Each of these in some way later contributed to the cultivation of important works of medieval historiography. Because of the characteristics of the individual personalities who later matured in this school, it is necessary to note their critical works.<sup>7</sup> Ondrej R. Halaga worked alone; he lived and worked in

<sup>6</sup> See <http://www.unipo.sk/ff/index.php?sekcia=katedry-fakulty&cid=34&uroven=0>.

<sup>7</sup> Branislav Varsik, *Ostálenie Košickej kotliny I.-III.* [The Settlement of the Košice Valley I-III] (Bratislava: Veda 1964-1977); Matúš Kučera, *Slovensko po páde Veľkej Moravy* [Slovakia after the Fall of Great Moravia] (Bratislava: Veda, 1974); Alexander Avenarius, *Die Awaren in Europa*, tr. Ursula Novakova (Amsterdam and Bratislava: A.M. Hakker and Veda, 1974); Peter Ratkoš, *Povstanie baníkov na Slovensku 1525-1526* [The Miners’ Uprising in Slovakia, 1525–1526]. (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1963) and the collection of sources, idem, ed., *Dokumenty k dejinám baníckeho povstania (1525-1526)* [Documents on the History of the Mining Uprising (1525 - 1526)], ed. Peter Ratkoš (Bratislava: SAV 1957) and *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. 1-2, ed. Richard Marsina (Bratislava: SAV, 1974 and 1987). The remarkable achievement of Richard Marsina was the issue of the synthesized history of Slovakia: *Dejiny Slovenska* [The History of Slovakia], ed. Richard Marsina (Bratislava: Veda, 1986); Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša* [The History of Settlement of Šariš] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1990); Idem, *Dejiny osídlenia Užskej župy* [The History of Settlement of Uzh County] (Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity P. J. Šafárika v Košiciach, 1995); Idem, *Dejiny osídlenia Zemplínskej župy* [The History of Settlement of Zemplén County] (Michalovce: Zemplínska spoločnosť, 2001).

Martin Homza

Košice and devoted his endeavors to economic history and especially the history of the town of Košice itself; however, he had no successors.<sup>8</sup> A premature death in 1996 ended the promising evolving work of Ján Beňko.<sup>9</sup> Despite the political thaw of the late sixties, historians researching in the field of ecclesiastical history still remained isolated, especially historians who were Roman Catholic priests, such as Jozef Kúttnik-Šmálov<sup>10</sup> and Jozef Špirko.<sup>11</sup> Virtually isolated from developments in communist Czechoslovakia, Slovak medieval studies were developing abroad. The most significant figures were František Hrušovský<sup>12</sup> and Michal Lacko.<sup>13</sup>

As is clear from the above, there was no practical social order for cultivating medieval studies as an integral part of historiography as a scientific discipline in Slovakia in the period from 1918 to 1989, although it can be said that some of the figures noted above managed to establish their own schools. Branislav Varsik raised the important first generation of Slovak professional archivists, led by Jozef Novák.<sup>14</sup> Matúš Kučera, thanks to a link with the Czech school of František Graus, close friendship with Dušan Třeštík, and establishing the Marxist view of acceptable current trends of the French Annales school or the Polish left-wing historians (Karol Modzelewski), moved to exploring the history of Great Moravia and the beginnings of the Hungarian Kingdom from the politico-ideological viewpoint of history to the

<sup>8</sup> Ondrej R. Halaga, *Košice-Balt: Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom 1275-1526* [Kosice-Balt: Production and Trade in the Contact Points with East Prussia from 1275 to 1526] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975), and Idem, *Počiatky Košíc a vznik metropoly* [The Origin of Košice and the Emergence of a Metropolis] (Košice: Mesto Košice, 1992). The number of texts issued, particularly, in German, of which the most important is the Casovian City Paper: “*Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393-1405: das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch*,” ed. Ondrej R. Halaga (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Ján Beňko, *Osidlenie severného Slovenska* [The Settlement of Northern Slovakia] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1985) and Idem, *Starý Turiec* [Old Turiec] (Martin: Osveta, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Jozef Kúttnik-Šmálov, *Kresťanský stredovek Slovenska* [The Christian Middle Ages of Slovakia], ed. Julius Paštéka (Trnava: Lúč, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Jozef Špirko, *Dejiny a umenie očami historika* [History and Art through the Eyes of a Historian] (Bratislava: Lúč, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Mark M. Stolarik, “Slovak Historians in Exile in North America: 1945-1992,” *Human Affairs* 1996, No. 1: 34-44.

<sup>13</sup> He was a co-founder of the Slovak Institute of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Rome; Michal Lacko, *Gréckokatolíkom: Výber z diela* [To the Greek Catholics] (Košice: Byzant, 1992); about him, see Michal Lacko, *Život a dielo: Zborník referátov na vedeckej konferencii v Košiciach 19.-20. 3. 1992* [Life and Works, a Collection of Papers from the Scholarly Conference in Košice], ed. Michal Potemra (Košice: Slovenský katolícky kruh, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> He researched heraldry in particular, Jozef Novák, *Pečate miest a obcí na Slovensku*, vol. 1, [The Seals of Towns and Villages in Slovakia, vol. 1] (Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2008).

history of the emergence of different economic and social structures and mechanisms. The students of Professor Matúš Kučera are now a strong middle generation of historian-medievalists working at Comenius University in Bratislava (Pozsony) (Ján Lukačka, Vincent Múcska, and Juraj Šedivý, and also myself). Others to be noted here are Rastislav Kožíak, also a graduate of Comenius University, now the head of the Department of History at the University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya), then also a range of younger historian-medievalists working at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Science in Bratislava (hereafter: SAS) in the department of early history (Ján Steinhübel, Daniela Dvořáková, Blanka Brezováková, and others).<sup>15</sup> The greatest happiness for Slovak medieval studies is the good health of Professor Richard Marsina, who left the Historical Institute of SAS in Bratislava in 1993 and found fertile ground at the University of Trnava (Nagyszombat), where, together with Imrich Sedlák (d. 2009),<sup>16</sup> they established their own school of history (Vladimír Rábik,<sup>17</sup> Miloš Marek,<sup>18</sup> and others). Jaroslav Nemeš also came from the “workshop” of Professor Richard Marsina, and is now the leader of medieval research at the Catholic University in Ružomberok (Rózsahegy). The premature death of Professor Alexander Avenarius, a founder of Byzantinology at the Historical Institute of the SAS as well being in the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University was a loss, although he left worthy successors (Martin Hurbanič, Martin Štefánik, Marek Meško, and others).

The year 1989 or the year 1993, when the independent Slovak Republic was established, meant not only multiplying the number of historians, medievalists, and workplaces where individual medievalists gather, but also a kind of new beginning in terms of expanding the range of research topics. Quite logically, long neglected

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<sup>15</sup> See <http://www.history.sav.sk/profil.htm>.

<sup>16</sup> The most significant work is *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistularia Slovaciae*, vol. 1-2, ed. Vincent Sedlák (Bratislava: Academia scientiarum Slovaciae, 1980-1987).

<sup>17</sup> Vladimír Rábik, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku* [German Settlement in the Territory of Eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages]. (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Karpatských Nemcov 2006); Idem, *Mestská kniha príjmov Trnavskej farnosti sv. Mikuláša z roku 1495* [Trnava Parish, St. Nicholas' Town Book of Incomes from 1495]. (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity 2006); Idem, *Diplomatarium Sancto-Adalbertinum: Stredoveké listiny v Literárnom archíve Spolku sv. Vojtecha (1181) 1214-1543* [Diplomatarium Sancto-Adalbertinum. Medieval Charters in the Literary Archives of the St. Adalbert Association in Trnava (1181) 1214-1543] (Martin: Slovenská genealogicko-heraldická spoločnosť, 2008); Idem, *Mestská kniha Trnavy (1392/1393) 1394-1530* [The Trnava Town Book (1392/1393) 1394-1530]. (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> Miloš Marek, *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku* [Foreign Ethnic Groups in Medieval Slovakia] (Martin: Vydavateľstvo Matice slovenskej, 2006).

Martin Homza

themes from ecclesiastical history finally appeared. There was a breakthrough conference at the renewed University of Trnava in 1993 dedicated to the history of religious communities.<sup>19</sup> In the subsequent period, the University of Trnava has kept on dealing with the ecclesiastical history, and the Slovak Institute in Rome was established here, specializing in publishing Vatican historical sources on the history of Slovakia.<sup>20</sup> A bridge in the continuity of research on ecclesiastical history was laid by Michal Slivka and a circle of young historians grouped around the archaeological research and subsequent revitalization of the extinct Carthusian monastery on the Rock of Refuge, in the land registry (*urbarium*) of the village of Letanovce.<sup>21</sup> Vincent Múcska from the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University in Bratislava produced a monograph devoted to religious reforms in the Hungarian Kingdom in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>22</sup> Vincent Múcska, in cooperation with the Department of History of the University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica, also released a breakthrough collection of papers on religious orders and monasteries in the Middle Ages.<sup>23</sup> Since the establishment of the Catholic University in Ružomberok in 2002 further systematic work in the field of ecclesiastical history is being shifted there and the Centre for the Study of Christianity has been formed, publishing collections of papers, monographs, and a series of historical source editions<sup>24</sup> as well as a textual analysis of the *Codex Nitriensis* by Jaroslav Nemeš.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Dejiny a kultúra rehoľných komunití: Príspevky na II. sympóziu o cirkevných dejinách Slovenska na Trnavskej univerzite 15.-16. októbra 1993* [The History and Culture of Monastic Communities. Contributions to the II. Symposium on the Church History of Slovakia, Trnava University, 15th-16 October 1993], ed. Jozef Šimončíč (Trnava: Trnavská univerzita, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana Slovaciae*, ed. Vincentius Sedlák, vol. 1 (Trnava a Rím: Typis Universitas Trnaviensis, 2008). The others are about to be published, see <http://www.truni.sk/slovensky-historicky-ustav-rim>.

<sup>21</sup> See <http://www.klastorisko.sk/>

<sup>22</sup> Vincent Múcska, *Uhorsko a cirkevné reformy 10. a 11. storočia* [The Kingdom of Hungary and the Religious Reforms of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries] (Bratislava: Stimul, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> *Rehole a kláštory v stredoveku* [Religious Orders and Monasteries in the Middle Ages], ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Vincent Múcska (Banská Bystrica and Bratislava: Chronos, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> Gabriel Hunčaga, *Historické štúdié k dejinám dominikánov* [Historical Studies on the History of the Dominicans] (Bratislava: Chronos, 2008); *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti* [The Saint and His Function in Society], vol. 1-2, ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2006); *Miscellanea Ecclesiastica Nitriensis*, vol. 1: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bistums Neutra*, ed. Marek Ďurčo and Jaroslav Nemeš (Cracow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2007); *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo. Zborník z konferencie usporiadanej 5.-6. 2. 2003 v Banskej Bystrici* [Paganism and Christianity: Collection of Papers from the 5th conference held in Banská Bystrica from 5 to 6 February 2003], ed. Rastislav Kožiak and Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2004).

<sup>25</sup> Jaroslav Nemeš, ed., *Kodex von Neutra. Geistige Erbschaft der italienisch-griechischen Mönche und ihrer*

The theme of ecclesiastical history and Christian religious orders has also been pursued by a non-profit (non-governmental) organization called Kláštorisko, which, since its establishment in 2001, has issued annual interdisciplinary volumes, *Studia Archeologica Slovaca Medievalia*, on topics such as: “Man - Sacrum – Environment”<sup>26</sup> and “The Church as a Centre of the Settlement Unit.”<sup>27</sup> In the context of presenting their own research, the organization hosted a conference on “Central European Charterhouses in the Family of the Carthusian Order” in 2007. The papers from the conference were published in a collected volume, *Analecta Cartusiana*, which was released as part of the same series.<sup>28</sup> Within the scholarly activities of the organization a web version of the translation of a *Chronicle of an Anonymous Carthusian*, written on the Rock of Refuge at the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been issued.<sup>29</sup> By far the most important activities of this organization, however, cover work on the regional history of the former Scepusian County (Spišská župa), focusing on its cultural and historical significance as one of the major counties of the former Hungarian Kingdom. In 2003, the organization, together with its Polish partner, issued a collection, *Terra Scepusiensis*,<sup>30</sup> which has contributed to the success of the first part of a monumental Slovak-Polish project on the history of Scepusia: *Historia Scepusii: Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526* (*Historia Scepusii: The History of Spiš to 1526*).<sup>31</sup> It is being prepared by the Kláštorisko organization and the Department of Slovak History of Comenius University, Bratislava in cooperation with the Institute of History of the Jagellonian University in Cracow.

Regional history is a rather peculiar topic in Slovak medieval studies. After 1989, like mushrooms after the rain, a number of regional, urban, and village monographs

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*Nachfolger von Aachen*, (Győr: Palatia Nyomda és Kiadó, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> *Studia archeologica Slovaca medievalia*, vol. 5, ed. Michal Slivka and Martin Homza (Levoča: Kláštorisko, 2006).

<sup>27</sup> *Studia archeologica Slovaca medievalia*, vol. 6, ed. Michal Slivka (Levoča: Kláštorisko, 2007).

<sup>28</sup> *Central European Charterhouses in the Family of the Carthusian Order*, ed. Martin Homza, Veronika Kucharská, Stanislava Kuzmová and Naďa Rácová, *Analecta Cartusiana*, Vol. 254 (Levoča and Salzburg: Kláštorisko, n.o. and Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2008). See also <http://analectacartusiana.blogspot.com/>

<sup>29</sup> See <http://klastorisko.sk/klastor/dejiny/kronika.php>.

<sup>30</sup> *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša* [Terra Scepusiensis: The Status of Research on the History of Spiš], ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Levoča and Wrocław: Lúč, 2003); see also <http://scepus.org>.

<sup>31</sup> *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 1: *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526* [The History of Spiš to 1526], ed. Martin Homza and Stanisław A. Sroka (Levoča and Cracow: Etc., 2008).

Martin Homza

appeared, sometimes more, sometimes less successful. Within this field two regions reign in principle – Scepusia and Bratislava. As regards Scepusia, the tradition of earlier Scepusian historiography, evolving practically since the Middle Ages, has recently been successfully linked with the Scepusian historical society under the leadership of Ivan Chalupecký with his regular bulletin *Z minulosti Spiša*.<sup>32</sup>

Since 1989, medieval historical source editions and their translations have been published on a large scale in Slovakia. Issuing medieval sources originally fell within the purview of the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; currently, however, historical sources have been released by virtually every center of medieval studies in the Slovak Republic. Rak, in Bratislava and Budmerice, directed by Pavel Dvořák, is among the most significant publishers. It is issuing a series of popular translations of medieval texts known as *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov* (Sources on the History of Slovakia and the Slovaks).<sup>33</sup> In this series of sources, significant translations of Hungarian chronicles by other major authors as Richard Marsina,<sup>34</sup> Július Sopko,<sup>35</sup> Vincent Múcska,<sup>36</sup> and Daniela Dvořáková,<sup>37</sup> have been released. Among the other notable achievements of this publishing house are also a number of historical monographs with medieval themes which otherwise would not be found on the Slovak book market. A book by Daniela Dvořáková on Ctibor of Ctiborice – *Rytier a jeho král* (The Knight and His King)<sup>38</sup> has been a success; it is perhaps the only history-focused title currently to have been translated into

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<sup>32</sup> See <http://www.spisiaci.sk>.

<sup>33</sup> *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov* [Sources on the History of Slovakia and the Slovaks], vol. 1-7 (Bratislava and Budmerice: Rak, 1998-2005). For more information, see <http://www.vydavatelstvorak.sk/en>.

<sup>34</sup> The collection of the most significant texts on the Mongol invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary, excluding the Chronicle of Thomas of Split, *Tatársky vpád* [Mongolian Invasion], tr. and ed. Richard Marsina and Miloš Marek. (Budmerice: Rak, 2008). The medieval lives of the most important saints connected to the territory of today's Slovakia – *Legendy stredovekého Slovenska: Ideály stredovekého človeka očami cirkevných spisovateľov* [Legends of Medieval Slovakia: Ideals of Medieval Man through the Eyes of Ecclesiastical Writers] (Budmerice: Rak, 1997).

<sup>35</sup> The translations of the most important chronicles of the Kingdom of Hungary pertaining to the territory of today's Slovakia – *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska: Stredoveké Slovensko očami kráľovských a mestských kronikárov* [Chronicles of Medieval Slovakia: Medieval Slovakia through the Eyes of Royal and Urban Chroniclers]. (Budmerice: Rak, 1995) and *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická* [Chronicle of the Hungarian Kings Called Dubnická], tr. and ed. Július Sopko (Budmerice: Rak, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> *Kronika anonymného notára kráľa Bela: Gesta Hungarorum* [Chronicle of an Anonymous Notary of King Bela: Gesta Hungarorum], tr. and ed. Vincent Múcska (Budmerice: Rak, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> *Spomienky Heleny Kottannerovej* [Memoirs of Helena Kottanner], tr. and ed. Daniela Dvořáková and Mária Papsonová (Budmerice: Rak, 2008).

<sup>38</sup> Daniela Dvořáková, *Rytier a jeho král* [A Knight and His King] (Budmerice: Rak, 2003).

Hungarian. Another major title by Daniela Dvořáková is a book with a very unusual, at least for Slovak historiography, theme of the horse in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>39</sup> In a co-edition with the publishing house Veda, the publishing house Rak released a monograph by Ján Steinhübel devoted to the principality of Nitra.<sup>40</sup> In terms of a new concept of the medieval history of today's Slovakia, it was undoubtedly a primary topic, although its reception has lagged behind its significance. As regards the variability of themes cherished in Slovak medieval studies, it has been significantly enriched by the Department of Slovak History of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Comenius University in Bratislava.<sup>41</sup> For example, the current head of the department, Ján Lukačka, has been publishing his research results on the theme of medieval nobility in the territory of present-day Slovakia since the 1990s.<sup>42</sup> Martin Homza, with his book on dynastic female saints in Central Europe, published in the series of *Libri historiae Slovaciae*, has brought a new hagiographic topic into Slovak medieval studies.<sup>43</sup> Homza, a graduate of Medieval Studies at CEU Budapest, has long been devoted to research on the foreign policy of the Arpads, particularly as regards their relations with Poland and Kievan Rus'.<sup>44</sup> His students from the Comenius University in Bratislava regularly continue their studies at CEU, among them Marek Klatý, Stanislava Kuzmová, and Tomáš Gábriš. Stanislava Kuzmová, with her series of articles on Saint Bishop Stanislas/Staniśław of Cracow, has been linking Slovak medieval studies with the current trends in world medieval studies.<sup>45</sup> At the Departments of

<sup>39</sup> Daniela Dvořáková, *Kôň a človek v stredoveku: K spolužitiu človeka a kôňa v Uhorskom kráľovstve* [Horse and Man in the Middle Ages: The Coexistence of Man and Horse in the Kingdom of Hungary] (Budmerice: Rak, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> Ján Steinhübel, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo* [The Principality of Nitra] (Bratislava: Rak and Veda, 2004).

<sup>41</sup> See <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?id=ksd>.

<sup>42</sup> In brief, Ján Lukačka, *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku* [Formation of the Higher Nobility in Western Slovakia] (Bratislava: Minor, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> Martin Homza, *Mulieres suadentes: Presvedčajúce ženy: Štúdie z dejín ženskej panovníckej svätosti v strednej a vo východnej Európe v 10.-13. storočí* [Mulieres suadentes: Persuading Women: Studies of the History of Female Ruler Holiness in Central and Eastern Europe in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries] (Bratislava: Lúč, 2002). Works on lesser-known saints of the Slovak Middle Ages were issued in the same series: Lubomír Bosák and Patrik Kýška, *Svätý Gorazd: Učený muž našej zeme* [Saint Gorazd: An Erudite Man of Our Land] (Bratislava, Lúč, 2004) and Bystrík Bugan, *Svätý Bystrík* [Saint Bistricus] (Bratislava: Lúč, 2007).

<sup>44</sup> Martin Homza, "Politické dejiny Spiša do začiatku 14. storočia" [The Political History of Scepsia up to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century] *Historia Scepusii* 1, 126-174.

<sup>45</sup> Stanislava Kuzmová, "Preaching on Martyr Bishops in the Later Middle Ages: St. Stanislaus of Cracow and St. Thomas Becket," *Britain and Poland-Lithuania from the Middle Ages to 1795: Contact and Comparison* (collected volume from the conference in Cracow, September 2005 (Leiden: Brill Publishers, in press); Idem, "Stanislaus, Saint (1030?-1079): Bishop of Cracow." *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed.

Martin Homza

History of Comenius University Bratislava, which besides the Department of Slovak History includes the Department of Archival and Auxiliary Historical Sciences<sup>46</sup> and the Department of General History,<sup>47</sup> a number of up-and-coming medievalists also work and research, among them: Leon Sokolovský, Juraj Šedivý, Vincent Múcska, and Martin Hurbanič. Leon Sokolovský follows in the tradition of economic history research;<sup>48</sup> Juraj Šedivý researches in the field of palaeography, epigraphy, and codicology.<sup>49</sup> Among the most remarkable achievements of the Department of General History is the publication of *European Medieval History (Dejiny európskeho stredoveku)*.<sup>50</sup> The Departments of History of Comenius University release the oldest annual in Slovakia focused on history, *Historica*.<sup>51</sup> Besides *Historický časopis* (Historical Journal) it is one of the most significant historical periodicals in Slovakia. Further, the Department of General History also publishes an annual, *Acta Historica Posoniensia*.<sup>52</sup> Last but not least, the Departments of History publish *Medea*, a journal for students and young medievalists.<sup>53</sup>

As is clear from the above, after 1993 there was a significant qualitative and quantitative increase in Slovak medieval studies and its output. I consider the organizational and thematic fragmentation symptomatic, for the moment not allowing for the systematic discussion of important topics, such as the place of the territory of today's Slovakia in the Kingdom of Hungary and the relations of the Slovak elites with other countries of the Hungarian Kingdom. There is also a noticeable absence of close links in the research of the history of culture and religious history with research trends in Western Europe in particular. Exceptions notwithstanding, the publication of historical sources has not yet reached adequate quality and a modern level. Historical positivism still persists in Slovak medieval studies as the main working method.

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Robert E. Bjork. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), etc.

<sup>46</sup> See <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?id=kapvh>.

<sup>47</sup> See <http://www.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?id=kvd>.

<sup>48</sup> Leon Sokolovský, *Správa stredovekej dediny na Slovensku* [Medieval Village Administration in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 2002) and Idem, *Stručné dejiny Malohontu do roku 1803* [A Brief History of Malohont until 1803] (Martin: Gradus, 1997).

<sup>49</sup> Juraj Šedivý, *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel* (Bratislava: Chronos, 2007).

<sup>50</sup> *Dejiny európskeho stredoveku*, vol. 1: *Raný stredovek od 5. do polovice 11. storočia* [European Medieval History, vol. 1: The Early Middle Ages from the Fifth to the Mid-eleventh Century] (Prešov: Michal Vaško, 2006).

<sup>51</sup> Last *Historica* 47, ed. Peter Tišliar. (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> As far as the Middle Ages is concerned, the following was released – *East Central Europe at the Turn of the 1st and 2nd Millenia*, *Acta Historica Posoniensia*, vol. 2 (Bratislava, 2002).

<sup>53</sup> See <http://imedeaszm.sk>.

In contrast to the above, however, the most contributory feature of the period in the Slovak historiography discussed here is the fact that Slovak medieval studies is currently represented by the middle and younger generation of specialists, some of whom received their education at the major institutions and centers for medieval studies in Europe. Slovakia, however, has not had the luck of the neighboring Czech Republic, where an institutionalized workplace was established to ensure systematic work across the medieval disciplines.<sup>54</sup> Another positive feature of the medieval studies research organization is to be found in the high degree of organization of the archive administration and protection of historical archives and collections. Gradually, the digitalization of the particular archives is being launched. Generally speaking, in the survival of Štúr's a-historical paradigm as the main ideological structure of self-reflection, in the present Slovak political elites in particular, as well as in the atmosphere of the constant underestimation of the social sciences, the state of Slovak medieval studies is nothing but a miracle.

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<sup>54</sup> Ivan Varšo, "Slovenské medievistické stredisko – perspektíva alebo utópia?" [The Slovak Medieval Centre – Perspective or Utopia?], *Studia archeologica Slovaca medievalia* 5 (2006): 405-413.



## BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE: MIEVIAL STUDIES IN SLOVENIA AND A CHANGE OF CONTEXT

*David Movrin*

A spectre is haunting European schools – the spectre of Latin grammar. All kinds of powers have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: rectors and ministers, school boards and state parliaments, scientists and scholars. And sometimes classicists themselves.

This problem necessarily lies at the very heart of any survey that tries to address both the position and prospects of medieval studies in the region, particularly in its western parts. Anecdotal evidence of this cultural shift has been mounting up for a while. Last time around when Medieval Studies at CEU was in a celebratory mood, the resident classicist was already forced to quote King Lothar's maxim, *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*: "in the first years we had to 'jazz up' the English of the incoming students; now it is usually their Latin which needs a bit of starting help."<sup>1</sup> Other American universities noticed this trend years before.<sup>2</sup> The issues involved are broader and indeed global; this review can only focus on the observable facts within the Slovenian educational system, which are harbingers of a change in the climate and have recently become difficult to ignore.

### **Past and Present of Teaching Latin**

The relationship between teaching Latin and European schools has been a difficult dance of *odi et amo* for more than a century. Gone are the days when Latin was a synonym for education itself and it is true that the guild has struggled with adapting to that fact. "Too many advocates of classics...have tended to speak with

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<sup>1</sup> György Karsai, "Medieval Latin and Classical Greek," in *Ten Years of Medieval Studies at CEU: 1993-2003*, ed. János M. Bak and Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University, 2003), 24.

<sup>2</sup> A vigorous debate started with the controversial charge against the present university system by Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath, *Who Killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom* (New York: Free Press, 1998). Although a review by Peter Green, "Homer Lives!," *New York Review of Books* 46, no. 5 (1999), provides some welcome perspective, the numbers quoted in the book remain indicative.

David Movrin

the unattractive voice of privilege in retreat, frothing on vaguely about law and order, faith in God..., the expression of values, or the spirit of man, while at the same time sneering (like Plato, like Seneca) at ‘soulless technicians’ and new-style layabouts...”<sup>3</sup>

Yet it seems that teaching Latin in Slovenia has had more than its fair share of abuse. A school reform in 1958 relegated its status in all elementary schools to the position of an optional, “facultative” subject; a decree from the National Education Institute in 1975 banned it altogether, as “irreconcilable with a self-managing socialistically engaged school and with basic tenets of Marxist pedagogy.”<sup>4</sup> High schools followed suit; in the 1980s, only three schools in the entire country – two in Ljubljana, one in Maribor – were able to offer their students a Latin class that would cover at least basic morphology and syntax.<sup>5</sup> Latin had to be learned at the university, from scratch. Since the intrinsic beauty of Latin declensions and conjugations is more difficult to appreciate – and easier to forget – when one is twenty years old than when one is ten, this development resulted in a significant decimation of Latin knowledge across the humanities; with a steady retirement of the older generation, a scholar with a working knowledge of Latin became something of a *rara avis*.

At the end of the 1980s, when the grip of ideology started to disappear and basic tenets of Marxist pedagogy suddenly lost the power of incantation, Classics bounced back with surprising vitality. Fifteen elementary schools started to teach Latin during the following decade, mostly in major cities such as Ljubljana and Maribor.<sup>6</sup> More importantly, Latin took firm root in several high schools, with Latin classes being available to students in most of the regions provided they chose their school on that criterion. Latin was offered to students in fifteen gymnasias; six of them eventually reinvented the classical gymnasium, where Latin was not just one more language but

<sup>3</sup> Peter Green, “Precedent, Survival, Metamorphosis: Classical Influences in the Modern World,” in *Classical Bearings: Interpreting Ancient History and Culture*, ed. Peter Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) (originally published in New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989.)

<sup>4</sup> Bojan Baskar, *Latinščine, prosim: latinščina in njeno izganjanje na Slovenskem, 1849-1987* [Latin, Please: Exorcising Latin in Slovenia, 1849-1987] (Ljubljana: Univerzitetna konferenca zveze socialistične mladine Slovenije [Knjižnica revolucionarne teorijeg], 1988), 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>6</sup> Aleksandra Pirkmajer Slokan, “OŠ Prežihovega Voranca, Ljubljana: 50 let osemletke in 110 let latinščine pod isto streho,” [Prežihov Voranc Elementary School, Ljubljana: 50 Years of Elementary School and 110 Years of Latin under the Same Roof] *Keria* 10, no. 2 (2008): 175. Slovenia has almost 800 elementary schools; 15 Latin schools thus represent about 2%.

the core of the curriculum.<sup>7</sup> At the end of decade, all this resulted in unprecedented numbers of classicists finishing their studies at the University of Ljubljana; thirteen BA theses defended in 1999 amounted to a revolution in the department where the average during 1980s was precisely one thesis per year.<sup>8</sup>

Soon after that, the situation began to change. A major national reform of elementary education was started in 2003; first in pilot schools, it eventually became compulsory for every elementary school in the country in 2008/09. While the reform introduced a nine-year elementary education, starting a year earlier, it also excluded Latin from the core curriculum and made it an optional subject, available only during the last three years. This fragmentation resulted in significant technical difficulties regarding the organization of teaching. One by one, schools decided to avoid the extra effort by dropping Latin altogether. The rather disturbing *decimatio* can be seen in the following chart.

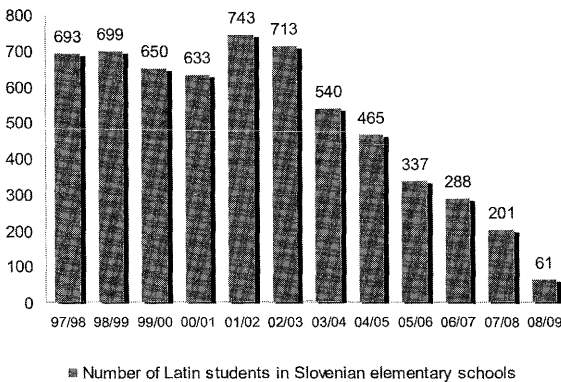


Figure 1. – The gradual introduction of the nine-year-school reform (2003–2008) and its effect on teaching Latin in elementary schools.<sup>9</sup>

It is still a question how this will affect high-school Latin, which has enjoyed moderate success and a fairly stable position for more than a decade now.

<sup>7</sup> Katja Pavlič Škerjanc, “Klasično izobraževanje v Sloveniji” [Classical Education in Slovenia] *Vzgoja in izobraževanje* 36, no. 1 (2005): 56–57.

<sup>8</sup> These titles are published on the website of Department of Classical Philology, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, [www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/klasfilol](http://www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/klasfilol).

<sup>9</sup> Pirkmajer Slokan, “OŠ Prežihovega Voranca,” 173. Data for 2008/09, not yet available at the time of publication, were reported by the author to the discussion group “Agor@” ([agor@ijs.si](mailto:agor@ijs.si)) in December 2008.

David Movrin

The elementary-school curriculum reflects the collective *mentalité* and indicates the shape of things to come. Another reform, however, has resulted in a substantially more influential effect on Latin, this time at the university level. The Bologna process, designed to foster mobility and compatibility within the European higher education area, has drastically reduced the level of Latin knowledge expected across some of the crucial disciplines within the humanities. While Latin was never mandatory for everyone who wanted to study archaeology, history or art history, it was – until very recently – considered a *sine qua non* for those interested in further research; at the University of Ljubljana, for instance, prospective scholars were expected to complete a thorough Latin course (360 lessons, each 45 minutes long) which equipped them with sufficient reading knowledge to deal with their sources.<sup>10</sup> The Bologna process abolished this notion, essentially halving the number of Latin classes students are expected to take during their first five years at the university.<sup>11</sup> The consequences remain to be seen.

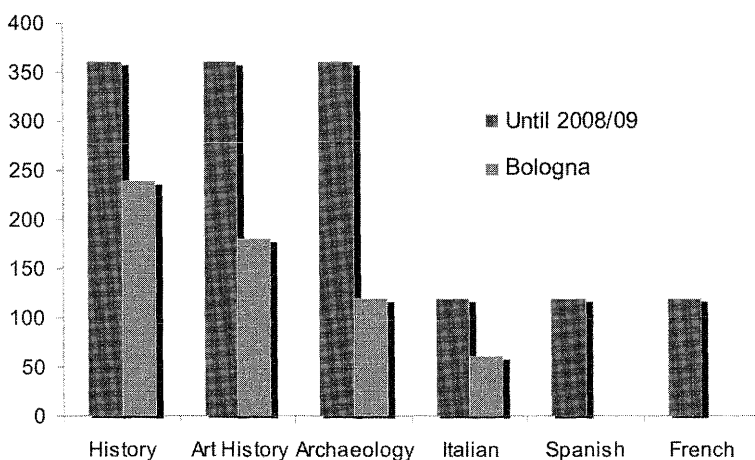


Figure 2. – The Bologna process and its effects on teaching Latin at the university. The columns represent the number of mandatory Latin classes attended as a condition for a degree in these majors (after five years of study) at the University of Ljubljana – before and after the implementation of the new curriculum.

<sup>10</sup> The numbers come from the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts website ([www.ff.uni-lj.si](http://www.ff.uni-lj.si)).

<sup>11</sup> Although the two systems are not exactly the same, this comparison assumes a graduate spending five years at the same department studying for a research degree. The numbers are taken from the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts website. A reformed curriculum will only be implemented in 2009/10; still, after years of discussion, it is well - nigh impossible to expect any significant change in the near future.

## The Fragile Revival of Medieval Studies: People and Places

Renewal of Latin during the last two decades went hand in hand with a renewal in medieval studies. Despite the aggravating fact that the country has no independent entity – such as a university department or a research institute – primarily devoted to the Middle Ages, there has been a sort of blossoming in medieval studies, spearheaded by a number of scholars working within a diverse institutional network. While the stringent word-count limits here make it difficult to do justice to all of them, a brief account will be attempted; the illustrative list of people and places that follows does not even pretend to be exhaustive. Examples of their approach follow in the footnotes; as a rule, books published internationally take precedence over the rest.

The work of Rajko Bratož provided a fresh historical perspective on the area in late antiquity.<sup>12</sup> Peter Štih has published extensive research in the field of the aristocracy;<sup>13</sup> recently, his studies of Slovenian identity – accompanied by a Slovenian translation of *The Myth of Nations* by Patrick Geary – have sparked a major public debate. The history of daily life, a previously neglected area, is beginning to come to the fore; an interesting example is a study of a “medieval female voice,” published by Peter Štih and Igor Grdina.<sup>14</sup> Dušan Kos has concentrated on social and cultural history, dealing mostly with textual sources.<sup>15</sup>

Indeed, it is medieval history where the influence of CEU alumni is most present. Matjaž Bizjak has been unearthing late medieval economic history;<sup>16</sup> recently he has begun to publish a series of important primary sources for the Auersperg family.<sup>17</sup> Matjaž Vesel, another CEU alumnus, is researching and

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<sup>12</sup> Rajko Bratož, ed., *Slowenien und die Nachbarländer zwischen Antike und karolingischer Epoche: Anfänge der slowenischen Ethnogenese*, Situla 39 (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti [hereafter: SAZU], 2000).

<sup>13</sup> Peter Štih, *Studien zur Geschichte der Grafen von Görz: die Ministerialen und Milites der Grafen von Görz in Istrien und Krain* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Igor Grdina and Peter Štih, ed., *Spomini Helene Kottanner: ženski glas iz srednjega veka* [Memories of Helena Kottanner: A Female Voice from the Middle Ages] (Ljubljana: Nova revija, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Dušan Kos, *He Who Does not Suffer with the Town, Shall not Reap the Benefits Thereof: The Statute of Ptuj from 1376, Article 94* (Ljubljana: Ministry of Culture, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Matjaž Bizjak, *Ratio facta est: gospodarska struktura in poslovanje poznosrednjeveških gospostev na Slovenskem* [Ratio facta est: Economic Structure and Operations of Late Medieval Rulers in Slovenian Territory], *Thesaurus memoriae (dissertationes) 2* (Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center [hereafter: ZRC] SAZU, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Miha Preinfalk and Matjaž Bizjak, ed., *Turjaška knjiga listin* [The Auersperg Book of Deeds], *Thesaurus memoriae (fontes)* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2008-).

David Movrin

translating the medieval and renaissance history of science.<sup>18</sup> Still, there is a painful gap in the “recent flowering of medieval studies in Slovenia, effected by a new generation of young scholars;”<sup>19</sup> Andrej Komac, an accomplished medievalist of great promise, had already submitted his doctoral thesis<sup>20</sup> to the defence committee when he tragically lost his life in a diving accident during the summer of 2003.

The research of Jurij Snoj has shed new light on the previously neglected sphere of medieval music.<sup>21</sup> In the history of art, Nataša Golob has illuminated a series of issues concerning local medieval manuscripts;<sup>22</sup> from the archival perspective, the phenomenon has been investigated by Jedrt Vodopivec.<sup>23</sup> Janez Höfler dedicated a lifetime of research to medieval art.<sup>24</sup> From 1990 onwards, Ivan Stopar has been publishing his landmark analysis on Slovenian castles, with a new volume appearing almost every year.<sup>25</sup> A significant amount of archaeological research has been carried out at the Academy of Science Institute for Archaeology by Slavko Ciglenečki,<sup>26</sup> Andrej Pleterski,<sup>27</sup> and others. Literary research and translation have been advanced by Primož Simoniti, whose principal work on Slovenian humanists is now available in German as well.<sup>28</sup> More recently, Miha Pintarič explored the transition from the medieval to the modern period as attested in French literature.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the

<sup>18</sup> Matjaž Vesel, *Učena nevednost Nikolaja Kuzanskega: Kuzanski in konstitucija univerzuma moderne znanosti* [*Docta ignorantia* of Nicolaus Cusanus: Constituting the Universe of Modern Science], *Philosophica* (series moderna) (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2000).

<sup>19</sup> Peter Štih, “Andrej Komac (1970–2003),” *Annales* 13, no. 2 (2003): 465.

<sup>20</sup> Andrej Komac, *Od mejne grofije do dežele: Ulrik III. Spanheim in Kranjska v 13. stoletju* [From a Margraviate to a Province: Ulrich III Spanheim and Carniola in the Thirteenth Century], *Thesaurus memoriae* (dissertationes) 5 (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> Jurij Snoj, *Medieval Music Codices: A Selection of Representative Samples from Slovene Libraries* (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 1997).

<sup>22</sup> Nataša Golob, *Twelfth-century Cistercian Manuscripts: The Sitticum Collection* (London: H. Miller Publishers, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> Jedrt Vodopivec, *Vezave srednjeveških rokopisov: strukturne prvine in njihov razvoj* [Medieval Manuscript Binding: Structural Elements and their Development] (Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 2000).

<sup>24</sup> Janez Höfler, *Der Meister E. S.: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> Ivan Stopar, *Grajske stavbe* [Castle Buildings] (Ljubljana: Viharnik, 1990–); 16 volumes published so far.

<sup>26</sup> Slavko Ciglenečki, *Tinje oberhalb von Loka pri Žusmu: Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Siedlung*, *Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae* 4 (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Andrej Pleterski, *Frühmittelalterliche Siedlung Pristava in Bled: Funde*, *Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae* 14 (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2008).

<sup>28</sup> Primož Simoniti, *Humanismus bei den Slovenen: Slovenische Humanisten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Miha Pintarič, *Le sentiment du temps dans la littérature française (XII<sup>e</sup> s.-fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Paris: Champion, 2002).

single most important philological achievement of this period, the result of a major collective effort, was the thorough revision and modernisation of the Latin-Slovenian Dictionary in six substantial volumes and over 3000 pages, a grand project that had been interrupted by the First World War, then thwarted by the economic crisis, and finally shelved after the Second World War; its resuscitation in the 1990s and eventual completion by a group of Latinists, supervised by Matej Hriberšek, brought to a close an effort that spanned an entire century, thus providing foundations for Latin translations in coming decades.<sup>30</sup>

Beyond the necessarily inadequate list of individual scholars given above is a broader community of people working in their respective fields. The following list of institutions provides a fairly dense net of starting points; people there will provide further information and direct any enquiry towards the appropriate archive, library or specialist. *Cuncta fluunt, nihil est toto quod perstet in orbe*; things change, particularly in the volatile world of websites. This is why Slovenian names are provided in brackets; a skilful surfer will be able to find their new place of interretial dwelling.

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<sup>30</sup> Fran Wiesthaler, *Latinsko-slovenski slovar* [Latin-Slovenian Dictionary], 6 vols. (Ljubljana: Kres, 1993-2007).

David Movrin

## **Major Libraries/Manuscript Collections**

National and University Library  
(Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica)  
Turjaška 1, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-2001-188  
[www.nuk.si](http://www.nuk.si); [izposoja@nuk.uni-lj.si](mailto:izposoja@nuk.uni-lj.si)

Regional Archives Koper, Piran Department  
(Pokrajinski arhiv Koper - enota Piran)  
Župančičeva 4, SI-6330 Piran  
Tel. +386-5-6732-840  
[www.arhiv-koper.si](http://www.arhiv-koper.si); [arhiv.koper@gmail.com](mailto:arhiv.koper@gmail.com)

Archdiocesan Archives Ljubljana  
(Nadškofijski arhiv v Ljubljani)  
Krekov trg 1, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-23-47-570  
[arhiv.lj@rkc.si](mailto:arhiv.lj@rkc.si)

Archdiocesan Archives Maribor  
(Nadškofijski arhiv v Mariboru)  
Koroška cesta 1, SI-2000 Maribor  
Tel. +386-590-80-120  
[www.mariborska-metropolija.si/ustanove/arhiv.php](http://www.mariborska-metropolija.si/ustanove/arhiv.php)  
[skofijski.arhiv@slomsek.net](mailto:skofijski.arhiv@slomsek.net)

Theological Seminary Library in Ljubljana  
(Semeniška knjižnica v Ljubljani)  
Bogoslovno semenišče Ljubljana  
Dolničarjeva 4, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-232-78-91  
[semenisce-lj.rkc.si](http://semenisce-lj.rkc.si); [info.semenisce.ljubljana@rkc.si](mailto:info.semenisce.ljubljana@rkc.si)

## Major Archival Holdings

Archives of the Republic of Slovenia  
(Arhiv Republike Slovenije)  
Zvezdarska 1, SI-1000  
Tel. +386-1-241-42-00  
[www.arhiv.gov.si](http://www.arhiv.gov.si); [ars@gov.si](mailto:ars@gov.si)

Regional Archives in Maribor  
(Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor)  
Glavni trg 7, SI-2000 Maribor  
Tel. +386-2-22-85-024  
[www.pokarh-mb.si](http://www.pokarh-mb.si); [vloge@pokarh-mb.si](mailto:vloge@pokarh-mb.si)

Historical Archives of Ljubljana  
(Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana)  
Mestni trg 27, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-306-1303  
[www.zal-lj.si](http://www.zal-lj.si); [zal@zal-lj.si](mailto:zal@zal-lj.si)

Historical Archives of Celje  
(Zgodovinski arhiv Celje)  
Teharska cesta 1, SI-3000 Celje  
Tel. +386-3-42-87-640  
[www.zac.si](http://www.zac.si); [zg.arhiv-celje@guest.arnes.si](mailto:zg.arhiv-celje@guest.arnes.si)

Historical Archives of Ptuj  
(Zgodovinski arhiv Ptuj)  
Muzejski trg 1, SI-2250 Ptuj  
Tel. +386-2-787-97-30  
[www.arhiv-ptuj.si](http://www.arhiv-ptuj.si); [zgod.arhiv-ptuj@guest.arnes.si](mailto:zgod.arhiv-ptuj@guest.arnes.si)

David Movrin

Regional Archives in Koper  
(Pokrajinski arhiv Koper)  
Kapodistriassov trg 1, SI-6000 Koper  
Tel. +386-5-62-71-824  
[www.arhiv-koper.si](http://www.arhiv-koper.si); [arhiv.koper@gmail.com](mailto:arhiv.koper@gmail.com)

Archdiocesan Archives in Ljubljana/Maribor  
See above.

### **Major Museums and Galleries with Medieval Collections**

National Museum of Slovenia  
(Narodni muzej Slovenije)  
Prešernova 20, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-241-44-00  
[www.narmuz-lj.si](http://www.narmuz-lj.si); [info@nms.si](mailto:info@nms.si)

The National Gallery  
(Narodna galerija)  
Puharjeva 9, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-24-15-434  
[www.ng-slo.si](http://www.ng-slo.si); [info@ng-slo.si](mailto:info@ng-slo.si)

City Museum of Ljubljana  
(Mestni muzej Ljubljana)  
Gosposka 15, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-24-12-500  
[www.mestnimuzej.si](http://www.mestnimuzej.si); [info@mestnimuzej.si](mailto:info@mestnimuzej.si)

Regional Museum in Maribor  
(Pokrajinski muzej Maribor)  
Grajska ulica 2, SI-2000 Maribor  
Tel. +386-2-228-35-51  
[www.pmuzej-mb.si](http://www.pmuzej-mb.si); [info@pmuzej-mb.si](mailto:info@pmuzej-mb.si)

Regional Museum in Celje  
(Pokrajinski muzej Celje)  
Muzejski trg 1, SI-3000 Celje  
Tel. +386-3-428-09-50  
[www.pokmuz-ce.si](http://www.pokmuz-ce.si); [info@pokmuz-ce.si](mailto:info@pokmuz-ce.si)

Regional Museum in Ptuj  
(Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj)  
Muzejski trg 1, SI-2250 Ptuj  
Tel. +386-2-787-92-30  
[www.pok-muzej-ptuj.si](http://www.pok-muzej-ptuj.si); [grad@pok-muzej-ptuj.si](mailto:grad@pok-muzej-ptuj.si)

Regional Museum in Murska Sobota  
(Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota)  
Trubarjev drevored 4, SI-9000 Murska Sobota  
Tel. +386-2-527-17-06  
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Tel. +386-1-47-06-380  
www.zrc-sazu.si/iza; iza@zrc-sazu.si

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Tel. +386-1-470-6470  
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(Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani)  
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-241-10-00  
www.ff.uni-lj.si; info@ff.uni-lj.si

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(Oddelek za klasično filologijo)  
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-241-14-20  
www.ff.uni-lj.si/oddelki/klasfilol



Base and Superstructure: Medieval Studies in Slovenia and a Change of Context

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(Oddelek za zgodovino)  
Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-241-11-90  
[www.zgodovina-ff.uni-lj.net](http://www.zgodovina-ff.uni-lj.net)  
[info.zgodovina@ff.uni-lj.si](mailto:info.zgodovina@ff.uni-lj.si)

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Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana  
Tel. +386-1-241-12-10  
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## A DISCIPLINE WITHOUT A PAST: MEDIEVAL STUDIES IN UKRAINE

*Yuriy Zazuliak*

The task of writing about the current trends and future of a scholarly discipline always involves the necessity to situate such an assessment against the historical background of its past achievements and shortcomings. This is especially true for medieval studies, a discipline with long, rich, and diverse traditions of scholarship. Looking back at the road medieval scholarship has carved during the last two decades one can find common as well as unique traits in its development in different countries. The uniqueness of the Ukrainian case is that medieval studies in Ukraine are in a certain sense an academic discipline without a past. It would not be an exaggeration to say that there was no such thing as medieval studies in the period around 1991-1993. At that time there were only a small number of people who studied the medieval history of Ukraine and only a few interested in general medieval history and culture. Until quite recently, one also could hardly speak of any lasting traditions of scholarship, special professional institutions, established scholarly schools, or journals dealing with medieval history. These features of the academic field contrast with quite a strong Ukrainian academic and educational background with a wide network of large universities and the National Academy of Science, including numerous history, philology, and philosophy departments and institutes.

There were many causes for such a deplorable academic situation. Some of the crucial causes were of an external political and not academic nature, that is, the Stalinist terror against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, including the extermination of almost all historians, in the 1930s or the situation of the “internal colonialism” of Ukraine’s experience within the Soviet Union, which resulted in deep provincialization of the humanities and social sciences in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s. I have no intention, however, of focusing here on these aspects of the development of the humanities in Ukraine. What I would like to do is to highlight some of the inherent features and structures of Ukrainian medieval history that have had profound impacts on how, on the one hand, Ukrainian medievalists have come to understand and conceptualize their medieval past, and, on the other hand, how these peculiarities have influenced the development of medieval studies in the last two decades.

Yuriy Zazuliak

The first point I would like to make is that Ukrainian historians have always encountered serious problems with rediscovering their “national” Middle Ages. Today it is common knowledge that the emergence of professional historical scholarship during the nineteenth century was strongly interdependent with the rise of the modern nation-state and nationalism. History as an academic discipline with its own research agenda, epistemological premises, and professional ethos originated and was understood primarily as “national.” For such a “national” historiography to study the medieval past meant to investigate first of all a history of “national” medieval statehood, to trace and legitimize the roots of the national consciousness and national aspirations through the rediscovery of the idea of “national statehood” in the medieval, or, even better, in the early medieval period.<sup>1</sup>

This is what Ukrainian “national” history has always found hard to boast. No medieval state and no ethnic group with such a name are known to have existed during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. The political and cultural reality of the Ukrainian medieval past – unstable political and cultural borders, political fragmentation and frequent divisions of “Ukrainian space” among neighboring medieval states – was rather the opposite of the present-day idea of a politically and culturally unified Ukrainian state and nation, which came into existence only during the last century. Therefore, it is no surprise that modern Ukrainian historical consciousness and the historical scholarship that was shaped by it have always had problems with legitimating their claims to the medieval past of what is today called Ukraine.<sup>2</sup>

This medieval past has often been seen as a sort of historical battlefield for competing historical narratives elaborated in the Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian

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<sup>1</sup> For the role of medieval history and medievalists in the process of forging modern nationalist ideologies, see Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), esp. 15-40.

<sup>2</sup> These troubles with the legitimacy of the historical concept of the Ukrainian “national” Middle Ages understood primarily in terms of its “ethnic” statehood and nation can be seen as a part of the wider problem that has been recently raised in the scholarly discussions on how one has to understand and conceptualize the history of Ukraine in general. See, for example Mark von Hagen, “Does Ukraine have a History?” *Slavic Review* 54, No. 3 (1995): 658-673. Consider also the insightful remark by John-Paul Himka on how problematic it is to relate the pre-modern cultural artifacts from the territory of present-day Ukraine to the national paradigm of Ukrainian history, in his “What Constitutes a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?” in Giovanna Brogi Berkoff and Giulia Lami ed., *Ukraine's Reintegration into Europe: A Historical, Historiographical, and Political Urgent Issue* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005), esp. 227-8 (hereafter: Himka, “What Constitutes a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?”).

historiographies.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the best known example of how political and national issues framed the scholarly interpretations of the Ukrainian past concerns the history of the Rurikid polity of the eleventh to thirteenth century, which is generally known today under the name of Kyivan Rus'. When Ukrainian historiography emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, it had to counter a potent, well-established and rich tradition in Russian scholarship that laid exclusive claim to the history of Kyivan Rus'. One could say that Ukrainian historians arrived too late; the Kyivan Rus' past had already been cultivated and fully appropriated into the Russian historical narrative.<sup>4</sup> The history of Kyivan Rus' became a founding historical myth in Russian historical consciousness and there was no place in it for Ukrainians as a separate people. In fact, this Russian historical narrative operated as a sort of imperialist historical teleology by claiming the existence of one single people populating the vast territories of Kyivan Rus' and interpreting the subsequent history of different parts of this realm as a natural and inevitable process of the unification of a once-divided nation under Russian imperial rule. Ukrainian national/nationalist historians have usually countered this imperialist narrative without success by claiming their exclusive national rights to the legacy of the Kyivan Rus' past. There is, however, one striking similarity in the arguments of otherwise antagonistic interpretations of Russian and Ukrainian historians. Both modern national historiographies accepted and followed uncritically the point of view of medieval historical narratives with their emphasis on the continuity and uninterrupted *translatio* of the idea of the statehood in East Slavic history.<sup>5</sup> The major

<sup>3</sup> For various historical representations of the Ukrainian past in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian historiographies, see Stephan Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process. A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> The close interrelation between Russian imperial expansion, travel literature, and Russian historical scholarship in the process of the discursive appropriation of the Kyivan Rus' past has been brilliantly analyzed by Olexiji Toločko. The author has also emphasized the difficulties Russian scholarship faced in situating the Cossak, Malorussian episode of the Ukrainian past in their concept of continuity between the Kyivan Rus' and the modern, imperial period of Russian history; see, his "Kyjevoruska spadščyna v ukrainskij istoričnij dumci na počatku XIX stolittia" [The Legacy of Kyivan Rus' in the Ukrainian Historical Thought on the beginning of the Nineteenth Century] in Vladyslav Verstiuk, Viktor Horobets' and Olexij Toločko, *Ukrainski Proekty v Rosijskij Imperii* (Ukrainian Projects in the Russian Empire) (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 2004), 250-331.

<sup>5</sup> Consult important remarks by Olexij Toločko about the myth of continuity in Ukrainian historiography and its medieval chronicles' underpinnings in *Formuvannia Ukrainської natsii: istoria ta interpretatsii* (The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation: A History and Interpretations) (Materials of the historians' roundtable) (Lviv: Naukove Tovarystro im. Ševčenka, 1995), 53-4.

Yuriy Zazuliak

point where Russian and Ukrainian historians have really diverged in opinion was on which line of historical succession established by medieval historians to choose: either Kyivan Rus – Valdimir-Suzdal Principality – Moscovian/Russian state or Kyivan Rus’ – Halyč-Volynian Principality – The Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

It is also important that attempts to create an image of Ukrainian medieval history as the coherent and uninterrupted existence of a medieval nation and statehood and put it at the center of the national historical narrative were also challenged from within Ukrainian historical scholarship. The Ukrainian historical consciousness and national memory, as it emerged in the course of the nineteenth century, was mostly grounded on historical traditions of the Cossak era, especially those of the Khmelnytsky uprising of the middle of the seventeenth century – an event which in itself symbolized a deep and radical rupture with the previous stages of Ukrainian history.

From the present-day scholarly perspective, the impossibility of establishing an autonomous, national medieval past, making it an exclusive and privileged possession of Ukrainian “national” historiography, has a double and ambiguous effect. On the one hand, it resulted in the rise of new and the revival of old rude nationalistic mythologies in medieval history writing that have sought to trace the existence of Ukrainians and their state back into primordial times.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, this situation has its own advantages. First of all, it makes some Ukrainian historians more methodologically reflexive in their approaches to the “national” and “nation” in the Middle Ages. These attempts at reconsidering the role of the national in East European medieval history are connected with the larger context of recent debates by Ukrainian historians on the emergence of the modern Ukrainian nation. An important implication of these debates was an appreciation of the “constructivist” approaches to the problem of the formation of nations and the interpretation of the present-day Ukrainian nation as a product of the social and cultural processes of modern times, primarily the rise of modern nationalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> An example of useful criticism of such conceptions is provided by Olena Rusyna, “Arkheologia neznannia” (Archeology of Ignorance), *Krytyka* 9, No. 9 (95) (2005): 24-26; for the origin and comparative context of such popular national mythologies and mystifications, see also Hryhorii Hrabovyč, “Slidamy nacionalnyh mistyfikacij” (In the Footsteps of National Mystifications), *Krytyka* 5, No. 6 (44) (2001): 14-23.

<sup>7</sup> The most representative for these discussions is materials from the roundtable held in Lviv in 1995, see *Formuvannia Ukraïnskoï natsii*. For a recent successful attempt to reconsider the problem of “national identity” in East European medieval history that bore a clear mark of “constructivist” approaches, see: Serhii Plokhyy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations. Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge:

In the field of the medieval studies this emphasis on rupture and discontinuity in Ukrainian history has raised a challenge to the established disciplinary regimes of history writing in two ways. First, it has stimulated interest in research of what may be called the intellectual genealogy of some influential historiographic concepts and interpretations of the ethnic history of medieval Eastern Europe in general, and of Ukraine in particular. Several works, for instance, have highlighted how the origin of the concepts and categories of historical analysis (this is especially true in the case of the concept of so-called *drevnerusskaja narodnost'* [the ancient Russian people]) that still dominate medieval history writing in Ukraine were strongly dependent upon the political and cultural contexts of the Stalinist epoch with its tense intellectual climate of anti-Western xenophobia and Soviet nationalism.<sup>8</sup> The second type of revisionism is equally ambitious, since it has sought to question the authenticity of some of the most significant and simultaneously most problematic texts which have exerted an enduring influence on historians' perception of the Eastern Slavonic medieval past. Such studies are indeed bold attempts, because they have tried to introduce some doubt into what has long been believed to be beyond any doubt.<sup>9</sup> One would say that some of these texts have taken on a sort of semi-sacral status in medieval scholarship, fostering a sense of national megalomania, being a source for continual historical myth-making and reflecting the distribution of power within academia.

As I already mentioned above, the Ukrainian medieval past basically lacked social, political, and cultural institutions and processes able to sustain the idea of the political and "national" unity of its geographical space during the Middle Ages. The questionable character of the continuity in the Ukrainian medieval past opens room for recognition of contingency in its history, especially in its relation to the broader context of East European medieval history.<sup>10</sup> The first aspect of this contingency is that the Ukrainian Middle Ages appear primarily as regional or local in the context of the neighbors' "national" medieval histories. Furthermore,

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Cambridge University Press, 2006), e.g., 3-5.

<sup>8</sup> See Natalia Jusova, *'Davnioruska narodnost': zarozhennia i stanovlennia koncepciji v radianskij istoričnij nauci (1930 – perša polovyna 1940-kih rr)* ('Old Russian Nationality': The Origin and Formation of the Concept in the Soviet Historical Scholarship, 1930s – the first half of 1940s) (Kyiv: Stylos, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Edward L. Keenan, *Josef Dobrovsky and the Origins of the Igor' Tale* (Cambridge: Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 2003); Alexei Toločko, *"Istoria Rossijskaja" Vasilija Tatischeva: istočniki i izvestia* (The "Russian History" of Vasilii Tatischev: Sources and Evidence) (Moscow/Kyiv: NLO/Krytyka, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> For the role of contingency in Ukrainian medieval history, see Himka, "What Constitutes a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?": 228.

Yuriy Zazuliak

it is legitimate to argue that localism is an inherent feature of Ukrainian medieval history. The primacy of the local perspective is an important asset for understanding Ukrainian medieval times in two ways. First, it reveals the persistence of some medieval modes of political organization and patterns of political local culture in the post-medieval period of Ukrainian history. This is especially relevant for the case of the Ukrainian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which allows speculation about possible Rus' roots of such political institutions. It has been possible to bring to light a process of gradual transformation and decline of the old forms of social and political life in the post-medieval period in the new context of the innovative trends of Early Modern times.<sup>11</sup> In this way, Ukrainian medieval and post-medieval local history can make a new and highly interesting contribution to Jacques Le Goff's "long Middle Ages."<sup>12</sup> Second, it tends to problematize the relations between the local medieval past and the modern national historical narratives based on it. The case of the Ukrainian Middle Ages makes it especially visible how the national history of Middle Ages works to "nationalize" some aspects of the local past and to silence others.

To illustrate some aspects of the interrelations between the local and national perspectives let me say a few words *pro domo sua*, that is, about the scholarship on late medieval Galicia. I would like to focus briefly on the late medieval Galician past by stressing in particular how the local evidence resists attempts at reductionism to national history. For the general historical context it is important to know that from the 1340s Galicia was under the control of the kings of the Piast, Anjou, and Jagiellonian dynasties. The incorporation of Galicia into the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland stimulated rapid changes in the cultural, ethnic, and social landscape of the region. The process of intensive cultural and social transformations and interaction manifested itself in various ways – the migration of German and Jewish

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example Natalia Jakovenko, "Pro dva mentalni stereotypy ukrainskoi šliakhty: 'Čolovik dobryj' i 'Čolovik zlyj'" (Two Mental Stereotypes of Ukrainian Nobles: A 'Good Man' and An 'Evil Man'), in her *Paralelnyj svit. Doslidzhennia z istorii ujavlen ta idej v Ukraini XVI-XVII st.* (The Parallel World: Studies on the History of Imagery and Ideas in Ukraine, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century) (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002), 106-47.

<sup>12</sup> Besides the study of Natalia Jakovenko, the idea of the relevance of Ukrainian medieval and post-medieval history to the "long European Middle Ages" has profoundly influenced the scholarly agenda of the journal *Medievalia Ucrainica. Mentalnist' ta istoria idej* (Medievalia Ucrainica. Mentality and the History of Ideas), edited by Natalia Jakovenko and Olexij Toločko in the 1990s. This point has been recently stressed again by Yurii Avvakumov, *Medievistyka i Ukrain'skij Katolyckij Universytet* (Lviv: Ukrain'skij Katoyč'kyj Universytet, 2007), esp. 13.

populations that speeded up urban growth; the establishment of institutions of the Roman Catholic Church; the establishment of Vlach settlements in the Carpathian foothills; and the arrival of Polish aristocracy and nobility. In view of this new cultural and social situation the local Orthodox Ukrainian population was forced to make new cultural choices and seek modes of coexistence, including changes in their confessional and ethnic identities.

Historical research still tends to interpret all these complex forms of cultural interaction and cultural hybrids in a traditional way, viewing this as a process of unilateral assimilation. In most cases this assimilation is considered Polonization and it is usually described in terms of accepting a single national identity.<sup>13</sup> Such approaches are clearly visible, for example, in the attempts to deny or diminish the role of Germans and German colonization in late medieval Galicia. For instance, in their persistent search for the national past of Lviv/Lwów/Lemberg, both Ukrainian and Polish historians have often tended to underrate the fact of the German dominance in the city during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Polish historians, particularly, have seen the role of Germans in the history of the city and region as provisional, marginal, and insignificant on the road to the complete polonization. Ukrainian scholars have gone even further in their negation and criticism of the German influence, extending it to agrarian and peasant history. In Ukrainian historiography the massive settlements of Galician villages under German law and the presence of a German population there is either completely ignored or is seen in a particularly dark light as representing another example of the aggressive nature of German medieval eastern colonization and its particularly negative destructive consequences for Slavic communal life.<sup>14</sup> Ukrainian historians

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<sup>13</sup> For an example of such an approach in Polish historiography, see Jan Orzechowski, "Oksydentalizacja Rusi Koronnej w XIV, XV i XVI w.," (Occidentalization of the Rus' Crown in the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century) in *Państwo, naród, stany* (State, Nation, Estates in the Consciousness of the Middle Ages), ed. Alexander Gieysztor and Sławomir Gawlas (Warsaw: PWN, 1990), 215-243. The tendency towards a critical revision of the old historiographic stereotypes in the treatment of the problem of "ethnic" and "national" in late medieval Galicia is represented by works of Andrzej Janeczek; see, for example, his "Między sobą. Polacy i Rusini na wspólnym pograniczu w XIV-XV w.," (Among Themselves. Poles and Ruthenians on the Common Borderlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century) in *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie* (Among Themselves. Polish-Ukrainian Historical Essays), ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Natalia Jakovenko (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2000), 37-55.

<sup>14</sup> Andriy O. Hurbyk, furnishes a good example of the complete silence about the German presence in: "Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobленosti" (A Rural Population in the Period of Political Disintegration), in *Istoria ukraińskoho selianstva* (The History of Ukrainian Peasantry) vol. 1 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2006), 73-124 (hereafter: Hurbyk, "Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobленosti"). As for

have interpreted the history of Ruthenian nobility of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a similar manner, approaching it almost exclusively from the perspective of its total polonization. This clearly evolutionary and theological perspective is accompanied by some moralizing overtones concerning the class egoism of the local aristocracy and its inability to stand up for Ukrainian national interests. Beyond such an understanding of national identity and assimilation is an attempt to project the modern concept of ethnicity into the past and construct the late medieval identities existing in Galicia as homogeneous and exclusive. Such an approach has tended, however, to overlook or underestimate the numerous cases of situational and multiple identities that existed in late medieval Galicia which did not fit the modern national categories of stable ethnicity and unilateral assimilation.

Another side of this problematic nature of the late medieval Galician past is that it has been often regarded as an “un-heroed,” one would even say an opportunistic, episode in Ukrainian history. Abundant historical evidence is preserved for fifteenth-century Galicia pointing to deep cultural and social transformations in the life of the region at that time. The sources, however, have little if any utility for elevating a “national spirit,” since they offer no significant evidence about “national” statehood and the struggle against foreign conquerors. This image of late medieval Galician history probably accounts for the tendency in present-day history writing to marginalize or even exclude it from the national historical grand narrative. For example, the Galician history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was completely omitted from the ambitious and multi-volume project of Ukrainian history, called “Ukraine through the Centuries,” which was published recently by the major historical academic institution – the Institute of Ukrainian History.<sup>15</sup>

The same holds true for the recent “The History of Ukrainian Peasantry,”<sup>16</sup> which barely mentions the evidence of Galician fifteenth-century sources concerning

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the highly negative and ideologically biased assessment of the German influence on Galician agrarian life see the otherwise brilliant investigation by Vasyl Inkin, *Silske suspil'stvo Halyc'koho Prykarpattia u XVI-XVIII stolittiakh, istoryčni narysy* (The Village Society of the Halyc' Carpathian Foothills in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth century) (Lviv: Institut istoryčnyh doslidžen' LNU “Ivana Franka,” 2004), esp. 256. Recently Thomas Wunsch has made an endeavor to reinterpret the expansion of German law in late medieval Galicia from a fresh methodological point of view, see his “Ostsiedlung in Rotrußland vom 14.-16. Jahrhundert – Problemaufriß für die kulturgeschichtliche Erforschung eines Transformationsprozesses in Ostmitteleuropa (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der terra Halicz),” *Österreichische Osthefte* 41, No. 1 (1999): 47-82.

<sup>15</sup> The volume in question was published by Olena Rusynna, *Ukraine under the Tatars and Lithuania* (Kiev: Altenatyvy, 1998.)

<sup>16</sup> See Hurbyk, “Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobenosti.”

peasant life at that time. This is especially surprising if one takes into account the fact that the sources for other regions have not survived in such a sizeable volume as they have for Galicia in that period.<sup>17</sup> “The History of Ukrainian Peasantry” also provides an interesting example of how present-day historians have tried to construct the national spatial framework for the local histories of social classes. In this regard one should not forget that the peasantry has always enjoyed a special status in both nationalist and Marxist history-writing in Eastern Europe. It has been regarded as a basic constituent brick for building modern East European nations or represented as one of the driving forces in the permanent class struggle. The main research procedure visible in such studies is first to search for local evidence, then construct the “national” medieval peasant community and single out its fundamental features. This is usually done without raising the question of how relevant it is to interpret the highly local and geographically fragmented village communities of the Middle Ages in terms of a single “national” peasantry.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, one can also observe attempts to impose completely irrelevant temporalities on the history of the peasantry. One of the central chapters on the medieval period contained in the “History of Ukrainian Peasantry” has the title “A Rural Population in the Period of ‘Political Disintegration.’”<sup>19</sup> The chapter does not explain what the term “political disintegration” means nor how it is relevant for the history of peasantry. I have a suspicion that it betrays the specific “statist” (state-bound) vision of authors who are unable to think of the history of medieval peasantry without linking it to the idea of the nation state. It seems to be quite easy to trace the ideological origins of this concept. It reminds one of the concept of feudal disintegration that originated in Soviet times and was used to explain the social and political developments of the Rurikid polity after the death of Jaroslav the Wise. Moreover, it was a heavily biased ideological concept because it interpreted political fragmentation and princely feuds not as a feature inherent in the medieval polities, but as a sort of historical anomaly that had to be overcome in the process of historical development towards a national centralized state. In this sense the application of this concept represents the strange mixture of the Soviet

<sup>17</sup> See Hurbyk, “Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobленosti.”

<sup>18</sup> This approach can also be found in the studies of some Polish historians, for example, Jerzy Wyrozumski has used Galician evidence extensively to reconstruct the Polish medieval peasant community, see his “Gromada w życiu samorządowym średniowiecznej wsi polskiej” (The Communal life of the Polish Medieval Village), *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej* 3 (1985): 219-251.

<sup>19</sup> See Hurbyk, “Silske naselennia v dobu polityčnoj rozdrobленosti.”

Yuriy Zazuliak

imperial and Ukrainian nationalistic historical stereotypes that coexist in present-day Ukrainian academic history writing.

The contingency of the Ukrainian medieval past also opens another perspective, in some sense complementary to, but also a reversal of, the local point of view that has been stressed above. It proposed going beyond the local and seeing the situation of the cultural encounter in the wider context of the constant flux of people, ideas, texts, and artifacts of diverse cultural and ethnic origins in the broad geographical space between Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia.

This approach facilitates rethinking the old and outdated idea of a border of culture and civilization in Ukrainian history writing. The notion of border has been a crucial conceptual tool for a long time for the cultural mapping of nationality and civilization and for representing them as geographically closed and ethnically homogenous entities. It was used to reinforce the perception of the Ukrainian past as a purely Slavic and Orthodox world whose relationships with the outer world were treated in terms of a besieged stronghold. This historiographic interpretation, which has a strong Slavophile and Soviet ideological background, maintained that Ukrainians constantly fought against Western, Catholic, and German-Polish-Hungarian expansion. On the other hand, it represented Ukraine as another European *antemurale* resisting the constant attacks of Eastern nomadic people. It is a matter of paradox that such views of the founding fathers of Ukrainian historiography, many of whom were often the ardent Ukrainian nationalists, contributed to the creation of a holistic and homogeneous image of Rus' and Ukrainian history. It was an image which, in fact, coincided almost completely with the idea of Russian imperial medievalism and a Russian imperial way of thinking about the East Slavic past.

The approach viewing the Ukrainian medieval past as a zone open for both cultural confrontation and interchange partly reminds one of the old historiographic concept of Ukraine as another frontier region “between the East and West.” But it implies more than that. First it tends to demonstrate that the notions of East and West themselves as seen in the context of Ukrainian history were historical constructs that emerged in the process of cultural interaction.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, this

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<sup>20</sup> Insightful observations in this regard can be found in Ihor Ševčenko, “Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom” (Ukraine between East and West), in his *Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom. Narysy z istorii kultury do počatku XVIII stolittia* (Lviv: Ukrainskyj Katolyckyj Universytet, 2001), 1-12. The book was originally published in English as *Ukraine between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the End of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996).

re-evaluation of the traditional civilization map of Ukrainian medieval history has also resulted in a new understanding of traditional concepts of center and periphery within this space and has offered new interpretative possibilities for the analysis of highly interesting cultural phenomena and artifacts that existed on the margins. Another important consequence is that it has shed new light on the problem of the cultural reception and reinterpretation of Western and Eastern traditions in the Ukrainian medieval context. For example, emphasis on the cultural reception and transmission has sharpened historians' sensitivity to the fact that the traditional "high" Eastern Slavic Orthodox culture of the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries was grounded mostly on translated and imported texts in terms of text production and reception. The original texts produced by the local literati were only a tiny minority in its textual equipment (there is now growing suspicion that some of them, like the famous Igor tale, were later forgeries). One would certainly assess the significance of this fact bearing in mind that modern national culture and the idea of national heritage fostered by it have always favored original and native medieval texts and artifacts over foreign borrowings and influences.<sup>21</sup>

Historians who have come to privilege such a cross-cultural approach focusing on how institutions, ideas, and texts were transmitted and adopted in new cultural contexts have pursued their research in many directions. Some of these studies have investigated the spread and reception of feudal institutions and norms, Vlachs, and German urban law. Another important venue of studies concerns the analysis of the interrelation between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches with special emphasis on the rise and spread of the idea of a church union and Unionist thought in Eastern Europe.<sup>22</sup> This research has also touched upon an

<sup>21</sup> This point has been nicely emphasized by John-Paul Himka, "What Constitute a Ukrainian Cultural Artifact?" esp. 229. See also his forthcoming study on Carpathian icons of the Last Judgement: *History on Linden Boards: Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2010)

<sup>22</sup> The necessity to formulate a new scholarly agenda for the investigation of the Church Unions and Unionist thought stressing the general context of European Middle Ages has been recently proposed by Yurii Avvakumov, *Medievistyka i Ukraïnskyj Katolyckyj Universytet*, 13-27. Some valuable recent contributions to the problem of the Church Unions in the context of East Slavic history have been made by Ihor Ševčenko, "Polityka Vizantijskoho patriarkhatu u Skhidnij Europi v XIV st." (The Politics of the Byzantine Patriarchate in Eastern Europe in Fourteenth century), in his *Ukraina mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom*, 75-98; Yurii Avvakumov, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankes: Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche* (Berlin, 2002); and Olena Rusyna, "Poslannia kyivskoho mytropolyta Mysaila papi rymskomu Sykstu IV z 1476 roku: novi aspekty doslidzhennia" (The Letter of the Kyivan Mytropolite Missail to Pope Sixtus IV from 1476: New Aspects of the Research), *Kovčeh* 5 (2007): 50-72; eadem, "Poslannia papi Sykstu IV i problema interpretacii literaturnykh pamiatok XV st." (A Letter

Yuriy Zazuliak

interesting problem of the after-life of Western medieval texts and authors in the post-medieval period in the new cultural milieu and their interpretations in the context of Orthodox-Uniate polemics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> The research perspective outlined above would be incomplete without close investigation of the interaction between the nomadic, Jewish, Turkish, and Armenian people on the one side and the Slavic people on the other. It seems that today such research, an agenda postulated by Omelian Pritsak at the beginning of 1990s, needs new application.

The community of scholars interested in the Ukrainian medieval past is in some sense similar to the past they investigate. It has fluent and ill-defined borders that are difficult to define in terms of national historiography. This is perhaps reason that I have found it impossible to omit the contribution of non-Ukrainian scholars to the field of Ukrainian medieval history when compiling the list of most important publications. On the one hand, this academic situation does not lack positive aspects. It permits conducting an investigation as if starting from a blank page without feeling the burden of outdated academic discourse and institutional constraints. Perhaps in this light one should see the emergence of new institutions and journals like *Krytyka*, *Ruthenica*, *Socium*, and *Ukrainskyj Humanitarnyj Ohliad* (Ukrainian Review of the Humanities) that have proposed new fresh interpretations and considerably widened the research perspectives of medieval and historical studies in Ukraine during the last fifteen years.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian academic situation is still characterized by extreme parochialism and marginalization within the global academic world of the humanities. For a long time it has been the renowned research centers of Ukrainian studies located in North America (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton) that have provided links to the international academic world and functioned as the main international forums for scholars interested in Ukrainian and East European history. Their efforts, as important as they are, cannot substitute for the work of scholars in Ukraine. And this is the point where, in my opinion, the Medieval Studies Department with its mission comes in. From my personal experience I can say that the Department's

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to Pope Sixtus IV and the Problem of the Interpretation of the Fifteenth-Century Literary Texts), *Ukrainskyj Istoryčnyj Zhurnal* 2 (2008): 16-34.

<sup>23</sup> An interesting example of such research has been supplied recently by Valeriy Zema, "Papa Hryhoriy Velykyj u labetakh lehend ta istoriohrafii" [Pope Gregory the Great in Legends and Historiography], *Ukrainskyj Istoryčnyj Zhurnal* 1 (2007): 20-38.

devotion to the training of young medievalists from the East European region in the last fifteen years represents a great scholarly and teaching achievement. Together with other CEU departments it has contributed enormously to the emergence of a new and mobile network of young Ukrainian scholars in the humanities and social sciences who are trying to find their own voices and their own disciplinary legitimacy within the international scholarly community.

### List of Significant Recent Works in Alphabetical Order

Avvakumov, Georgij. *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankes: Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche*. Grabmann-Institutes 47. Berlin: Akademie, 2002)

Jakovenko, Natalia. "Pro dva mentalni stereotypy ukrainskoi šliakhty: 'Čolovik dobryj' i 'Čolovik zlyj' [Two Mental Stereotypes of Ukrainian Nobles: The 'Good Man' and 'Evil Man'], in *Paralelnyj svit. Doslidzhennia z istorii ujavlen ta idej v Ukraini XVI-XVII st.* (The Parallel World: Studies of the History of Imagery and Ideas in Ukraine, Fifteenth to Seventh Century), 106-47. Kiev: Krytyka, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Ukrains'ka shliakhta z kincia XIV do seredyiny XVII stolittia. Volyn' i Centralna Ukraina* [Ukrainian Nobility from the End of the Fourteenth until the Middle of the Seventeenth Century]. 2d edition. Kiev: Krytyka, 2008.

Janeczek, Andrzej. "New Authority, New Property, New Nobility. The Foundation of Noble Estates in Red Ruthenia during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Questiones Medii Aevi Novae* 7 (2002): 77-125.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Album Civium Leopoliensium. Rejestry przyjęć do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie, 1388-1783* [Registers of New Burghers of Lviv, 1388-1783]. 2 vols. Poznań-Warsaw: Pasmańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Thomas Wünsch, ed. *On the Frontier of Latin Europe. Integration and Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350-1600*. Warsaw and Konstanz: Instytut archeologii i etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2004.

Yuriy Zazuliak

Keenan, Edward L. *Josef Dobrovsky and the Origins of the Igor' Tale*. Cambridge: Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 2003.

Kupčyns'kyj, Oleh. *Akty ta dokumenty Halyc'ko-Volynskoho kniazivstva XIII – pershoi polovyny XIV stolit.' Doslidzhennia. Testy* [Documents of the Halych-Volynian Principality from the Thirteenth to the first half of the Fourteenth Century]. Studies. Texts. L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo Ševčenko, 2004.

Noonan, Thomas S. "Fluctuation in Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe during the Viking Age." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16, No. 3-4 (1992): 237-60.

Paranko, Rostyslav, tr. and ed. *Boecii, Teolohični traktaty/Boethius, Opuscula sacra*. L'viv: Ukrainskyj Katolyckyj Universytet, 2007.

Pašin, Sergej. *Peremyšl'skaja šliakhta vtoroj polovyny XIV – načala XVI veka. Istoriko-genealogičeskoe issledovanie* [The Przemysł Nobility from the Second Half of the Fourteenth to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. Historical and Genealogical Study. (Tumen': Tümenskij hosudarstvennyj universitet, 2001).

Plokhyy, Serhii. *The Origins of the Slavic Nations. Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Rusyna, Olena. *Ukraine under the Tatars and Lithuania*. Kiev: Alternatyvy, 1998.

Ševčenko, Ihor. *Ukraine between East and West. Essays on Cultural History to the End of the Early Eighteenth Century*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1996.

Soročan, Sergey. *Vizantiya IV-IX vv. Etiudy rynku. Struktura mekhanizmov obmena* [Byzantium in the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries. Structures of Market and Exchange Mechanisms] Kharkov, 1998.

Taube, Moshe. "The Kievan Jew Zacharia and the Astronomical Works of the Judaizers." *Jews and Slavs* 3 (1995): 168-198.

Toločko, Alexei. “*Istoria Rossijskaya*” *Vasilii Tatischeva: istochniki i izvestia* [The ‘Russian History’ of Vasilii Tatischev: sources and evidence]. (Moscow/Kiev: NLO/Krytyka, 2005)

\_\_\_\_\_. “Kyjevoruska spadščyna v ukrainskij istoričnij dumci na počatku XIX stolittia” [The Legacy of Kievan Rus’ in Ukrainian Historical Thought at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century]. In *Ukrainski Proekty v Rosijskij Imperii* [Ukrainian Projects in the Russian Empire], ed. Vladyslav Verstiuk, Viktor Horobets’ and Olexij Toločko, 250-331. (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 2004).

Vilkul, Tetiana. “Liudje” i kniaz v konstrukcijakh letopiscev XI-XIII vv” [The ‘People’ and the Prince in Chroniclers’ Constructions from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century]. *Ruthenica*. Supplementum 1. Kiev, 2007.



## RECENT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

*Giles Constable*

My talk this afternoon looks both backwards and forwards: backwards to the tradition of medieval studies and the influence of new approaches and methodologies in the second half of the twentieth century – my own professional lifetime – and forwards, more briefly and tentatively, to what appear to be the directions in which medieval studies are moving, both in Europe and in America. I shall not discuss other parts of the world, though interesting work is being done by medievalists elsewhere, as in Japan and Australia. I shall concentrate on the history of medieval religion and religious life, in part because it illustrates some of the most striking developments and changes in medieval studies and in part because the CEU has made notable contributions in this field. It is also, I should admit, the area I know best and in which much of my own research has been done. You will forgive me, I hope, if I draw at places in my talk on my own experience and on a paper that I presented recently in England on the study of medieval religious life and spirituality.<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally the study of medieval religion was considered the domain of scholars who were themselves clerics and monks and who in many respects laid the foundations of the modern study of medieval history. The works of members of learned congregations like the Bollandists and Maurists are of enduring scholarly value. Few areas of historical research can boast such a distinguished genealogy, but until recently, with a few notable exceptions, it was largely neglected by lay scholars.

Academic historians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries inherited much of the secularism and anti-clericalism of the eighteenth century, often without the learning, and tended to neglect the study of religion, which they equated with irrationality if not superstition. Among other reasons for this neglect were the predominantly national focus of medieval studies, the reaction against the clerical domination of education, the view that the study of religious thought and institutions was the business of clerics rather than lay scholars, and more generally the perceived decline in the importance of religion in the modern world. The study of religious life

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<sup>1</sup> Giles Constable, "From Church History to Religious Culture: The Study of Medieval Religious Life and Spirituality," in *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Miri Rubin (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2008) 3-16.

Giles Constable

and spirituality was regarded as antiquarianism and was almost completely ignored in most secular universities until well into the twentieth century.

Serious and important research was still done by clerics and monks even after the widespread suppression of monasticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After its revival in the mid-nineteenth century, monks were almost more cut off from secular society than before, and scholarly work was not always encouraged in religious communities. Scholars like Ursmer Berlière and André Wilmart were not widely known among lay historians. The great exception was David Knowles, the first Benedictine monk to hold a professorship in an English university since the Reformation. His history of the monastic and religious orders in England, which appeared between 1940 and 1959, took the scholarly world to some extent by surprise and helped to create a more receptive attitude towards the history of monasticism. Among lay scholars before the Second World War the most important were Carl Erdmann, whose *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens* is a study in the changes in Christian thought and spirituality in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and Herbert Grundmann, who studied the religious and social basis of the religious movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, stressing the role of women, and showed their common features rather than the differences which scholars who were themselves members of religious orders tended to emphasize.

Medieval religious history was even less studied in America than in Europe, aside from Henry Charles Lea and a small but dedicated group of scholars working on the crusades. The emphasis was on constitutional, institutional, and legal history, with occasional references to the history of art and to economic and intellectual history. Ernst Robert Curtius in a lecture delivered in 1949 commented on what he called the “phenomenon” of American medievalism. “The American conquest of the Middle Ages,” he wrote, somewhat oddly, “has something of that romantic glamor and of that deep sentimental urge which we might expect in a man who should set out to find his lost mother,” which tells us more about the European view of America than about the American view of the Middle Ages. The Belgian scholar Fernand Van Steenberghen was surprised by the growth of American medieval centers, institutes, and journals and questioned whether “there were sufficient vocations of medievalists in the New World to assure the vitality of all these centers of research.” He was writing in 1953, before Kalamazoo!<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton

This then was the situation when I completed my PhD, in 1958, and began to look for an academic position. The subject of my dissertation was the letters of Peter the Venerable, who was abbot of Cluny in the first half of the twelfth century. It was unusual at that time (and still is, I believe) to present a textual edition, even with a substantial introduction and notes, as a doctoral dissertation, and my professors in the department of history at Harvard, who worked in traditional fields, thought that I would find a position only in a seminary. In fact the winds of historiographic fashion were changing, and my fields of interest – monastic history, the crusades, letter-writing, medieval forgery, all growing out of my work on Peter the Venerable – have been a modest growth industry over the past half century. More work is being done today on saints' lives and miracles than on the history of parliament. The study of religious life and spirituality took off, as it were, in the 1950s and 1960s and marks one of the major shifts in medieval studies during the past hundred years. Popular religion has been described as “perhaps the most successful as an interpretive rubric ... of all the historical approaches to come out of the 1970s.”<sup>3</sup>

In the study of medieval spirituality the name of one scholar stands out, Jean Leclercq, whose career covered the second half of the twentieth century. Himself a Benedictine monk, his influence spread far outside the walls of his monastery or perhaps I should say monasteries, since he was a mighty traveler. Taking up in many respects where Wilmart left off, Leclercq was an interpreter as well as an editor of texts. He wrote dozens of books and hundreds of articles which, though of uneven quality, reached a wide audience and of which a number were translated into English. Wilmart and Leclercq, together with Marie-Dominique Chenu, changed the accepted view of medieval religion and spirituality. They oriented research away from the thirteenth century, which had long dominated the study of intellectual and artistic history, and emphasized the importance of the twelfth century, when there was fundamental change in the way people saw themselves in relation to God and the church and which marked the beginning, they said, of modern religion.

This included a redefinition of the *vita apostolica*, which no longer involved withdrawal from the world but came in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to include an active apostolate, and which was central for Francis of Assisi and the Mendicants, for whom it was not enough to be individually poor in

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University Press, 1990), 587; F. Van Steenberghen, “Les études médiévales en Amérique,” *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 49 (1951) 414. Editor's note: The annual Kalamazoo Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University now attracts about 3000 participants a year.

<sup>3</sup> John Van Engen, “The Future of Medieval Church History,” *Church History* 71 (2002) 498.

possessions and in spirit, which was equivalent to being humble, without also being collectively poor. The established ideals of withdrawal, asceticism, and contempt for the world did not disappear and were combined with a stress on physical labor and also on human values, such as friendship, of which the importance in religious circles has been emphasized in recent studies. These ideals increasingly spread outside religious communities into lay society, and by the end of the Middle Ages many men and women shared the austere standard of behavior that had previously characterized formal religious life and included practices and devotions which governed the smallest details of everyday life, such as arranging the crumbs left on a table after a meal into the form of a cross.

In addition to these outward marks of piety there was a stress on spiritual inwardness, which was one of the defining characteristics of Christian spirituality from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, when religious life was marked, John Van Engen said in his recent book on the *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life*, by an “intense preoccupation with the interior, shaping or reshaping the soul in the presence of the divine.” People believed that their eternal salvation depended on their personal relations to God as much or more than on their behavior or on the intervention of the clergy. This stress on inwardness led in its extreme forms, through self-knowledge and love of God, to a withdrawal into self-denial, nothingness, and ultimately union with the Godhead in such a way, as Grundmann put it, that “the religious experience supersedes all questions of ethics and morals” and that the perfection of the individual believer exceeds the merits and claims of the saint. “Souls face to face with God, stripped of all masks and guises,” again according to Van Engen, “this was the heart of the matter.”<sup>4</sup> For these people the ideal of the imitation of Christ involved not only following the example of His life on earth but also identifying with him as the suffering Son of God. This approaches the limits of orthodoxy, though at that time the boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy were less fixed than they became later.

There has also been a growing awareness among scholars of the importance of medieval religious institutions for modern society, including political democracy (*maior et sanior pars*), prisons (“cell” is a monastic term), the importance of clocks and time-keeping, and the organization of industry. The origins of sign language

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<sup>4</sup> Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, Historische Studien 267 (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935) (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlichen Buchgesellschaft, 1961) 181-182; John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) 296, 318.

go back to the system of signs used in medieval monasteries. These are the subject of a different talk, however, and I mention them here only to emphasize the range of the influence of religious life and thought and the overlap of spirituality with popular culture.

Turning now to new developments in the history of religious life, I shall divide my discussion into three sections: first, the types of life led by religious men and women, *religiosi* and *religiosae*; second, their relations with secular society; and third, the effect on the study of religion of some of the new historical techniques and approaches.

Among the many interesting developments regarding the nature of medieval religious life has been the study of the common features of religious movements, rather than their differences, and the attention paid to groups and individuals who were not technically speaking monks and nuns, in particular to canons, hermits, and recluses, and to lay religious, female as well as male. In spite of significant earlier work on canons, some of it dating from the eighteenth century, their status and importance were not widely recognized and they are still not fully appreciated, partly in view of the variety of canons who existed in the Middle Ages. Some of them, known as regular canons, followed a rule and were barely distinguishable from monks; others resembled the clergy and were called secular canons; and yet others, as Alcuin recognized already in the ninth century, occupied a middle position between the two. Hermits and recluses, who were also known as anchorites, were less cut off from monastic, clerical, and lay society than was once thought and than descriptions of their way of life suggest. Many people, including women, spent periods of time in hermitages and later took up other types of life. Several scholarly congresses have been devoted to the study of hermits and eremitism, but the subject is far from exhausted.

The same is true of people who withdrew informally from secular society, either in groups or sometimes in their own families, which has been called domestic monasticism. This way of life was in its nature ephemeral and has left few written records. In institutional terms it constituted a sort of half-way house between the laity and better-established forms of religious life, and it is sometimes described as semi-monastic. People of this type were recognized as occupying a distinct and occasionally suspect status, parallel to that of heretics, but not the same, since they were more concerned with a religious way of life than with theology. It appealed particularly to women to whom some of the older and more organized forms of religious life were closed, and concerning whose history the flood-gates of research

have opened during the past generation, though they had never been fully closed. Many aspects of the religious life and culture of women throughout the Middle Ages have been studied in recent years, including the recognition by some of the reformers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the religious aspirations of women, who played a significant part in the institutional, spiritual, and intellectual life of the period. In the late Middle Ages women had a distinctive spirituality, concentrated on the physical body and found in both literature and art, of which the nature and importance have been increasingly recognized.

The members of religious communities were bound together by a common way of life and often by adherence to a written rule of a set of customs, which formed the basis of what have been called “textual communities.” The study of rules and customs was a fertile area of research in the second half of the twentieth century. The *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, when complete, will include new editions of all known customaries. It is paralleled for Greek monasticism by the corpus of Byzantine monastic *typica*, which has opened the way for comparative study of religious life in the Latin west and Greek east. Many groups of religious men and women, however, including some of the most celebrated, had no written customs and were governed in the details of their daily life by oral traditions. Rules were sometimes adopted relatively late, and customs were written down when the founding members died, a daughter house was established, or another community wanted to adopt a similar way of life. Written customaries can be seen as a reaction to the threat of change and reform, welcome in principle might be met with hostility in practice. Some customaries represented a conservative effort to preserve existing practices, and their evidence must be taken with a grain of salt, because they tend to reflect an ideal rather than a reality. Very few if any religious houses adhered to every detail of a written document. Even the Rule of Benedict was modified in countless ways. It is impossible now to recover the unwritten customs of a community which were preserved in the minds of its members. Religious life was not an unchanging monolith, and there has been a growing recognition by scholars of the rapidity and occasional violence of change – or reform, as it was commonly called – which could uproot long-established customs and traditions.

The organization of most religious houses and the daily life of their members were governed by an elaborate system of rites and ceremonies, both within the church – the liturgy – and outside. Rites are of interest to sociologists and anthropologists as well as to students of religion and history, who have emphasized the importance

of ritual as an expression of religious ideology and feelings. It involves not only what was said and done but also what was sung and seen, since observers as well as performers participated in ceremonies and responded to images and buildings. Rites were adapted to meet the institutional and social in addition to the physical needs of religious life. The old contrast between rites and reason, which were traditionally regarded almost as opposites, has thus been broken down. Ritual is a way of looking behind the texts into the hidden world of attitudes and emotions, which have attracted the attention of scholars in recent years. The application of psychology to history has also helped to deepen our understanding of the religious needs of contemplatives and has inspired a greater sympathy for the visions and miracles that played such an important part in the inner life of monks and nuns.

Religious men and women were also involved with life outside their enclosure, both in other communities and in the secular world. Even those who never left their monasteries had spiritual ties with the lay world which were none the less important for being invisible. The prayers, masses, and blessings of monks and nuns benefited society as well as themselves. The names of innumerable lay benefactors and so-called co-brothers and co-sisters were listed, together with the names of former members of a community and of the communities with which it was affiliated, in the *libri vitae*, necrologies, and books of commemoration and confraternity; and prayers, masses, and alms were offered on the anniversaries of their deaths. These works have been known for many years, and some were published, mostly as undifferentiated lists of names, but they were regarded as of little use to historians. Their detailed study and publication, both in facsimile and in a form as close as possible to the originals, showing the placement and grouping of names, has been the special work of scholars at the University of Muenster, whose greatest single achievement has been the reconstruction of the lost necrology of Cluny, which contains thousands of names and shows the wide range of Cluny's influence.

Another relatively little-used source on the associations between religious houses are the mortuary rolls which were carried from house to house after the death of an individual for whom prayers and liturgical commemoration were solicited. A new edition of these rolls is in preparation. Each house that was visited made an entry on the roll, which is often of interest as evidence not only of the value placed on liturgical intercession but also of the level of literacy and writing skills in the community, including houses of women, about whom very little is otherwise known. The study of *scriptoria* and of library catalogs has likewise contributed to our somewhat meager knowledge of the intellectual life of monks and nuns, and

Giles Constable

especially of the role of nuns as scribes. The movement of manuscripts is another fruitful area of research, showing the intellectual connections between communities, which extended far more widely than was previously assumed.

These spiritual and intellectual links were paralleled by political, social, and economic ties, which can be described collectively as the regional ecology of a community. Most older works on monastic exemption, immunity, and advocacy, though still not fully replaced, were written from a legalistic point of view and did not take fully into account the religious character of the institutions. Economic historians in particular tended to take an aggressively secular view. The lands of religious and lay proprietors were frequently contiguous and interlocking, however, and influenced one another not only in agricultural techniques but also in religious attitudes. Lay proprietors in the area of Cluny, for example, down to the lowest levels of society, were referred to as “neighbors of St Peter,” who owned the land of Cluny and from whom they derived protection and prestige. The development of monastic priories and granges resembled that of secular estates, and many towns grew up around religious houses that needed the services of lay dependents. Research on proprietary monasteries, or *Eigenklöster*, over which outside lords exercised a measure of control, has taken a flexible approach and emphasized the elaborate framework of personal relationships between religious houses and local magnates. Monasteries were *foci* of political and economic power and sometimes became centers of regional principalities.

The study of medieval religion has thus contributed to our understanding of all aspects of the Middle Ages and has itself been enriched by research in other fields of medieval studies. A glance at the titles in the *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, which started in 1970 and now includes almost a hundred volumes, shows an astonishing expansion in the number and types of sources used by scholars today. They include not only written sources, some of which (like the necrologies and mortuary rolls mentioned above) were known but not fully used, but also non-written sources, including art, music, and architecture, the industrial and figurative arts, and, perhaps most important, archaeology, fossil pollens, tree-rings (dendrochronology), and human remains such as bones and teeth, which have thrown light on the age, health, and diet of medieval men and women. Though treated separately in the *Typologie*, these sources should not be regarded as watertight compartments and have interacted with each other on several levels. Textual and material sources are complementary, even when they reach different conclusions, and some scholars speak of what they call “documentary archaeology.”

Some archaeological findings have in particular thrown doubts on the written sources, forcing historians to reconsider the “myths of origins” embodied in chronicles and foundation histories. Geography, topography, and aerial photography, which developed in the period between the two World Wars, have shed light on the siting, foundation, and ground-plans of religious houses, some of which have entirely vanished above ground. There has been a progressive retreat from the divisions which at one time dominated the study of medieval history, not only political and geographical divisions – mountains, oceans, and rivers, which are now regarded as connectors as well as dividers – but also divisions of religion and society. There is a new stress on the interaction between Christians and Jews, and also, in some areas, Muslims, and on the porousness of social ranks, which were less rigid than was once believed. Chronological periods, to which I shall return, are also less strictly divided than previously, and there is more emphasis on transition than on separation and transformation. Even the Reformation is seen as a bridge as well as a divide.

This work has changed in many ways our view of both the theoretical and the practical workings of medieval religious communities. The setting of religious life, the images seen and adored by monks and nuns—and by lay men and women who attended and participated in their ceremonies – the processions, and the hymns and chants were all part of medieval religion. In recent years there has been particular interest in sacred spaces, the relationship to each other of the various buildings in a monastic enclosure, and their influence on the lives of the inhabitants. Churches were the image of paradise and the heavenly Jerusalem, sometimes in a literal as well as a symbolic sense. Cemeteries were par excellence the sacred spaces of the dead. Only a start has been made on the study of the physical aspects of medieval religious houses, however, aside from their architecture and decoration, or of the recruitment, social origins, and numbers of their members, though comparative anthropology has contributed in many respects to our understanding of the workings of society, especially in the early Middle Ages. The flourishing field of gender studies, in which new advances are made every year, has investigated almost every aspect of the lives of women in the Middle Ages. A great deal more is known today than even a few years ago about the religious life of women, and there have been some fascinating detailed studies of the life of late medieval nuns.

Detailed studies known as microhistories are fashionable today – I tried my hand at one myself – but they are less applied to medieval history than to later periods, above all owing to the lack of sources. Quantitative techniques applied to history,

Giles Constable

which were fashionable a generation ago under the collective name of cliometrics, seem to have fallen somewhat into disfavor among medievalists, also owing perhaps to the relatively small numbers of sources that can be reliably analyzed statistically. They have been applied with good results, however, to necrologies and charters, which include enough names to be analyzed for prosopographical evidence and for the changing membership and social structure of religious houses, about which comparatively little is otherwise known. Statistical studies, principally word counts, have also been made for historical texts. So far this has privileged certain types of texts, above all those in the *Patrologia latina* and the *Corpus christianorum* and many types of sources, such as charters, letters, and sermons, have not been statistically analyzed. In some respects, indeed, computer techniques have oriented research away from the study of integral original texts. And images of manuscripts and works of art have to a great extent replaced the study of “the real thing.” “Image enhancement” has opened new avenues of approach but has also in some respects distorted the originals. The term “secondary sources” is now sometimes used for works derived by computers from primary sources.

A different type of innovation is associated with the shift of interest from one period to another. The popularity of Late Antiquity – what we medievalists call the early Middle Ages – is well established and associated with some of the new methodologies and techniques, especially archaeology, which has enlightened many dark corners of what used to be called the Dark Ages. Late Antiquity is well represented in the research at CEU. I also sense a shift in interest among medievalists away from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which are called the High Middle Ages in English, to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where much original work is being done after a long period of neglect.

These shifts have been paralleled by the realization that medieval society was not monolithic, either chronologically or structurally, and that it involved changes and was open to different influences, from both inside and outside. The old belief in the uniformity of the Latin Christian culture and “the Medieval Mind” has been replaced by a more nuanced view of the interpenetration of western society with Judaism, Byzantium, and Islam, and also the Scandinavian world. There was an interaction and overlapping rather than an exclusiveness between various spheres of influence. There is a great deal to be learned from life at the margins and how the center was seen from the peripheries. Especially the old view of Christendom and Judaism as two mutually exclusive worlds has been modified by research into the contacts and influences between the two.

Finally, among innovations, I should draw attention to the shift in historical thinking, partly under the influence of anthropology and sociology, that accepts that what people think, as well as their material interests, influences their behavior and that beliefs and ideas play a part in shaping history. Closely related to this is the renewed recognition of the importance of religion both in the past and in the present world. A case in point is the crusades, which were long regarded as a basically secular movement masquerading under a religious cover. To argue that the crusades were motivated by other than self-interest was regarded as naïve. They are now increasingly seen as a religious movement with political, social, and economic overtones.

These changes are healthy and contribute to the vitality of our field. When I am asked by graduate students, as I occasionally am, what the trendy areas of research will be in the future, I reply that they know better than I do, because what interests them will probably interest their contemporaries. I myself have been fortunate to work in fields which have attracted the interest and research of many scholars in the past fifty years. It may be time to move on, and a young historian might be well-advised to return to some of the great traditional fields of research – war, politics, representative institutions, law, economy – and to study them not as they were studied in the past but with the insight and knowledge of the historical innovations of the past two generations.